

Proposal: Signers of the Grito

Peter: Spain: Salvador, Carmen, Hugo, Carlos
M-A ~~Ed~~ Britain: Alan, Connie, Tony, Arthur, John
Peter Denmark: Torben
Gus ~~Ed~~ India: Magan, Kolpe + ?
Gus ~~Ed~~ Australia: Jim Percy, Dave Holmes, Col Maynard
Gus ~~Ed~~ New Zealand: Keith, George
~~Ed~~ Canada: John, Ross, Ernie, Art, Alan
M-A China: Shu-tse, Pi-lan
USA: Joe, Jack, M-A, Peter, Barry, Ed, Gus, Tony Th., ~~Ed~~ Fred W
Peter Argentina: Moreno, Lorenzo, Marcella, Pedro, Alberto, Arturo
Peter Peru: Tuco, Tito, ↑
x Chile: Hugo Blanco, Juan Perez
x Brazil: ~~Ed~~ Javier, Antenor
Peter Uruguay: ~~Ed~~ Juan, +1
~~Ed~~ ✓ Venezuela: David, Miguel, Antonio, Anes

Gus ~~Ed~~ Iran: Javeed, ~~Ed~~
Ed Colombia: Jaime
Ed, Peter Mexico: ~~Ed~~ Ricardo ~~Ed~~, Roberto, Cristina

Alan } Pakistan: -
Gus }
MA }
Alan }

Gus = Cyprus
Greece

5/10/73 M-A report

Santiago

Venezuela

Brazil

Peru

Spain

USA

Canada

Argentina

Uruguay

Moreno // — faction orientation = set line
but agreed

political: Chile: Moreno says its not a popular front because
it is a bloc w/ nat'l not imp.
section of bourgeoisie

Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency

In the document "Argentina and Bolivia—the Balance Sheet," which was submitted to the International Executive Committee at its plenum in December, 1972, the authors ended the section dealing with the current crisis in the Fourth International by proposing that an international tendency be organized to seek reversal of the guerrilla orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).

Some of the leaders of the Fourth International met in Santiago, Chile, March 5-8 to consider this suggestion concretely. After discussing the various problems that have arisen because of the crisis, they decided to undertake the responsibility of organizing such a tendency. They agreed on the following platform as a basis for appealing to the ranks of the Fourth International to intervene in an organized way in the struggle that has been conducted up to now on a leadership level among the sections.

Platform of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency

1. For approval of the general line of the document "Argentina and Bolivia—the Balance Sheet."

2. For reversal of the Latin American guerrilla-war orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).

3. For reversal of the projections of this turn in various fields as it became extended both geographically and programmatically following the congress.

4. For resumption by the leading bodies of the Fourth International of the method outlined in the Transitional Program to solve the problems we face in bidding for leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle.

5. For reaffirming the basic program, tradition, and practices of the Fourth International as they stood up to the time of the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress), that is, specifically, of commitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party. The more revolutionary the situation, the more decisive becomes the role of such a party.

6. For democratic organization of the coming world congress. In addition to representation, this means specifically the translation and distribution of the documents in at least French, Spanish, German, and English as well in advance of the congress so that the membership of the Fourth International can have adequate time to study, debate, and decide on them.

7. Against any moves that endanger the authority of the coming congress and the unity of the Fourth International such as undemocratic selection of delegates, curtailment of discussion, or failure to issue, translate, and distribute resolutions and other documents on schedule.

Membership Requirements

The basis for membership in the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency is agreement with the seven points of the above

platform. Membership in the tendency is open to anyone in agreement with the platform who is a member in good standing of a section or sympathizing group of the Fourth International. In accordance with the tradition of our movement, all those who join must take an open stand, informing the leadership of their section of their action.

Assessment of Crisis in Fourth International

Besides the platform, those present at the Santiago conference agreed on the following summary of the internal situation now facing the Fourth International:

At the plenum of the International Executive Committee held in December 1972, the comrades responsible for the guerrilla orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress) made it clear that they do not intend to rectify this erroneous course. Instead, even after hearing a detailed presentation by two leading Latin American comrades of the lessons of the past three years' experience in Argentina and Bolivia, they reaffirmed their course, making it one of the planks in their call for formation of an international tendency to defend their views.

Although this decision was anticipated, it is to be regretted. It marked a further deepening of the crisis over orientation and leadership that has been developing in our movement, for it recorded both the failure of these comrades to recognize the lessons of the events in Argentina and Bolivia and their intention to fight for approval of their course at the coming congress. They played down the disastrous consequences suffered by the official sections of the Fourth International in those countries. In place of backing away from the guerrilla orientation, they hailed it and deepened it. Now they propose to continue as if the test of events had validated their line. Should they succeed, this would mean assuring the political and organizational disintegration of other sections just as surely as it did in the cases of Argentina and Bolivia.

It is clear that the Fourth International now stands at a turning point.

On the broadest analyses made by our movement of the world situation as a whole over the past decade, both sides have found themselves in agreement in the main (with some significant differences in particular sectors and on particular issues). Yet a growing disparity has appeared in the conclusions the two sides have drawn on how the Fourth International should orient itself in certain concrete situations of key importance (Argentina, Britain, Spain, for instance). That is, in general, mounting differences have developed over how the International should handle its own forces *concretely* so as to expand and strengthen them organizationally and ideologically, exert the greatest possible influence in the class struggle, and advance the cause of the socialist revolution most effectively.

To explain and account for this growing gap between the broad analyses of world trends and the conclusions

to be drawn from them in practice in party building is now of crucial importance. Two major tendencies have crystallized in the Fourth International. They stand in opposition on a series of important questions. It is evident from this that one of them must have departed from the methods advanced by Lenin in his works and practice and summarized by Trotsky in the Transitional Program. Such a departure cannot help but more and more deeply affect the concrete political assessments made by the tendency at fault, thus opening the way to political deviations of either an ultraleft or opportunist nature or a combination of both. Differences as fundamental as this must be brought out so that the proper rectification can be made.

It is the existence of conflicting concepts on the methodological level (which includes party-building methods) that explains not only the development of opposing positions on the guerrilla orientation, but to a large degree the development of differences of varying sharpness on various other important questions, such as the nature and role of the Maoist variety of Stalinism, party-building orientation not only for the sections in Latin America and Europe but elsewhere, construction of Marxist youth organizations, the historical balance sheet on "entryism sui generis," policies in the antiwar movement, and now the assessment of the Vietnam agreement and the nature and role of Stalinism in Vietnam.

The Fourth International cannot overcome its current crisis without bringing the differences involving method-

ology into the open and clearing them up.

The crisis of orientation and leadership in the Fourth International has been compounded by the insistence of some of the comrades of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency that the discussion must be terminated at this point, that we must proceed to a world congress without further delay even if all the documents already submitted and the important ones to come (including resolutions!) have not been made available in translations, that we must resolve the differences—if only temporarily—by organizational measures; that is, by imposing greater international centralization on our movement at this juncture. Instead of ending the crisis, this "solution" would assure its becoming explosive, for it would signify staging an undemocratic congress lacking any real authority.

A preferable course would be to postpone the congress until the nature of the crisis we face has been more clearly defined, the issues at the bottom of the dispute have been fully clarified, the documents have been published, translated, and disseminated, and the ranks have had full opportunity to discuss them and make their own contributions.

One of the immediate objectives of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency, besides doing everything possible to facilitate the preparations for the coming congress, will be to mobilize rank-and-file sentiment in favor of this wiser alternative.

The initial signers of this document are given below. Others are urged to add their names.

Argentina:	Alberto, Arturo, Capa, Elias, Fierre, Lorenzo, Marcela, Mario, Nora, Pedro	Iran:	Ahmad Heydari, Cyrus Paydar
Australia:	Dave Holmes, Col Maynard, Jim Percy	New Zealand:	George Fyson, Kay Goodger, Russell Johnson, Keith Locke
Brazil:	Antenor, Javier	Peru:	Hugo Blanco, Tito, Tuco
Britain:	Alan Harris, Connie Harris, John Roberts, Tony Roberts, Arthur Stewart	Spain:	Carlos, Carmen, Hugo, Salvador, Trude
Canada:	Alain Beiner, Ruth Bullock, Al Cappe, Joan Newbigging, John Riddell, Ernie Tate, Art Young	United States:	Jack Barnes, Peter Camejo, Fred Halstead, Joseph Hansen, Gus Horowitz, Caroline Lund, Art Sharon, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Tony Thomas, Mary-Alice Waters
Chile:	Juan Pérez	Uruguay:	Juan, Juan Carlos, Sylvia
China:	Chen Pi-lan, Peng Shu-tse	Venezuela:	Antonio, L. David, Miguel Fuentes, Inés
India:	Kailas Chandra, Mohan Gan		

New York
March 19, 1973

Dear Magan,

I hope that you received my letter of February 10 describing the meeting that was scheduled to take place in Santiago, Chile. Just in case you may not have received it, I enclose a photocopy.

The meeting was held in Santiago, and it was very successful. A thorough discussion was held, and the comrades present came to general agreement on the political questions facing the world Trotskyist movement that they discussed. Further documents will be written and further discussions will have to take place in the tendency of course, but this was a good beginning.

Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, the USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. They agreed to establish the center of the tendency in New York. They also agreed to issue a platform and to solicit the signatures of other leading comrades to this platform. It can then be published in the internal bulletin and can be circulated to the entire international. The goal is to ~~be~~ publish it at the earliest possible opportunity -- within a few days after you receive this letter, if possible.

Would you and other leading comrades agree to sign the tendency platform (a copy is enclosed)? I suggest that between 2-4 names from India would be appropriate. In order for us to circulate the platform quickly, we need to know the names of the comrades from India who will sign. Please send a telegram to me indicating who these names will be (indicate the ~~names~~ pseudonyms only, if pseudonyms will be used).

Comradely greetings,

Gus

cc. Kolpe

New York
March 19, 1973

George Fyson
New Zealand

Dear George,

This is a followup letter to my previous letter of February 13, which took up the current situation in the Fourth International and outlined the plans for a meeting in Santiago, Chile to launch our tendency.

The meeting took place and was very successful. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, the USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. A thorough discussion was held and the comrades came to ~~mutual~~ agreement on the draft of ~~of~~ a platform of the tendency. A copy is enclosed.

The goal is now to obtain the signatures of leading comrades throughout the world to this platform and declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency. It can then be published in the internal bulletin and circulated throughout the international.

It would be very important to have the signatures of leading comrades from New Zealand. I assume that you have already given some thought to this question, based upon the projections outlined in my previous letter. We would like to get the statement published very quickly, so please ~~x~~ call or send a telegram to let us know who will sign from New Zealand. Most places which sign will probably be represented by 2-4 names, so that can be ~~xxxx~~ taken into consideration.

The Santiago meeting designated New York to be the center for tendency correspondence, so you can write here on any matters relevant to the tendency.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

New York

March 20, 1973

DENMARK

Dear Torben,

The Blanco-Hansen-Moreno tendency called a meeting in Santiago, Chile a couple of weeks ago of some of the leaders of the Fourth International who have indicated support of the call for a tendency contained in the document Argentina and Bolivia: A Balance Sheet. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil and Uruguay. They agreed to issue a declaration which establishes clearly the platform on which the "Leninist-Trotskyist" tendency is to be formed.

I have enclosed that declaration for your information. It will be published in the International Internal Bulletin with a preliminary list of endorsers from about 15 countries. If you feel that you agree with the platform and declaration and wish to have your name added you should send us a telegram because the declaration will go to the printer in about a week. Of course, you may want to hold off till later or may not completely agree with the proposed platform.

There has unfortunately been a substantial delay in the response to the European resolution that Mary-Alice Waters was preparing. She was interrupted by the Latin American conference and has only now finished her draft. It went to the printers yesterday and I will mail you a copy as soon as it comes off the press. I think you will find it very interesting. It takes up some of the points we discussed and many others.

Because of the conference in Latin America I had the fortunate experience of being in Argentina during the last part of the election campaign.

The growth of the PST is truly phenomenal. As a result of the election campaign, everyone in Argentina knows of the PST as a party based in the working class. The comrades have organized groups in hundreds of factories today. In almost every strike the Party is present. During the three months of the election campaign the party accepted as applicants more than 1,500 new members. With the opening of the campaign the party stopped recruiting so that it could have time to test these requesting membership. Of those requesting to join only those who became active and showed serious interest were allowed to become applicant members. Now that

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the campaign is over they will begin to selectively pass the best of these to full membership. We are not in a new qualitative situation in Argentina. The rise of a Peronist government can lead to a conjunctural decline for us but in the long run can open the possibility of the PST becoming a mass party.

I hope to be in Europe again soon and will try to visit you so I can give you and the other comrades a first-hand report.

Comradely,

Peter

enc.

March 21, 1973

Dear Comrade Galatis,

I hope that you received Joseph Hansen's letter of February 10, 1973 and his enclosure of the letter he wrote to Comrade Bala Tampoe.

Since then, the authors of the document, "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet," comrades Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo, and Moreno, called together a meeting that was held in Santiago, Chile. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. A thorough discussion was held, and the comrades came to agreement on the draft of a declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. A copy is enclosed.

The goal is now to obtain the signatures of leading comrades throughout the world to this declaration. It can then be published in the international internal discussion bulletin and circulated to the entire world movement. Comrades from about 15 different countries will sign this declaration.

Are you willing to add your signature to the declaration? If so, please inform me or Joseph Hansen. Please do so by telegram, if possible, because it is scheduled for publication very shortly.

Yours fraternally,

Gus Horowitz

Jus

14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
March 21, 1973

To Alan Harris, Connie Harris, John Roberts,
Tony Roberts, Arthur Stewart

Dear Comrades,

On March 5-8 a conference was held in Santiago, Chile, attended by a number of comrades supporting the call for the formation of an international tendency as outlined at the end of the document "Bolivia and Argentina -- a Balance Sheet." Comrades were present from Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Canada and the United States.

The meeting adopted the enclosed platform and declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. It was decided to circulate the statement to leading comrades who were unable to attend the Santiago meeting, so that they can add their signatures to the statement before it appears in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.

From our previous discussions, and from Sabina's letter of February 18 to the authors of the document "Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet" we assume that you will want your names added as supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. It would be appropriate for the five of you to sign, since all of you are either members of the IMG National Committee, the United Secretariat or the International Control Commission. The initial signers of the declaration will include a similar list of comrades from about 15 sections or sympathizing groups.

The tendency platform and declaration will be published in the bulletin as rapidly as we can receive confirmation of names from the initial signers, so we would appreciate a reply by telegram or phone.

The Santiago conference also decided to set up a tendency secretariat to function out of New York from now until the next conference of the international tendency, scheduled for the end of July in North America. We hope you can attend. The tentative idea is that it would be just prior to the SWP convention and educational week. As you know, the world congress is tentatively scheduled for the beginning of September.

One or more of the comrades who attended the Santiago conference will be in London in the next couple of weeks and we can give you a fuller report then. In the meantime, please let us know about the the signatures as rapidly as possible.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter Joe sent to Bala Tampoe prior to the Santiago conference.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice