

October 25, 1974

TO THE LENINIST TROTSKYIST FACTION STEERING COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are the following items:

1. A report by Celso on the October 12-13 meeting of the United Secretariat.
2. A report by Joe Hansen on a United Secretariat meeting with the OCI.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice Waters

REPORT ON MEETING OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT, OCTOBER 12-13, 1974,
by Celso

Several important things occurred at the October United Secretariat meeting.

1. Informal leadership discussion. The leadership of the IMT agreed that the lack of a parity commission made it more difficult to organize secretariat meetings and discussion. They agreed to have informal "bull sessions" before United Secretariat meetings to play the role the parity commission played prior to the last world congress. Walter, Georges, Duret, Celso, Pepe and Johnson met before the secretariat meeting to discuss the agenda and problems that might arise. It was very helpful for organizing the discussion. It was agreed to regularly hold these meetings before and after each United Secretariat meeting.

2. IEC meeting. We reached agreement on the proposals Celso made at the United Secretariat meeting. This includes placing Argentina on the IEC agenda; postponing the IEC to the end of January or beginning of February to better prepare the discussion; drawing up a first draft of a document on the world economic situation (to be done by Walter) before the end of November to see if it is possible to have a common document; setting up a financial pool like the one before the last IEC meeting so comrades from colonial and semicolonial countries can attend. It was agreed that Thérèse and Jens will draw up tentative quotas to equalize the costs of attending the IEC meeting.

Capa gave an extensive report on Argentina to the United Secretariat and has agreed to draft the report to be given by the LTF at the IEC. This draft will be ready for discussion at the upcoming meeting of the LTF coordinating committee.

3. Public IMT reply to EST statement. No mention was made at the secretariat meeting or in informal gatherings of the reply to the statement of the PST that had been decided on by the IMT at the last secretariat meeting. It was not clear whether they have not yet drafted the document or whether they are having second thoughts about carrying on the debate in public.

4. Statement on Miguel Enriquez. The LTF comrades abstained on the statement because it was not distributed before the meeting and it was only prepared in French so we did not have a chance to study it. We have not yet received the statement, but we will publish it as soon as it is received.

5. IMT nominations to the IEC. Enclosed is the list of IMT IEC nominees given to us by Walter following the United Secretariat meeting. We agreed to hold open a space for the Greek section to elect a member to the IEC. The IMT agreed to relinquish one of the slots for their consultative members so this could be done.

October 23, 1974

IMT IEC members

Aubin (France)
Fourier (France)
Roman (France)
Georges (France)
Ségur (France)
Thinville (France)
Ghulam (Britain)
Jones (Britain)
Ned (Britain)
Petersen (Britain)
Kurt (Germany)
Mintoff (Germany)
Livio (Italy)
Fedeli (Italy)
Rudi (Belgium)
Walter (Belgium)
Carl (Switzerland)
Duret (Switzerland)
Jens (Sweden)
Tom (Sweden)
Huarte (Bolivia)
Roca (Bolivia)
Valdes (Chile)
Mikado (Israel)
Jaber (Lebanon)
Hovis (USA)
Philip (Antilles)

IMT IEC alternates

- (1) Domingo (France)
- (2) Vergeat (France)
- (3) Brewster (Britain)
- (4) Moss (USA)
- (5) Fred (Austria)
- (6) Alfonso (Italy)
- (7) Mogens (Denmark)
- (8) Metz (Luxemburg)
- (9) Sylvia (Germany)
- (10) Hugo (Holland)
- (11) O'Leary (Ireland)
- (12) Carlos (Columbia)

IMT IEC consultatives

Enrique (Spain)
Jesus (Spain)
Jaime (Spain)
Toni (Spain)
Miguel (Mexico)
Ricardo (Mexico)
Saul (Argentina)
Claude (RMG/GMR Canada)
Jim (RMG/GMR Canada)
Alva (Australia)
Tom (South Africa)
Josef (Luxemburg)
Penta (Austria)
Torben (Denmark)
Tim (Ireland)
Hans (Holland)
Franz (Germany)
Philippe (Belgium)
Sven (Sweden)
Jeremy (Great-Britain)
Anna (Brasil)
Saïd (Palestine)
Guillaume (Switzerland)
Roger (Switzerland)
Jean (France)
Pierre (France)
Maline (France)
Jules (France)
Simon (Italie)
Jean (Antilles)

Open

Greece

MINUTES UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING

October 12-13, 1974

Present: Claudio, Crandall, Duret, Fourier, Georges, Jens, Johnson, Jones, Karl, Marcel, Pepe, Roman, Rudi, Walter, Williams.

IEC present: Celso, Franz, Capa, Ned, Thérèse

Control Commission present: Andersson, Tantalus

Chair: Rudi

Meeting convened 2:20 p.m.

Agenda

1. World Economic Development
2. British elections
3. India
4. Portugal
5. Greece
6. Frankfurt meeting of the third tendencies
7. Italy
8. Argentina
9. Hong Kong
10. United Secretariat declarations
11. I.E.C. Plenum
12. Finances
13. Bureau report
14. Miscellaneous

1. World Economic Development

Walter reported.

Discussion: Karl, Celso, Fourier

2. British elections

Jones reported.

3. India

Walter reported on his discussions with the comrades and the request of the comrades for 1) a United Secretariat appeal for the Naxalite political prisoners, and 2) special help.

Discussion: Thérèse, Walter, Celso, Walter

Motion by Walter:

To empower the Bureau to send a circular letter to the sections asking them to publicize new material available on left wing political prisoners and their maltreatment in India and to request a draft of a statement in defense of the Naxalite political prisoners from the Indian section.

Carried unanimously.

Further discussion: Pepe, Walter, Pepe, Walter, Fourier, Thérèse, Claudio, Celso, Walter, Roman, Pepe, Celso

2.

Agreed to refer the question of special help to the next United Secretariat meeting.

4. Portugal

Claudio reported on the activity of the sympathizing organization.

Discussion: Capa, Walter, Capa, Thérèse, Celso, Claudio, Capa, Jones

Claudio begins discussion of the meaning of the removal of Spinola and perspectives.

Discussion: Walter, Capa, Claudio

Agreed to continue at later meeting.

5. Greece

Johnson reports on visit with section and on the activity of the section. Vergeat was unable to make it.

Discussion: Claudio, Pepe, Johnson, Celso, Johnson

Agreed in response to request by section that Johnson and Vergeat would go to Greece and meet with section leadership on question of relations with various groupings outside section claiming adherence to FI.

6. Frankfurt meeting of the third tendencies

Claudio begins discussion on the attendance of a member of the Permanent Revolution group from Naples at this meeting.

Motion by Claudio.

To adopt the following statement:

In response to the question posed by the Political Bureau of the Italian section concerning participation in a meeting of comrades belonging to national tendencies in different sections, the United Secretariat notes that any participation in such tendency or faction meetings by comrades who do not belong to a section or sympathizing organization is a violation of the basic norms of the International.

Discussion: Karl, Capa, Thérèse, Celso, Georges, Claudio, Georges, Walter, Karl, Walter, Jens, Claudio, Karl, Fourier

Vote on motion by Claudio

For -- 5 (Claudio, Fourier, Jens, Jones, Walter)

Against -- 0

Abstaining -- 4 (Georges, Karl, Pepe, Rudi)

Not voting -- 4 (Crandall, Johnson, Roman, Williams)

No vote recorded for Duret and Marcel

3.

Further discussion: Capa, Karl

Recess for dinner 7:15 p.m.

Reconvene 9:15 p.m.

6. Italy

Claudio begins discussion on letter appealing disciplinary actions [see attached]

Discussion: Karl, Celso, Claudio, Capa, Walter, Williams, Claudio, Fourier, Walter, Celso, Capa, Walter, Celso, Jones, Fourier, Karl

Motion by Karl

1. The United Secretariat urges the International Control Commission to investigate the expulsion of Comrade Vito and report to the next IEC.
2. The United Secretariat recommends to the Italian leadership that it review the expulsion of Comrade Vito at the next meeting of the Central Committee in light of the discussion here and in the best interests of the international with the understanding that Vito recognizes the discipline of the elected bodies, including the local control commission, provided for in the Italian statutes.

Further discussion: Claudio, Jones, Thérèse, Karl, Claudio, Walter, Pepe, Jones, Johnson, Celso, Walter, Jones, Claudio, Karl, Fourier, Jones, Claudio, Georges, Karl, Roman, Celso, Walter.

Motion by Walter.

To table a vote on Karl's motion to request the international control commission investigation until the next United Secretariat meeting in order to receive a formal reply from the leadership of the Italian section.

Further discussion: Pepe, Jones, Claudio, Capa, Williams

Motion by Roman

To table a vote on Karl's second motion to the next U.S. meeting.

Roman motion carried 8 for (Claudio, Fourier, Jens, Walter, Georges, Duret, Roman, Rudi) 7 against (Jones, Karl, Pepe, Williams, Crandall, Johnson, Marcel)

Walter motion carried 8 for (Claudio, Fourier, Jens, Walter, Georges, Duret, Roman, Rudi) 7 against (Jones, Karl, Pepe, Williams, Crandall, Johnson, Marcel)

Further discussion: Karl, Fourier, Walter, Celso, Karl

8. Argentina

Capa reported on the political situation in Argentina

4.

Recess 1:30 a.m.

Reconvene Sunday 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Georges

Agreed on the following time schedule for the remaining items on the agenda: Argentina 1½ hours, Hong Kong ½ hour, IEC ½ hour, US declarations 15 minutes, Bureau report 15 minutes.

Argentina (continued)

Discussion: Walter, Capa, Walter, Capa, Georges, Fourier, Celso, Jones, Capa

9. Hong Kong

Roman reported on his view of the situation with the comrades there.

Discussion: Walter, Thérèse, Roman, Fourier, Walter, Celso, Walter, Celso, Walter, Celso

Motion by Celso

To send comrades S. and S. together to H.K. as soon as they can arrange it as representatives of the United Secretariat to discuss with the comrades there the implementation of the Nine Points adopted by the last world congress of the F.I. with special attention to the point that states: "That in those countries where two or more groups exist because of splits or other reasons, the united moral authority of the Fourth International be brought to bear for the earliest possible fusion of the groups on a principled basis."

Carried unanimously.

10. United Secretariat declarations

a. Walter reported on the need for a statement on Guinea Bissau

Discussion: Celso, Walter, Roman, Celso, Walter

Motion by Walter

To instruct the bureau to write an editorial for Inprecor on the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Guinea Bissau including a message to the toiling masses of that country on behalf of the Fourth International.

Carried unanimously

b. Walter read a statement on the murder of Enriquez. [not received yet]

Discussion: Jones, Walter, Jones, Walter, Capa

Motion by Walter

To adopt the statement

5.

Carried -- 8 for; 0 against; 4 abstaining (Johnson, Marcel, Crandall, Williams)

11. I.E.C. Plenum

Motion by Celso

1. To add the Political Situation in Argentina to the IEC agenda
2. To establish a travel pool to equalize travel costs to the IEC taking into account the size of sections and the standard of living of each country.
3. To have a target date of the end of November for the circulation of a draft document on the world economic development.
4. To hold the IEC the last week of January (between Jan. 24 and 31)

Discussion: Walter, Fourier, Karl, Walter, Karl, Fourier, Karl, Walter

Motion carried unanimously.

12. Bureau report

- a. Walter reported on speaking trip to Australia.
- b. Walter reported on a speaking trip to Holland

13. Miscellaneous

- a. Jens reported on a conference of the Finnish Trotskyist group and their request to the United Secretariat to work with us informally as a sympathizing organization
- b. Georges reported the dates of the East European Commission meeting
- c. Walter reported that no reply had been received yet from the Iranian comrades.
- d. Duret reported the change in dates of the European political bureau meeting to October 25 and 26.
3. Celso reported that the world congress counter report on Armed Struggle in Latin America by Joe Hansen was printed in Quatrième Internationale without the first paragraph. Agreed to instruct the editorial board to reprint the entire report in the next issue of QI.
- f. Celso proposes that the PST and IMT each select an equal number of pages on the IIDB no. 2 on Argentina.

Discussion: Walter, Capa

Agreed with the proviso that the Avanzada Socialista editorial on the supposed document of the 8 not be counted against the space of either side.

- g. Celso reports on Lambertists. Lambertists came to SWP Leadership and asked for a meeting. Celso and Galois met

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with Aubin who was visiting the U.S. at the time and related the OCI proposal to him. Aubin proposed that best delegation to probe this request of Lambertists would be one that includes French IMT leader. This would eliminate possible misunderstandings. Celso and Galois agreed with this proposal. Walter, Georges, Duret, Celso, Pepe, and Johnson discussed this informally prior to the Secretariat meeting and agreed with Aubin's proposal.

Two points should be noted: 1. In rush of world congress preparations, letter drafted by Secretariat in response to second letter from Lambertists was never sent. We will apologize for this. 2. It is clear that Lambertists have gained access to international bulletins of FI and Central Committee bulletins of French section. Thus it would be good to exchange bulletins with them to see what kind of discussion is going on in their organization and bring publication and distribution of internal material on both sides under control if possible.

Will call Lambertists tomorrow to suggest delegation proposed by Aubin and see if they want to go ahead with meeting.

Dates set for December 21-22 United Secretariat meeting

Meeting adjourned 3:00 p.m.

Attachment

COPY

To the United Secretary and September 23, 1974
to the International Executive Committee

(copies to Kompass, LTF, IMT)

Dear comrades,

With this letter we appeal against a decision taken by the majority of the Central Committee of the GCR (Italian section of the F.I.). Comrade Vito, one of the oldest trotskists of the Italian section and one of the best known workers leaders has been expelled from our organization because of the political positions he defends (those of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency). The decision is extremely serious - maybe the most serious one among the administrative measures taken by the majority of the leadership of the GCR in the last years, with heavy repercussions at the level of working class in the city of Turin.

The comrades already know the case of Vito since few months ago we had already called their attention on the political persecution to which this comrade was submitted and on the odious measure adopted against him because of his work in the trade union. To the appeal against the suspension which we sent to the US on March eleventh 1974 the US has never answered and comrade Livio has never given any information on the subject. The lack of answer on the side of the US has favoured the continuation of the campaign of political persecution against comrade Vito who today is excluded from the Italian section of the Fourth International.

On the Vito case (which we think it would be considered in its totality and not on single issues) very few written materials exist inside the Italian section. In our section, as the comrades should know, we do not write minutes of any kind and there is an ancient habit of answering verbally to the letters of the comrades. The only written material to which the members of the US can refer in order to have some informations on the Vito case are 7-8 long letters written by Vito or by the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, some very short letters for convocation from the Control Commission of Turin (included the last one where in five lines comrade Vito is told of having violated article 22 of the statute and of being expelled) and an internal bulletin of the section where has been published an appeal by Vito on the suspension and the answer of the Central Committee. This bulletin however has not been distributed to the militants as a normal bulletin, it has been sent in very few copies in the big cities - one in Rome, for example - and none in some small cities. This bulletin, actually is very difficult to find for the rank and file. We have, anyway a photocopy of it and if the US needs it we'll send it. These are the only material which in our knowledge exist on the Vito case. Let's look now at the facts.

Comrade Vito is a member of the Italian section since 1963. As a loyal and disciplined militant he has contributed in 1968 to limit the effects of the split which destroyed our organiza-

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tion. In the city of Turin he fought very hard against some of the leaders of that time who wanted to dissolve the section, while moving on maoist and spontaneist positions. Vito was one of the very few comrades who survived to the crisis in the city of Turin where together with comrade Rienzi (Gambino) he started once again the work for the rebuilding of the branch destroyed by the crisis. In the factory where he worked (Nebiolo) comrade Vito became a very well-known trade union and political leader during the struggles of the end of the years sixties, recruiting some workers of his factory to the Fourth International. One of these workers is still today a trotskist militant in the factory and a member of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency. Being known in the whole trade union as a member of the Fourth International, comrade Vito was elected in 1969 to the Central Committee of the FIOM (the most important and the most dynamical trade-union in Italy) because of his mass influence in the factory and outside. The only relevant experiences of work for a revolutionary trade union tendency done by the Italian section in 1971-72 have seen comrade Vito as the main actor, thanks to his long experience of trade-union activity.

In June of 1972 comrade Vito (together with Giulio Sapelli, an ex-leader of the Communist Party in Turin, an historian of the workers movement, who went away from the Fourth International in circumstances which are not very clear yet) presented a document, quite long and of a general character in which he outlined some critical positions toward the Italian leadership and made some alternative proposals for the building of the party in Italy, very similar in the substance to those expressed one year afterward by the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (only in recent times we got to know the existence of this important document). After the publication of the document and after the beginning of the political discussion in the city of Turin things start to go very bad for comrade Vito who at that time was a member of the branch leadership, a member of the Central Committee and a member of the National Worker Commission.

In the same year 1972 comrade Vito was fired from his factory as a political reprisal, together with another left-wing worker. The FIOM was obliged to offer him a work, as it is the habit in the Italian trade-unions, asking him for a certain time to be a trade-union organizer in one of the FIAT factories of Turin and in the territorial League to which this and other factories belonged. This could have been a good chance for an organization interested in building a revolutionary tendency in the trade unions. But this was not the line of the GCR (as it is not yet today) and so the presence and the struggle of Vito against the reformists in the factory (the CP, mostly) has remained as a personal question, without any political covering on the side of the organization who assigned Vito to the cell of another factory.

At the beginning of 1973 Vito lost his oppositional battle in the branch of Turin - he and other comrades lost the majority, thanks also to the help of members of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee who were transferred to that city - and had to leave the leadership of the branch. In September of 1973, when the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency was formed comrade

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Vito adhered at one and at the national congress presented a countereport on the IMT European document. In the atmosphere of strong factionalism created by Livio M. in that congress of 1973 and through a whole series of personal attacks against the representatives of the RMT, the delegates of the Italian section were persuaded by Livio's proposal of not giving the proportional representation to the Tendency (against our statute and above all against our tradition). To the RMT as such was left only one CC member and Vito was excluded from the Central Committee. The Central Committee took the decision afterward of not including comrade Vito in the National Worker Commission.

Between 1973 and 1974 a process was done against comrade Vito in order to obtain his resignation from the trade-union work, on the very weak reason that our organisation is too small for having functionaires in the trade union and it would inevitably receive the political pressions of the bureaucracy: the majority has always admitted that this was not yet the case of Vito, but that the possibility existed and therefore the comrade had to leave the work in the trade union, look for any other job, or otherwise go away from the Fourth International. Of course there was also a very strong refusal of taking Vito as a functionary of the organisation, even for a short time. Vito was willing to leave the trade union work for discipline, but wanted some time to find a factory, where they would accept him, a factory where he could do some political work. The Italian majority did not want to wait and suspended him for six months, or at least until he would resign from the trade union. The appeal to the US on this unbelievable procedure has never been answered.

In July, four months after the suspension comrade Vito finally found a job in a factory quite interesting for the possibilities of doing political work and has abandoned the job in the trade-union, without loosing his place in the leading bodies of the FLM (the United metalworkers union). When he thought he could go back automatically in the section, comrade Vito discovered of having been expelled by a local control commission elected in a big rush at the end of June to study his case, after an inquiry which lasted 15-20 days (as it is required by the statute). Comrade Vito, being suspended from the organization was free of not taking in account a control commission ad hoc elected without his participation in the election and in the discussion. However comrade Vito took the thing seriously and after having received the first convocation of this commission ad hoc, wrote at once to the National Control Commission and to the Central Committee asking for some guarantees of internal democracy fearing that such a procedure might lead only to very negative conclusions (it is enough to think that comrade Vito has been expelled by the cell to which he belonged before the suspension and not by the branch assembly as it is clearly stated in the statute).

The Central Committee who met at the end of July without the participation for technical reasons of the member of the RMT has not taken in account the letters and the appeal from Vito, in the full knowledge that the cell in Turin had already decided the expulsion of the comrade, in open violation of the statute. The reason for the expulsion is the verbal intervention done by

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Vito in a meeting of the Turin branch in the local headquarters, opened to sympathizers, on the French election; in this meeting Vito expressed his personal opinion on Mitterand (being suspended he could not know the opinion of the Central Committee) and criticized some of the statements of the reporter: for instance on the question of an imminent third world war - a position which has been abandoned since a long time by the trotskist movement. All these, of course, are just suppositions since the only written statement that we know from the local control commission is that in the meeting Vito has violated article 22 of the statute. That's all.

The Central Committee of the 22 of September has confirmed with a majority the decision of the cell of Turin with three votes against and one abstained, stating that the refusal by Vito of recognizing the local control commission elected ad hoc after his suspension is worse than the intervention in the meeting in the local headquarters of Turin. The Central Committee has refused to discuss the political consequences of this decision for what regards 1) the working class of Turin where Vito is known as an old militant of the Fourth International, 2) the use that the bureaucracy can do of this question, 3) the relations with the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of which Vito was one of the main representatives. But, since in the same meeting of the Central committee it has been opened a national inquiry on the RMT on a long list of issues, which are mainly inexistent and partly just a pretext, the orientation of the Italian majority appears quite clear. Only the US and the next IEC meeting to which this appeal should be presented, can stop the Italian majority from making other mistakes. The measure taken against Vito must be withdrawn and the comrade must be "rehabilitated".

Communist greetings

for the Revolutionary Marxist Tend.
Roberto

UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING WITH OCI

By Joe Hansen

On October 15, a delegation consisting of representatives of the LSA/LSO and the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire, and observers of the SWP met with a delegation from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

The OCI had approached the SWP several weeks previously with a request for a meeting. The SWP responded by referring the matter to the United Secretariat. After discussing the possible ramifications, the United Secretariat decided it was advisable to hold the meeting.

At the meeting of the two delegations, Pierre Lambert, speaking for the OCI, explained that they were acquainted with the internal discussion that has developed in the sections and sympathizing organizations adhering to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and would like to participate in it. They had decided to ask the United Secretariat for this more than a year and a half ago but had been rebuffed. They tried again about a year ago but had not received a reply to their letter.

Lambert went into the history of the OCI at some length, dwelling especially on the 1951-52 period when they were victims of an organizational intervention by the International Secretariat that violated the principles of democratic centralism. He also dwelt on the reasons for the OCI's refusal to participate in the 1963 reunification.

The situation has now changed, he said. The discussion they had insisted upon as a necessary prerequisite to the 1963 reunification was finally being conducted.

Lambert stated that they would abide by the discipline of the United Secretariat in handling contributions to the discussion.

The United Secretariat delegation responded by apologizing for the slip-up that had occurred in not answering the letter of the OCI, which had actually been discussed in the United Secretariat. An answer had been proposed in the sense that for the time being -- on the eve of a world congress -- it was not possible to bring the OCI into the internal discussion but at a later time an approach by the OCI could be reconsidered.

As for the current proposal, it would have to be taken up by the United Secretariat and the delegation would report back to that body.

The first requisite would, of course, have to be an exploration of the areas of agreement and disagreement. The differences and their depth would have to be carefully examined.

Meanwhile it would be useful in determining these questions if internal bulletins could be exchanged.

Also consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing fraternal collaboration in certain areas such as

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exchange of information or engagement in propaganda work in Eastern Europe. Possibly fields in the class struggle could be found where joint efforts would be mutually profitable.

The OCI agreed on these proposals. They also stated that in exchanging internal bulletins they would not publish material as they had in the past (from bulletins obtained through their own resources) but would abide by whatever rules the United Secretariat decided on.

During the conversation, the OCI indicated the size of their forces in countries other than France, where they are the strongest. They made no boasts. Their report jibed with our own estimates.

The OCI also explained the principled nature of their split from the groupings headed by Healy. In one respect, they said, the split was unfortunate as the former SLL (now the WRP) has many worker militants in its ranks who have not yet had a close experience with Healy's methods and who might be lost to Trotskyism altogether when they do gain that experience without knowing that there are alternatives to Healyism.

* * *

What is behind this initiative taken by the OCI? It could be a mere attempt to fish in troubled waters in hope of making some quick gains in the way of recruits. Another possibility is that they are looking for ways to throw weight toward one side or the other in the current dispute in the international with the aim of giving impetus to whatever movement there may be toward a split.

It is more likely, however, that the OCI has taken a longer range view. Since their split with Healy, they have undoubtedly felt quite isolated on an international scale. The disillusionment over Healy's policies may have led them to take another look at the United Secretariat and its associated forces. An additional element was that the split with Healy coincided with a deepening discussion in the Fourth International that was attractive in itself because of the seriousness of the issues. The depth of the differences and the formation of tendencies and factions may also have been seen by the OCI as offering hope that they could be included as a recognized international tendency in the Fourth International. In the new situation they need not fear a repetition of what was done to them by Pablo in 1952.

Whatever their reasons, their move testifies to the pulling power of the Fourth International.

In our opinion, little is risked by responding in a fraternal way to the OCI. No immediate commitment is required other than careful exploration of the differences, their depth, and the possibility of a fruitful exchange of opinion. If nothing but an unprincipled maneuver is involved, this will become self-evident in short order -- to the discredit of the OCI.

October 24, 1974