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94 Welles Avenue
Dorchester, Mass. 02124
May 15, 1972

Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party
New York, New York

Dear Comrades,

This letter is to inform you of the formation of the Leninist Faction of the SWP. The Declaration of the Leninist Faction is enclosed.

We would like you to inform all party branches of the formation of this faction and its declaration.

Please publish the declaration in the next internal information bulletin.

Comradely,

Barbara Gregorich

Barbara Gregorich
For the Leninist Faction

May 15, 1972

DECLARATION OF LENINIST FACTION

1. As Trotskyists we are first and foremost proletarian internationalists. Today, though, we see not one single, homogeneous Fourth International (World Party of Socialist Revolution), but five separate international groups all claiming to be either the Fourth International itself, or separate "factions" of it. The shattering of the Fourth International originally constructed by Trotsky, Cannon, Sedov, Klement, and others had its basis in the isolation from the working masses after World War II, and the methodology and positions adopted at the Third World Congress in 1951.

At the Third World Congress, adaptation to non-revolutionary currents took place, which resulted in the adoption of positions which negated the need for the Leninist vanguard party. These positions, based on impressionism and empiricism, were not decisively fought at the time of the 1952-53 split nor during the reunification of 1963. The result is that they still exist within the United Secretariat today.

2. The majority of the United Secretariat is currently adapting to peasant forces in Latin America, while the Canadian led minority (with fraternal SWP support) seeks to adapt to petty bourgeois and new middle class sectors. Neither strategy sees the industrial working class as the key to the revolution. Therefore, in the current dispute within the United Secretariat, we can support neither side.

Other international groupings have fared no better. About the International Secretariat of Posadas with its call for a nuclear first strike by the Soviet Union, or the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of Pablo with its deep entry in the Australian Communist Party, little need be said. The International Committee, led by G. Healy, can be characterized as both sectarian and opportunist, or, "sectarians afraid of their own opportunism," with outright reactionary positions on such issues as women's liberation.

3. Errors similar to those of the United Secretariat are found within the current program of our party, the Socialist Workers Party.

4. The declaration that the Cuban Revolution had produced a healthy workers state without the intervention of the vanguard Leninist (i.e., Trotskyist) party represented a political denial of the need for such a party. This denial is outright political liquidationism.

We declare that the current Cuban state is a deformed workers state and has been so from the very instant of its existence. In order for Cuba to become a healthy workers state, a political revolution is required just as in the degenerated workers state of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states such as China and the Eastern European states. Such a political revolution has as its most important task the establishment of institutionalized forms of workers democracy and the political destruction of the Stalinist theories of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence.

5. The party majority has come more and more to base its program on bourgeois ideologies (such as nationalism and feminism) within the workers' movement. While we support the liberation of women and of the various national, ethnic, and racial groups oppressed by U.S. capitalism, we believe that such liberation will only be achieved by a successful proletarian revolution within the United States. To this end, Marxism must be counterposed to feminism and nationalism. While the party's current feminist politics imply that women-as-women can end their oppression, and its nationalist politics imply that nations-as-nations can end national oppression, we say that this is a poly-vanguardist approach. Only the working class, organized as a class and led by the vanguard party can liberate all humanity. Consequently, our most important task is to further the development of class consciousness which will link all sectors of the working class in a common struggle against the oppression that the various groups within the class currently face. We do not simply oppose such ideologies as feminism and nationalism. Rather, the nationalists and feminists are conscious of their oppression, but with a false consciousness (i.e., an ideology). What is necessary is to utilize the strategy contained in The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International to destroy this false consciousness and replace it with its opposite by raising it to a qualitatively higher level--from bourgeois ideology to revolutionary class consciousness.

6. While we give unconditional support to the military battle being waged by the Vietnamese against United States imperialism, a revolutionary defense of the Vietnamese Revolution requires both its defense against the Stalinist bureaucracy as well as U.S. imperialism. Such a defense requires the preparation of the proletariat for its historic task of seizing state power. The party approaches the question of the war in a single-issue pacifist fashion. The party has not begun to build a mass movement that can defend the Vietnamese revolution, either from imperialism or its Stalinist misleadership. The majority sees no need to defend the Revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy currently in the leadership of the struggle. Having seen the bureaucracy sell out the interests of the Vietnamese workers in the past, we will see them continue to do so in the future, until the struggle there is led by the Leninist party. While the party press gives lip service to

the criminal attitude of the Chinese and Soviet workers' states toward the Vietnamese Revolution, we maintain that Stalinism is still ~~the~~ major obstacle in the workers movement to the international socialist revolution and must be thoroughly exposed and fought against at every step.

In trying to defend the Revolution against imperialism, the party blocs with one wing of U.S. imperialism in NPAC. The betrayals of such a course are precisely the betrayals that arose in the classical Popular Front. While the party should attend antiwar conferences and marches, it should fight to unite the working class around the banner of Leninism. It should have a position of revolutionary defeatism by making a clear, unambiguous call for the military victory of the DRVN, and NLF. It should take no organizational responsibility for NPAC and should oppose the idealistic single-issuism and class collaborationism that characterize it.

7. An integral part of the party's flight from a revolutionary working class program has been its flight from the working class itself. The party's line dictates a primary and almost exclusive orientation to the petty bourgeoisie, which is reflected in the party's overwhelmingly petty bourgeois composition. These two interacting factors, program and composition, lead the party directly away from revolutionary Marxism. We continue to call for a proletarian orientation, as outlined in For a Proletarian Orientation. However, we believe that the most important thing is not simply orienting to and becoming rooted in the working class, but doing that with the correct program. The party's energies must be primarily oriented to the working class and to building a Leninist party thoroughly proletarian in composition.

8. The current program of the SWP is sharply counterposed to the revolutionary heritage of the party and to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We announce the formation of the Leninist Faction of the SWP which shall fight to win the majority of the party to its program.

The Leninist Faction

14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
May 22, 1972

Barbara Gregorich
Boston

Dear Comrade Gregorich,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 15, 1972, to the Political Committee, and the Declaration of Leninist Faction. Before bringing your letter before the Political Committee, further clarification is needed from you.

The Declaration of Leninist Faction is signed simply "The Leninist Faction." Your letter is signed by you only, on behalf of the Leninist Faction. In the Declaration of Leninist Faction you state: "We continue to call for a proletariat orientation, as outlined in For a Proletarian Orientation." While this statement implies that the Leninist Faction has developed within the former Proletarian Orientation Tendency, it is not clear what the exact relation is between former Proletarian Orientation Tendency supporters and members of the Leninist Faction. Nor do you indicate in any other way who the members of the Leninist Faction are.

The party does not condone secret factions. What steps do you propose to take to inform the party of which party members are functioning as members of the Leninist Faction?

Comradely,

Barry Sheppard
National Organization
Secretary

cc: Dave Wulp
Larry Trainor

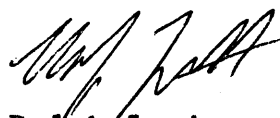
MAY 22 1972

May ¹⁹~~21~~, 1972

Dear Comrades,

I am writing this letter to inform you that I have requested a leave of absence from the Oakland/Berkeley branch from May 23 through May 31, 1972. For part of this period I will be in England and will be attending the IMG fusion conference as an observer.

Comradely,



Ralph Levitt
Oakland/Berkeley Branch