

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SWP:

The experience of the international working class has shown that the construction of a revolutionary party is the most difficult and complex of all problems facing the modern proletariat. No where in the world have the difficulties been more intense than in the United States.

U.S. imperialism, the super exploiter of the colonial masses, has been able to buy out important sections of the working class for the present. The historical development of this nation, founded on human slavery, has etched onto the fabric of American society, the hideous concepts of racial inferiority and has produced the division of the working class along racial lines. The victory of American imperialism in the Second World War, emerging as the only capitalist nation with its productive forces not destroyed, but greatly expanded, has led to the unique conjunctural situation of two decades of relative prosperity. All these factors have led to the dulling and lowering of the class consciousness of the working class as a whole.

These powerful objective forces have also had deadly repercussions within the party. One expression of this is the inability of the leadership to wage any resolute struggle against the middle class concepts propounded by the authors of The Triple Revolution. This is an example of their lack of faith in our class. As a consequence, the ranks of the party are infected with defeatism as far as the working class is concerned.

One energizing force that could have sustained a beleaguered revolutionary party during its isolation, was the assimilating of the lessons of the Chinese Revolution. But instead, this most important event of our time and the State that was created by the revolutionary masses are characterized as degenerate by the party. The leadership that led this revolution is considered counterrevolutionary and we blatantly call for its removal.

The theoretical disarmament of the SWP and its unwillingness to learn from the lessons of the revolution is revealed by the inability of the party and its international allies, or for that matter, any section of world Trotskyism, to merge with the momentous struggle being waged by the Chinese CP and its allies to regroup world Communism along revolutionary lines. The tragicomic YSA publications on the Vietnam War, presuming to instruct the NLF on how to win the revolution, all the while implying that the NLF, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse Tung are in the process of selling out the revolution, is crushing evidence of the SWP-YSA's inability to master Marxism-Leninism.

As for the tradition of Democratic Centralism in the party, it has to all real purposes been abandoned with the expulsions of the Robertson and Wohlforth tendencies. They were expelled from the party not for any violation of party discipline, but for their ideas. The further spectacle at the last convention of the key leaders of the party mounting the platform to beat back a rank and file rebellion of delegates who believed that the constitution of the SWP should be adhered to, that those expelled should have the right to appeal their expulsions, shows the complete demise of democratic centralism.

Expulsions have continued up to the present moment. Two comrades of the New York branch were expelled from the party several weeks ago because they did not believe that the SWP-YSA line at the Washington peace conference was correct. Trying to hold any serious working class elements in this unhealthy party atmosphere is impossible.

Never explained, never repudiated was the party's attitude toward the assassination of President Kennedy. The extending of "deepest sympathy" to Mrs. Kennedy by Farrell Dobbs for the party was a political act implying solidarity. Not one radical party in the United States reacted with such panic or revealed such lack of confidence as did the SWP during that event.

Another example of the deterioration of the party can be found in Ed Shaw's statement to the New York Times, that the party will not violate the draft laws. This is a shameful attempt to gain legal cover and respectability on the part of the SWP. It is incompatible with a party that professes to be revolutionary. By breaking ranks and informing the ruling class that they will not violate the draft laws, they appear as strikebreakers to those youth who do support such actions.

Bill Epton was on the streets of Harlem, arm in arm with the Black revolutionaries. Where was DeBerry or for that matter any other member of the SWP? The evidence is that only the PLP of all radical parties, had the revolutionary courage of its convictions.

PLP fulfilled its international obligations to the Cuban revolution by organizing the student trip. The party that always bragged of its internationalism, the SWP, did not play any real role in this dramatic struggle because it was too fearful of defying the ruling class on this battle front.

The miserable performance of the SWP-YSA forces at the Washington conference before the entire radical youth of the

country is just a further expression of the decay of the party. They fought on organizational questions but not the political problems facing the anti-war movement. The vaunted leaders and defenders of the Black Revolution, voted against the key slogan advanced by the MFDP, Freedom Now, Withdraw Now.

A revolutionary's duty is to his class in the first instance, and the party is the instrument of that class. For 25 years, I have given my allegiance to the SWP because I believed this party was the party of the American working class. For seven years I have adhered to the positions advanced by Comrades Swabeck-Liang. I had firmly believed that the incorrect positions of the party could be corrected. Today I no longer believe that the SWP is the revolutionary vanguard of the American workers nor is there any possibility of reforming it.

Revolutionary health demands working within a revolutionary organization. It is impossible to maintain one's revolutionary vitality in the SWP. I urge all my former comrades in the SWP to seriously appraise the present situation in the party and to further study the PLP in its theory and practice, because I believe that many of you do wish to participate in the crucial and decisive task of building a party of workers and their allies. The PLP has to my satisfaction, demonstrated in action that it is a serious movement, that it has the will to win and that it will become the party of the American workers. These are my reasons for joining the Progressive Labor Party.

For the Communist Future,

Al A.

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