

# INTERNAL

# INFORMATION BULLETIN

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MINUTES OF THE 25th NATIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
Ohio, August 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1973

CONVENED, SUNDAY, August 5, 1973, at 10:15 AM

Convened by Barnes.

*Moment of Silence* in Tribute to the Memory of Comrades Ernest Ester, Victor Hawks, John Knisely, Florian Pattock, Sarah Rosenshine, Robert Saunders, Constance Weissman.

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* That Kelly chair the first session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

I. ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Following proposals by Jones for the National Committee:

*Proposal:* That the following rules govern convention procedure:

1. In cases of procedural disputes, discussion shall be limited to two speakers, one for and one against, and that each speaker be limited to two minutes.
2. Discussion from the floor shall be limited to 10 minutes per speaker.
3. A speaker may have the floor only once in a given discussion until all those who wish the floor have had the opportunity to speak.
4. All voting, except for election of National Committee and National Control Commission, will be done by voice vote unless a division of the house is called for; then the vote will be taken by a show of delegates' cards. Election of National Committee and National Control Commission shall take place by secret ballot.
5. Only delegates shall have voice and vote. Fraternal delegates shall have voice and consultative vote.
6. Alternate delegates have voice and vote only when acting to replace a regularly elected delegate.
7. In all other cases, Roberts Rules of Order shall apply.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the Presiding Committee be composed of the outgoing Political Committee: Barnes, Breitman, Britton, Camejo, A. Hansen, J. Hansen, Horowitz, Jenness, Jones, Lovell, Morrison, Pulley, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone, Waters, and Political Committee Consultative Members: Dobbs, Kerry, and Novack.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* To adopt the following agenda:

1. Disputed Questions in the World Movement:
  - a. Latin America
  - b. Vietnam
  - c. Europe
2. Political Resolution
3. World Movement Report
4. Youth Report
5. Organization Report
6. Appeals
7. Election of National Committee

*Moved.*

*Amendment by Hillson:* To add an agenda point on the gay liberation movement.

Speaker Against: Sheppard

*Defeated.*

*Amendment by Barzman:* To add an agenda point on trade unions.

Speaker Against: Sheppard

*Defeated.*

Vote on proposed agenda.

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the following time allotments be given to Political Committee reporters:

1. Latin America: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
2. Vietnam: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
3. Europe: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1 1/2 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
5. World Movement Report: 1 1/2 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
6. Organization Report: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That 10 minutes each be granted the 3 appeals.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* To grant a delegate who supports the Thorstad-Green Amendment an extension of 10 minutes at

the beginning of the discussion of the Political Resolution.

Speaker Against: Boehm

*Moved.*

*Defeated.*

*Carried.*

Vote on original motion on time for minority reporters.

*Proposal:* That the following time allotment be given to YSA NEC reporters: Youth Report: 1 hour plus 1/4 hour summary.

*Carried.*

*Moved.*

*Amendment by Massey:* That the International Majority Supporters Caucus be given equal time to the YSA NEC Reporter.

Speaker Against: Barnes

*Defeated.*

*Motion by Barzman:* To make special arrangements to put into the hands of this convention a document submitted to Discussion Bulletin and rejected by national office requesting suspension of party discipline in YSA.

Speaker Against: Stone

*Defeated.*

Vote on original motion on time for YSA NEC report.

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the following time allotments be given to minority reporters:

1. Latin America: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
2. Vietnam: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
3. Europe: 1 1/4 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1 1/2 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
5. World Movement Report: 1 1/2 hour plus 1/2 hour summary

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the minority may choose non-delegates as reporters.

*Moved.*

*Countermotion by Massey:* That the International Majority Supporters Caucus be given 3 additional full delegates and 3 additional alternate delegates, to give them six full delegates and six alternate delegates.

Speaker Against: Sheppard

*Defeated.*

*Countermotion by Barzman:* To seat one delegate from Oakland-Berkeley branch representing supporters of International Majority Tendency.

*Proposal:* That there be the following tasks panels:

1. Black Struggle, led by Morrison
  2. Trade Union, led by F. Lovell
  3. Women's Liberation, led by L. Jenness
- and that the following workshops and fractions take place:
1. Sales Directors, led by Cabaniss
  2. Fall Press Circulation Plans, led by Cabaniss
  3. Education, led by Horowitz
  4. Pathfinder, led by Brundy
  5. Party Finances, led by Morell
  6. Latin American Political Prisoners, led by White and Grinnon
  7. CoDEL, led by J. Baumann
  8. Political Rights Legal Suit, led by Stapleton and Lynn
  9. Militant Correspondents, led by Joel Britton
  10. Forums, led by Morell
  11. Election Campaigns, led by Seigle
  12. Speakers Bureaus, led by Lynn
  13. Farmworkers, led by F. Lovell
  14. Antiwar, led by Stapleton
  15. Teachers, led by F. Lovell
  16. Puerto Rican Work, led by D. Jenness
  17. Irish Work, led by Foley
  18. Chicano Work, led by Vidal
  19. Social Service Employees, led by F. Lovell
  20. Ligue Communiste Defense, led by Lund
  21. East Europe, led by Saunders
  22. African Liberation Day, led by Morrison

*Moved.*

*Motion by Massey:* That an additional panel on the world movement made up of international comrades be scheduled.

Speaker Against: Barnes

*Defeated.*

Vote on original motion on panels and workshops and fractions.

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* To approve the convention schedule (see attached).

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That Feigenberg, Lesnik, and Lynn serve as convention secretaries.

*Moved.*

*Carried.* departments, (4) members of the youth National Executive Committee, (5) one delegate each selected by the St. Louis and Pittsburgh branch organizing committees, (6) special guests.

*Proposal:* To elect a Credentials Committee consisting of five delegates.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Nominations: B. David, Seligman, Hernandez, McArthur, Tracy

*Motion:* To elect the five nominees.

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* To elect a Constitution Committee consisting of three delegates.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Nominations: LaMont, Hill, Buch

*Motion:* To elect the three nominees.

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* To elect a Nominating Commission of 20 delegates consisting of one delegate from each branch.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Delegates subsequently elected by delegations to serve on Nominating Commission:

- Aber, Atlanta
- Alewitz, Austin
- Powers, Boston
- Henry, Brooklyn
- Gersh, Chicago
- Williams, Cleveland
- Fulks, Denver
- Kelly, Detroit
- Blackstock, Houston
- Reissner, Los Angeles
- Lund, Lower Manhattan
- Boehm, Oakland-Berkeley
- Savage, Philadelphia
- Studer, Portland
- Zimmermann, San Diego
- Schwarz, San Francisco
- Meyers, Seattle
- Hillery, Twin Cities
- Notkin, Upper West Side
- Myers, Washington, D.C.

*Proposal:* To seat as fraternal delegates the following:  
 (1) National Committee members, (2) members of the National Control Commission, (3) heads of national de-

*Carried.*

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the convention be open to party members, youth members and sympathizers vouched for by the branches.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal:* That the official convention photographers by Baumann and Petrick.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

**II: DISPUTED QUESTIONS IN THE WORLD MOVEMENT**

**A. Latin America**

Reporter for Political Committee: Camejo  
 Reporter for minority: Mitten

Recess for lunch 1:50 PM — reconvene 3:30 PM

*Carried.* Discussion: Edwards, Votava

*Motion:* To grant Votava a 3-minute extension.

*Defeated.*

Further Discussion: Burke, Halstead, J. Hansen, Mirelo-witz, Thomas, Maitan

*Motion:* To grant Maitan a 20-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Alvin, Frankel, Octavio, Lorenzo

*Motion:* To grant Lorenzo a 20-minute extension.

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To reduce the speakers' time to 7 minutes for the remainder of this discussion.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Petersen, Gurewitz

Recess 7:00 PM

*RECONVENED, MONDAY, AUGUST 6, 1973, at 9:05 AM*

Further Discussion: Massey, D. Garza, Montes, B. David

*Motion by Massey:* To take a final speakers list.

Speaker Against: Sheppard

*Defeated.*

*Summaries Latin America:* Mitten  
Camejo

*Motion by Camejo:* To approve the general line of the Political Committee report on Latin America.

*Countermotion by Mitten:* That the convention adopt the general line of the document "In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International."

for countermotion: 3  
for motion: 72  
abstentions: 0

*Motion Carried.*

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Hawkins chair the next session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To concur with the request by Massey that Stacy, alternate delegate of the Chicago minority, be seated for this agenda point in place of Massey, regular delegate from Chicago minority.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Special Point.*

Greetings from Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores of Uruguay read by Shaw.

*B. Vietnam*

Reporter for Political Committee: Horowitz

*Motion by Barzman:* To have minority report after lunch.

Speaker Against: Jones

*Defeated.*

Reporter for minority: Barzman

Recess for lunch 1:35 PM — reconvene 3:15 PM

Discussion: Seidman, Edwards, G. Johnson

*Motion:* To grant G. Johnson a 2-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Alvin, Gurewitz, Heisler, Stapleton, Petersen, Miah, Hillson, Adair

*Motion:* To grant Adair a 2-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Stacy, Feldman, Kelly, Roberts, Maitan, Halstead, Camejo, Shaffer, Buch, Pulley

*Special Point.*

Greetings from the Attica Indictees read by Oliver.

Recess 7:00 PM

*RECONVENED, TUESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1973, at 9:10 AM*

*Summaries Vietnam:* Barzman  
Horowitz

*Motion by Horowitz:* To approve the general line of the Political Committee report on Vietnam.

*Countermotion by Barzman:* 1. We call for No Vote on the Political Committee motion to approve the general line of the Horowitz report.

2. We call for adoption of the motion to open a literary discussion in the party on the nature of the VCP, of North Vietnamese society, and the methodological questions involved.

3. We move the adoption of the general line of the International Majority Supporters Caucus report by Barzman.

for countermotion: 3  
for motion: 68  
abstentions: 0

*Motion Carried.*

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Misnik chair the next session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Special Point.*

Greetings from the Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon and the Revolutionary Communist League of Iraq read by Stone.

*C. Europe*

Reporter for Political Committee: Waters  
Reporter for minority: Shayne

*Motion by Massey:* To reopen discussion on the trade union panel.

Speaker Against: F. Lovell.

*Defeated.*

Recess for lunch 1:00 PM—reconvene 2:25 PM

Discussion: Lund, Star, Mirelowitz

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To allow participation in this discussion to European fraternal delegates.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: White, Powers, Styron, Massey, Maitan

*Motion by Maitan:* To grant Maitan a 20-minute extension.

*Defeated.*

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To grant Maitan an extension.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Motion by Gurewitz:* To grant Maitan a 10-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Gretel

*Motion:* To grant Gretel a 4-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Singer, Meyers, Petersen, Haig, Gylda, Scott

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To limit speakers' time to 7 minutes and take 9 more speakers.

Speaker Against: Massey

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Barzman, Boehm, Basely, D. Myers, Maisel, Shaffer, Morell, C. Scheer, McArthur

Summaries Europe: Shayne  
Waters

*Motion by Waters:* To adopt the general line of the Political Committee report on Europe.

*Countermotion by Shayne:* To adopt the general line of the document "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe."

for countermotion: 3  
for motion: 72  
abstentions: 0

*Motion Carried.*

*Motion by Lund:* To send the following message to Pierre Rousset:

The 1400 comrades meeting at the 25th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party send you warmest revolutionary greetings and solidarity in the face of the repression by the Pompidou regime. During our deliberations, we received news that Comrade Alain Krivine has been freed from prison provisionally. This victory has inspired all of us to press forward in our contributions to the international campaign demanding "End the Ban on The Communist League!" "Freedom for Pierre Rousset!" "Drop All Charges Against the French Trotskyist Leaders!"

We solidarize ourselves with your goal of waging a resolution campaign against the racist, fascist attacks on the immigrant workers of France. We pledge to continue building protests in this country until you are free and until the revolutionary Marxist movement wins the democratic right to exist as a political organization in France.

*Carried.*

Recess 7:00 PM

RECONVENED, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1973, at 9:00 AM

*Special Points.*

Greetings from the Socialist Action League of New Zealand read by Britton.

Greetings from the Venezuelan Trotskyist Group (Voz Marxista) read by Britton.

Greetings from the Revolutionary Marxist League of Switzerland read by Britton.

Greetings from the Gruppe Revolutionare Marxisten of Austria read by Britton.

Greetings from the Internationalist Communist Group of Mexico read by Shaw.

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Gurewitz chair the next session.

*Moved.*

III. POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Reporter for Political Committee: Sheppard  
Reporter for minority: H. Garza  
Extended time for Green-Thorstad Amendment: Maggi

Motion: To grant Maggi a 3-minute extension.  
Carried.

Discussion: Thomas, Zimmermann

Motion: To grant Zimmermann a 1-minute extension.  
Carried.

Recess for lunch 1:00 PM — reconvene 2:30 PM

Further Discussion: Alvin, Wulp, Seligman, Barzman, Tracy, Proyect, Oliver, Dawson

Proposal by Stone for Presiding Committee: To limitspeakers' time to 7 minutes.

Moved.  
Carried.

Further Discussion: Singler, LaMont, Ring, Musa, Petersen, DeBerry, Bolduc, Aber, Stone, Miah, Vidal, Crandall

Motion: To grant Crandall a 2-minute extension.  
Carried.

Further Discussion: Shaffer, D. Garza

Motion by Barzman: To allow Central Committee member of LSA/LSO of Canada who is a member of the minority there to speak under this point.

Speaker Against: Barnes

Carried.  
Defeated.

Summaries Political Resolution: H. Garza  
Sheppard

Amendment by Maggi: To replace the Political Committee Draft Political Resolution's statement of support to the National Committee Memorandum on the bottom of page 20, column 1, with the following: "The party should continue to support the gay liberation struggle along the line of the document, 'For An Intervention Into the Gay Liberation Struggle,' by Comrades Kendall Green and David Thorstad." This motion includes support to the general line of the report by Michael Maggi.

for: 8  
against: 63  
abstentions: 4

Defeated.

Carried.

Motion by Sheppard: To approve the general line of the Political Committee Draft Political Resolution and the general line of the Political Committee report.

Countermotion by H. Garza: To adopt the general line of the document "Building a Revolutionary Party in Capitalist America."

for countermotion: 3  
for motion: 72  
abstentions: 0

Motion Carried.

Recess 6:35 PM

RECONVENED, THURSDAY, AUGUST 9, 1973, at 9:10 AM

Proposal by Shaw for Presiding Committee: To send the following message to the workers of the Lip watch factory:

The Socialist Workers Party, assembled at its 25th National Convention, sends warmest fraternal greetings and solidarity to the workers of the Lip watch factory. The watches you have produced under workers' control and management without interference by the factory owners are welcome and concrete proof that workers can do well without bosses. We expect that workers in the U.S., when faced with the alternatives you faced, will follow your example. They did this in the 1930s when they borrowed from French workers the tactic of the sit-down strike as a new weapon in the class struggle of that period.

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee: That Lipman chair the next session.

Moved.

Carried.

IV. WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT

Reporter for Political Committee: Barnes  
Reporter for minority: Maitan

Discussion: Kerry

Motion: To grant Kerry a 10-minute extension.

Carried.

Recess for lunch 1:00 PM — reconvene 2:40 PM

Further Discussion: J. Hansen

Motion: To grant J. Hansen a 10-minute extension.

Carried.



Further Discussion: Petersen, McArthur, Sheppard, Lorenzo, Octavio

*Motion:* To grant Octavio a 10-minute extension.

*Carried.*

*Motion by Massey:* To give the floor to Comrade Gretel.

Speaker Against: Barnes

*Defeated.*

Further Discussion: Novack

*Motion:* To grant Novack a 2-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Musa, Weinstein, Barzman, Shaw, Waters, Camejo

*Motion:* To grant Camejo a 4-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Pacquette, Massey

*Motion:* To grant Massey a 5-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Dobbs

*Motion:* To grant Dobbs a 15-minute extension.

*Carried.*

*Summaries World Movement Report:* Maitan

*Motion:* To grant Maitan a 3-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Barnes

*Motion by Barnes:* To approve the general line of the Political Committee report, including the following:

1. a) To reaffirm the organizational principles of the SWP as adopted at its 1965 convention and their application to every single member without exception.
- b) To instruct every party unit to apply these principles.
- c) All transfers in the post-convention period must be approved by the National Committee until it decides otherwise.
2. To end the literary and branch discussion and refer any reopening to the National Committee to be decided in light of the implementation of the unanimous April United Secretariat statement defining the conditions for a democratic and authoritative world congress.
3. To continue in an uninterrupted way all international responsibilities including translating and publishing the English-language International Internal Discussion Bulletin for the information of SWP and YSA members as

a fraternal courtesy to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

4. The convention proposes to the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency that in the light of the new developments it discuss converting itself from a tendency to a faction.

5. The convention instructs and empowers the incoming National Committee to use all the forces and resources at its command to struggle for a democratic world congress and a Trotskyist Fourth International.

*Countermotion by Maitan:* To approve Comrade Maitan's report and reject Comrade Barnes' report.

for countermotion: 3  
for motion: 72  
abstentions: 0  
*Motion Carried.*

Recess 7:50 PM

*RECONVENED, FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1973, at 9:15 AM*

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Heisler chair the next session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Special Point.*

Greetings from the Socialist Workers League of Australia read by D. Jenness.

*V. YOUTH REPORT*

Reporter: Pulley

Discussion: Thomas, Lause, Frankel, Mirelowitz, Getts, Votava

*Proposal by Britton for Presiding Committee:* To limit speakers' time to 7 minutes and take 3 more speakers.

*Moved*

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Massey, Clark

*Summary Youth Report:* Pulley

*Motion:* To approve the general line of the Youth Report.

against: 0  
for: 72  
abstentions: 3

*Carried.*

*VI. ORGANIZATION REPORT*

Reporter: Jones

*Proposal by Sheppard for Presiding Committee:* That appeals be heard during dinner break.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Discussion: Henderson

*Motion:* To grant Henderson a 3-minute extension.

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Ring

Recess for lunch 1:00 PM — reconvene 2:40 PM

Further Discussion: Haig, Seidman, Oliver, Cabaniss, Kirsch, Stapleton, Harer, Morell, Stanton, Morrison, Hill, Barzman, Kelly, Rudenstein, Chertov, Singer, Finch, Aber

*Proposal by Sheppard for Presiding Committee:* To limit speakers' time to 7 minutes.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

Further Discussion: Votava, Massey, Hughes, Fraenzl, Singler

*Motion:* To hear the Credentials Committee report.

*Carried.*

### VII. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

Reporter: Hernandez (see attached)

*Motion:* To approve the Credentials Committee report.

*Carried.*

Summary Organization Report: Jones

*Motion by Jones:* To approve the general line of the Organization Report.

for: 72  
against: 0  
abstentions: 3

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Singler chair the next session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

### VIII. APPEALS

A. Gebert

*Motion by Gebert:* That one minute of Gebert's time be granted to Trippet.

*Defeated.*

B. Trippet

*Motion:* To grant Trippet a 2-minute extension.

*Carried.*

C. Chamberlin

*Motion:* To grant Chamberlin a 2-minute extension.

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Britton for Presiding Committee:* To hear motions on these appeals from Chainey from San Francisco branch and Reissner from Los Angeles branch.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Britton for Presiding Committee:* That discussion from the floor be limited to 5 minutes per speaker.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Motion by Chainey:* To reject the appeal of Comrade Robert Gebert and uphold the action of the San Francisco branch in expelling him from the party for consciously violating the security policy of the party.

*Motion by Reissner:* To reject the appeal of Comrade Sudie Trippet and uphold the action of the Los Angeles branch in expelling her from the party for consciously violating the security policy of the party.

*Motion by Reissner:* To reject the appeal of Comrade David Chamberlin and uphold the action of the Los Angeles branch in expelling him from the party for consciously violating the security policy of the party.

Discussion: Wulp, Massey, Reissner, Hernandez, Styron

Vote on motion concerning expulsion of Gebert.

*Carried unanimously.*

Vote on motion concerning expulsion of Trippet.

*Carried unanimously.*

Vote on motion concerning expulsion of Chamberlin.

for: 72  
against: 0  
abstentions: 3

*Carried.*

Recess 8:40 PM

RECONVENED, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1973,  
at 9:20 AM

*Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee:* That Musa chair the next session.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

#### IX. ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Report for Nominating Commission: Reissner (see attached)

*Floor Opened for Further Nominations for Regular Members of the National Committee.*

*Further Nominations*

Discussion: Barnes, Maitan, Massey, Alvin, Feldman, Reed, Montauk, Seidman

No further nominations.

*Proposal by Sheppard for Presiding Committee:* That the talliers be Anderson, Barzman, Camejo, Feigenberg, Hawkins, Horowitz, Morell, and Powers.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* To hear Constitution Committee report while votes are being tallied.

*Moved.*

*Carried.*

#### *Constitution Committee Report*

Reporter: LaMont

*Motion:* To approve the Constitution Committee report.

*Carried.*

*Floor Opened for Further Nominations for Alternate Members of the National Committee.*

Discussion: Seidman, Reissner

*Further Nominations*

Further Discussion: Frankel, Barnes

*Motion:* To close nominations.

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Horowitz for Presiding Committee:* To elect the alternate members of the National Committee in a two-stage vote: first by electing the 22 alternate members, and second by ranking the list.

*Moved.*

Discussion: B. David, Reissner, Horowitz, Jones, Schwarz, R. David

*Carried.*

*Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee:* For voting on the first round of alternate members of the National Committee, not to accept the word slate but only ballots with 22 or fewer names.

*Moved.*

Discussion: Gurewitz, Dawson, Barnes, Seidman, Thomas, Barnes, R. David, Seidman, Dawson

*Motion by Dawson:* To call the question.

*Carried.*

Vote on motion by Barnes.

*Carried.*

*Motion by Seidman:* To reopen nominations for alternate members of the National Committee and discussion.

*Carried.*

Discussion: Stapleton, Feldman, Reissner, Halstead, H. Meyers, Chase, Lund, Onasch, Rodriguez

*Floor Opened for Further Nominations for Advisory Members of the National Committee.*

*No Further Nominations.*

*Motion:* To vote on nominees presented by the Nominating Commission for advisory members of the National Committee by voice vote.

*Carried.*

*Motion:* That the nominees presented by the Nominating Commission for advisory members of the National Committee be accepted.

*Carried.*

*Floor Opened for Further Nominations for National Control Commission.*

*No Further Nominations.*

*Motion:* To vote on the nominees for the National Control Commission by voice vote.

Carried. mission be accepted.

Carried.

*Motion:* That the nominees presented by the Nominating Commission for members of the National Control Com-

CONVENTION ADJOURNED 1:45 PM

### GREETINGS RECEIVED

#### *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores of Uruguay*

The PRT (Uruguay), a sympathizing group of the Fourth International, brings fraternal greetings to the comrades of the SWP gathered at its 25th convention.

Our working class has just gone through the most important struggle of the whole history of class struggle in our country. 500,000 workers out of a total population of 2 1/2 million people launched a general strike against the ultra-reactionary military coup led by President Bordaberry. All factories and workplaces of the country were occupied by workers and the working class movement countered, by its actions, the transfer of power to those carrying out the coup.

The bourgeois opposition fled to Buenos Aires, and two forces confronted each other: the armed forces and the working class organized in the CNT—the national trade union federation led by the Communist Party.

The treacherous policy of the CP (one of the strongest CPs in Latin America) was to sit and wait for a military counter-coup in the Peruvian style, or for Bordaberry himself to call elections, allowed the government to take the offensive.

After three days of vacillation, during which time the situation was controlled by the CNT, the government started to throw the workers out of the factories and imprison the militants.

The workers re-occupied their factories two, three, or four times. This combativity had no other limitations except shackles imposed by the reformist leadership of the CP, which were opposed by the rest of the oppositionist vanguard.

There were 15 days of general strike which shook the foundations of capitalist Uruguay and during which the workers had their first rehearsal for the workers revolution in Uruguay.

The political line of the Stalinist bureaucracy was opposed only by our small party. The Tupamaros did not exist during this revolutionary crisis; all its heroic militants are still in jail.

Our party, although small and only partly integrated in the workers movement, threw all of its forces into the strike, trying to give the strike clear objectives. We called for the organization of mixed worker-student self-defense pickets. We tried through all possible means to extend the strike to all exploited sectors, creating organizations in each zone which will coordinate the factories with the community residents that support the strike (organizations of dual power).

We raised the following slogan or demand: a provisional government of the central trade union federation and of the workers' and popular parties that should call a constituent assembly to reorganize the country.

The strike was defeated but the workers movement was not. The working class continues to be radicalized, and our fundamental task now is to help reorganize the workers, basing ourselves on the new vanguard that has emerged in this struggle and the level of consciousness that the entire working class movement in Uruguay has acquired.

The revolutionary crisis in Uruguay continues. Bordaberry is hanging by a thread, practically isolated from the different sectors of the bourgeoisie. His status depends fundamentally on how quickly the union movement reorganizes itself and on the degree of experience that the masses have acquired with respect to the central trade union federation's reformist leadership.

The fundamental conclusion that is drawn from this situation is the *lack* of a revolutionary leadership with mass influence. The construction of this *party* is the great task of the Uruguayan Trotskyists. And in the construction of this Bolshevik party, your party, the SWP, serves as an example.

Of course the revolutionary crisis in Uruguay is not an isolated event. It is part of the general upsurge of the masses on a world scale since the 1960s. It is part of the social unrest in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru. And the great mass mobilization in Mexico, the U.S. and Europe and the historic resistance of the Vietnamese people.

But, for the exploited masses to take power, it is necessary for us to build in each country a revolutionary party recognized and supported by the masses, parties that put into practice the Transitional Program in consonance with the concrete needs of the masses in each country.

And this must be complemented by the construction of the party of world revolution, the Fourth International.

Long Live the Socialist Workers Party!  
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!  
Long Live the Fourth International!

#### *Attica Indictees*

On behalf of myself and the other Brothers indicted by Rockefeller's racist Attica grand jury, I extend to all members of the SWP organization our love and solidarity!

We are grateful for the coverage you have given our struggle in your newspaper, *The Militant*. We appreciate and encourage your continuing efforts to expose the true nature of Rockefeller's Attica "whitewash"—in the same manner you expose the true nature of this rapacious capitalistic and racist system!

Now, after crushing—through calculated mass murder—our just struggle against systematic oppression and

degradation, Governor Rockefeller and his legal lackeys are preparing another assault on us (the victims!) so that the *real criminals* can remain at large and in charge!

We request the support of the people to fight against the perpetration of this injustice!

We need the support and understanding of the masses of people organized and mobilized to implement our "three just demands" (as printed in our recent letter to *The Militant*).

In addition, we wish to express to you our belief that if *our* struggle for liberation and acquittal is victorious, it will be a victory for *all* who struggle—inside prisons and outside—against racism, brutalization and dehumanization.

Finally, since we believe that the ultimate liberation of all oppressed peoples depends upon the revolutionary overthrow of the entire capitalist system, we wish continued success to the SWP in the year ahead.

*The Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon and the Revolutionary Communist League of Iraq*

We regret that we are unable to attend your convention as the limited finances of our young organizations prevent us from far-away travel.

In this age of permanent revolution, the interdependency of the activities of the different groups of revolutionary socialists is very obvious. We have seen, for instance, how the antiwar movement in the U. S., which was organized mostly through your efforts, was instrumental in reducing the options that were open to the American ruling class in its struggle against the heroic Vietnamese fighters.

In much the same way, you might have to play a determinant role in our struggle when the American bourgeoisie will intervene in the Middle East to prolong the life of the decrepit Arab puppet regimes, as it has done on several occasions in the past. Already, we can point to your consistent work in defending the Palestinian revolution, in order to show to the Arab workers and peasants that the interests of the world proletariat do not conflict, and that they should always distinguish between the American bourgeoisie and the American workers who are our potential allies.

It is, therefore, with a full sense of the community of our interests that we send you our revolutionary greetings.

Long Live the Socialist Workers Party!

Long Live the Fourth International!

For an American Socialist Revolution That Will Announce the End of the Capitalist Order!

*The Socialist Action League of New Zealand*

The Socialist Action League of New Zealand sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the convention of the Socialist Workers Party. We have followed closely the campaigns in which you have been involved, and we have been inspired by your successes.

We have learned from your revolutionary election campaigns. In 1972 the Labour Party was swept into office by the biggest election upheaval in New Zealand since Labour was first elected in the 1930s. There can be no doubt that the latest Labour victory was a result of a widespread radicalisation in the working class, in

which the antiwar movement especially has played an important role. We launched an energetic and most successful independent socialist campaign for Labour, the Socialists for Labour campaign. The activist base of that campaign, the Young Socialists for a Labour Government, has continued on as the Young Socialists.

The founding conference of the New Zealand Young Socialists will be held early in 1974, and promises to be a most significant event for our movement.

Following the example of USLA, we have helped to establish a New Zealand Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which now has wide sponsorship.

We are also continuing active defense of the Vietnamese revolution. The newly established National Mobilization Committee for Out of Southeast Asia Now is conducting an ongoing campaign to expose and oppose the United States and New Zealand presence in that area.

The historic victory gained by the campaign for women's right to abortion in the United States has strengthened the movement here. In mid-July women from all over New Zealand met at the first National Women's Abortion Action Conference, which voted to step up the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws, and established for the first time a national coalition to lead this campaign.

We deeply regret being unable to send a representative to attend your convention. The direct contact which we have had with the North American Trotskyist movement has been a central factor in our development since our formation as an organized tendency. Earlier this year the tours of your comrades Evelyn Reed and George Novack, sponsored by the Young Socialists, gave the New Zealand Trotskyist movement a tremendous boost.

We look forward to extending and reinforcing the ties between the Trotskyist movement in the United States and in New Zealand. We wish you a highly successful convention.

*The Venezuelan Trotskyist Group (Voz Marxista)*

We send our most fraternal greetings of solidarity to the 1973 national convention of your party, assured that it will mark an important step forward in the difficult task of constructing a Leninist combat party capable of leading the working people to power. Internationally we share the same task. World capitalism can only be defeated by the organized action of the workers of the world under the banner of a world party of socialist revolution. In this endeavor, the role of the American working class will be decisive. Thus the vital importance of your revolutionary work for the entire world movement.

Venceremos!

*The Revolutionary Marxist League of Switzerland*

Revolutionary Greetings from the Revolutionary Marxist League.

*The Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten of Austria*

The GRM (Group of Revolutionary Marxists—Austria) greets the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Unfortunately we are, by financial reasons, not able to attend by a delegation at your convention and are therefore forced to send you only written greetings.

Our organization has followed with great admiration your actions for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, for the liberation of women and for the rights of the national minorities in the U. S.

It is our opinion that the SWP has in this way given a very important contribution to the strengthening of the Fourth International.

We wish you for your further political activity and for the work of this convention full success!

#### *The Internationalist Communist Group of Mexico*

The Internationalist Communist Group, fraternal organization of the Fourth International in Mexico, sends warmest fraternal greetings.

Our Trotskyist organizations are in two neighboring countries. The peculiarity of this is crystallized in the brutal capitalist contrast between the two: one the most powerful imperialist country in the world, the other, semi-colonial. Along the thousands of miles of border between the two the social characteristics of exploitation and economic dependency clash with those of neocapitalism in its most critical and advanced state of permanent inflation, armament, economy, and chronic under and overproduction.

Internationalism, the most vital basis of our revolutionary ideology and politics, has an immediate meaning for our organization. Thousands of Mexicans are exploited right here in the United States of America by imperialist capital which at the same time blocks and deforms the development of the productive forces of Mexico. The struggle of the Mexican people is united with the battle being fought on the very soil of the North American imperial fortress — fought by other contingents of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies — Blacks, Puerto Ricans, etc.

The interrelationship between the revolutionary struggles of our two countries are firmly cemented by the stream of Mexican migration to the United States. In terms of our two organizations, these ties are equally important. It is impossible to conceive of the consolidation of the victories of the Mexican workers and peasants without the active and militant solidarity of the working class in this country. If this is true for all of Latin America it is even more the case for Mexico.

If the American working class is going to support and defend the Mexican revolutionary movement and the Latin American movement in general and fight against the American imperialists, it is necessary that they first thoroughly understand the reasons for this struggle. It is no easy task to bring them this understanding. The dominant ideology transmitted and hammered into them every day by the communications media is a barrier deliberately promoted by the imperialists to leave the American workers ignorant.

Our struggles, those of the people south of the Rio Bravos, are not widely known or understood by the American public. That is why the work of the revolutionary party is so crucial to us — so vital.

In Mexico, a complex country with so many modes of production combined with each other, the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles take on, and will take on more and more diverse forms: workers', peasants' and

student struggles that take the form of strikes, demonstrations, struggle committees, workers councils, armed detachments, guerrilla warfare in the countryside and in the cities, etc., etc. In fact the whole history of the revolutionary movement in our country shows us that this will become even more evident in the future. The revolutionary struggle of 1910 and 1917 created these many forms: from the clandestine party of Flores Magón, with his base in the southwest, to the revolutionary army constituted in the Northern division by Pancho Villa, to the peasant guerrilla struggles of Emiliano Zapata. During the regime of Lázaro Cárdenas, new forms of struggle with links to the worldwide proletariat sprung up: industrial unions, embryonic workers' control committees in the holdings expropriated from the imperialists, workers self-defense brigades, and peasant organizations that seized land.

Today, in the middle of the political crisis opened in 1968, the Mexican people are starting to move along the path of a new social transformation. In Monterrey, in Sinaloa, in Chihuahua, in Oaxaca and in the capital of the Republic there are hundreds of thousands of students, workers and peasants arising spontaneously who fight with the courage and energy of authentic revolutionaries. Today, in contrast with the '30s and '40s, the majority of these militants do not move in Stalinist and petty-bourgeois nationalist circles — these poles of attraction are profoundly discredited. Today, in contrast with the '50s and early '60s, these vanguard groups are searching for theoretical and practical links with the authentic socialist position.

For us, the most extraordinary opportunities are unfolding. Never before has our movement, the real depository and representative of the best traditions of revolutionary Marxism, been in such a privileged position. In contrast with the revolution of 1910, today we have the possibility of guaranteeing the existence of a revolutionary Marxist leadership that can lead the present struggles to their fruition in a socialist revolution.

But it is not only in Mexico that our movement has its historic opportunity. After 1968, the rise of world revolution that opened in that year has allowed our movement to intervene more dynamically and with more weight in struggles in many countries, from Japan to Argentina, from France to Mexico, just as here, in the anti-imperialist movement against the murderous war in Vietnam, in which the SWP and YSA played such an important role. Presently, we are moving toward a situation in which the revolutionary movements of workers and peasants will not necessarily be confronted with Stalinist betrayals. The defeats of the '30s and '40s can be avoided.

But to carry out our role in accord with the new possibilities, our movement must consolidate and reinforce our international ties. We must have a more centralized world pole of attraction that is more capable of intervening in all the critical situations that will abound in the next few years.

We are convinced that the present discussion between tendencies in the Fourth International is the clearest sign that our International is intent on accomplishing this task. The Leninist method of constructing a party (and for that matter a world party) necessarily implies the widest and most thorough discussion when revolutionaries are confronted with new tasks and new shifts in the class struggle.

This has been the situation since 1968, when a whole new period of world revolution opened up. This method is implicit in the creation of the instrument that has before it the most difficult task in the history of humanity—the leadership of the working masses in their fight against capitalism, their struggle to defeat it and initiate the construction of world socialism. Clearly, to realize this task there must be a blueprint. It is from this discussion that this blueprint will emerge—the most appropriate line to be followed. And from this discussion will also come a stronger Fourth International, more united, better organized, more capable of carrying out these urgent tasks that history is placing before it.

Long Live the SWP!

Long Live Our World Party—The Fourth International!

Long Live the Strong and Militant Solidarity of Our Organizations in Mexico and the United States!

#### *The Socialist Workers League of Australia*

We send our warmest greetings to the 25th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party. In doing so we would like to point out to the delegates and guests the way in which the Trotskyist movement in Australia has been linked to the SWP and American Trotskyism.

It was seamen comrades of the Communist League of America who first brought the news of the struggle of the International Left Opposition to Australia in the early 1930s. Through your newspaper, *The Militant*, opposition communists in Australia were able to read for the first time about the defense of the program of revolutionary Marxism and of Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist gang.

Since that time the Trotskyist movement in Australia has had a long history of militant struggle but a sharp break occurred in the continuity of Trotskyism when the movement succumbed completely to Pabloism in 1965. This left the new young revolutionaries with no clear understanding of the Transitional Program and the strategy of building Leninist parties.

We emphasize the origins of our movement because once again it was the inspiration of your newspaper, *The Militant*, and the experience and continuity of American Trotskyism which was a major factor in orienting and re-establishing a healthy and growing movement in Australia.

With the aid of the transitional method so ably advanced and defended by the SWP, we were able to begin to rebuild a Leninist party in Australia. We placed a major emphasis on defending the Vietnamese revolution by building a broad-based mass movement demanding that all U.S. and Australian troops get out of Vietnam now. Through the vehicle of an independent, fraternal youth organization, the Socialist Youth Alliance, we were able to intervene in the radicalization and win new forces to our movement. Currently we are engaged in struggling to eliminate the reactionary abortion laws by organizing demonstrations and other actions to demand the repeal of this legislation that denies women the right to control their own bodies. We have also been carrying out fraction work in the Australian Labor Party. Our newspaper, *Direct Action*, has become the most widely read left-wing newspaper in Australia and influences Labor Party members and other forces way beyond the bounds of our immediate organization and periphery.

So we would like to express our double debt to the

Trotskyists in the U.S. for your role in the 1930s and once again in the current rise in the world revolution. Without the internationalism of the Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyism in Australia would be a far weaker current today.

Having learnt the lessons of the importance of a principled revolutionary program and the transitional method to the Leninist strategy of party building, we are all the more determined to advance and defend these basic ideas today.

So we look forward to further fraternal collaboration with the SWP in the true spirit of internationalism as we struggle together to construct the international revolutionary party necessary to resolve the historical crisis of humanity. The links between our movements to date and the common work we will carry out such as we did in the antiwar movement are only the beginning of the tasks we will undertake in the future.

The Fourth International, stronger in cadres and resources than ever before, stands at a turning point. We feel sure that the ranks of the International will reaffirm the basic program of Trotskyism and the need to construct Leninist combat parties on an international scale as the only way to ensure a successful outcome to the struggles that lie ahead, whatever variant they may take.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Long live the Fourth International!

#### *The League of Revolutionary Marxists of Sweden*

The League of Revolutionary Marxists of Sweden (RMF), sympathizing section of the Fourth International, sends warm fraternal greetings to your convention.

The present situation in the class struggle and the tasks of the revolutionary Marxists in North America must be seen in the light of the analysis contained in the main resolution of the Ninth World Congress which describes the objective roots of the present crisis of capitalism in the imperialist countries, the appearance of a new radicalization amongst youth and other layers and the new rise of working class struggles. In the United States, as well as in several other imperialist countries, these same objective trends are at work but as yet have not given rise to the same upswing in the workers' struggle as we have witnessed in Europe.

The American bourgeoisie has tried to meet this crisis on two levels. On the one hand by trying to make the workers pay the costs of maintaining the capitalist system through an attack on their standard of living, in the first place through high rates of inflation and unemployment. On the other hand through an attempt at exporting a share of the burden to their capitalist "allies" through the international monetary system and cutthroat competition on the world market. In these projects the American bourgeoisie is counting on the cooperation of the bureaucracies in the workers' states to sell out the interests of the world revolution for a few pitiful concessions which will help them maintain their power.

We are convinced that these projects, even in the short term, will fail. The radicalization of the last period which saw extensive struggles independent of the capitalist parties and labor bureaucrats has laid the groundwork for an intensive working class radicalization in the coming period in the United States. Important layers of youth, the national minorities and women who struggled in the

last period are now able to understand the necessity of linking up with the working class in order to get out of the impasse in which these movements have been floundering for the last several years. The revolutionary Marxists should take the leadership in promoting and organizing this class-struggle orientation as the best way to prepare for and contribute to a rise in the workers' struggle, using the radicalization of the last period as a battering-ram against the Labor bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois ideology which presently dominate the workers' movement.

The bureaucracies in the workers' states and their satellites in the imperialist countries will not be able to derail the revolutionary movement as they did in the past. The crisis of Stalinism and the radicalization of the last period have created the objective possibilities for the revolutionary Marxists to expose and displace their treacherous influence.

As the new rise of the world revolution continues in all three sectors the revolutionary Marxists must strengthen their international organization in order to meet the challenge and enormous possibilities this poses.

We are convinced that the Socialist Workers Party will shoulder these tasks and make an important contribution to their solution within the framework of the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

Long live the Fourth International!

*The Provisional National Committee of the Revolutionary Party of China*

When the SWP National Convention is in session, please accept our most hearty congratulations.

For a long time, the SWP has been undergoing a healthy and steady development. It consistently fights for the interests of the proletariat and the toiling masses, and resolutely stands against the domestic and foreign policies of the U. S. imperialists, thus gaining more and more support from the masses and recruiting more revolutionaries for the movement.

Since the time when the SWP became the earliest one that helped the establishment of the Fourth International, it has persisted in the stand of proletarian internationalism and has unceasingly and greatly contributed to the whole movement. In theories and politics, the SWP firmly defends Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism and fights off whatever deviated political tendencies there are within the movement. In practical actions, the SWP wholly supports the revolutionary movement in other countries (such as Cuba and later Vietnam). It also materially supports the Fourth International as well as many fraternal parties.

Today, after U. S. imperialism has been forced to evacuate its troops from South Vietnam and thus reveals the absolute failure of its reactionary foreign policy, the economic crisis is increasingly deepened. Politically, its mask of democracy is once again being revealed, causing confusion and conflicts within the ruling class and discontent among the masses. All these show the severe weakening of the U. S. imperialists but offer a better opportunity for the rapid growth of the revolutionary leadership. The holding of a convention at this moment is sure to have a great historical significance. We sincerely wish this convention would attain a full success, and be an important milestone in the road towards constructing a mass revolutionary party to lead to victory in socialist revolution.

*A Group of Sympathizers of the Fourth International In Pakistan*

We send fraternal greetings to the Socialist Workers Party on the occasion of their National Convention. We deeply regret our inability to attend your convention on account of various commitments we have in our own area.

However, we are well aware of the activities of your party and continue to follow your activities and read with interest the variety of publications which you have kindly made available to us.

Lately, the Socialist Workers Party has achieved much in the field of attracting newly radicalised youth, popularizing the revolutionary socialist cause and helping to form a vanguard party in the States. We are sure that your National Convention will mark a step forward in this direction and enable comrades from all over the world to share their experiences and learn from your own party's experiences. We foresee, without any possible doubt, a rise in the tempo of revolutionary mass struggles in the United States, and we are sure your section will grow from strength to strength in the years to come.

*Liga Comunista of Spain, Sympathizing Organization of the Fourth International*

The especially repressive conditions imposed on our activity under the dictatorship, the intimate relationship between the U.S. police and its pro-Franco cohorts, prevent us from attending your 25th Convention as we would have liked to do. It does not, however, prevent a further strengthening of the ties that unite us in the effort to construct the party of world revolution: the Fourth International.

Your 25th Convention constitutes a fundamental step in this struggle. For over 30 years the SWP has played a central role in defending and continuing the programmatic principles of Trotskyism, not only in the United States but on a world scale. The firmness with which you have defended them under the most adverse conditions in the class struggle is your fundamental historical achievement.

It has enabled you to play a central role in the development of the American workers and mass movements, it has enabled you to successfully take on the situation created by the war, in which the pressures of ideologies alien to the working class reached the limit, it has enabled you to have a Marxist understanding of the diverse expressions of the unfolding of the class struggle, such as the youth radicalization or the radicalization of women, placing you at the head of their mobilizations.

It is, indeed, the 45 years of intervening in the class struggle, based on revolutionary Marxist principles, that has enabled you to accumulate this nucleus of Trotskyist cadres which are today gathered at this convention.

We who, because we have lacked a solid Trotskyist tradition like yours fully value the importance that it has, are fully confident that the decisions you are about to take there will not betray it at this critical time for the international Trotskyist movement.

Our own history confirms how insufficient the will to struggle for the construction of the party is if the sharpest tool that revolutionaries can wield to place themselves at the front lines of the mass struggles is lacking: the



programmatic foundations of the Fourth International, summarized in its founding document.

The mobilizations against the war councils of Burgos of December 1970 singled our country out as one of the weak links of the combined crisis of imperialism and Stalinism and made possible the development of a broad layer of vanguard fighters from the proletariat, the youth and other oppressed layers, ready for the most radical struggles. Two things stood out at the same time, the reaction and the *great possibilities* to carry forward the fundamental task before revolutionaries: *going forward in the construction of a Leninist party through a program directed towards the masses.*

This forces us to take up the only tool that can enable us to take hold of the revolutionary Marxist method, lay the base for a program of basic and transitional economic and democratic demands, expressed in socialist slogans, with methods of struggle and mass organizations to advance the construction of the communist organization in the course of the mass struggles against the Franco dictatorship.

But, at a time when the upsurge of mass struggles opened up immense possibilities to move forward in constructing the party, closely linked with these struggles, the lack of an understanding of the method outlined in the Transitional Program led us away from this road, hurling us into a clearly vanguard-action type of intervention.

The holding of the second convention of the LCR, only a little over a month ago, in the framework of the deepening of the rise of the workers and mass struggles initiated at the end of 1969, as shown by the struggles of the Bessos in Barcelona or the recent Navarra general strike, has brought about a change in our party's orientation, imposed to a large extent by the need to intervene in these mass struggles.

Thus, we have established the political foundations of a line that breaks with impressionist theories, with the subsequent adaptations to left and right centrist currents, and that enables us, based on Marxist principles and analyzing reality, to take the course directed toward the masses.

Nevertheless, our history also shows that the price paid for our errors could have been smaller had we, from the inception when the LCR was formed, from the time that we first began moving towards the Fourth International, absorbed the fundamental principles of the Trotskyist legacy.

Therein lies the importance of a political and organizational strengthening of the Fourth International, of advancing its construction on a firm programmatic basis. Therein lies the fundamental role that will be played by the SWP, which has known how to preserve and develop this legacy, by this 25th convention, in moving forward to the construction of the Fourth International.

Long Live the SWP!

Long Live the Fourth International!

#### OTHER GREETINGS SENT

*To the United Farm Workers Union*

The 25th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, assembled here in Ohio, attended by 1400 socialist activists, pledges to the United Farm Workers Union its solidarity and continuing support. We hail your valiant and inspiring struggle!

The top leadership of the Teamsters Union, the big growers and the government have combined to try to destroy your union. They have great resources. But they will not succeed. For the UFWU represents the needs and desires of millions of workers. You are setting an example for other unions to follow.

All those who want economic and social equality and justice must join hands to assure your victory!

VIVA LA HUELGA!

VIVA LA CAUSA!

*To James P. Cannon*

Delegates and guests attending the 25th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting tonight to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the launching of

*The Militant*, salute you and extend our warmest greetings.

*The Militant*, which you and the other pioneers of American Trotskyism founded 45 years ago, and of which you were the founding editor, remains on the course you charted out in 1928—to aid in the construction of a combat party to lead the working class to power.

The Socialist Workers Party, completing its deliberations at this convention, is looking forward to continued growth and geographical extension, as well as the expansion of our political influence. We emerge from this convention determined, enthusiastic, and—above all—confident in our program and the capacity of our party to play the decisive role history demands of us.

It is particularly fitting that this convention marks the publication of your book, *Speeches to the Party*. It is one more invaluable contribution from you and the sale of nearly 600 copies at the convention suggests how well it will be used.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Long live the Fourth International!

**CREDENTIALS REPORT**

**I. Total Attending Convention:**

	<i>1973</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1969</i>
	1435	1107	660
Women:	631	461	245
Men:	804	646	415

Age

15-20:	3
21-25:	28
26-30:	30
31-40:	3

Five years or less in the movement: 47  
 Fraternal Delegates: 62  
 Women: 20  
 Men: 42

**II. Delegations**

Total number of all delegates: 201  
 Women: 74  
 Men: 127

Full Delegates: 75  
 Women: 29  
 Men: 46

Age

21-25:	24
26-30:	41
31-40:	99
41-50:	1

Five years or less in the movement: 35

Alternate Delegates: 64  
 Women: 25  
 Men: 39

Age

15-20:	1
21-25:	9
26-30:	6
31-40:	20
41-50:	8
51- :	18

Five years or less in the movement: 8

**III. Selected Characteristics of Delegates and Guests**

Total number of trade unions represented: 55 (36 in 1971)  
 Total number of people in unions: 273 (157 in 1971)  
 Total number of states represented: 27  
 Total number of foreign countries represented: 13  
 Never attended previous SWP convention: 646

**CONVENTION SCHEDULE**

*Sunday, August 5*

8:00 - 9:45 Breakfast  
 10:00 - 10:45 Organization of Convention (3/4 hr)  
 10:45 - 12:00 Latin America, Political Committee Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 12:00 - 1:15 Latin America, Minority Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 1:15 - 2:30 Lunch  
 2:30 - 6:00 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 6:00 - 8:00 Dinner  
 8:00 - 10:00 Black Struggle Panel

9:30 - 10:00 Vietnam, Political Committee Summary (1/2 hr)  
 10:00 - 11:15 Europe, Political Committee Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 11:15 - 12:30 Europe, Minority Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 12:30 - 1:45 Lunch  
 2:00 - 6:00 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 6:00 - 6:30 Europe, Minority Summary (1/2 hr)  
 6:30 - 7:00 Europe, Political Committee Summary (1/2 hr)

*Monday, August 6*

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 9:30 Discussion  
 9:30 - 10:00 Latin America, Minority Summary (1/2 hr)  
 10:00 - 10:30 Latin America, Political Committee Summary (1/2 hr)  
 10:30 - 11:45 Vietnam, Political Committee Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 11:45 - 1:00 Vietnam, Minority Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 1:00 - 2:15 Lunch  
 2:30 - 6:30 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 6:30 - 8:30 Dinner  
 8:30 - 10:00 Expansion Fund Presentation

7:00 - 9:00 Dinner  
 9:00 - 11:00 Trade Union Panel

*Wednesday, August 8*

10:00 - 11:00 Panels, Fractions, and Workshops

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 10:30 Political Resolution, Political Committee Report (1 1/2 hr)  
 10:30 - 12:00 Political Resolution, Minority Report (1 1/2 hr)  
 12:00 - 1:00 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 1:00 - 2:15 Lunch  
 2:30 - 5:30 Discussion  
 5:30 - 6:00 Political Resolution, Minority Summary (1/2 hr)  
 6:00 - 6:30 Political Resolution, Political Committee Summary (1/2 hr)  
 6:30 - 8:30 Dinner  
 8:30 - 10:30 Women's Liberation Panel

*Tuesday, August 7*

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 9:30 Vietnam, Minority Summary (1/2 hr)

Panels, Fractions, and Workshops

Thursday, August 9

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 10:30 World Movement Report, Political Committee Report (1 1/2 hr)  
 10:30 - 12:00 World Movement Report, Minority Report (1 1/2 hr)  
 12:00 - 1:00 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 1:00 - 2:15 Lunch  
 2:30 - 5:30 Discussion  
 5:30 - 6:00 World Movement Report, Minority Summary (1/2 hr)  
 6:00 - 6:30 World Movement Report, Political Committee Summary (1/2 hr)  
 6:30 - 8:30 Dinner  
 8:30 - 10:30 Panels, Fractions, and Workshops

Friday, August 10

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 10:00 Youth Report (1 hr)  
 10:00 - 11:30 Discussion (1 1/2 hr)  
 11:30 - 11:45 Youth Report Summary (1/4 hr)  
 11:45 - 1:00 Organization Report (1 1/4 hr)  
 1:00 - 2:15 Lunch  
 2:30 - 6:30 Discussion (4 hrs)  
 6:30 - 7:00 Organization Report Summary (1/2 hr)  
 7:00 - 9:00 Dinner  
 9:00 - 11:00 Special Presentation on the 45th Anniversary of *The Militant*

Saturday, August 11

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast  
 9:00 - 12:30 Appeals  
 Election of National Committee  
 Plenum of National Committee

REPORT FROM THE NOMINATING COMMISSION

Reporter: W. Reissner

Comrades, the job of the Nominating Commission was to deliberate on the nominations for the National Committee and Control Commission of the party that were placed before it, and to come to you with our nominations for the composition of the two incoming bodies.

I want to begin with the question of a request for minority representation on the National Committee.

First, let me make clear that while there has never been an automatic right of any grouping within the party to be represented on the National Committee, we have a jealously guarded tradition in our party holding that clearly defined political tendencies or factions that are loyal to the party's principles, and are of a certain size within the party, should be represented on the National Committee. So we had to seriously deal with this question and the convention now will have to deal with it in turn.

The merits of each minority have to be considered in the concrete. And we would like to present to you our view in this specific instance. Comrade Massey came before the Nominating Commission to speak for the International Majority Supporters Caucus—that is, both the Internationalist Tendency [I.T.] and the June 10 Tendency—and placed seven nominations before us for members of the National Committee and Control Commission. The following comrades were ranked in order of preference for regular membership: No. 1, John Barzman [I.T.]; No. 2, Celia Stodola [June 10]; No. 3, Bill Massey [I.T.]. In addition, the caucus made nominations for alternate members of the National Committee, again ranked in order of preference: No. 1, Hedda Garza [I.T.]; No. 2, Judi Shayne [June 10]; No. 3, John Shaffer [I.T.]. In addition, the caucus made a nomination for the Control Commission: Comrade Don Smith [I.T.].

The Nominating Commission asked Comrade Massey

on what basis these comrades were being nominated and why they were ranked in the way they were. Comrade Massey said that these comrades were named because they were the best political representatives of the caucus. We asked him what each of the comrades' tendency affiliation had to do with their being placed on this slate. If the comrades will notice, there are representatives from both the Internationalist Tendency and the June 10 Tendency (or West Coast Tendency), among the nominations that Comrade Massey made. He said that the tendency affiliation of the comrades had nothing to do with their choice. He said that they were simply being put forth by the caucus as the best political representatives of the caucus.

This is a rather unusual request. Generally, requests have been made on the basis of representation of a tendency, or a faction, but this was on the basis of a caucus that came together composed of at least two different tendencies—tendencies that as of this time have not announced any plans to dissolve or merge on a common platform.

We asked Comrade Massey what other credentials these comrades had that would qualify them to be on the National Committee. We asked him, for example, what is the record of these comrades in building the party? What are their current assignments? What was their political history in terms of party building? The exact same questions that we asked each of the comrades who came before the Nominating Commission to place nominations from their delegations.

Comrade Massey could not or would not give us any information at all motivating the comrades in terms of their party-building activities. After asking some specific questions about the comrades in attempting to fill in their political history and their credentials in terms of being

party builders, we found that Comrade Massey would not answer the questions but simply wrote down the questions that members of the commission were asking.

We finally requested that Comrade Massey please get us the information about these comrades' records as party builders and return before the Nominating Commission with that information. Comrade Massey never did return before the commission.

Perhaps Comrade Massey did not return before the commission because he would not have had much to report about the party-building activities of the comrades who had been nominated by his caucus.

Since Comrade Massey refused to come before the commission and discuss the party-building activities of the nominations of his caucus, the comrades on the commission were forced to rely on the information that we could gather from those comrades on the commission who were members of the same branches as the comrades that were nominated by Comrade Massey.

Here are some of the things that we found out: we discovered that their No. 1 choice for regular membership on the National Committee, Comrade Barzman—their No. 1 choice for the national leadership body of our party—gives a sustainer to the party of only 25 cents per week! We found out that after a long period of almost no party-building activity in Chicago, he transferred to Houston only two-and-a-half weeks before the convention. When he got there, he said that he did not have time to sell *The Militant* in Houston.

We found out that all of the nominees of the caucus had lowered their sustainers in the recent period, drastically lowered their sustainers in many cases—with the exception of one nominee, who has had a very low sustainer for a long period. And we learned that these comrades did so consciously and openly; they decided to sabotage the finances of the party, making statements in their branches or to the organizers of their branches to the effect that their political tendencies came first. They said, in essence, that as long as the Socialist Workers Party would not support their politics, they felt no sense of financial obligation to the party.

We also found that some of the comrades that were nominated by the caucus boycotted various activities of the party. I will give two examples. Comrade Shayne, along with others in her tendency in Los Angeles, refused to participate when a mobilization of all members of the branch was called to defend a party educational conference from a threat that was made on it by the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Comrade Stodola, along with other members of the tendency that she is part of in the Oakland-Berkeley branch, boycotted the entire summer school in Oakland-Berkeley, although it was a major political activity of the branch.

The boycotting of party activities, the sabotage of party finances, and the abysmal level of party-building activity on the part of these comrades in the two groups who blocked together to form this caucus, make them, in the opinion of the Nominating Commission, less than qualified for the leading body of the party on a national level. In spite of this record, we asked ourselves, should they still be nominated?

This brings us to the fundamental question. I want to read to comrades a section of the resolution on the organizational character of the SWP which was adopted

at the 1965 convention. It was reaffirmed at this convention, along with an instruction to all of the party units to carry out the principles in this document. I want to read to comrades part of the section on party loyalty on page 10:

"To begin with, loyalty is far more than an abstract idea; it is a standard of political conduct. The party's whole democratic-centralist structure is founded on the rock of organizational loyalty. Without loyal members the party, as a voluntary organization, would have no basis upon which to maintain the necessary discipline in carrying out its revolutionary tasks. Disloyal people don't believe in the party, they won't pitch in selflessly to help build it, and they will resist and evade discipline. That is why the organizational resolution adopted at the SWP's founding convention specified that unconditional loyalty to the party is required of every member."

This definition of disloyalty fits the nominees of the Internationalist Tendency and the June 10 Tendency perfectly. Let's take a little further look at their record. To this day, the comrades of the minority have refused to give the party any explanation for the existence of the two separate tendencies in the caucus. We assume that these two tendencies still have a separate identity, a separate existence, since, when Comrade Massey came before the commission, he said that these were the nominees of the caucus, rather than particular tendencies, and he could also describe the particular tendencies that these comrades were still members of.

What are the real politics of this caucus? What are the real politics of these tendencies? Was this just an unprincipled combination for the purpose of vote-catching, or are these merely warring cliques that never had substantial differences over politics, but only personality differences among themselves? I think that only the further evolution of this grouping will tell us what the answer to these questions are.

Now, in addition to the conscious sabotage of party finances and the inactivity on the part of these comrades in party building, we also have evidence that these comrades have engaged in double recruiting. A new comrade recruited in the Twin Cities branch admitted that he was double recruited by Comrade Meisner. This occurred before Comrade Meisner left the Twin Cities shortly before the convention for the sole purpose of adding his vote to the minority votes in another branch.

And finally, we have the evidence of the Barzman letter. In spite of all the protests of the minority during the course of this convention, you have only to read the Barzman letter to see that it constitutes definitive proof of the organization of a secret faction with its own internal discipline—a faction organized behind the backs of the SWP and behind the backs of the elected bodies of the Fourth International, which thereby goes against all the organizational principles and traditions of our movement.

What does the Barzman letter tell us? It tells us that this is a secret faction; that it has secret discipline, a secret leadership, a secret political platform, secret financial obligations, secret international tours for the admitted purpose of lining people up against the SWP, all carried out behind the backs of the elected leadership of the SWP and the elected bodies of the Fourth International. And this secret faction has a split perspective for the Inter-

national.

By their actions, this minority has shown itself disloyal to the organizational principles of both the SWP and the Fourth International.

Even so, it was our judgment that representation should be considered for the Internationalist Tendency and the June 10 Tendency if either showed any signs of reconsidering their course. But to the contrary, they affirmed several times before the convention their deliberate intention to continue to function as they have and as outlined in the Barzman letter.

For this reason, the Nominating Commission nominates no representative of this bloc for election to the National Committee of the SWP.

I want to turn next to the general considerations of the Nominating Commission in putting forth its nominations. At the time of the last convention, it was felt that the party faced a problem in regard to the National Committee in that the committee elected at the last convention did not adequately reflect the transition in leadership taking place within the SWP. This view was reflected in the contributions in the preconvention discussion of Comrade Dobbs, Comrade Novack, Comrade Breitman and Comrade Coover [see Discussion Bulletins, Vol. 31, Nos. 4 and 25]. It was also reflected in the actions of Comrades Dobbs and Novack in requesting advisory status on the National Committee at the May 1972 plenum between this convention and the last.

It was quite clear to the Nominating Commission that both the outgoing National Committee itself and many of the delegations from the branches, who deliberated on who to nominate from their branches, sought to come to grips with this problem. Three comrades who have been long-standing regular members of the National Committee declined, this time, to run again. Each of these comrades conveyed to the Nominating Commission their views that while they expected to fully contribute to the life of the party and continue to assume whatever leadership responsibilities were possible, they felt that it was necessary to make room on the committee for the newer, younger, day-to-day leaders of the party. These three comrades were Oscar Coover, Bob Himmel and George Weissman. Each of these comrades also declined to run for advisory membership on the committee. The Nominating Commission respected their wishes in this matter and did not nominate them for advisory status.

The alternate members of the National Committee elected at the last convention included a number of comrades who have served as alternates for a number of years. Several of these comrades also conveyed to their delegations their desire to step aside to help the process of the transition in leadership.

It was also clear to the Nominating Commission from the relatively small number of comrades nominated for regular membership who had not previously been regular members of the National Committee, that at this convention, the delegates tended to see infusions of new comrades to alternate membership on the National Committee as the key to the transition in leadership in the party. For example, of the comrades whose names were placed before the Nominating Commission for regular membership on the National Committee, only four comrades are not placed before you as nominations of the Nominating Commission. And each of these four comrades are nomi-

nated in the upper layer of the alternate list by the commission.

What we thought this meant is that there was nearly unanimous opinion in the party at this particular convention on who constitutes the central core of the leadership of the party, the regular members of the National Committee.

I want to go into some other figures in regard to the proposals that we will be presenting. Five comrades who were not elected regular members of the National Committee at the last convention, but who were high on the alternate list, have been nominated as regular members of the National Committee by the Nominating Commission. Among the alternate membership nominations that we will put before you, thirteen new comrades have been added to the list who have never been on the National Committee before, and the remainder are comrades who have been alternate members for a relatively short period of time. Compare this with the statistics from the last convention—only one new name was nominated for regular membership and only five new names were nominated as alternate members.

The commission had quite a bit of discussion about the alternate list and our concept of it. Basically, the commission looked at the alternate list in two ways: primarily as a testing ground and a training ground for comrades playing a leadership role on a day-to-day basis in the party at the present time; a place also where over a period of time a process of selection takes place for candidates for regular membership.

On this list are included comrades who are playing leadership roles in political and organizational direction of the branches of the party, comrades who are making theoretical and literary contributions to the education of the party, comrades who are leading various campaigns of the party or playing a leading role in growingly important departments of the party such as, for example, the printshop.

In addition, we saw the alternate list as a vehicle to bring to the committee the first-hand experience and thinking of younger comrades in particular situations where we see new opportunities for work for the party. For example, included on the list is a young, relatively new comrade to our movement, who has played a leading role in recent Black community struggles. Also included on the list is a young comrade who has been helping to direct our activity in a particular area of trade-union work where we have openings at present.

We think that this list definitely represents progress in moving forward and testing the transition in leadership in the party.

I will read now our nominees for regular, alternate, and advisory membership on the National Committee and our nominees for the Control Commission. I would like to point out that Comrade Reba Hansen, who has served on the Control Commission for some time, requested of the Nominating Commission that she not be nominated this year. She thought it important to add some younger representation on the Control Commission.

[Nominations read.]

These are the nominees of the Nominating Commission and with these before you, the Nominating Commission

has done its job and is now dissolved. The convention delegates as a whole take it from here.

## ORGANIZATION REPORT TO 25th NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Approved August 10, 1973

by Lew Jones

The purpose of this report is to outline the party-building activities coming out of the convention and the implementation of the political resolution that we've adopted.

Along with the convention agenda points, a number of other activities have been organized. There were three major tasks panel discussions which occurred at the beginning of the convention. These panels discussed the opportunities and tasks for us in the Black struggle, the trade-union movement and the women's liberation movement.

In addition, there have been or will be 27 other panels, fractions, and workshops covering all facets of party activities. The number and range of these meetings illustrate the scope of party activity at the present time. In this report we want to give 18 examples of the types of activities that the party is presently or has recently been involved in.

### *Eighteen Examples*

First. Last June, the party along with the Young Socialist Alliance, working with the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, mobilized in support of antiwar actions against the continued bombing in Southeast Asia and South Vietnam President Thieu's visit to the United States. Given the unstable situation in Southeast Asia, we remain committed to mobilizing the largest sentiment possible against American intervention and for Vietnamese self-determination. As part of this we are committed to a continuing propaganda campaign to explain the war and the Stalinist betrayals.

Second. Just a couple of months ago, party units around the country played an important role in supporting, building, and publicizing the African liberation solidarity demonstrations. We don't yet know what future actions may be contemplated. We found in the most recent demonstrations a greater receptivity to our ideas, along with a lesser degree of red-baiting.

Third. Several branches are involved increasingly in fruitful activities with international students. Such activities are obviously an increasingly important area for us. In this regard, the victory last spring in the Babak Zahraie

case was a big victory for all those fighting for the rights of foreign students.

Fourth. Comrades in Lower Manhattan are involved in the fight for community control of education by Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities in District 1. The party is a respected organization in that struggle and in the course of our support to the fight there we've won new friends and recruits.

Fifth. Flowing to some degree from the District 1 fight, in a week or two, teacher comrades will participate in the national teachers union convention. The questions they will intervene around are the questions of community control and preferential hiring. As well, we have comrades throughout the country active in the teachers union in the struggles of the teachers.

Sixth. In Atlanta, comrades have been deeply involved in a series of strikes that have involved sections of the Black community. Upon occasion we have participated in the decision-making bodies and supported the strikes in a variety of ways. Especially important is the way the Atlanta comrades have utilized their election campaign and *Militant* sales in those struggles.

### *Inflation*

Seventh. Last May, the party mobilized around the National Consumer Congress's call for May 5 demonstrations on the question of inflation, trying to continue the momentum of the nationwide meat boycott which had occurred a week or two earlier. We can expect a continuing struggle around inflation because inflation will become worse in the long run. A certain frustration and anger is building up in this country against inflation as it bites into our real wages. We can expect that there will be continuing protests and activities similar to the meat boycott and the May 5 activities, in which we will want to be involved and helping to lead.

Eight. In Detroit, the comrades helped lead a successful fight against the terrorist police unit, STRESS. This was a successful effort in which STRESS was abolished, and our comrades played a central and leading role in the

entire fight.

Ninth. A number of branches are involved in struggles around the Equal Rights Amendment, especially in states where it has not passed the legislature.

Tenth. Several branches, in conjunction with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), have important ballot cases in the courts. CoDEL, in fact, is building up a reputable record as the central organization fighting the notoriously undemocratic ballot laws, one of the bastions of the capitalist two-party con game, throughout the country. As well, CoDEL has played a central role in the District 1 struggle in New York.

Eleventh. While the favorable and historic Supreme Court abortion ruling has taken us a big step forward, there are important struggles that remain, which we have participated in. As well, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) recently conducted, with our support, an important activity around the involuntary sterilization question.

Twelfth. Many branches, but especially New York and Boston, have done effective work in defense of Latin American political prisoners in cooperation with the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Thirteenth. Quite a few branches have been immersed in the funding cutback struggles on the campuses and community with regard to childcare and various study programs.

Fourteenth. The Houston branch has been able to give effective aid to the striking oil workers in Houston and has won many friends.

Fifteenth. Just on the eve of the convention, the party mobilized to defend the banned Communist League. One example of the gains we made in this effort was in Houston, where the telegram sent to the French government had a local union president signing it, a shop president, a shop secretary, and a district organizer.

Sixteenth. Not long ago, representatives from all the branches in the Midwest participated in a conference in Chicago of trade-union women, which was attended by several hundred. Several comrades are taking ongoing responsibilities for this group.

Seventeenth. The Los Angeles and other branches have been involved in the struggle against the deportation of undocumented workers.

#### *Farmworkers*

And finally, an activity which I want to spend a little bit more time on is the support by the party to the struggle of the United Farm Workers. This is an activity which has become more important to the party. The UFW is a product of the radicalization. It is the most stable union formation ever to exist amongst the farmworkers. It emerged during the radicalization with the support of groups in struggles within the radicalization. The UFW organizing drives backed by the boycott are more than just simple trade unionism. They're tied immediately and directly to the Chicano liberation movement and to the radicalization as a whole. The Teamster-grower plot to turn back the farmworkers is in many ways a challenge to the left, to the radicalization, to the Chicano movement, and to the union movement. We want to be involved in this struggle.

There are a lot of activities we can carry out, starting

with the UFW activities themselves. In most cities, the UFW is organizing picketing of grocery stores which we want to be involved in and helping to build and broaden.

In addition, we can utilize our experience and our periphery to help broaden the support for the farmworkers. We've already done that in a number of cities. Just a week or so ago, there was a demonstration of several hundred in Los Angeles in support of the farmworkers. In Chicago, the comrades there helped put together a broad support meeting for the farmworkers. And in Houston, comrades have been taking support motions before the various unions that they're involved in, asking for support to the farmworkers.

What lessons can we draw from these eighteen examples? First of all is just their number and scope. While some are examples of nationally initiated and led activities, quite a few of them have been limited to one city or region and our participation has been through the branch in that particular area. In the political resolution we made reference to the importance of the branches looking in their own backyards in the coming period.

Additionally, what these examples show is that many of the struggles that we have been involved in recently stem from or relate directly to the Black, Chicano, or Puerto Rican movements. And these are areas to which we want to be especially attuned. Quite a number of branches have taken important steps forward recently in Black liberation work. We want to now try to extend that to all the branches and begin to do more consistent and fruitful Black liberation work.

Finally, another observation we can take from these examples is that while there's no sign of a left wing in the trade unions, the examples show that there are a certain kind of opportunities in the trade unions and trade-union related activity that are possible. The issues that are being raised can be more easily taken into the unions — such as support to the farmworkers and the struggle against inflation.

Additionally, there are actions that have occurred recently which the bureaucrats have been forced to call. One was the April 28 demonstration in San Francisco. Another is the September 8 demonstration in Chicago, which the UAW has supported. There are also strike support activities that we can be involved in. Our primary job, however, remains to explain to the ranks and recruit to our program for a class-struggle left wing in the trade unions.

These examples also point to the need and capacity of the party to react to sudden changes in the political life of the city, country, or world. We can be certain of more such developments.

#### *Propaganda Offensive*

Complementary to and integrated with these various activities and campaigns, the Political Committee is proposing to launch a three-sided propaganda offensive at this convention. This is three separate campaigns designed to reach as wide an audience as possible, offering the solutions to the major problems facing the workers and all the oppressed. What are those three campaigns?

First is the sales and circulation drive of *The Militant*. Second is a defense campaign for democratic rights and a party propaganda offensive growing out of the Watergate revelations. And third is the energetic relaunching

of the '73 campaigns and the energetic launching of the '74 election campaigns.

#### *Militant Circulation Drive*

First. The variegated nature of the party's activities at the present time requires that we give a fresh look to our press circulation and where and how we want to advance the circulation of *The Militant* and our other press. We want to plan in a fresh way the integration of our press into the variety of activities we are conducting. In reality, we've already begun taking that fresh look. The *Young Socialist* was launched not long ago—about a year ago—by the Young Socialist Alliance, and last spring we conducted quite a successful sales campaign of *The Militant*.

Our sales last spring jumped from around 3,500 all the way up to 10,000 at the end of the campaign and they averaged between 6 and 7,000. That is, we came close to doubling the sales of *The Militant* last spring. Moreover, the number and regularity of sales by comrades increased.

More importantly was who we sold to and where we sold. Our campus sales increased, but also we had more plantgate sales and sales were workers congregated. We conducted more sales in the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities. And, in addition to that, we developed other sales locations we had not previously utilized such as the Port Authority bus terminal in New York.

With the political and organizational success of the sales drive in mind, the Political Committee is recommending a 45th anniversary press circulation campaign, that will have at its center a campaign to reach approximately 9,500 to 10,000 sales of *The Militant* every week. Part of the campaign will be to get closer to our membership norm that all members sell the paper.

We will want to take *The Militant* into the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities. We will want to sell more where the workers are, such as shopping centers, plantgates, transportation centers, and so on. Sales on the campus should increase. And we want to also increase the numbers of sales locations.

In addition, we want to use *The Militant* as a vehicle in the struggles that we're involved in. For instance, the way Atlanta has used *The Militant* in the Black strikes there and the way Lower Manhattan has used *The Militant* in District 1 are good examples.

#### *Subscription Drive*

We also want to utilize a *Militant* subscription drive and all the benefits we gain from it as part of the 45th anniversary campaign. But we don't want to do a subscription drive in such a way that it would cut across the drive to increase individual sales. We want to propose a sub drive with quotas that are in range enough so we can use them and go to those places where we think it would be valuable to obtain subscriptions. Instead of high quotas that require travel all over the region, this year we are proposing somewhat lower quotas so that we can concentrate on campuses and other places where we know it would be valuable to have regular readers of *The Militant* and where it would complement the sales drive. The proposal is for a subscription drive of approximately 15,000 subscriptions.

There is a new aspect of this drive which should enable

us to get these subscriptions in the most efficient way possible and in a way that does not cut across the sales campaign. We want to propose two blitz or "red" weekends at the end of September and the end of October, when we mobilize the entire party during a weekend to go out and obtain 8,000 subscriptions in two weekends. The teams will make up the remaining 7,000. If the blitz weekends can be planned like a petition drive, we think we can achieve 8,000 or better with two big efforts.

There are several other proposals for our 45th anniversary campaign. We want to propose, where possible, that the branches have banquets this fall celebrating *The Militant's* 45th anniversary. In addition, *The Militant* will be running a fund drive in the paper for \$20,000.

#### *Teams*

In addition, we will be putting out a number of *Young Socialist* and *Militant* teams this fall—throughout the country—to sell the papers and obtain subscriptions. Two of the big projects we want to do is have two national teams, one centering in Pittsburgh and one centering in St. Louis to give comrades there a hand in building up the circulation in those two new branch areas.

The Young Socialist Alliance will also be conducting a *Young Socialist* sales campaign this fall. And we want to point to the importance of the party supporting and helping the YSA to achieve their goals.

#### *ISR*

Recently *ISR* circulation has dropped slightly, but subscribers to the *ISR* are the most enthusiastic of all the subscribers for our various publications. The renewal rate for the *ISR* is the highest. Therefore, the subscription drive is important and key to the circulation of the *ISR*. We are therefore proposing that this fall we conduct a subscription drive for the *ISR* of about 2,500 subscriptions. This is in line with previous *ISR* subscription drives.

We want to begin paying more attention to the circulation of the *ISR*. Important in that regard are the placements of the *ISR* in various bookstores, especially on campus. Sales of the *ISR* are most fruitful around meetings or events that the *ISR* can relate to or where people might be interested. We want to get away from the idea of randomly hawking the *ISR* on a street corner, but rather use it where it can have some direct interest and benefit.

#### *Campaign on Watergate*

The second part of our propaganda campaign is a campaign in defense of democratic rights and a companion socialist propaganda campaign on the Watergate revelations and their meaning.

It's clear that the Watergate crisis is quite deep and is continuing to spread. It involves a crisis in confidence of the methods of bourgeois rule and it will and is having a profound ramification on the political attitudes of the masses of the American people. The lies, the exposures of secret police, the provocations, the frame-ups, the clandestine actions—all these things make our job of explaining who rules this country that much easier. And it also makes it that much easier to explain that these methods have been used for quite some time against us and the rest of the left. The Watergate revelations present a profound opportunity for the left to advance our socialist



ideas and a defense of democratic rights. The suit we have launched and the campaign around it provide us with an opportunity to set an example and to lead the entire left around the opportunities created by the Watergate revelations.

You know, as the Watergate crisis deepened, and especially as the Huston plan was revealed, we began realizing that a lot has happened to us which we had let go by. So we decided to put out a call to comrades asking them to write up any incident that had happened to them and send it into the national office. We planned to look over whatever came in and maybe do something legally with it. The response of the comrades to this call was phenomenal—we were deluged with material.

#### *PRDF*

We turned over all this material to CoDEL and to Leonard Boudin and they began putting together a suit. CoDEL initiated the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to publicize and otherwise handle the suit that emerged.

The suit takes up the clearest incidents of violations of civil liberties. It covers the firebombing of the Los Angeles headquarters, GI cases, some break-ins and the tapping of Comrade Cannon's phone, among other incidents.

The PRDF has planned an ambitious campaign around the suit this fall, and we will want to energetically support their activities. PRDF plans to take this case and support for it into the trade unions, various community groups, Black groups, churches, and to prominent figures for their support. PRDF wants to put together some big publicity and press plans, starting with local press conferences involving notable figures, victims of the government, our candidates, and PRDF representatives.

The suit itself will cost an estimated \$50,000. The reason for the high cost is the amount of exploratory legal maneuvering required. We filed our suit and now have to subpoena various government officials and records to testify. The suit could go into a number of legal channels and the legal costs will mount accordingly. Therefore, PRDF plans a large fund-raising campaign this fall. And we, of course, will want to get involved in that effort, utilizing our experience, to help PRDF raise the money it needs. To facilitate all this, PRDF is planning a number of tours this fall to initiate local units of support.

Parallel to our support and participation in PRDF, we are mounting a socialist propaganda offensive on the whole Watergate situation and what it reveals. We want to point to what all this means about capitalist America, who rules it and what's necessary to change it.

#### *Election Campaigns*

The Watergate scandal and inflation create a propitious climate for launching and relaunching our '73 and '74 election campaigns in an ambitious manner. The '73 and '74 election campaigns can be the most politically significant local election campaigns we have ever run. In New York, once we complete the fall campaign, we will be taking on Rockefeller. In California, the comrades will be launching a statewide slate. In St. Louis, comrades are preparing a 1,000 percent campaign against Senator Thomas Eagleton. In addition, all congressional

seats are open for election in 1974. We can't possibly contest all of them, but we want to take the most important of them and launch ambitious campaigns around them.

On balance, the '73 campaigns so far have been perhaps the best local campaigns up till now. While they are not of the same scope as the presidential campaign, which is understandable, they were able to keep the momentum of the '72 campaign rolling. The quality of our election material has improved. The publicity that we have obtained has increased. And the campaigns that we have run have been more integrated into all the activities of the branches.

In relaunching and launching our campaigns, there are several areas we want to pay attention to. First of all, even though we want to look into our own backyards, we want to be careful not to "over-backyardize" our program. Most of the things we'll find in our backyard stem from national and international factors and our answer, of course, is a national and international program. We want to put forward the general solutions to the problems that we run into. A good example of this is what the Berkeley comrades did around the rent board elections there. The comrades put together a program that went over the housing and rent situation in the United States and how that applied to the Berkeley situation.

Secondly, in putting together our slates, we want to make sure that the slates represent the party in a balanced way. But at the same time, it's important not to take that positive thing and let it slip into making up a slate of contingents, that is, an antiwar candidate, a women's candidate, and so forth. We're socialist candidates and our candidates speak for the party and the entire program.

Just a word on youth support groups. These are an important component of the '74 election campaigns and in conjunction with the YSA we want to help launch Young Socialist support groups for the candidates that we'll be running all around the country.

#### *Branch Departments*

Let me say a few words about the necessary ingredients to make these activities and campaigns successful, the branch departments. With the growth of the party, but especially in the last year or so, these areas of activity are becoming more and more professionalized, organized and planned.

We want our headquarters to be organizing centers for our activity. Bookstores, if properly organized, can serve that purpose. The bookstores can be an important way of publicizing our activities, getting out our ideas, and drawing people around us. It's important to publicize bookstores and to carry as diversified a literature selection as possible profitably. We don't want to bring in a great diversity of literature and lose money. In a planned way we should try to make the bookstores a center of our activity and utilize them to help build the party.

The same thing goes for our forums. The forums can become a more and more important activity in the context of the type of activities that we are engaged in.

#### *Finances*

On our finances. There's not really enough time to go into great detail on our finances. The finances panel last night went over that in detail and the branch representatives

that were there can report back. But, in the last year or so we have made a great deal of progress in our financial situation. The debt retirements to the various national departments, and especially the national office, has been quite good. And we're beginning to take some important steps towards the \$15 per month per member average national sustainer that we've been trying to achieve. We feel, in fact, that we're getting closer and closer to being able to achieve that goal. And in the next period we want to take whatever steps we think are possible to get us closer to that. One important step that is just one example is the Boston branch, which has recently gone up to \$18 per member per month.

### *Leadership*

The types of party-building activities and campaigns that we are proposing dictate a greater initiative on the branch level and a greater responsibility for the branch executive committees and branches as a whole. In this regard, it's important to reiterate our concept of inclusive leadership. Given the variety and scope of our activities, no organizer alone and no executive committee alone, can possibly hope to organize it all. We want to spread it out, encourage comrades to take responsibility, participate in the leadership, take collective responsibility for the party and its activity. We're interested in developing cadre, leadership, comrades that can take heavy responsibilities. We want to continually develop cadre, release them and have others take their places. Our goal is a mobile party.

But while we're mobile, we also want to be involved in the political life of the cities we're involved in. In that regard, we should pay attention to major industries in cities where we are. It's important for us to have members in important industries in cities where we have branches.

The SWP also has responsibilities to the YSA. The party should take the responsibility to help the YSA in its campaigns and to do everything it can to help make sure the campaigns are successful. One area is especially important for the party, and that's the region and the recruitment done there. Quite a lot of recruitment is done in the region and it's important for the party to participate in that recruitment process.

Let me turn to our drug security policy. As all comrades know, the party stands for legalization of marijuana. We know that marijuana is widely and illegally used in society and there does not appear to be a great deal of victimization. But, if you look carefully, there *is* victimization and the laws on marijuana can be and have been used against radical groups and radical individuals. The case in Houston of Lee Otis Johnson is the best example. I believe there was also a YWLLer on the West Coast who recently got hit by an anti-marijuana law. Therefore, in order to protect the party and avoid needless victimization, our policy has been—and we want to reaffirm it—that use of illegal drugs, including marijuana, is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

### *Party Expansion*

Let me finish up with some notes on the expansion of the party. Since our last national gathering, the San Diego branch has been rebuilt and is one of the best branches we have, especially in regard to their sales and election campaign activity. In the last few months comrades from Seattle, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, Austin, Houston, Boston, New York (and I probably missed one), have travelled to St. Louis and Pittsburgh to begin to establish branches there. The first point on the incoming Political Committee agenda after the convention will be chartering of those branches in St. Louis and Pittsburgh. St. Louis and Pittsburgh have been doing quite excellently in *Militant* sales. In fact, they've achieved sales almost as high as some of our larger branches.

The Los Angeles branch is considering division, and in the coming months they will see if it's possible, which will be a further expansion for the party.

Let me summarize the expansion fund plans for this year. We want to continue the construction of West Street to meet the needs of the national departments and rebuild the building behind us. Pathfinder will continue its high production schedule. We plan to get out just as many books as we can in the coming months. In addition, the printshop will be purchasing computerized typesetting equipment as soon as it can. The education department will also be expanded this fall. And we hope, in cooperation with the branches, to more regularize this area.

The national office hopes to have greater field contact coming out of the convention. We know that's one of the weaknesses we've had in the national office. We hope to correct that. In addition, we want to expand the national office to help us take care of the international activities and tasks that are before us.

The scheduling of our next convention will be a concern of our incoming National Committee, but given our activities and given the international discussion, the National Committee will have to consider holding the convention sooner than our normal two-year interval. This is a concrete question. We can't answer it right now, but the National Committee will have to consider it and come back later with recommendations.

In the course of the radicalization, the party has played a completely unique role, from our participation and leadership in the antiwar movement to our understanding of the character of the radicalization and how to advance it. The party has been completely unique on the left. We've led many facets of struggles and many struggles in the radicalization, and taken them in a class-struggle direction. We've grown through these struggles and had an impact on a wide layer of people and have built up a large periphery for the party. We've just finished a very full discussion in the party of the fundamental politics of the party, and we're now prepared to go out of the convention with a full range of party-building activities which we can expect will have the same impact that our previous activities have had in the last few years.