

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.

1. 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: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
2. Vietnam: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
3. Europe: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1½ hour plus ½ hour summary
5. World Movement Report: 1½ hour plus ½ hour summary
6. Organization Report: 1¼ hour plus ½ 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.

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That the following time allotment be given to YSA NEC reporters: Youth Report: 1 hour plus ¼ hour summary.

Moved.

Carried.

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: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
2. Vietnam: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
3. Europe: 1¼ hour plus ½ hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1½ hour plus ½ hour summary
5. World Movement Report: 1½ hour plus ½ 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.

Speaker Against: Boehm

Defeated.

Vote on original motion on time for minority reporters.

Carried.

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.

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
J. 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 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.

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 M. 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

Discussion: Edwards, Votava

Motion: To grant Votava a 3-minute extension.

Defeated.

Further Discussion: Burke, Halstead, J. Hansen, Mirelowitz,
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 dis-
cussion.

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 Poli-
tical Committee report on Latin America.

Counter-motion by Mitten: That the convention adopt the
general line of the document "In Defence of Leninism: In
Defence of the Fourth International."

for counter-motion: 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 Indictes 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: Plogstedt

Motion: To grant Plogstedt 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.

Counter-motion by Shayne: To adopt the general line of the document "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe."

for counter-motion: 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 Joel Britton.

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

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

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

Carried.

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 limit speakers' 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

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.

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

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

for counter-motion: 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 Plogstedt.

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.

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.

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)

Nominating Commission Nominees for Regular Members of the National Committee (28):

J. Barnes	A. Hansen	A. Sharon
C. Bolduc	J. Hansen	E. Shaw
G. Breitman	G. Horowitz	B. Sheppard
J. Britton	D. Jenness	L. Seigle
P. Camejo	J. Johnson	B. Stone
P. Chertov	L. Jones	T. Thomas
C. DeBerry	C. Lipman	J. Tussey
D. Garza	F. Lovell	M. Waters
F. Halstead	D. Morrison	N. Weinstein
	H. Ring	

Nominating Commission Nominees for Alternate Members of the National Committee (22):

1. B. Scott	8. A. Pulley	16. S. LaMont
2. L. Evans	9. D. Styron	17. P. Seidman
3. W. Reissner	10. D. Roberts	18. F. Boehm
4. C. Lund	11. J. Benson	19. J. Hawkins
5. L. Jenness	12. N. Blackstock	20. D. McBride
6. J. White	13. L. Henderson	21. M. Dixon
7. D. Wulp	14. S. Stapleton	22. J. Mackler
	15. A. Morell	

Nominating Commission Nominees for Advisory Members of the National Committee:

M. Alvin	F. Dobbs	J. Liang
J. Cannon	A. Harer	G. Novack
B. Chester	T. Kerry	E. Reed

Nominating Commission Nominees for National Control Commission:

A. Chester	B. Matson
D. Ferguson	H. Scheer

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

Further Nominations: Barzman

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.

Results of voting on regular members of the National Committee:

J. Barnes	A. Hansen	L. Seigle
C. Bolduc	J. Hansen	A. Sharon
G. Breitman	G. Horowitz	E. Shaw
J. Britton	D. Jenness	B. Sheppard
P. Camejo	J. Johnson	B. Stone
P. Chertov	L. Jones	T. Thomas
C. DeBerry	C. Lipman	J. Tussey
D. Garza	F. Lovell	M. Waters
F. Halstead	D. Morrison	N. Weinstein
	H. Ring	

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

Discussion: Seidman, Reissner

Further Nominations: Shilman

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

Results of voting on alternate members of National Committee

1. B. Scott	8. A. Pulley	16. S. LaMont
2. L. Evans	9. D. Styron	17. P. Seidman
3. W. Reissner	10. D. Roberts	18. F. Boehm
4. C. Lund	11. J. Benson	19. J. Hawkins
5. L. Jenness	12. N. Blackstock	20. D. McBride
6. J. White	13. L. Henderson	21. M. Dixon
7. D. Wulp	14. S. Stapleton	22. J. Mackler
	15. A. Morell	

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.

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

Carried.

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 2½ 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 funda-

mental 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 anti-war 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 defence of the Vietnamese revolution. The newly established National Mobilisation 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 organised 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 anti-capitalist 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 and 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 inter-

national 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.

If 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 defence 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 emphasise 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 reestablishing 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. imperial-

ists, 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 revolu-

tion: 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 Navara 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!

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 (1¼ hr)
12:00 - 1:15 Latin America, Minority Report (1¼ 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

Monday, August 6

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast
9:00 - 9:30 Discussion
9:30 - 10:00 Latin America, Minority Summary (½ hr)
10:00 - 10:30 Latin America, Political Committee Summary (½ hr)
10:30 - 11:45 Vietnam, Political Committee Report (1¼ hr)
11:45 - 1:00 Vietnam, Minority Report (1¼ 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
10:00 - 11:00 Panels, Fractions, and Workshops

Tuesday, August 7

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast
9:00 - 9:30 Vietnam, Minority Summary (½ hr)
9:30 - 10:00 Vietnam, Political Committee Summary (½ hr)
10:00 - 11:15 Europe, Political Committee Report (1¼ hr)
11:15 - 12:30 Europe, Minority Report (1¼ hr)
12:30 - 1:45 Lunch
2:00 - 6:00 Discussion (4 hrs)
6:00 - 6:30 Europe, Minority Summary (½ hr)
6:30 - 7:00 Europe, Political Committee Summary (½ hr)
7:00 - 9:00 Dinner
9:00 - 11:00 Trade Union Panel

Wednesday, August 8

7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast
9:00 - 10:30 Political Resolution, Political Committee Report (1½ hr)
10:30 - 12:00 Political Resolution, Minority Report (1½ 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 (½ hr)
6:00 - 6:30 Political Resolution, Political Committee Summary (½ hr)
6:30 - 8:30 Dinner
8:30 - 10:30 Women's Liberation Panel
Panels, Fractions, and Workshops

Convention Schedule/page 2

Thursday, August 9

(7:00 - 8:45 Breakfast
9:00 - 10:30 World Movement Report, Political Committee
Report (1½ hr)
10:30 - 12:00 World Movement Report, Minority Report (1½ 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 (½ hr)
6:00 - 6:30 World Movement Report, Political Committee
Summary (½ 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 (1½ hr)
11:30 - 11:45 Youth Report Summary (¼ hr)
11:45 - 1:00 Organization Report (1¼ hr)
1:00 - 2:15 Lunch
2:30 - 6:30 Discussion (4 hrs)
6:30 - 7:00 Organization Report Summary (½ 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

CREDENTIALS REPORT

I. Total Attending Convention:

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

II. Delegations

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

1971
228

Full Delegates: 75
Women: 29
Men: 46

113

Age

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

Five years or less in movement: 35

Alternate Delegates: 64
Women: 25
Men: 39

96

Age

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

Five years or less in movement: 47

Fraternal Delegates: 62
Women: 20
Men: 42

76

Age

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

Five years or less in 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

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 build-

ing? 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 International.

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 nominated 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.