

Motion:

To elect the alternate members of the N.C. by the following two-tiered voting procedure:

- 1.) vote first on the composition of the alternate list, without regard for order (just like regular a.c. list is elected)
- 2.) after the composition of the alternate list is chosen in the above way, another vote is taken to determine the ranking.

3.) counting procedure on second vote

a first place vote counts 1 point
a second place vote counts 2 points...
etc

the lowest number of points is first alternate, etc.

Bullet balloting is permitted
But if only n candidates are voted for, the remaining candidates all receive $(n+1)$ points.

Motivation: There are two choices involved—composition and ranking. Two votes are required. The previous system left the door open to unfair weighting by a small percentage of voters.

SWP Convention ① 1973

Pre-Convention

Majority Caucus Mtg

Jack report -

A secret faction in FT // has been operating for some time

what is a ^(secret) faction

- discipline

- selective screening for membership in

- leadership partially secret

- platform is partially secret

- decision not to enter political debate w/ PRT(C)

- recognition debate on PRT(C) - PRT(U)

- Domingo letter "progressive assimilation"

- secret circulation of the letter of the six

- split perspective revealed in Bouzma letter

~ Canada, Australia splits

~ Spain - commissions -

~ evolution of U. Sec.

purpose of the secret faction - to prevent LTT from majority at U.C.

no debate yet in France

what is a tendency - e.g. LTT in Santiago

- formed to advance one or more points

- open // membership open by declaration

- bulletin official is the bulletin for tendency discussion

- confidence in leadership to apply pts of agreement

Faction

- no confidence in leadership // struggle for leadership

- screen applicants // some discipline

- bulletin if possible

SWP convention
1973

(3)

Jack - opening

written discussion -

1,033 printed pages

323 int'l disc. bulletin

composition: 2 million words - int'l + internal disc.

completed in 1972 + 1973 in one year

few

agendas etc.

Hilson - proposes - g.l.m. part has ~~been~~ ~~discussed~~

Barzman - proposes - f.u. part is

(says in passing - VN discussion has not been prepared)

miscellaneous other procedural by Barzman-Massey

Latin America Report - P.C.

last w.c. - abstract projections turned into factual projections

last w.c. / no concrete program for class struggle

PRT(C) - urban g-war + was politically terrorist

urban hit & run

but g-war in red s.t. is one thing

PRT(C) urban g-war was politically terrorist

Richard Mitten - minority report

underlying thesis of last w.c. - FI had possibility to take initiatives in action

defense of last w.c. resolution

* politics of PST makes ~~it~~ incompatible with membership in the FI

DISCUSSION - LATIN AMERICA

T. Edwards - quotes History of R.R.

John Votava - key issue = 15 Russ. Rev. The main thread of historical or ~~are~~ the other -

cover over "two stage" error of PRT(C) - want to discuss because they are fighting - downgrading politics

Cindy Burke -

POR line in Bolivia - Pol. Comment / Popular Assembly

Fred H. -

Latin America

(5)

Livio -

Camejo made a parody of MMF positions

P.C. - said at w.c. ^{majority had} an immediate perspective of world war on continental scale - this was false

last stage with ~~example~~ ^{pro -} / ~~Guerrilla~~ - false

no difference MMF - P.C. or China // false

What was the meaning of the 9th Wld Cong. resolution?
must understand the dynamics of the revolution

just. was correct in saying the difference was broader than on Latin America

- methodology

general analysis

- Europe + Wld situation

started from dynamics of rev. in Latin Amer at this stage

- 1.) build party - in specific context
 - 2.) broad vanguard in Latin Amer. -
 - 3.) armed struggle is on the agenda in Latin America now -
- objective events demonstrated that

breakthrough
Primo - last SWP
convention

we cannot limit ourselves to speak of armed struggle when others are engaging in it

Levio - cont'd

Key = we must understand if we can verify real potential situation in Latin America was very explosive at the time of our last w.c. doc

why were not able to exploit the potential

there were errors in the last w.c. document

Blower - 37a
Sinnott
Perrin - p. 49-5

emphasi^{was} on armed struggle / g-war - we didn't forget role of the party focus there was commonly understood

key was to assimilate lessons + project of armed struggle

emphasi slightly wrong // but didn't affect the main line of the document

* Levio - we grasped the fundamental trend of developments -

Bolivia - falsification about POR [substitutionist] line in popular assembly

Pol Command - POR (G) was correct not to participate in it

never did POR (G) take line of rural g-war

How does LTT conceive overthrowing Sanger regime

David

PRT was heterogeneous before split

Minors has big differences w/ SWP too
turning up

~~It~~ What was our concept of dealing with the PRT(c)? -
these were revolutionists - meant to win them over
this was a failure

PST - grew so big - what kind of people
are these?

Melt -

Mexico -

Mexican situation

PRT(c) - T's not born - they are created
within the party -

Lorenzo -

Peterson -

Halstead didn't understand fundamental issues
neither did delegates

to raise a question of advancing to socialism
through constitution is wrong

PST either confused or lying by suggesting that
you can advance to socialism through constitutional
means

7

8

Notes

Allende govt. is in no sense a bourgeois government

1973 at the end of the year...

...of the year...

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VN

Barzman - report

VN is one of central issues in FI debate

five areas of debate

1) assessment of present situation

2) inter-Relation a-w-m entre

3) FI intervention in USA a-w-m

4) nature of VCP

5) ...

Does SWP favor pol. rev. in NVN

no new analysis

June pamphlet - indicated VCP subordinated to Moscow
no public criticisms of KC

some edes began to think VCP non Stal. -

Baryman

(P)

(10)

Sheppard -

sees Stalinism as an absolute counter-revolutionary evil

confusion w/ slogan "Victory to NLF" ^[same class] - I think we oppose it because of Stalinist leadership

Moreno in 50 yrs.

Stene + Rosset finally put the ~~the~~ VN discussion on a higher theoretical plane

book review - at late date

Stene or Feldman - live up

no ultimatums ~~to~~ put to SWP members in Yugoslavia discussion - why now?

either SWP thinks

- got. rev. about to break out in SVN

- or masses in SVN disaffected

W/NLF

this live-up approach is designed to force Internationalist Tendency to become a faction

either LIT or IMT has adopted a formal position

Rosset started

MO Rosset adaptation to Stalinism

Bargman

11

IT agrees w/ general line of IMT on a-w-w

* IT subscribes to the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism - the IT is not based on

Stalinism does not have a program; it acts empirically //

one can't say a party is Stalinist just by looking at its program

Vollmer - soc. in one country
pre 1940's

↳ was he a Stalinist

key is subordination to interest of a bureaucracy

One must show existence of a crystallized Stalinist bureaucracy in power

The fact that the SWP came to the right conclusion each time does not mean it uses the correct method

JB: moves opening of a literary discussion on these questions

complex technology of war

The Vietnamese people can fight well - to say that this is being done at odds with the VN leadership is ridiculous

The exemplary role of VCP in building an int'l solidarity need not be demonstrated

Oct 27, 1968 ^{London} Dem - alleges immediate withdrawal of Vietnam to NLF

Germany's 1969 resolution

lull in a-w activity in 1969-70 was a product of objective conditions

i.e. rise in consciousness of vanguard - no longer interested in revolutions abroad - but in domestic class struggle

French class action forced Chet al to take initiatives

alleged sign now slogan - actual slogan was Nixon should concede

J Bogimov immediate withdrawal (Solidarity w/NLF) better than sign now

right of s-d is subordinate to the class struggle as a whole

VN s-d subordinate to our projections for what is best for class struggle in VN -

Bayman

a-w-m in Europe didn't fall apart after the accords, as it did in Europe

USA -

there could have been a mass a-w-m without us

should build ^(strengthened) anti-imperialist wing

SMC was not the political left wing // it was the youth wing

there was no difference between SMC // NPAC

SWP organized every kind of contingent except an anti-imperialist contingent

degeneration of a whole layer of anti-imperialists laid to fault of SWP not organizing & educating them

we are for NLF to power

yes, but not of workers state

Program

what does SWP leadership mean by proletarian methods of struggle

~~BTTHN~~

BTTHN
↑

Q: united front

does SWP think we should not raise other slogans

- 1) we organized BTTHN contingents - can
- 2) what is anti-imperialism program/ action

VN Records - modest setback

events have tended to go in favor of NLF

withdrawal of US troops
recognition of DRV troops } advances

but remaining Thieu regime → moderate setback

dual power

NCP has not given up its goal of getting rid of the Thieu regime

Barzman

SWP theory of the new world situation -

is at heart of the deepening differences

youth resolution - SWP at last w.c. put this forward as the main line for FI

SWP ~~is~~ wrong on "triumphalism" of past couple of years

SWP failure to adequately grasp deepening crisis of world capitalism

rise of class struggle in Europe

every betrayal threatens the workers states

we must reject any incipient third camp position

Creation nationalism expresses ~~not~~ restorationist currents

detente cannot last long -

will tend to exacerbate class struggle in wkr states & in capitalist world

VNE situation of dual power

VCE raising a struggle against Thieu & the accords

we should ~~do~~ call for amnesty for the draft evaders

VN Disc.

(16)

Peter Seidman

~~there~~ were there only two sides in VN - G. or NLF

this is only the beginning - not the end - of the
problem -

for Trotskyists

T.P.

we say - yes, it is necessary to build a Trotskyist
party in Vietnam

Theodore Edwards -

Russian Question

people's war // Stalinist

our ISR review was in answer to a revisionist
book published by several sectors

role of VCP - leading the struggle on
a class collaborationist line

George Johnson

History of Trotskyist analysis of the Vietnamese Stalinist

& Vietnamese Stalinist

Why are we raising these questions now
- because Bennett opens assault on our heritage

Milt Alvin

monolithic character of ~~the~~ Statist parties

Don G.

Why ~~the~~ Bergman & Co. don't want to
rush the decision -

because for years in SWP they led the
Stalinophobic anti-labrite wing of SWP - and now
they are trying to wriggle out of it

Ed Heister

exemplary action types - doesn't appeal to wks, etc

Syd Hapleton

proposed use of the term, "anti-imperialist"

(11) (12)
Peter Peterson -

has ^{been} appalled by ignorance of misdirection on IMG
How can he tried to sneak in

immediate withdrawal

totally wrong -

NO NO NO

not around immediate
withdrawal as key

Solidarity w/ NLF

more successful under victory

Why did IMG abandon mass action line?

I don't accept the question

Peterson

How do you accept the decline of the U.S. 3a-w-m

factors in Britain explaining downturn

changes in the objective situation

- rise in workers struggle
- maneuvers of U.S. imperialism

Peterson - favors I.T. proposal for a literary discussion

to say petty bourgeois parties leading revs. that lead to workers states

infinitely more revisionist than saying VCP is non-Stalinist

unconditional defense of workers states

Has the SWP said that the best way to defend NVN is to call for a pol. rev. -

not in early years of war
not in midst of a strike

but we put forward a line for struggle if we expect that VCP will oppose us

Malik

on detente

John Hillson

Adair

between 1965-68 -

our small forces got the VSC going -

against British complicity

BTTHM

Victory to NLF added in 1968

1968 proved mass actions could take place, despite a wrong slogan

put tremendous pressure on Stalwarts & pacifists

stems down the post-1968 turn away from mass action

IMG diff-workers struggle ^{coming} onto center stage means decline of anti-imperialist movement & student struggles

VN

(21)

Stacey - Chicago - I.T.

how can Stalinists, as a p. b. layer,
develop a ~~specific~~ consistent program
not possible

Marxism is centralist

Feldman -

US // nature of state = bodies of armed men

Mike Kelly -

state = armed bodies

- tied in with peron on militarist Latin America
gun above class politics

Credit

J. Bayman, Notes on Trotskyism

Trotskyism - Europe - not a burning
question today

But VCP - is today

Stalin has discussed these questions before
Bayman should propose a discussion in FI
on this question - there should be a discussion on this

Dick Roberts

Lino Martin

1) on nature of VCP

for discussion at the world congress,
but so far, USec has had no formal discussion on this

USec should discuss first, then afterwards take
up their personal opinion

this question is too vital to discuss in a
casual manner

don't regard PRT(c) letter as a theory

*
we don't
we just don't
know if they
have a theory

this question should be decided at the world
congress

but before so, the idea should be further
familiar with the views of the USec

China did we not have a position on China?
Not true

there were differences on China at w.c., but we
agreed on a formula that didn't settle the question

at 9th Congress - discussed for first time
since reunification

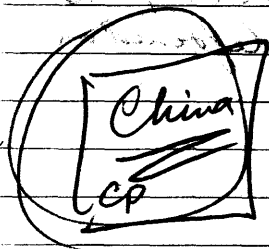
Livio

I haven't met many eds who read my book on China

Leo Swan - failed to cite Livio's book

characterization of CCP involves very difficult questions // that is true

How can a petty bourgeois party - make a proletarian revolution -



P.B. - characterized CPSU only -
ideology = petty bourgeois

But basically, Stalinist parties are workers parties // that is fundamental

The idea that petty bourgeois parties can overthrow capitalism is revisionist

Cuba - much harder to swallow

Fidelistas were now Stalinist

Fidelista leadership in essence - had a petty bourgeois origin

But in the process of the revolution, this group linked itself to the w.c. - ?

When they built a workers state, what class interests did they represent. - it is absurd to say they represented a p. b. layer

Livio

before 1963

1960 - P. B. origin, through linking w/ masses had become a proletarian rev. leadership - through linking with the masses

The objective content of the regime was ~~rev. nature~~

- not only overthrew capitalism, but built a wks state - not a deformed or degenerated wks -

Fred

on 1968 - demo

1969-70-71... were the years where the objective situation for building mass actions were the most favorable

Cometo

last w.c. - Livio et al - described politics of Marxism as bureaucratic centrism -

Quotes from Livio letter to PRT

- gives three criteria {
 - overthrow capitalism
 - fight defeat (fight) imperialism
 - create new vanguards

Carneg

what is centrism

bureaucratic centrism

Shaeffer // Houston, IIT

Stalinophobia

Peter Buch

victory to NLF

at whom should that slogan be directed

at | China
at | Russia

Pulley -

on notion that the wks radicalize and this implies diminishing interest in anti-imperialist struggles

periphery to center — => VN rev = peripheral

vs Bayman - that despite being ~~right~~ right in analyzing postwar transformations that method was wrong at least it was an "adequate instrument"

Barzman Summary -

demagogic zone

Incipient 3rd Camp posi

Serdman - Stalinophobia

absolute

June 1957

10/11/57

Wholesale to agents left black water

and
main

to have 10-15% and left 10% water

agents and other water problems

to have 10-15% and left 10% water

to have 10-15% and left 10% water

to have 10-15% and left 10% water

to have 10-15% and left 10% water

(Europe

M-A report

(nature of the period -

Timing

Spain -

June 21 -

Minority Report -

Judy Shane -

reads Rothschild - Langston
document -

FF

28

Peteron

are CP's

workers orgs

in R.B. at the junction

~~1940/1941~~

~~papers A-W~~

~~document~~

~~1935~~

~~1937~~

~~1938~~

~~1939~~

note on... [faint handwritten notes]

Political Report - Sheppard

Trade union consciousness is plain and simple does not yet break out of bourgeois ideology - but we see it as a step forward

similar to nationalist consciousness

Political Report - Hedda Garza

SWP majority abandon I.T.

May 1968 - student spark theory of SWP

SWP deeply & dangerously entangled into nationalism - as shown by rejection of the European documents

theory of combined revolution

in *Women* - in *Black's Dynamics of Women's Liberation*
 in *Harmony* quote - in *Towards an Amer Soc. Rev.*

radicalization of 1930's & 1940's compared to 1960's - 1970's

SWP - did well at outset in a-w-m - mass, but not in regard to radicalizing youth

NLF - victory to NLF

a hallucination to think NLF in power would bring about a wksa state

Hedda Gayer Report cont'd

SUP won ABC work was an atrocity

Sisterhood is Powerful =

{ Jacqueline Kennedy
Happy Rockefeller }

argument

||| "you" fund raising - said "you" deliberately
not a streak of internationalism -

need to give money to FI, not just for
USA needs

Bargman letter

- give you an opportunity to stop political discussion

quotes Dave Wulp in Boston branch who allegedly

stumbled them "things that crawled out from rocks"

"I should have hit him; but I restrained my
ultra-left feelings"

we will not split, and will not let you provoke us
into split, into being demoralized out of this party

Mike Maggi

Hedda's "petty bourgeois, anti-party shit."

quotes from Hedda's 1971 position

The difference is over tactical implementation of P.C. resolution

g-l-m

political demands - democratic demands while b.n. work on social weight = less than women, opp. nat. go further

general line of the amendment

believe increasing numbers will join g-l-m

g-l-m is a revolutionary struggle & a part of the class struggle

we do not propose general assignment of comrades everywhere - but dependent on specific circumstances


INTRO 475 has been the key struggle

critical difference with memo - memo says that no potential for united front coalitions

lessening of g-l-m, admitted

we should initiate united fronts and struggles wherever the potential exists

Maggi on g-l-m

- on "gay is good" 

not a slogan or demand at all

is stated as fact // rejecting society's prejudice vs gays

same as "Black is beautiful"

Tony Thomas -

on nationalism

of charges about sub versions of feminism or nat'l question

Martilde Zimmerman

3 women's demands that relate primarily to women -
e.g. abortion

Milt Alvin

Dave Wulp -

Carole Seligman - child care

Rayman - nationalism

Jeanette Tracy - Mix nationalism

Louis Beaget - military wing of party

Norman Oliver -

Kipp Dawson - on gay memo

Melissa - G.I.s
vanguard

Lamont women

Harry King - for NC memo on g-l in

Herman Jagg -

Peterson -

it's a disgrace to threaten expulsion
- re - awareness

Louis Project

+ no leader of SWP has repudiated such threats

full-solidarity with I.T. resolution

we in Europe can also learn from it

I.T. dec. is superior in method to P.C. resolution

P.C. resolution - no analysis, mere descriptive
no strategy

no perspective for intervening in w.c.

nothing on war -

Shepard report } national consciousness -
Fabian view of consciousness

Peterson - *ides should read*
What is to be Done

ReBerry - *on M-X*

Charlie Bolduc - *for Thordal-green*

Joel Aber

Betsy Stone

Malik + Malik - *meta vidi*

Crandall

m : Shaffer

to *Book Ganga*

Hadda Garg 3

Summary pol. report

anti children attitude of SWP

Barry - Summary



Brayman

Barnes speech

① up the ante

SWP threatens to leave FI if FI decides against the PST

② Q. - will the SWP integrate itself in the new international that is being built

- a split-type speech -

charging SWP with preparing to walk out of FI

old movement report p. 41

World Movement Report

Jack Bansa -

motions

- 1) reaffirm org principles
- 2) every party unit instructed to apply
- 3) all transfers ^{to be} approved by us
- 4) local units can form caucuses

delegated

the top

... of ...

... of the ...

... of ...

Livio - World Movement Report

I don't consider it a privilege to speak at the SWP convention. As USec member, it is his right.

Supreme body is not congress of national section, but the world congress

crisis of FI takes place in context of growth

minority of USec decision to reject the Geneva document was a turning point

Cologne agreements were just an interlude

minority of USec tried to defuse the debate by throwing in organizational questions

secret faction talk is a covering up

Domings letter was a political letter. Livio's attacks on Moreno were previously stated at IEC's

what was the purpose of the letter to the PRT?
- to open a discussion w/PRT then present in internal discussion

Bayman letter - shouldn't have been published without consulting the author // no secret stuff // all permissible

It's wrong to publish China resolution without USec having a discussion on

To discuss possibility of split (as in Bayman letter) - there is nothing wrong with it

we don't use "MMF" type ^{characterizations} language - can only poison the atmosphere. we use - majority - minority

Livio - wld must

states categorically - Latin America ^(are) want for armed struggle. But for Western Europe it is a shameful forgery to say we are for a military wing of the party

SWP convention totally distorts real ~~reality~~ and real situation of Europe.

roots of the difference - different national circumstances -> different way of viewing questions

almost everywhere || the comrades complain not that there is too much intervention by U.Sec, but too little

~~challenge~~
The financial ~~resources~~ resources & material resources to organize FI do exist
must reject federal concepts of FI

on SWP convention as supreme authority -
to elect national leadership - yes

It historically has taken sanctions only twice
- vs Oaxton
- vs French / dissolving leadership
NU(F) voted against, Americans voted for

on Argentina ^(Livo) - went there twice prior to 1969 - || 1967, 1968
1967 - at central committee ~~both~~ both Morano and Santucho agreed to his report for U.Sec.

1968 - Livo tried to help Santucho's side, but the split had already taken place

Livio

can't keep postponing the world congress

key problem of coming congress - elect new leadership
+ give minority full representation

on documents

~~the~~ in Italian - LTT document is available for
5 weeks
German document ^{not} yet

if documents are not available, it will be a
valid reason to postpone the world congress

on SWP/YSA relations

the YSA is a sympathizing section of FI. This
implies that the YSA ~~must~~ must discuss the vital questions

Such decision or faction will create more tension in FI

statement of declaration of war is very dangerous. I
don't like this terminology. But if so, we will defeat you.

Tom Kerry -

central Political Q = the org Q.

Joe Hansen

1963-54 split

Peter Peterson -

Peter Peterson - bad memory

three years of secret factional activity in IMG

political backshop

The T split a year ago because little "t" charged \approx big "T" with being a faction

Financial - SWP withholds

participation - SWP withholds from attendance

Trampes - IMG

we're going to fight against a line of

- { calling cops against other workers
- { crossing class lines
- { constitutional road to socialism

* Baizman - vs Kerry charge that FI leadership is corrupt (see p 35)
Massey - "
Baines raises split perspective



Secret informers planted in our tendency
- that's how SWP got the Baizman letter

Livia - Summary
on 1953 split

entryism was adopted before 1953-54 division & Open Letter

secret faction charge is a "police mentality"

[just]
documents of the movement are not for internal consumption,
but to convince people on the outside

Canada - 15/180 refused to admit Old Mole/Red Circle

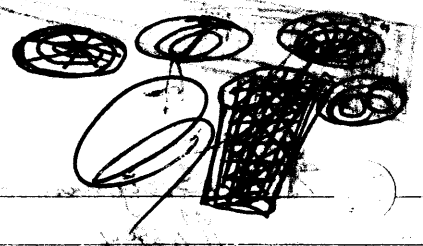
Peter Camejo is one of the crudest factionalists in
the Fourth International

all documents (almost all) have been translated
into French and will be published soon

Jack x Summary

a split in FI is not politically justified

oo key to prevent split = full discussion



Youth Report

Mark Lane

fractional recruitment into YSA

IT - proposal for right of party members to raise their
differences in the youth



[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten notes and scribbles covering the middle section of the page.]

provision of staff

initially planned for 1973 in Reg 1
... ..

slate

NC

full

alternate

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

- 1. Bev Scott
- 2. Les Evans
- 3. Wendy Reissner
- 4. Caroline Lund
- 5. Linda Jenness
- 6. Judy White
- 7. Dave Wulp
- 8. Andrew Pulley
- 9. Dan Styron
- 10. Dick Roberts
- 11. John Benson
- 12. Nelson Blackstock
- 13. Lynn Henderson
- 14. Syd Stapleton
- 15. Andrea Morrell
- 16. Susan Lamont
- 17. Peter Seidman
- 18. Frank Boehm
- 19. John Hawkins
- 20. Dick McBride
- 21. Maceo Dixon
- 22. Jeff Mackler

advisory

control

- 1. M. H. Alvin
- 2. J. P. Cannon
- 3. Bob Chester
- 4. Farrell Debbs
- 5. Asher Harer
- 6. Tom Kerry
- 7. Liang
- 8. G. Nawrack
- 9. E. Reed

- 1. Ann Chester
- 2. Duncan Ferguson
- 3. Barb Matson
- 4. Helen Scheer

Levio

decision alien to tradition + rules of FI
e.g. Britain, Canada

do you consider the SWP a special case

terminology of non-comm. reporter ~~is~~ antiparty
elements is alien to our movement - more in the
tradition of Stalinism.