

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE WORKERS PARTY

May 27 - 31, 1946

Monday, May 27, 1946,

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The convention was convened at 12:10 P.M., by Max Shachtman, National Secretary, by an opening address in which he welcomed the delegates, alternates and visitors and noted the significance of this, our first post-war convention.

The convention then proceeded to a roll-call for the seating of delegates.

Motion by Shachtman: That all N.C. members and alternates elected as regular delegates and now seated who wish to relinquish the Branch mandate, so advise the Convention secretary in writing, and that the change be made in that way, hereafter giving them their status only as fraternal delegates. Carried.

The following regularly elected delegates then relinquished their branch mandates to their elected alternates:

Burt	- Queens Branch, New York Local
Williams	- Brooklyn Thurs. Branch, New York Local
Bell	- Yorkville Branch, New York Local.

Shachtman then recommended that Comrade Sylvester of the American Socialist Party be seated as a fraternal delegate.

Motion: That Comrade Sylvester be seated as a fraternal delegate. Carried.

Phillips of Queens, New York, then announced that she was challenging the Harlem, New York delegation. She challenged the seating of three majority delegates and requested that two majority delegates and one minority delegate be seated by the convention.

AGENDA: Comrade Shachtman then presented the agenda proposed by the National Committee. (See "A" attached hereto.)

Motion: (Johnson) - To extend the time of the reporters on the International question by 15 minutes each. (Carried - 25 for, 8 against)

Motion: To proceed with the Agenda as a whole and then take up any changes. Carried.

Motion: (Graham, N.Y.) - To reopen discussion on extending time for reporters on International question. Defeated.

Motion: (Russell, Los Angeles) - To read agenda for one session at a time and amend as called, rather than have the delegates each submit their changes as

they are recognized. Carried.

Motion: (Johnson) - To extend the time for the reporters on the resolutions on the U.S. by 15 minutes each. Defeated (14 for, 17 against).

Request was made that the O'Connor-Scopa resolution on the U.S. be submitted as an amendment for vote and that O'Connor be given 10 minutes to report thereon, the voting on said amendment to take place before the voting on the American resolution.

Motion: To table request to that point on the agenda. Carried

Motion: (Johnson) - To extend the time for the reporters on the resolution on the Party by 15 minutes each. Defeated.

Motion: (Green, New York) - That the Jewish Question be moved up to point 11 on the Agenda so that it follows immediately after the Negro Question, and that all other points be moved down accordingly. Carried.

Motion: To accept the unanimous recommendation of the National Committee that the session on the election of the National Committee be held in executive session. Carried.

Question by Russell of Los Angeles: How will information on the election of the National Committee be reported by the delegates?

Motion: To table to that point on the Agenda the question raised by Russell on how information on the election shall be reported. Carried.

Motion: To adopt the Agenda as read and revised. Carried.

CONVENTION RULES (See "B")

Motion: That the rules be taken up seriatim. Carried.

Rules 1 and 2 were accepted as proposed.

Rule 3: Amendment (Stiler, Detroit) - A delegate who has not been seated by 10:30 shall not be seated for the session. Defeated.

Amendment (Parker, New York) - To add "unless an alternate has not yet been seated in his place." Carried.

Rules 5, 6, 7 and 8 were accepted as proposed.

Rule 9: Amendment - To add "and the presiding committee must open a session of the convention as soon as a quorum is present." Carried.

Motion: That all delegates register with the convention secretary on arrival at each session so that the number of delegates present can be determined. Carried.

Motion: To accept the Convention Rules as amended. Carried.

Recommendation by N.C.: That delegates with amendments to the International Resolution shall be granted five minutes extra to present their points of view. Carried.

ELECTIONS OF COMMITTEES:

National Committee proposed a presiding committee of 7.

Motion: To accept proposal. Carried.

Nominations:	Gould, N.Y.	Wilson, Detroit
	Hall, Detroit	Saunders, San Pedro
	Sanders, Chicago	Ferguson, Chicago
	Forrest, Phila.	Judd, Detroit
	Russell, L.A.	O'Connor, San Francisco
	Bern, N.Y.	Draper, Los Angeles
	Holman, Chicago	

Holman, Draper, Judd, Ferguson, Russell, Sanders and Hall declined the nominations.

Nominations were reopened and Hall and Judd were renominated.

Question by Bern: Can an alternate (Forrest of Phila.) be seated as a member of the presiding committee, and if so, does that seat her as a regular delegate at all sessions?

Motion: (O'Connor) - That Forrest function as a member of the presiding committee regardless of whether she is or is not seated as a delegate.

Motion: (Ferguson) - That the convention request Johnson to select another representative to the presiding committee who is a regular delegate. Motion not accepted by Johnson.

Motion: (Bern) - To disqualify Forrest as a member of the presiding committee during those sessions for which she is not seated as a regular delegate.

Amendment: (Green, N.Y.) - And that on those occasions the presiding committee be composed of 6 members.

Motion: To table. Carried.

Presiding committee of 7 members as nominated was accepted.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:

Motion: To accept the National Committee proposal for a committee of three. Carried.

Nominations:	Coolidge	Marnin, Phila.
	Bern	Holman, Chicago
	Jensen, Newark	Zoupan, Detroit
	Steinmetz, N.Y.	Brown, New York

Brown, Bern, Holman and Zoupan declined nominations. Bern was thereupon renominated.

Motion: That the committee stand as a committee of five as nominated. Carried.

REPORT OF PRESIDING COMMITTEE by O'Connor, O'Connor to be chairman of the present session. Recommend that after the report of the presiding committee we have a one hour recess. Accepted.

Recommendation by National Committee: That Coolidge be placed in charge of the Secretaries of the convention, minutes, publication of resolutions, etc. Accepted.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE:

Motion: To accept the National Committee recommendation for a committee of five. Carried.

Nominations:	Fenwick, Phila.	Ferguson, Chicago
	Victor, N.Y.	Rayo, N.Y.
	Russell, Los Angeles	Stiler, Detroit
	Marnin, Phila.	Holman, Chicago
	Parker, N.Y.	Frazer, New York
	Barsh, N.Y.	

Russell, Parker, Barsh, Ferguson, Stiler, Holman and Frazer declined nominations. Barsh was renominated.

Motion: That the committee of 6 stand. Carried.

Convention recessed at 2:10 P.M. for one hour.

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Convention reconvened at 3:10 P.M. with O'Connor as Chairman.

Roll Call.

INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION:

"Resolution on the French Constitutional Referendum" (see "C") was read by the secretary.

Report by Erber on the International Resolution submitted by the National Committee (see Bulletin - Vol. I - No. 11).

Minority report by Johnson on the International Resolution (see Bulletin - Vol. I - No. 11).

Motion: (Presiding Comm.) - That the Hall-Wilson amendment to the International Resolution be read to the convention at this time but that the resolution itself not be voted on.

Amendment: (Hall) - That the amendment be distributed to the delegates as part of the post-convention discussion on the question.

Motion as amended carried.

Hall-Wilson amendment was read to the convention. (See "D")

Amendment: (Green, N.Y.) - To add to the third paragraph of the majority resolution, under the section headed "Necessity to Struggle against Preparations for World War III," the following sentence which would follow immediately after the sentence reading "Specific measures, of whatever kind possible, must be formulated to break through to the Russian masses": "The struggle of the masses of Stalin-dominated countries for liberation is the most powerful factor in this direction, and the American workers must understand this."

Discussion for 90 minutes. Speakers as follows:

For majority resolution	For minority resolution
Goldman, SWP Minority	Phillips, N.Y.
Hall, Detroit	Harvey, Detroit
Draper, Los Angeles	Stone, New York
Shachtman	Forrest
Stiler, Detroit	Dillon, New York

Summaries: Johnson, 15 minutes; Erber, 15 minutes.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:

48 regular delegates to the convention, elected by a total of 344 votes, as follows:

<u>Branch</u>	<u>No. Reg. Delegates</u>	<u>No. Alternates</u>	<u>No. Votes Cast</u>
Philadelphia	4	4	29
Buffalo	1	1	8
Akron	2	1	12
Queens	3	4	25
Brooklyn Wed.	4	5	28
Harlem	3	3	20
Detroit	4	4	29
Chicago	2	3	18
San Pedro	2	0	11
Seattle	1	2	7
Brooklyn Thurs.	3	3	26
Yorkville	3	3	22
Chelsea	4	3	26
San Francisco	2	2	18
Nowark	1	1	9
Los Angeles	3	3	18
Louisville	1	2	8
Cleveland	1	1	7
Chicago SWP Minority	3	2	19
New York " "	1	0	8

Fraternal delegates:

Youth 3 - 1 alternate
 Reading 1
 St. Louis 1
 American Socialist Party 1
 National Comm. 20 Alternates 7

There were 355 votes cast, of which 11 were fraternal.

17 localities were represented at the Convention.

Motion: To accept the undisputed portion of the report.
Carried

Challenges:

Dillon challenge to Ferris's vote in the Harlem Branch:

Bern: Veterans were assigned to those branches by the Committee where it was felt they would have no effect on the voting. Ferris was voted into the Harlem Branch on that basis on a motion by Comrade Forrest in the City Committee. On the night of voting, the total vote was announced as 18 instead of the actual vote of 19. On the basis of 18, the minority would have received 1 delegate, and so no vote was challenged. After the vote, the total vote was corrected to 19. On that basis, the minority lost a delegate.

The challenge is made on the basis that Ferris's vote in this case actually perverted the intentions of the City Committee not to upset the voting set-up.

Findings of the Credential Committee on the Dillon challenge:

1. The Harlem Branch had 21 comrades who were regular members at the time of the convention call and who it was reasonable to suppose might show up and vote on the night of elections. They also had two additional comrades who were very far behind in dues.
2. On the night of voting, there were 20 members in good standing, not counting Ferris, or a total of 21 counting him.
3. Not 18 or 19 but 20 comrades were present and eligible to vote before the vote was taken, with one written vote on hand.
4. One person, from whom the minority had previously obtained a written vote in their favor, was present at the meeting and changed his mind, registering himself as not voting. It was this change in vote that affected the minority representation.
5. That is why the vote of Ferris was challenged after the vote was completed and not before it was known how he would vote.

The motion in the Credentials Committee to deny the appeal of Comrade Dillon was carried with 4 votes for and 1 abstaining.

Motion: To accept the report and recommendations of the Credentials Committee on this appeal. Carried
(30 for, 7 against)

Chicago appeal:

Chicago appeals for the seating of a third delegate on the basis that a comrade on probation at the time of the call, and since then a regular member of the branch, should be counted as a member in determining representation to the committee.

The Credentials Committee unanimously recommends rejection of the Chicago request.

Motion: To accept the report and recommendations. Carried.

Brooklyn Wed.:

The branch certified Meade as the minority alternate. Now the minority requests that Stone be seated as the alternate instead.

The Credentials Committee recommends acceptance of Stone as alternate. Carried.

Convention adjourned at 8:45 P.M.

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Convention reconvened at 10:00 P.M. with Gould as Chairman.

REPORTS ON CP-SP-CGT SLOGAN (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 8): Shachtman for the majority - 30 minutes, Garrett for the minority - 30 minutes.

Convention voted to have 6 speakers for and 6 speakers against the majority position and voted a 5 minute recess so that each caucus might choose its own speakers.

The following statement was made by Gates:

"1. Several months ago, when reporting to the Political Committee on the situation in France and China I proposed the policy of non-support to the Stalinist movement fighting for power in China and the slogan of the CP-SP government in France. The first discussion revealed that, with the exception of Johnson, the entire PC agreed with the position I outlined on China, while a division took place on the proposed policy for France. This early and doubtful division developed into two definite positions on the question of the CP-SP government for France.

"2. Following the action of the January plenum which voted in favor of the majority position on the slogan, I departed for an extended stay in Akron without leaving a detailed statement of views, declaring orally that I would, when the opportunity presented itself, prepare a statement which would not only outline my position on the question but would present, in response to a request from the majority, a counter-program for the present situation in France.

"3. In signing the Garrett statement, I wrote to the Political Committee that had I written the statement I should have changed some of the formulations and presented some independent views as well as a program to counter the program of the majority.

"4. In the course of the intervening weeks, I found it impossible to prepare such a counter-program. Under more normal circumstances, in a situation less acute than the problem of a governmental crisis involving the question of state power, such an all-embracing counter-program would not be necessary. But the present situation required something more than was given in the Garrett, Ferguson, et al statement. That statement says, among other things, 'However, the party's inability to put forward a governmental slogan in this situation does not necessarily constitute abstentionism. It merely means that the situation does not warrant this particular slogan, that there is no other governmental slogan adequate to the situation and that our demands must be framed around other issues.' This reply is totally insufficient in face of the situation which exists in France. And it was around this question that I found myself in a dilemma.

"5. Under the circumstances, since I cannot support the position of the majority which I regard as wrong and dangerous, I find it necessary to abstain from voting on this question. If this were an ordinary question my inability to develop a counter-slogan would be of no great importance. In the present case, however, it is of great importance. It is not enough, in my opinion, to say, our general program and our transitional program are sufficient. I therefore withdraw my name from the minority statement and abstain from voting."

The following participated in the discussion:

For the slogan:

Allen, N. Y.
 Gannick, N.Y.
 Gould, N. Y.
 Erber, N.Y.
 Hall, Detroit
 Goldman, Chicago

Against the slogan:

Howe, N.Y.
 Russell, Los Angeles
 Ferguson, Chicago
 Jensen, Newark
 Sanders, Chicago
 Draper, Los Angeles.

Statement by the minority faction:

"The undersigned Johnson Minority delegates wish to make the following statement regarding their vote on the CP-SP-CGT slogan:

"We support the slogan, but for the reasons stated in the Johnson Minority resolution on the International Question, we reject the motivation given for the slogan in the N.C. Majority statement, but are voting for this statement because we wish to see the Garrett tendency in the party defeated, and give the party a chance to put forward the slogan.

(signed) Freddie Forest
 Ruth Phillips
 Ria Stone
 Irving Marnin
 Martin Harvey
 Jones. "

Summaries: Garrett - 15 minutes, Shachtman - 15 minutes.

Motion: For a roll call vote on the CP-SP-CGT slogan. Carried.

The Garrett amendment on the CP-SP-CGT slogan was defeated.
 (26 against, 17 for, 3 abstaining. Consultative vote - 15 against,
 7 for, 2 abstaining.)

Motion: To have a vote on the question of the supplementary resolution on the French Referendum. Carried.

The supplementary resolution on the French Referendum was accepted. (Green, N.Y., abstaining)

Motion: Refer Green amendment to the N.C. Resolution on the International Question to the incoming National Committee. Carried.

Garrett and Draper reserved the right to submit a statement on that portion of the N.C. International Resolution dealing with Russia.

The International Resolution of the National Committee Majority was accepted. (37 for, 7-1/2 against. Hillyer of Chicago against both resolutions; Goldman of Chicago and Connolly of New York abstaining.)

Adjournment.

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Tuesday, May 28, 1946.

Convention convened at 12:45 P.M. with Judd as Chairman.

Roll Call.

Johnson: Request a 1/2 hour adjournment for the minority to consider "Declaration of the National Committee on the United States Resolution".

Johnson request was granted and convention recessed.

Convention reconvened at 1:25 P.M.

Motion: (O'Connor) - Only those delegates for whom no alternate was seated at the previous roll-call be seated at this time. Carried (10 for, 4 against).

Motion: (Steinmetz, N.Y.) - The convention instruct the incoming N.C. to institute a post-convention discussion on the CP-SP-CGT question.

Motion: (Allen) - To refer to the presiding committee for recommendation to the convention.

Motion: (Goldman) - To refer to the incoming National Committee Carried (20 for, 11 against).

Johnson: Want permission to make political statement on part of the Minority Caucus on the question of the Majority Declaration on the U. S. Resolution.

Chairman's suggestion that the statement be made after presentation of the reports was accepted by Johnson.

Motion: First the N.C. Declaration be read to the convention

and then Johnson read his statement. Carried.

"Declaration of the National Committee on the U.S. Resolution" (See "E") was read in part by Wilson.

Johnson proceeded to read his statement, which the Chairman ruled was a discussion of the Majority statement rather than a statement of the Minority.

Motion: Johnson be given additional time in his presentation to present his views on the statement and that the majority speaker be given the same extension. Carried.

RESOLUTION ON THE UNITED STATES:

Gates reported for the National Committee - 40 minutes (See Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 5 and "E" attached to minutes).

Johnson reported for the Minority (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 5) - 40 minutes.

O'Connor announced withdrawal of his amendment on the resolution on the United States (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 13) and noted that he would comment on the declaration of the National Committee in the course of discussion.

Discussion:

O'Connor (San Francisco), for his position.
Hillyer (Chicago SWP Minority), for the SWP Minority
Enwright (Los Angeles), for the Majority.
Allen (New York, for the Minority.
Draper (Los Angeles), for the Majority.
Robertson (San Francisco), for the Minority.
Murrain (Buffalo), for the Majority.
Brown (New York), for the Minority.

Convention adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

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Convention reconvened at 6 P.M. with Saunders as Chairman.

Roll Call.

Discussion continued:

Bern (New York), for the Majority.
Norman (New York), for the Minority.
Simons (San Pedro), for the Majority.
Harvey (Detroit), for the Minority.
Holman (Chicago), for the Majority.
Forrest (New York), for the Minority.

Presiding Committee announced change in time for summaries since Draper and O'Connor amendments were withdrawn. Summaries changed to 20 minutes each.

Johnson summarized for the Minority; Gates summarized for the Majority of the National Committee.

Statement of the National Committee re: the charges contained in the article of Comrade Jones on the Buffalo Branch:

1. On recommendation of the Political Committee, the Plenum decided to recommend to the convention that a committee be established to investigate certain charges made against the Buffalo Branch by Comrade Tim Jones.

2. The article in which the charges are made is contained in Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 13.

3. A reply to Comrade Jones, by Comrade Barnes of the Buffalo Branch, is contained in Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 14.

4. It is recommended that the investigating committee consist of O'Connor (Convener), Sanders (Chicago), and Ferguson, (Chicago).

5. It is recommended that the powers of the committee be restricted to investigating the charges made by Comrade Jones and reporting its findings of fact to the convention, the findings of the Committee to be submitted to the convention in writing.

6. It is recommended that the Investigating Committee request all comrades who may have information which may facilitate the investigation, to appear before it.

Motion: (Allen) - That the charges be referred to the incoming National Committee to investigate and report its findings to the party through the regular channels. Defeated.

Motion: To accept the recommendations of the National Committee, Carried.

SUB-REPORT ON THE LABOR PARTY.

Gates reported on behalf of the National Committee majority; Drpaer reported for the resolution submitted by Draper and Russell (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 12).

Amendment (subject to editorial revision) to Resolution on the United States of the National Committee: (O'Connor) Precede point 33 with the following:

"The Workers Party's advocacy of a labor party is firmly associated with the Transitional Program and extra parliamentary organizations of working class struggle associated with it. We do not advocate a labor party in the abstract, or in such a way as will promote reformist notions in the direction of the British or Australian labor parties."

Discussion:

- Coolidge, for the Majority.
- Findlay (N.Y.), for the Minority.
- Allen, for the Majority.
- Simons (San Pedro), for the Minority.
- Erber (N.Y.), for the Majority.
- Russell (Los Angeles), for the Minority.

Summaries: Draper, 10 minutes; Gates, 10 minutes.

Vote: The Draper-Russell Resolution on the Labor Party (amendment to the National Committee Resolution on the United States) was not carried. (7 for, 36 against; consultative vote - 2 for, 17 against)

Statement by O'Connor: In the section of the National Committee resolution on the United States which deals with the nature of Stalinism, I feel there is a statement which will lead to misinterpretation - that is, the last sentence of paragraph 3 on page 7. I feel that the formulation excludes the possibility of proposing united fronts to the CP leadership under certain circumstances and therefore present the following:

"Bearing in mind this nature of the CP, we nevertheless - cannot exclude under certain circumstances addressing to their leadership appeals for united front action. The whole history of the working class movement teaches that under certain circumstances the only way in which the proletarian followers of a reformist party can be broken from their leadership is the persistent agitation for the united front. Even though in this case we are not dealing with a traditional reformist party, we are dealing with a party, the greater part of the membership of which believes it is a socialist party. Therefore it would be false for us to exclude in advance appeals to their leadership for joint action in the class struggle and confine ourselves to individual recruitment or the united front from below."

Motion: That the O'Connor statement be referred to the editorial committee which will go over the entire resolution so that any such ambiguity may be eliminated. Carried.

Vote: Minority Resolution on the United States
7-1/2 for - 36-1/2 against
Consultative vote - 2 for - 18 against.

N.C. Resolution on the United States
36-1/2 for - 7-1/2 against
Consultative vote - 17 for - 2 against.

Adjournment.

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Wednesday, May 29, 1946.

Convention reconvened at 10:45 A.M. with Wilson as Chairman.

Presiding Committee: The convention originally dropped the Berg report on the Negro Question from the agenda. Berg has now requested that his report be placed back on the agenda. The Presiding Committee recommends that Berg be granted 10 minutes for presentation and 10 minutes for summary.

Shachtman is ill and unable to attend today's session. It is therefore necessary to postpone the discussion under the Resolution on the Party. It is recommended that session begin with a report by Erbor on Education.

Motion: To approve the changes recommended by the Presiding Committee. Carried.

REPORT BY ERBER ON EDUCATION (See "F" attached to minutes).

Motion: (Draper)- That the Political Committee establish a monthly political discussion bulletin in which members are invited to discuss the political and theoretical questions before the movement which require further elaboration, clarification or controversial discussion. The Convention reminds the National Committee that a similar motion was adopted by the last convention but never carried out, and insists that it be accomplished. This bulletin is, of course, to be considered as supplementary to the discussion material in the NEW INTERNATIONAL, whose space is limited. The National Education Committee is instructed to regard such a bulletin as a regular monthly publication, not merely as something to be issued when the pressure of accumulated material becomes great enough.

Amendment to Draper motion: (Russell) - To include not only political but also organizational discussion articles.

Russell amendment was accepted by Draper.

Statement by Erber that he is in agreement with Draper's motivation but disagrees with the formulation that "the convention insists." The Educational Department should not take under its direction the direction of political discussion. Want to reserve for the Educational Department the education of the party to the party position on various questions.

Draper: Willing to accept qualifications made by Erber.

Vote: Draper motion, as amended, carried with 3 opposed.

Discussion on Education Report: Johnson (N.Y.), Jensen (Newark), Forrest (N.Y.), Sanders (Chicago), Marnin (Phila.), Wilson (Detroit), Robertson (San Francisco), Enwright (Los Angeles).

Summary by Erber for 15 minutes.

Motion: To accept the report along with the recommendations contained therein. Carried.

Adjournment

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Convention reconvened with Forrest as Chairman.

Announcement: That the agenda would be revised so that the next point would be a report on Organization by Coolidge, followed by a report on the Press and adjournment.

Roll Call.

REPORT ON ORGANIZATION BY COOLIDGE (See "G") - for 30 minutes.

Amendments to the Report on Organization:

Amendment by Stiler:

"Because the history of our movement has been one of intense political struggle, from its very inception, almost all the energies of the comrades has been devoted to the development and propaganda of highly theoretical questions to the almost complete exclusion of questions of organization and administration.

"In addition, during the war, for totally necessary and correct reasons, we were forced to act organizationally as though we were semi-legal. As a result of which we developed certain organizational habits from which we must break.

"As a result of these two factors there exists an attitude on the part of many comrades that the organization is merely a form for carrying on political activity. There is not a full appreciation that the organization is a form of political activity itself.

"This attitude finds its symptomatic expression in the following organizational delinquencies which it is necessary to bring to the attention of the entire party:

"1. The attitude that questions of theory, politics, strategy and tactics are everything and that if these are correct, the organization will of itself become attractive to workers. For this reason, the primary task of the Organization Department in the coming period will be to imbue the entire party with an 'ORGANIZATION CONSCIOUSNESS', to develop in every comrade a spirit of pride in our organization and the consciousness that the organization is a form of political activity. Workers can be attracted to our organization by the impression it makes on them as a serious, efficient, alert, fighting task force, as well as by political argument. The organization and the manner it puts into practice our theories can serve as a recruiter of members and an integrator of new comrades. It is incumbent on every branch organizer to aid the Organization Department by constantly developing a spirit of pride and a consciousness that our organization is the tool with which we work our political ideas into working class consciousness. It must be well kept and at a high level of efficiency.

"2. Anarchistic Methods of Administration. Hardly a comrade or branch is unaware of the sloppy administrative and anarchistic habits of the entire party apparatus. In correspondence, in finances, in coordinating the work of branches with our press, in literature, in almost every phase of organizational activity there is no unified national system. For this reason we propose that the Organization Department be mandated by the convention to set up an administrative committee which will include a member from the National Education Committee and the National Trade Union Committee, to set up a unified national system for the following administrative activities:

"(1) A unified national bookkeeping system.

(a) The entire system to be set up at the National

Office and the books together with an explanation on how they are to be kept to be sent to every branch secretary at cost.

(b) The Organization Department to make provisions for periodic inspection of books by branches.

(c) There should be a standard rule in the party that all exchanges of money or branch property must be properly receipted.

"(2) A unified national 'correspondence follow-up system'.

"(3) A unified national 'literature accounting' system.

"3. Poor integration of trade union and branch work. Very often comrades in the trade union are prone to function as an exclusive circle without making an effort to give the non-trade union comrades the benefit of their experiences in the union movement. The trade union work of the branch sometimes takes place in one sphere and the branch or what is generally called 'party' work takes place in another sphere. It should be the aim of every organizer and education director to organize the activity and education of the branch so that all branch practical activity revolves around the work of the comrades in the shops. This can best be done by the organization form of factory cells. The convention recommends that wherever possible branches organize themselves on a factory cell basis. Where insufficient comrades are in industry or where for particular local reasons such organization is impractical, that branches convert to the factory cell type as soon as practical.

"4. The appearance of headquarters. From the National Office down, with a few exceptions, the headquarters are dirty, dreary, unattractive places, which show a shameful lack of pride in the organizational face the party puts forward before the workers. Party headquarters can be made attractive, lively, interesting places where workers get a feeling of efficiency, revolutionary strength and comradeship. Both educational and organizational departments must contribute suggestions and material for making the headquarters what it can and should be."

Amendment by Green: 1. To add to paragraph 2, under "Concrete Tasks" the sentence: "The party will also direct the comrades returned from the armed forces, into proper veterans organizations."

2. Change point 6 to make probationary period for all applicants the same, whether industrial workers or not, the paragraph to read: "For one year following the convention, the branches are instructed to maintain a probationary period of three months for all who apply for party membership."

Amendment by Paxon: Add to Point 3: "And that the branch organizer should be a factory worker except in those branches which have a full time party organizer available."

Amendment by Detroit Branch (presented by Grey): Motion passed at the executive committee of the Detroit Branch, May 11, 1946, on the sub drive: "We have found in our experience that subscriptions obtained from house to house canvassing do not bring returns for the party that would justify an emphasis of this type of sub-getting at the expense of other branch activities. We recommend that in the future branch quotas be set to provide for an emphasis on getting subs where the party is active - in unions, shops, mass organizations (Negro, veterans)."

Amendment by Ferguson: To amend that section dealing with the composition of the executive committees to read, "shall strive to elect not less than 60%...."

To delete all of section 6, and to have the probationary period stand at 2 months for all new members.

Amendment by Waller: To add to the section dealing with the Youth: "In those cities where Party branches exist, but where there are no youth units, the branch assign one member to youth work, i.e., to investigate the possibilities of setting up a youth unit."

The incoming N.C. be instructed by the convention to consider Baltimore as one of the points of concentration since a youth group but no party branch exists there.

Amendment by Los Angeles Branch: "That, in addition to the four booklets listed for immediate publication, we add a booklet dealing in popular form with our views on Stalinist Russia and the role of the Communist parties."

Discussion on the Organization Report: Phillips (N.Y.), O'Connor (San Francisco), Slater (Chicago), Ferguson (Chicago), E. Mason (N.Y.), Bern (N.Y.), Grey (Detroit), Stilor (Detroit), Jensen (Newark), Donaldson (Seattle), Lucy (San Pedro), McBride (Phila.), Russell (Los Angeles), Griffin (Los Angeles), Garrett (N.Y.), Wilson (Detroit).

Summary by Coolidge for 15 minutes.

Motion: To refer the first amendment of Waller to the point on the agenda dealing with Youth. Carried.

Motion: To refer to the incoming N.C. the Waller amendment regarding Baltimore. Carried.

Motion: To adopt the Ferguson amendment on the composition of executive committees. Defeated (24 against, 5 for)

Motion: To adopt the Ferguson amendment to delete section 6. Defeated (19 for, 21 against).

- Motion: To adopt the Green amendment for a three month probation period. Defeated (20-1/2 for, 21 against).
- Motion: To adopt the Paxon amendment on branch organizers. Defeated.
- Motion: To adopt the Detroit motion on sub drives. Defeated (9 for, 12 against, 12 abstentions)
- Motion: To adopt the Los Angeles proposal for a booklet on Stalinist Russia. Carried. (29 for, 0 against)
- Motion: To refer the Stiler amendments to the incoming N.C. Carried. (25 for, 2 against)
- Motion: To refer to the incoming N.C. for further consideration the question of 15,000 subs by the end of the year. Carried (25 for, 0 against)
- Motion: To table to the report on Veterans Work the Green amendment. Carried.

The Detroit motion on the dues system (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 13) having been accepted by the Plenum, was presented to the convention. The motion was carried in the convention (26 for, 8 against).

- Motion: To accept the proposals listed under "Concrete Tasks for the Coming Period" in the Resolution on the Party (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 7), with the exclusion of point 1. Carried. (31 for, 0 against)
- Motion: To accept the Report on Organization. Carried.
- Motion: To refer to the incoming N.C. for adjustment the contradiction between the Detroit motion on dues and the motion for a 2 and 4 month probationary period. Carried.

Adjournment for 1 hour.

Convention was reconvened* * * by O'Connor as Chairman.

REPORT ON THE PRESS by Garrett.

Discussion: Clancy (Louisville), Harvey (Detroit), Simons (San Pedro), Robertson (San Francisco), Gannick (New York), Stone (N.Y.), McDermott (Cleveland), Donaldson (Seattle), Bach (Detroit), Howe (N.Y.), McBride (Phila.)

- Motion: (Clancy) - That the Press take under consideration a reduction in size to 4 pages, minus the magazine section, for distribution, and retain the 8-pager for mailing lists. Defeated.
- Motion: To accept the report. Carried.

Adjournment.

* * *

Thursday, May 30, 1946.

Convention convened at 10:50 A.M.

Roll Call.

Report of Presiding Committee: To change the agenda to read:

1. Report of Buffalo Investigating Committee.
2. Veterans report.
3. Recess.
4. Trade Union Report.
5. Recess.
6. Resolution on the Party.

Motion: To approve report. Carried.

Proposal by the Chairman that in view of the fact that Jones of Buffalo is not yet present, Veterans Report be given first. Carried.

VETERANS REPORT by Gould (1/2 hour) (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 15).

Discussion: Holman (Chicago), Murrain (Buffalo), Barton (N.Y.); Parker (N.Y.), Judd (Detroit), Marnin (Phila.), Simons (L.A.), Wilson (Detroit).

Amendment: (Holman) - Delete from the section on "Jobs for Veterans", point V on retroactive seniority at the bottom of page 19 to middle of page 21 and insert the following:

"Retroactive seniority (Model Clause of UAW) only serves to create a division in the shops between veteran and non-veteran workers.

"By affording veterans who never worked in a shop previous to their entrance in the armed forces seniority for their full length of such service, the model clause singles out those workers in the mass production plants today who had been hired in the past two, three or four years.

"Application of such a seniority principle militates against the Negro and women workers in particular. The purpose of the bosses, in many cases, is to eliminate Negro and women workers from the plants. This policy finds receptive support among the most backward sections of the workers in the plants.

"While it is true that the small section of veterans who never worked prior to their entry into the armed forces constitute a reactionary potential for the American bourgeoisie, cumulative seniority serves in no way to facilitate their entry into the plants and their consequent assimilation by the trade union movement. On the contrary, today it

is veterans who generally receive first hiring choice.

"The task of the unions is to see to it that veterans, newly hired, get the same benefits and enjoy the same privileges that have been won by the unions for all workers in the shop, such as vacation pay, top pay rates, right to advance to better paying jobs, etc.

"While the danger of mass lay-offs in the next immediate period is not formidable, and therefore cumulative seniority will not immediately affect the veterans, yet the promulgation of the model clause today makes the Negro and women workers, especially the former who are understandably sensitive to this question, feel correctly that they are being discriminated against.

"The evidence of the past year shows clearly that non-veteran workers in the shops will fight for veterans rights in the shop.

"The model clause serves the labor bureaucrats as a substitute for a real fight for veterans rights.

"Therefore it is necessary to oppose the inclusion of cumulative seniority clauses in contracts."

Summary by Gould for 15 minutes.

Motion: (Drake, N.Y.) - To refer report to the incoming National Committee with the proviso that it be one of the first points it takes up.

Motion: (Fenwick, Phila.) - That voting on the report be deferred to the end of the convention to give delegates time to read it. Carried (17 for, 13 against).

REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON THE BUFFALO SITUATION by Sanders:

"On the basis of the testimony heard by the investigating committee, the committee finds that the document written in the May 8th Bulletin by Comrade Jones represents charges against the leadership of the Buffalo Branch. We consider his article as constituting charges in spite of the fact that Comrade Jones denies this, inasmuch as he presented concrete and specific evidence attempting to prove his statements.

"The Committee finds, on the basis of the evidence submitted, that Comrade Jones' charge of race prejudice in the Buffalo Branch is unsubstantiated.

"The Committee recommends that immediately following the convention, the N.C. discuss the Buffalo situation thoroughly and send

one of its members to Buffalo to attempt to eliminate the friction which exists and thus enable the Branch to function as a vital part of the W.P."

Discussion: Oscar Jones (Phila.), Jones (Buffalo), O'Connor (San Francisco), Allen (New York), Coolidge (N.Y.).

Motion: (Gould) - To grant the floor to Goldman for a statement. Carried.

At this point Comrade Goldman (Chicago SWP Minority) took the floor on a point of special privilege since he was about to leave the convention to return to Chicago. He greeted the convention in the name of the comrades who, with him, had just left the SWP to join the WP, and hailed the convention as proof of the correctness of the decision of the comrades of the SWP Minority in affiliating with the WP.

- - -

Amendment: (Ferris, N.Y.) - To strike out that part of the report of the Investigating Committee on the Buffalo situation referring to their decision on the charges, and that that part of the report referring the matter to the N.C. be retained. Defeated. (14 for, 20 against, 3 abstaining)

Motion: To accept the report of the Investigating Committee. Carried. (32 for, 1 against, 4 abstaining)

(Findlay (N.Y.) recorded himself as abstaining because he did not feel that the matter had any point on the agenda of the convention.)

Adjournment

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Convention reconvened at 3:50 P.M.

Roll Call.

TRADE UNION REPORT by Coolidge (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 16) for 30 minutes.

Motion: To grant a 15 minute extension of time. Carried.

Discussion: Berg (Newark), Robertson (San Francisco), McBride (Phila.), Victor (N.Y.), Miller (N.Y.), Saunders (San Pedro), Hillyer (Chicago SWP Minority), O'Connor (San Francisco), Holman (Chicago), Drake (N.Y.), Murrain (Buffalo), Martin (N.Y.), Zoupan (Detroit), Wilson (Detroit), Jones (Buffalo), Marnin (Phila.), Jones (Phila.)

Amendment: (Miller, N.Y.) - On page 15 of the Report, paragraph 3, under "Perspectives", strike out "Party must demand..." to end of paragraph.

Amendment: (Berg, Newark) - To insert in the section on "Perspectives" the sentence: The Party designates

the UAW as its primary national concentration in the trade union field.

Amendment: (Holman, Chicago) - To amend paragraph 3, page 15 under "Perspectives" to read: "The Party must demand that every member must LEARN to place himself at the disposal of the Party."

Amendment: (Miller, Detroit) * The Party shall investigate the possibilities of placing three or four qualified party members as organizers into Operation Dixie, and where feasible, this shall be done.

Amendment: (Erber, N.Y.) - To amend the last paragraph on page 15 to read: "For the industrial worker, membership in our Party is a right, for the non-worker it is a privilege to be earned and maintained by his extraordinary efforts and activities in Party work."

Summary by Coolidge for 20 minutes.

Voting: Miller (N.Y.) amendment. Defeated (2 for).

Holman amendment. Carried (21 for, 10 against).

Motion: (Gould) To have a roll call vote on the Holman amendment. Defeated.

Berg amendment: Motion to refer to the incoming N.C. Carried.

Miller (Detroit) amendment: Motion to refer to the incoming N.C. Carried.

Erber amendment accepted by Coolidge as per previous discussion in P.C. and therefore incorporated as part of report.

Motion: (Miller, N.Y.) - To strike the Erber amendment from the resolution. Defeated (18 for, 28 against).

Motion: (Hillyer, Chicago) * To refer to the incoming N.C. the first paragraph on page 14, to determine whether that paragraph is in conflict with the Resolutions on the United States and International Question. Carried.

Forrest (N.Y.) presented the following statement for the Johnson Minority:

"Except insofar as the resolution conflicts with the political positions of the Minority as expressed in its resolutions before the Convention, the delegates of the Minority support the trade union resolution. (signed) F. Forrest, T. Brown, Norman, Hayden, I. Marnin."

Motion: To accept the report as amended. Carried (2 abstain)

Convention reconvened at 7:30 with Gould as Chairman.

Roll Call.

Motion: That Marco and Leonard be given an opportunity to present their resolution (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 10) to the convention. Defeated.

RESOLUTION ON THE PARTY:

Report by Shachtman on Resolution of the National Committee (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 7 and Vol. I - No. 9) for 30 minutes.

Report by Johnson on Minority resolution (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 9) for 30 minutes.

Report by Erber on amendments to resolution of the National Committee (see Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 9) for 15 minutes.

- - -

Request that Garrett-Draper statement on the International question be read at this time.

Motion: To table to first point on Friday's agenda.

Amendment: To table until after the discussion on the Party.
Carried.

- - -

Griffin granted floor for 10 minutes to present her amendments to the Minority resolution:

- "1. Document in Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 13, by Ogden, etc. serve as introduction to Johnson resolution.
- "2. Page 19, Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 9 - Delete section III on that page.
- "3. Page 22, Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 9 - Delete Section V on that page after the first two paragraphs, that is, delete that page beginning with, 'The W.P., while recognizing the'
- "4. Page 23, Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 9 - Delete last paragraph of Section V reading, 'Finally, the W.P. denounces the invitations in any form, in public or in private, to any minority to leave the party.'

Motion: To extend the time for discussion on question of the party to 120 minutes.

Motion: (Parker, N.Y.) - That the presiding committee proportion the time for discussion for the various tendencies and that following that, each tendency get together to choose its own speakers. Carried.

Motion: That discussion be limited to 7 minutes per speaker.
Carried.

Discussion: (Not in order of appearance) Williams (N.Y.) for Majority, Allen (N.Y.) for Minority, Berg (Newark) for Erber amendments, Robertson (San Francisco) for Griffin amendments, Wilson (Detroit) for Majority, Phillips (N.Y.) for Minority, Russell (L.A.) for Erber amendments, Grey (Detroit) for Majority, Norman (N.Y.) for Minority, Drake (N.Y.) for Erber amendment, B. Grey (N.Y.) for own position, Fenwick (Phila.) for Majority, Brown (N.Y.) for Minority, Leeds (Chicago SWP Minority) for Erber amendment, Howe (N.Y.) for Majority, Gorman (N.Y.) for Minority, Elliot (N.Y.) for Erber amendment, Garrett (N.Y.) for Majority, Forrest (N.Y.) for Minority, Bennett (Chicago SWP Minority) for Erber amendment.

Report by Chairman that if the discussion continued as outlined, the session would continue until 3:30 A.M. It was therefore suggested that the two alternatives were to adjourn at 1 A.M. and continue the discussion, summaries and voting in the morning or to continue the discussion through to the summaries and voting and reconvene tomorrow at noon.

Motion: (Murrain, Buffalo) - To adjourn at 1 A.M. and reconvene at 10 A.M.

Motion: (Johnson) - To continue until this point on the agenda has been completed. Carried (19 for, 15 against).

Motion: (Grey) - To reconsider the motion for adjournment. Defeated.

Motion: To adjourn. Defeated (19 for, 19 against)

Motion: For a recount on the previous motion to adjourn. Defeated (18 for, 22 against).

Summaries: Erber, 15 minutes; Johnson, 20 minutes; Shachtman, 30 minutes.

Motion: That the convention adjourn to the National Office for the vote. Carried.

Motion: To adjourn. Defeated.

Convention recessed so that delegates could go to National Office for vote.

Convention reconvened at National Office. Roll Call was taken to ascertain whether all seated delegates were present.

Motion: (Erber) To separate the vote on the Erber amendments so that the voting takes place on the basis of the amendment for the small edition of the mass party and then for the amendment on the cadre. Carried.

Statement by the Johnson Minority:

"The delegates of the Minority

1. Support the Erber amendment on the cadre with the statement that they do so without accepting his motivations and in order to defeat the more dangerous concept of Shachtman.

2. Accept the general line of the Ogden-Griffin amendment on building the party to the minority resolution on the Party.
3. Accept the Ogden-Griffin Amendment to the minority resolution on the Party, calling for the deletion of the section criticizing the conduct of the SWP Minority.
4. Reject the Ogden-Griffin amendment calling upon the Minority to delete the quotation from Trotsky on the 1940 split.
5. Reject the Ogden-Griffin amendment calling for deletion of the statements regarding splits in the Trotskyite parties in this country.

(signed) T. Brown, F. Forrest, M. Harvey,
I. Marnin, R. Phillips."

Robertson (San Francisco): Voting for the Erber amendment with the statement that he is for the amendment although against the Majority resolution, since he wants to vote in a way to make life more tolerable for minorities in the party.

Vote:

Erber amendment on the cadre.
Defeated. (22 for, 22-1/2 against, 2 abstaining)
Consultative vote - 4 for, 14 against, 1 abstaining.

Erber amendment on the small mass party.
Defeated. (4 for, 34 against, 5 abstaining)

Vote on amendment 15 of Erber
Motion to table to incoming N.C. Carried.

Motion: To accept the resolution of the majority of the National Committee. Carried (30 for, 12 against, 5 abstaining)

Motion: To accept the Griffin amendments to the Minority resolution. Defeated (2 for, 5 against).

Motion: To accept the resolution of the Minority as amended. Defeated (7 for, 35 against)

Motion: (Presiding Comm.) To reconvene at 12:30 P.M. on Friday. Carried.

Motion: (Judd, Detroit) To reconvene at 2 P.M. on Friday. Defeated.

Convention adjourned at 4:30 A.M.

* * *

Friday, May 31, 1946.

Convention convened at 2:45 P.M. with O'Connor as Chairman.

Roll Call.

Berg not seated as delegate for session but requested permission to make a statement. Granted.

Berg: The Convention delegates have not all received copies of the Berg resolution on the Negro question (see "H" attached to these minutes). Request that all delegates with copies lend them out so that all delegates may have opportunity to read it before discussion on that question.

Report of Presiding Committee: Presiding Committee met with Shachtman and Johnson after the last session. It is the unanimous opinion of the Presiding Committee and those two comrades that the convention proceed with the following agenda for the rest of the convention:

1. Youth report - Sections 4, 5 and 6 only. 15 minutes for report, discussion, voting 15 minutes.
2. Jewish Question - Statement only - 10 minutes for Hall.
3. Party statutes - Bern. 15 minute report, 45 minutes discussion and voting.
4. Unity - 10 minute report, 10 minute discussion.
5. International report - 15 minutes, 5 minute Minority statement.
6. Garrett-Draper statement on the International resolution.
7. Negro resolution - 20 minutes for each report, 10 minutes Berg report; discussion 3/4 hour; summaries - Berg 5 minutes, Forrest 10 minutes, Coolidge 15 minutes.
8. Recess.
9. Voting on Veterans Resolution.
10. Report by Resolutions Committee.
11. Election of N.C.

Adjustments will have to be made on the order of the agenda since a number of the reporters are not yet present.

Motion: To accept the recommendation of the Presiding Comm. Carried.

YOUTH REPORT by Waller for 10 minutes.

Motions: (Waller) 1. Recommend that the incoming N.C. be empowered to provide statutory provision in the constitution for Party-Youth relations once the Youth organization of the Party ceases to be provisional.

- 2. In those cities where no Youth group exists, one person in each Party branch be assigned to Youth work.

Discussion: Miller (N.Y.), Leeds (Chicago), Paxon (Cleveland), Gorman (N.Y.), Grant (N.Y.)

Summary by Waller for 5 minutes.

Vote: Motion 1 of Waller. Carried.
 Motion 2 of Waller. Carried.

Motion: To accept the report. Carried.

REPORT ON UNITY by Gates for 10 minutes.

Motion: (Gates) That the convention go on record endorsing the line of policy of the N.C. on the question of unity with the SWP.

Motion: To grant Johnson 5 minutes for a statement on the question of unity. Carried.

Summary of Johnson statement: When the agenda was so re-arranged, an agreement was made that only a factual report would be made and no attack would be made on the Johnsonites for their position on this question. The Johnson faction had a political position on this question, but in no way tried to obstruct the decisions of the P.C., and even made it clear that when it was claimed that the SWP Minority had exhausted its usefulness in the SWP, in the P.C. Johnson stated that though he could not vote for any steps that were taken, he would abstain "benevolently."

Statement by Gould: Such an agreement as Johnson outlined had been made at the meeting with the Presiding Committee. However, Gates was informed only of the amount of time for his report but not of the nature of the agreement. Therefore feel that the responsibility rests with Gould rather than with reporter. As chairman of the Presiding Committee it was Gould's responsibility to inform the reporter.

Discussion: Forest (Chicago SWP Minority), Howe (N.Y.), Miller (N.Y.), Johnson (N.Y.)

Motion: To accept Gates' motion to go on record endorsing the line of the National Committee. Carried (41 for, 1 against, 3 abstaining)

Motion: To move point on the 4th International to this point on the agenda. Carried.

REPORT ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Report by Garrett for 15 minutes.
 Report by Johnson for 5 minutes.

Motion: (Garrett) That the incoming N.C. be instructed to draw up a reply to the International Conference, in line with the decisions of the 4th National Convention and to make it public in the name of the convention. Carried (0 against 5 abstaining)

Minority Statement: The Minority proposes to abstain on this question since it is opposed to the political line adopted at the convention.

Motion: To refer to the incoming National Committee to conduct post convention discussion the paragraphs in the Minority Resolution on International Conference of the 4th International which read:

"The Workers Party solidarizes itself with the 4th International on the general strategic perspectives for the world revolution and the tasks outlined for the 4th International in the Political Resolution adopted at the Conference.

"The Workers Party, however, condemns the April Conf. for its false and misleading analysis of the role of Russian imperialism in the imperialist war just concluded and the immediate post-war period. This affects both the strategic perspectives and tactical tasks, particularly in areas contiguous to Russia. To state, for example, that certain sections of the Fourth International should 'tolerate the presence of the Red Army only to the extent that it is a friendly proletarian armed force...' is merely another example of the false positions, disorienting the proletariat and the Fourth International, which flow from the increasingly untenable attempts to maintain the position of Trotsky on the Russian question. Under the circumstances, it is imperative, therefore, that the International re-examine its Russian position and begin a full, free democratically-conducted discussion throughout the Fourth International, in preparation for a World Congress at which all positions on Russia, advocated by those holding the principles of the Fourth International, will be represented."

Carried.(26 for, 1 against, 2 abstaining)

Motion: (Johnson) - To refer to the incoming National Committee for post-convention discussion, a discussion of the political positions of the IKD. Carried (1 abstaining)

Motion: (N.C.) The National Convention of the Party vigorously condemns and rejects the resolution adopted by the pre-conference on the German section of the 4th International - the IKD. The National Committee declares that although it has not taken a position either in favor or opposed to the theoretical views of the IKD, the theoretical and political views put forward by the IKD are compatible in every respect with the basic program of Marxism and the 4th International and with membership in the 4th International. The National Committee particularly condemns the unauthorized and bureaucratic action of the pre-conference, which, in effect, condemns the IKD and reads it out of the International. Carried (19 for, 7 against, 7 abstaining).

Motion: (Johnson) "The Conference of the 4th International in Section B of its resolution on the IKD invites what it designates as the "present leadership of the IKD" to regroup those elements "who base themselves upon the platform of the Fourth International and submit to the discipline of its conventions and its executive bodies, and to organize them in Germany itself as the official German section of the Fourth International." In section C of its resolution, the Conference "invites the leadership and the members of the IKD still abroad to carry out the decisions of the Conference, to submit to the discipline of the new IEC and IS, and to prepare as rapidly as possible for their return to Germany, in accordance with the instructions and directives of the International."

"Such a formulation of the question is ambiguous and is open to the interpretation that the leadership and the members of the IKD abroad are, in effect, being read out of the International. The very fact that in a document of this kind, such an interpretation can be made is indication that the document is not in the best traditions of Bolshevism and calls for censure of the Conference in regard to its procedure with the IKD.

"The Workers Party declares to the I.S that while its taking position on the political ideas of the IKD is not only legitimate but justified, so serious a charge as revisionism demanded

(a) wide and full discussion and dissemination of the opposing ideas in all sections of the International.

(b) all possible efforts by the IS to include the participation at the Conference discussion of qualified representatives of the authors of the IKD documents.

(c) clear unambiguous statements, not only as to the political attitude but the organizational conclusions to be drawn and measures to be taken.

(d) explicit provision for ultimate ratification of all decisions by a World Conference of the 4th International.

"The Workers Party (a) makes a recommendation to the International to follow the above procedure in regard to the IKD, (b) recommends to the IKD at home and abroad that they make the same proposals to the IS.

"The Workers Party demands from the incoming National Committee a clear statement in regard to the political conclusions of the IKD, particularly as expressed in Section viii, p. 340 of their document, 'Capitalist Barbarism or Socialism', New International, October, 1944;

"This is particularly necessary because the Workers Party seeks affiliation with the F.I. which has unambiguously condemned the political line of the IKD and today has as its aim unity with the SWP which supports the stand of the Fourth International and because the Germans have expressed themselves with the utmost freedom in the party press and in the internal bulletin for nearly eighteen months without any reservation (except on the Russian question) from the party leadership with the exception of Johnson. The party sharply condemns the abuse of the 4th Interna-

tional by the Germans which has appeared in the New International.

"Inasmuch as (a) the document of the IKD constitutes a unified theoretical and political thesis and (b) sections of the outgoing leadership of the party have recommended this document to the membership (not hesitating to call it the greatest contribution to Marxism since the death of Trotsky), the party would also welcome from the leadership participation in an educational discussion in the party on the theories and political ideas of the German comrades." Defeated (9 for, 17 against, 5 abstaining)

Motion: (N.C.) We reject the decision of the pre-conference which arrogated to itself the rights of a political conference of the 4th International without any preliminary political preparation which would be indispensable for such a conference. Carried (22 for, 0 against, 8 abstaining)

Motion: (N.C.) The National Committee deploras the failure of the International Executive and the pre-conference to accept the proposal of the Workers Party for affiliation to the International or to accept our proposal in favor of unity of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. Carried (33 for, 0 against, 4 abstaining).

The following statement was read to the convention by Draper:

"Statement on the Russian Question.

"The International Resolution adopted by this convention correctly recognizes that the position of the party on the Russian question which was adopted in 1941 has had to be altered, and does in fact alter it with regard to the question of defensism: i.e. the present resolution 'closes the door' to defense of Russia in the looming world war 3, in the sense which it explains.

"This was the chief difference on the Russian question between the majority and the minority in the 1941 convention as regards political conclusions; we welcome that the conclusion then advocated by the minority is now adopted.

"However, the 1941 resolution of the majority founded its 'open door' conclusion on a particular analysis of the nature of the Russian state which still remains in the resolution - an analysis which includes the concept that Russian bureaucratic collectivism, relatively speaking, is, in the words of the resolution, "a historically more progressive plane" as compared with the capitalist world.

"This concept, which still remains embodied in the party resolution was the basis of the 'open door' to defensism, which we now reject. It was also the basis of the conclusion (which still remains in the document) that we would give support to the Stalinist regime in Russia in the case of a hypothetical civil war between the Stalinist bureaucracies and capitalist elements, instead of the position of the third camp.

"Our international resolution corrects the one error indicated, if only in the form of a 'concretization', it also remarks in passing that the 1941 thesis 'has otherwise been confirmed so emphatically.' Naturally, we do not consider this parenthetical remark an endorsement by the convention of the disputed line, which did not figure in this convention discussion.

"In our opinion, it would have been far better if this convention had found itself in a position to correct its position more thoroughly, and at the same time, there have risen since 1941 a number of questions regarding Russia and international Stalinism which it would have been extremely fruitful to discuss at length, but which could be discussed only peripherally.

"In both cases, a thorough-going one: 1) correction, and 2) elaboration of the party's views on bureaucratic collectivism and Stalinism were indicated for this convention by the development of events.

"That this - including the presentation of amendments to the Russian question along the lines of the 1941 minority resolution - was impossible under the conditions of this convention, is a conclusion which we came to reluctantly; but with all the greater conviction that in the next period the party must concern itself with clarifying its position on the question with a view to the next national convention.

"(signed)	Born	Howe
	Draper	Russell
	Ferguson	Simons
	Garrett	Victor
	Hall	"

Shachtman statement on the foregoing Garrett-Draper statement:

"I want to make it clear that today, in 1946, I no more share the point of view on the Russian question put forward by Carter in his resolution in 1941 than I did at that time. The differences that we had I have to this day. I don't consider that what is contained in the International Resolution, as far as I am concerned, is a going over to the position of the Carter resolution and an abandonment of the position that was adopted at the convention."

Erber requested permission to enter "Statement on the Johnson Caucus Vote for the Erber Amendments."

Motion: To grant permission. Carried.

"Statement on the Johnson Caucus Vote for the Erber Amendments.

"Time did not permit me to expand upon my statement at the conclusion of my summary that the Johnsonites would act in an unprincipled manner and create a scandal by voting for my amendments. My statement was motivated by the following:

"1. It is unprincipled to vote for an amendment to a resolution which one is already committed to voting against regardless of whether the amendment carries or not.

"2. The cadre amendments involved not a simple vote for or against the Shachtman concept of the cadre, as was the case with the vote on the CP-P slogan which had an independent status. The amendments proposed a different cadre concept and a different method of dealing with the Johnson tendency. Both of the latter are unacceptable to Johnson.

"3. The Johnsonites agree in principle with Shachtman's concept of the cadre. They oppose it at present because the party, according to them, has not yet a complete program. Their real reason, of course, is that they do not constitute the majority.

"4. If my amendment carried with the Johnsonite votes and the Shachtman supporters then decided to vote against the amended resolution, their votes together with the Johnsonites would have defeated it. As a result no resolution could have been adopted on this question, thus defeating the will of the majority through a parliamentary miscarriage.

"(signed) Ernest Erber."

Johnson requested right to enter statement of Minority on Erber's analysis of the vote on the cadre.

REPORT ON THE JEWISH QUESTION by Hall.

Motion: (Hall) That the resolution and amendments of the National Committee, plus the resolution of Findlay, be distributed to the party for post-convention discussion. (See Bulletin, Vol. I - No. 15 and "I" and "J" attached hereto).

Carried.

Motion: (I. Berg, N.Y.) - This convention condemns the Party's indifference and almost cynical disregard of the Jewish question, which expresses itself in an almost total failure to respond to vital issues confronting the Jewish masses, political conduct unbecoming a revolutionary socialist Party.

Motion: (Jensen, Newark) To table the Berg motion.
Carried.

REPORT ON PARTY STATUTES by Bern (see "K").

Motion: (Hall) That we consider only amendments to the constitution made either by the Committee presenting them or by the delegates. Carried.

The amendments proposed in "K" were adopted, except for the following:

Article IV, Section 6 - Stricken because of previous decision of the body on this question.

Article X, Section 3: Amendment by Marnin (Phila.) -
To add: "A parity committee of the N.C.
shall act as editorial board."
Defeated (3 for).

Motion: (I. Berg, N.Y.) - That all resolutions for adoption
be no longer than 1,000 words. Ruled out of order
by Chairman.

Article X, Section 4: Motion - (Forrest, N.Y.) - Election
of delegates to the national convention in cities
where there are more than two branches, shall be
held on a city wide basis upon request. Defeated.

Rules and By-laws:

XIV - 1. Amendment by Russell (L.A.): That each branch or-
ganized before the convention shall be entitled
to one delegate for such number of members as
shall be specified by the N.C. Carried.

Motion: (Forrest) To strike out sections 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and
8. Defeated.

Amendments by Robertson (San Francisco): Change percentages
as follows: In paragraph 5 to 25%, in paragraph 6
to 20%, in paragraph 7 to 16-2/3%; and add the
words "more than" to paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Motion: (Coolidge) That sections 4, 5, 6 and 7, along
with Robertson's amendments, be referred to the
incoming N.C.

Amendment: (Saunders, San Pedro) To refer to the National
Committee with the stipulation that the rules
be sent out to the membership within two months and
that they be incorporated in the by-laws.
Amendment accepted by Coolidge.

Coolidge motion, as amended, carried.

Motion: To adopt the constitution and by-laws as amended.
Carried.

Adjournment.

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Convention reconvened at 7:50 P.M. with Hall as Chairman.

Roll Call.

Announcement by the Presiding Committee that after the point
on the agenda for the Negro Resolution, there would be another roll
call for the seating of delegates before the voting on the N.C., to
enable those delegates who desire to seat their alternates for the
Negro discussion to do so.

NEGRO RESOLUTIONS:

Report by Coolidge for majority of National Committee
(see THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, January, 1944) for 20 minutes.

Report by Forrest for minority of National Committee
(see THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, January, 1944) for 20 minutes.

Report by Berg (see "H" attached to minutes) for 10 minutes.

Statement by Coolidge that the National Committee has adopted the Berg resolution and submits it as appended to the majority resolution.

Motion: (Erber) To amend the Berg supplement to the majority resolution under point 3 to read: "To band together in Negro organizations" instead of "organization."

To add to section 3 the following: "While the Workers Party participates in and in certain cases initiates such struggles, the Party does not carry on propaganda for the creation of Negro organizations on an allegedly all class basis."

Request by Erber for time to speak on his amendment. Granted.

Discussion: Frazier (N.Y.) for majority resolution; Gorman (N.Y. Youth) for Minority resolution; I. Berg (N.Y.) for Berg resolution; Erber for his amendment to Berg resolution; O. Jones (Phila.) for majority resolution; Tim Jones (Buffalo) for minority resolution; Elliott (N.Y.) for Berg resolution; Johnson (N.Y.) for minority resolution; Steinmetz (N.Y.) for Majority resolution; Forest (Chicago SWP Minority) for Berg resolution.

Summaries: Berg, 5 minutes; Forrest, 10 minutes; Coolidge 15 minutes.

Recommendation of Chairman: That we vote first on the Erber amendment to the Berg supplement of the Majority Resolution, second on the Majority Resolution, third on the Berg resolution and fourth on the Minority resolution.

Motion: (Forrest) That we vote first on the Erber amendment, second on the Majority resolution, third on the Minority resolution and fourth on the Berg resolution. Motion withdrawn.

Motion: (Holman, Chicago) Move the Erber amendment as an amendment to the Berg resolution.

Motion: (Murrain, Buffalo) - To vote first on the Berg resolution with amendments, second on the Erber amendment and the majority resolution, and third on the Minority resolution. Motion withdrawn.

Motion: (Erber) To vote first on the Majority resolution as originally presented and then on the Berg supplement. Motion withdrawn.

Substitute for the whole: (Shachtman) To vote first on the Minority resolution, second on the Holman amendment to the Berg resolution, third on the Berg resolution; fourth on the Majority resolution with the Berg supplement. Carried.

Vote:

Erber amendment withdrawn in view of voting procedure.

Minority Resolution:- 6-1/2 for, 37-1/2 against, 2 abstaining, 1 not voting.

Holman amendment to the Berg resolution: Carried (18 for, 9 against)

Berg resolution: Defeated (17 for, 24 against).

Motion: That the Berg resolution be voted on independently.

Motion: (Hall) To reconsider the voting procedure. Carried.

Motion: To vote as follows: (1) on the minority resolution as a basis for amendment; (2) on the Berg resolution as a basis for amendment; (3) on the majority resolution as a basis for amendment. Carried.

Motion: (Erber) To refer to the Presiding Committee, during a five minute recess, the question of working out the best voting procedure for all concerned. Defeated

Vote:

Minority resolution as a basis for amendment. Defeated (6-1/2 for, 35 against, 3 abstaining)

Berg resolution as a basis for amendment. 23-1/2 for, 22-1/2 against, 2 abstaining.

Motion: For a recount on the Berg resolution. Carried.

Recount on Berg resolution as a basis for amendment:- Defeated (19-1/2 for, 25-1/2 against, 2 abstaining)

Majority resolution, including Berg supplement, as a basis for amendment:- Carried (36-1/2 for, 7 against, 3 abstaining)

Holman amendments: First amendment. Carried. Second amendment. Carried (26 for, 4 against, 6 abstaining, 2 not voting).

Motion: To adopt the Majority resolution as amended. Carried. (32 for, 4 against, 7 abstaining, 1 not voting)

VOTING ON VETERANS RESOLUTION:

Vote on Holman amendment to Veterans report: Defeated (3 for) Motion: To accept the Veterans resolution. Carried (25 for, 0 against 4 abstaining)

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE by Fenwick.

The Committee has drawn up the following resolutions:

Greetings to the Fourth International.
Greetings to Natalia Sedov Trotsky
Statement on Nuremberg Trial.
Statement on coal and rail strikes.
Statement on India.
Statement memorializing our war dead.

The Committee also recommends the following resolutions:

Housing and the Veteran
Operation Dixie
Jewish Immigration.
Case of 31 in Columbia, Tenn.
Food and UNRRA
Statement thanking arrangements committee.

Motion: (Resolutions Comm.) That the resolutions already drawn up and those recommended be turned over to the incoming National Committee to be issued in the name of the convention. Carried.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Motion: To reconsider the motion for executive session on this point. Carried. (20 for, 13-1/2 against)

Motion: (Shachtman) To reaffirm the motion for executive session). Carried.

Amendment: (Forrest) To allow alternates to be present. Defeated (16 for, 17 against).

Report by Shachtman on N.C. slate.

Election of National Committee and alternates.

Convention adjourned at 4:30 A.M.

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