

INTERNAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

November 1971

No. 6 in 1971

CONTENTS	PAGE
MINUTES OF THE 24TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Ohio, August 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1971	3
CONVENTION SCHEDULE	12
LETTER TO CONVENTION FROM PIERRE FRANK	13
CREDENTIALS REPORT, 1971 Convention	17
REPORT FOR NOMINATING COMMISSION, presented by Peter Seidman to the 1971 SWP National Convention	18

30 cents

Published by

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Page 2

was blank in the
original bulletin

- Marty Dec 2013

MINUTES OF THE 24TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
Ohio, August 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1971

CONVENED, SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 1971 at 10:10 a.m.

Convened by Barnes.

Moment of Silence in Tribute to the Memory of Comrades Henry Schultz, Emily Thornton, Lud Gartner, Ruth Shiminsky, Jack Borut, V. R. Dunne.

Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee: That Studer be the first chairman.

Moved.

Carried.

I. ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Following proposals by Joel Britton for the National Committee:

Proposal: That the following rules govern convention procedure:

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

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That the Presiding Committee be composed of members of the out-going Political Committee.

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: To adopt the following agenda:

1. Organization of Convention
2. The International Situation
3. The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement
4. Israel and the Arab Revolution
5. Political Resolution

6. Women's Liberation Movement Resolution
7. Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution
8. Black Liberation Struggle Report
9. Youth Report
10. Organization Report
11. '72 Election Campaign
12. Election of National Committee

Moved.

Carried.

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

1. The International Situation: 1 1/4 hours plus 1/2 hour summary
2. The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement: 1 1/4 hours plus 1/2 hour summary
3. Israel and the Arab Revolution: 1 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1 1/4 hours plus 1/2 hour summary
5. Women's Liberation Movement Resolution: 1 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
6. Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution: 1 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
7. Black Liberation Struggle Report: 1 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
8. Organization Report: 1 hour plus 1/2 hour summary
9. '72 Election Campaign: 3/4 hour plus 1/4 hour summary

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That the following time allotment be given to youth reporter:

Youth Report: 1 hour plus 1/4 hour summary

Moved.

Carried.

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

1. Political Resolution: Equal time of 1 1/4 hours plus 1/2 hour summary, to be divided equally between the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the Communist Tendency with 37 1/2 minutes each and 1/4 hour summary each.
2. That extended time be granted to Jon Rothschild, 25 minutes plus 10 minute summary under Israel and the Arab Revolution to report on "Counter Draft Resolution on Israel and the Arab Revolution."
3. That extended time be granted to the Oakland-Berkeley minority, 25 minutes plus 10 minute summary under Women's Liberation Movement Resolution point to report on "Toward a Marxist Approach to the Women's Liberation Movement."

4. That extended time be granted to the Oakland-Berkeley minority, 25 minutes plus 10 minute summary under Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution point to report on "Third World Work and a Proletarian Orientation: Counter-draft Resolution to 'Struggle for Chicano Liberation,' Political Committee Draft Resolution."

Moved.

Britton requested the motion be divided in four parts.

Discussion on first part of National Committee motion: Smith

Countermotion by Smith: That the reporter for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency be given equal time to that of the Political Committee reporter to present the Proletarian Orientation Tendency's counter Political Resolutions.

Speaker Against: Barnes

7 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Vote on first part of National Committee motion:

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Motion by Fender for Communist Tendency: That the Communist Tendency sacrifice 12 1/2 minutes of its reporting time to the Proletarian Orientation Tendency.

Ruled out of order by chair.

Motion by Fender for Communist Tendency: To reopen the question of time allotments for reporters on Political Resolutions.

6 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Vote on second part of National Committee motion:

Carried.

Discussion on third part of National Committee motion: That extended time be granted to the Oakland-Berkeley minority, 25 minutes plus 10 minute summary under Women's Liberation Movement Resolution point to report on "Toward a Marxist Approach to the Women's Liberation Movement."

Discussion: Stodola

Countermotion by Stodola: That time be given to the Oakland-Berkeley minority reporter under the Women's Liberation Movement Resolution point equal to that of the Political Committee reporter.

Speaker Against: Wulp

7 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Vote on third part of National Committee motion:

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Discussion on fourth part of National Committee motion: That extended time be granted to the Oakland-Berkeley minority, 25 minutes plus 10 minute summary under Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution point to report on "Third World Work and a Proletarian Orientation: Counter-draft Resolution to 'Struggle for Chicano Liberation,' Political Committee Draft Resolution."

Discussion: Winston

Countermotion by Winston: That time be given to the Oakland-Berkeley minority reporter under the Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution point equal to that of the Political Committee reporter.

7 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Vote on fourth part of National Committee motion:

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Proposal: That there be the following panels:

1. Trade Union, led by F. Lovell
2. Pathfinder Sales Representatives, led by Matson
3. *The Militant* and *ISR* Sales and Sub Campaign, led by Hermes and Cabaniss
4. '72 Election Campaign, led by L. Seigle
5. Finances, led by White
6. Gay Liberation Movement Probe, led by Barry Sheppard
7. Palestine Defense, led by Horowitz
8. Latin American Political Prisoners, led by P. Camejo and Stapleton

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That the convention schedule the following national fraction meetings:

1. Women's Liberation Work, led by Lipman
2. Antiwar Work, led by Benson
3. La Raza Work, led by Vidal
4. Black Work, led by Oliver

Moved.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That four comrades serve as convention secretaries.

Moved.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Nominations

Motion: To elect the five nominees.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Nominations

Motion: To elect the three nominees.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: To seat as fraternal delegates the following: (1) National Committee members; (2) members of the National Control Commission; (3) heads of national departments; (4) members of the youth National Executive Committee; (5) special guests.

Moved.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That three comrades be official convention photographers.

Moved.

Carried.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Reporter: J. Hansen

Recess for lunch 12:30 p.m. — reconvene 2:35 p.m.

Discussion.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: To take a final speakers' list and reduce the speakers' time to 5 minutes.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion

SUMMARY The International Situation: J. Hansen

Motion: To approve the general line of the International Situation Report.

Carried.

Special Point.

Barry Sheppard reported for Presiding Committee on letter from Pierre Frank. Reading of letter by convention secretary (see attached).

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That White be the next chairwoman.

Moved.

Carried.

III. THE INTERNAL DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Reporter: Waters

Discussion

Recess 7:00 p.m.

RECONVENED, MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1971, at 9:15 a.m.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That discussion continue for 1 hour and that each speaker be limited to 5 minutes.

Moved.

Speaker Against: Stodola

5 against, 0 abstentions
all others for

Carried.

Further Discussion.

SUMMARY The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement: Waters

Motion: To approve the general line of the Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement Report.

5 against, 2 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Special Point.

Rodriguez reported for Presiding Committee. Reading of message from International Marxist Group, Mexican section of the Fourth International.

The International Marxist Group, Mexican section of the Fourth International, sends a revolutionary greeting to the Twenty-fourth convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The comrades who participate in the SWP under the banners of the party of the world revolution, defend a very important part of the common trench of the people fighting for socialism. We know this convention will carry out their discussion and work at the level and with the fighting revolutionary vigor of Marxism. We know that they will lead to conclusions that will be capable of leading to action towards a deepening and enriching of the ideals of Trotskyism, which the Socialist Workers Party has defended and applied in its constant struggle inside the entrails of imperialism. Eight years before the 100th anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, organizer of the Red Army, we call on all sections of the Fourth International in the Americas to prepare themselves in theory, as well as in action, so that the greatest homage we can pay the founder, along with Lenin, of the first workers state, will be made by sections of powerful and fighting masses, capable of creating in the immediate future the Socialist United States of America.

For the World Socialist Revolution!
United We Will Win!

IV. ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION

Reporter for the Political Committee: Horowitz
Reporter for the counterresolution: Rothschild

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: To recess at 12:00 noon and reconvene at 2:00 p. m.

Moved.

Carried.

Recess for lunch 12:00 noon — reconvene 2:00 p. m.

Discussion.

SUMMARIES Israel and the Arab Revolution: Rothschild
Horowitz

Motion: To approve the general line of the Counter

Draft Resolution on Israel and the Arab Revolution and the report.

6 for, 1 abstention,
all others against

Defeated.

Motion: To approve the general line of the National Committee resolution Israel and the Arab Revolution and the general line of the Political Committee report.

6 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That Hawkins be the next chairman.

Moved.

Carried.

V. POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Reporter for Political Committee: Barnes
Reporter for Proletarian Orientation Tendency: Lewis
Reporter for Communist Tendency: Fender

Special Point.

Greetings presented by Joan Maxwell from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Special Point.

Greetings presented by David Withers from the Socialist Action League, New Zealand sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Recess 7:00 p. m.

RECONVENED, TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1971, at 9:00 a. m.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That discussion last until 12:00 noon, recess for lunch from 12:00 noon until 2:00 p. m., and have further discussion for one half hour after lunch.

Moved.

Carried.

Special Point.

Cable from Ed Jurenas read by Miles.

The past year has demonstrated a vast upsurge and growth of the international movements demanding an end to war, exploitation, oppression and misery. The most active and consistent support and leadership of these battles against imperialism and revisionism have come from the worldwide Trotskyist movement. We have only to look at our record of support

to the valiant Vietnamese liberation fighters to prove this to be the case. We have a long arduous way to go before our goal of a socialist world is achieved but I am confident that the correctness of our approach will make that victory certain. I wish more than anything else to be with you today but the imperialist army has other plans. I extend my warmest revolutionary solidarity to each and every comrade in Ohio with the hope that your deliberations will bring us that much closer to a peaceful, productive and socialist mankind. Venceremos and FTA.

Discussion.

Proposal by Barry Sheppard for Presiding Committee: That T. Kerry be given 20 minutes to speak on this point.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: T. Kerry

Recess for lunch 12:00 noon — reconvene 2:00 p.m.

Proposal by Barry Sheppard for Presiding Committee: That Turner be given 20 minutes to speak on this point.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Turner

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That discussion continue for one half hour with a 5-minute limit per speaker.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion

SUMMARIES Political Resolution: Fender
Lewis

Motion by Lewis: To grant Lewis a 10 minute extension for summary.

6 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

SUMMARY Political Resolution: Barnes

Motion: To approve the general line of the Communist Tendency counter political resolution and report.

1 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Proletarian

Orientation Tendency counter political resolutions and report.

6 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Motion: To approve the general line of the National Committee draft political resolution and the general line of the Political Committee report.

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That Zimmermann be the next chairwoman.

Moved.

Carried.

VI. WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESOLUTION

Reporter for Political Committee: Stone
Reporter for Oakland-Berkeley Minority: Stodola

Discussion

Recess 7:04 p.m.

RECONVENED, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1971, at 9:15 a.m.

Further Discussion

SUMMARIES Women's Liberation Movement Resolution:
Stodola
Stone

Motion: To approve the general line of the Oakland-Berkeley minority counterresolution on the women's liberation movement and the report.

6 for, 0 abstentions,
all others against

Defeated.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Political Committee draft resolution on the women's liberation movement and the report.

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Special Point.

Greetings presented by Jean Riel from the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That

M. Gonzales be the next chairman.

Moved.

Carried.

VII. CHICANO LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESOLUTION

Proposal by Barry Sheppard for Presiding Committee: To concur with the request by Lewis that Guerrero, alternate delegate of the Oakland-Berkeley minority, be seated for this agenda point in place of a regular delegate.

Moved.

Carried.

Reporter for Political Committee: A. Camejo
Reporter for Oakland-Berkeley Minority: Guerrero

Recess for lunch 12:45 p.m. — reconvene 2:00 p.m.

Discussion

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That discussion continue until 3:05 p.m., that discussion on the Black Struggle Report last 1 hour and 15 minutes, and the summary for that report be 1/4 hour. That the next three agenda points have a 5-minute speakers' limit.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion

SUMMARIES Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution:
Guerrero
A. Camejo

Motion: To approve the general line of the Oakland-Berkeley minority counterresolution on the Chicano liberation movement and the report.

5 for, 1 abstention,
all others against

Defeated.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Political Committee draft resolution on the Chicano liberation movement and the report.

6 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

Special Point.

F. Lovell reported for Presiding Committee. Reading of message from International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International) sends fraternal greetings to the Cleveland (1971) Convention of the SWP. We regret that shortage of money prevents us from sending a representative to a Convention which we are sure reflects the historic growth of American Trotskyism.

The work of the SWP in the anti-war movement, which has placed the party in the vanguard of the anti-war movement and at the head of hundreds of thousands of people opposed to imperialism's war in Asia, has been of immense value and has given prestige to our entire movement, not least in embattled North Vietnam where *The Militant* is often quoted to give evidence of opposition in the heart of the imperialist monster.

As you probably know we have doubled our forces in Britain over the last year, though we still have to contend with two large groups which claim to be Trotskyist. Our last conference took a very definite orientation to try to gain an implantation in the working class and we are at the moment working out a political strategy related to that orientation.

We note with enthusiasm that the American working class seems to be poised today on the verge of important new struggles and we are confident that the SWP will intervene in these struggles with the same determination with which it has led the anti-war movement or more relevant, the same exemplary heroism which it displayed during the Thirties in the face of capitalist repression and Stalinist thuggery.

Comrades, we want to assure you that, despite our differences on certain important questions confronting our movement, we stand for the unity of the Fourth International and we hope that our debates will be conducted fraternally and within the framework of the movement as a whole. We are confident that the SWP will go from strength to strength and, by gaining a strong base in the working class, will wipe that Stalinist abortion which goes by the name of the Communist Party, off the political map of the United States.

LONG LIVE THE SWP!
FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH AMERICA!
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
FOR THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Special Point.

P. Camejo reported for Presiding Committee. Reading of greetings from Hugo Blanco.

Warmest greetings to your convention.

VII. BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE REPORT

Reporter: Morrison

Discussion.

SUMMARY Black Liberation Struggle Report: Morrison

Motion: To approve the general line of the Black liberation struggle report.

7 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

IX. YOUTH REPORT

Reporter: Jaquith

Recess for dinner 7:00 p. m. — reconvene 9:00 p. m.

Motion by Stodola: To grant Stodola 5 minutes as an addition to speakers' list.

Carried.

Further Discussion.

SUMMARY Youth Report: Jaquith

Motion: To approve the general line of the youth report.

5 against, 0 abstentions, all others for

Carried.

X. ORGANIZATION REPORT

Reporter: Barry Sheppard

Recess 11:05 p.m.

RECONVENED, THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1971, at 9:15 a.m.

Discussion

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: That the remainder of the schedule be as follows:

- 10:30 a.m. Summary
- 10:45 '72 Election Campaign Report
- 11:30 Discussion
- 12:20 p.m. Summary
- 12:30 Lunch
- 2:30 Election of National Committee

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion

SUMMARY Organization Report: Barry Sheppard

Motion: To set the age limit of party members in the YSA at 25, that is, a maximum of 24.

1 against, 0 abstentions, all others for

Carried.

Motion from National Committee: 1) To approve the memorandum on membership policy adopted by the Political Committee on November 13, 1970.

2) To reaffirm the party's position, stated in the Political Committee motion of May 25, 1971, of unconditional support to the struggles of homosexuals for full demo-

cratic rights including full civil and human rights, and against all the forms of discrimination and oppression they suffer under capitalism.

3) To end the information gathering probe of the gay liberation movement initiated by the Political Committee on May 25, 1971.

4) To authorize the National Committee to organize, following the convention, an internal party literary discussion of the gay liberation movement and the party's orientation to it, leading to a decision by a plenum of the National Committee.

0 against, 1 abstention, all others for

Carried.

Motion: To approve a September 15 through December 1 subscription campaign in cooperation with the youth with a goal of 30,000 subscriptions.

1 against, 0 abstentions, all others for

Carried.

Special Point.

Barry Sheppard reported for Presiding Committee. Reading of message from Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan.

We are sending our warmest fraternal congratulations and wish you success.

Your party has already obtained the greatest achievement in its history, such as its political influence in the wide masses and recruiting numerous militants, etc., through participating in and giving a lead to the anti-war movement, the movement of liberation of Black people, and the women's movement, etc., in the recent years.

We believe that your party will certainly obtain much more successes in the next year, and advance further along the road of building a mass workers' party for leading the socialist revolution to the victory in the United States.

Proposal by Waters for Presiding Committee: To send the following message to the Communist League of France:

The delegates at the Twenty-fourth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party join you in mourning the death of Comrade Luiz Eduardo Merlino at the hands of the Brazilian political police.

Comrade Eduardo Merlino refused to give any information that could lead to further victimizations even though it meant dying. His example will never be forgotten by the revolutionists working in the underground in Brazil. It will inspire and help harden all those, the world around, who are fighting to bring this brutal era to an end.

The name of Luiz Eduardo Merlino has been added to the long list of martyrs of the Fourth International, who gave their lives in the struggle for socialism.

That struggle goes on. We dedicate ourselves to do everything possible to bring it to the early and victorious conclusion for which Comrade Eduardo Mer-

lino fought.

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal by Jones for Presiding Committee: To send the following message to James P. Cannon:

The largest convention in the history of the party sends its most deeply felt greetings. We have had a thorough discussion of the issues before us and now are prepared to meet the growing opportunities before us. The party has expanded rapidly in the last year or two—but with the launching of our largest ever subscription drive, with our activities building mass movements, and with our 1972 presidential campaign we are confident that that expansion will appear small. The lessons of party building contained in your works including the recent published *Speeches for Socialism* have been a keynote of our discussions here. We now want to put those lessons into practice—building toward a mass party of revolutionary action.

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal by J. Hansen for Presiding Committee: To send the following message to the Irish liberation fighters:

We believe, as Patrick Pearse did, that the revolutionary representatives of the Irish people are the voice of one of the ancient and indestructible things of the world, the voice of an idea that is older than empires and will outlast every empire. The Irish people have made their contribution, have raised the banners of an age-old defiance of tyranny. The new wave of revolutionary battles throughout the world could not pass without the voice of rebellion being raised again on Irish soil. Everywhere on the globe today the courageous young generations are coming to see the fight of the Irish people as part of their own, as part of the most precious tradition of all who struggle against oppression. The blows of foreign enemies and native traitors have never broken the will of the working people of Ireland who have remained faithful over centuries. The latest cowardly attacks on the Irish people and their vanguard will also fail. Ireland in the past has fought many lonely battles. Today the world around her is raising up in struggle against all forms of oppression. Well over 1000 socialist revolutionists meeting here in the heart of the greatest imperialist fortress that has ever existed pledge their solidarity to their embattled comrades in Ireland. We pledge to build a bulwark of brotherhood and sisterhood around the standard bearers of your ancient and indefatigable struggle.

Moved.

Carried.

XI. '72 ELECTION CAMPAIGN REPORT

Reporter: L. Seigle

Discussion

SUMMARY '72 Election Campaign Report: L. Seigle

Motion: To approve the presidential ticket of L. Jenness for president and Pulley for vice-president and the general line of the '72 election campaign report.

Carried.

Special Point.

Singing of *The International*.

Recess for lunch 12:30 p.m. — reconvene 2:35 p.m.

XII. ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Report for Nominating Commission: P. Seidman

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

No Further Nominations.

Motion: To close nominations.

Carried.

Motion: That the nominees presented by the Nominating Commission for Regular Members of the National Committee be accepted.

Carried.

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

Further Nominations Made.

Motion: To close nominations.

Carried.

Further Discussion

Declinations

Proposal by Barnes for Presiding Committee: That the order of the alternate members of the National Committee be established by a point system, the comrade receiving first place vote getting one point, the comrade receiving second place getting two points, etc., with the order being established in reverse order of total points.

Moved.

Discussion

Carried.

Motion: That the talliers be 10 comrades.

Carried.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: To

hear Constitution Committee report while votes are being tallied.

Moved.

Constitution Committee Report

Reporter: Jon Britton

Motion from Constitution Committee: That Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended to read: "Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the Party in the territory where that member resides, or at that member's place of work, if such branch exists. In territories where no branch exists, applicants shall apply to the Political Committee for member-at-large status."

0 against, 1 abstention
all others for

Carried.

Motion from Constitution Committee: That Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution be amended to read: "A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to that member's branch for permission. A letter of transfer must be sent to the branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall become a member-at-large."

0 against, 1 abstention,
all others for

Carried.

Proposal by Joel Britton for Presiding Committee: To hear Credentials Committee report.

Moved.

Credentials Committee Report

Reporter: Altman (see attached)

Motion: To accept the Credentials Committee Report.

Carried.

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

No Further Nominations.

Motion: To close nominations.

Carried.

Motion: To elect the nominees for Advisory Members of the National Committee.

Carried.

Floor Opened for Further Nominations to the National Control Commission.

No Further Nominations.

Motion: To close nominations.

Carried.

Motion: To elect the nominees for members of National Control Commission.

Carried.

Results of voting for Alternate Members of the National Committee.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED 5:25 p.m.

CONVENTION SCHEDULE

Sunday, August 8, 1971

8:00-9:00 AM Breakfast (1-1/2 hours)
 10:00 Organization of Convention (1/2 hour)
 10:30 The International Situation Report (1-1/4 hours)
 11:45 Discussion (3/4 hour)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1-1/2 hours)
 2:00 Continue Discussion (1 hour)
 3:00 Summary-International Situation (1/2 hour)
 3:30 The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement Report (1-1/4 hours)
 4:45 Discussion (2-1/4 hours)
 7:00 Recess
 7:00-9:00 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00-11:00 Trade Union Panel
 Gay Liberation Movement Probe Panel
 Pathfinder Sales Representatives Panel
 Finances Panel
 '72 Election Campaign Panel (Ballot Perspectives)
 11:00-Midnight Cabaret

Monday, August 9, 1971

7:30-8:30 AM Breakfast (1 hour)
 9:00 Summary-Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement (1/2 hour)
 9:30 Israel and the Arab Revolution
 Political Committee Report (1 hour)
 Extended Time for Minority Report (25 minutes)
 10:55 Discussion (1 hour, 35 minutes)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1-1/2 hours)
 2:00 Summaries
 Minority Reporter (10 minutes)
 Political Committee Reporter (1/2 hour)
 2:40 Political Resolution
 Political Committee Report (1-1/4 hours)
 Proletarian Orientation Tendency Report (37-1/2 min.)
 Communist Tendency Report (37-1/2 min.)
 5:10 Discussion (1 hour 50 minutes)
 7:00 Recess
 7:00-9:00 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00-10:00 Status of National Expansion Project Report
 11:00-Midnight Cabaret

Tuesday, August 10, 1971

7:30-8:30 AM Breakfast (1 hour)
 9:00 Continue Discussion (2-1/2 hours)
 11:30 Summaries
 Communist Tendency Reporter (10 minutes)
 Proletarian Orientation Tendency Reporter (10 minutes)
 Political Committee Reporter (1/2 hour)

12:30 PM

2:00
 3:25
 4:55
 5:35
 7:00
 7:00-9:00
 9:00-11:00
 11:00-Midnight

Lunch (1-1/2 hours)

Women's Liberation Movement Resolution
 Political Committee Report (1 hour)
 Extended Time for Oakland-Berkeley Minority (25 minutes)
 Discussion (1-1/2 hours)
 Summaries
 Oakland-Berkeley Minority Reporter (10 min)
 Political Committee Reporter (1/2 hour)
 Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution
 Political Committee Report (1 hour)
 Extended Time for Oakland-Berkeley Minority (25 minutes)
 Recess
 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00-11:00 Militant and ISR Panel
 Palestine Defense Panel
 Black Work Fraction Meeting
 La Raza Work Fraction Meeting
 Cabaret

Wednesday, August 11, 1971

7:30-8:30 AM Breakfast (1 hour)
 9:00 Discussion (1 hour 50 minutes)
 10:50 Summaries
 Oakland-Berkeley Minority Reporter (10 min)
 Political Committee Reporter (1/2 hour)
 Black Liberation Struggle Report (1 hour)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1-1/2 hours)
 2:00 Discussion (2 hours)
 4:00 Summary-Black Liberation Struggle Report (1/2 hour)
 4:30 Youth Report (1 hour)
 5:30 Discussion (1-1/4 hours)
 6:45 Summary-Youth (1/4 hour)
 7:00 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00 Organization Report (1 hour)
 Recess
 10:00 Latin American Political Prisoners Panel
 11:00-Midnight Cabaret

Thursday, August 12, 1971

7:30-8:30 AM Breakfast (1 hour)
 9:00 Discussion (3 hours)
 12:00 noon Summary-Organization (1/2 hour)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1-1/2 hours)
 2:00 '72 Election Campaign Report (3/4 hour)
 2:45 Discussion (1 hour)
 3:45 Summary-'72 Election Campaign (1/4 hour)
 4:00 Election of National Committee

ADJOURN

5:00-6:30
 8:00

Dinner
 Campaign Rally

LETTER TO CONVENTION FROM PIERRE FRANK

Dear comrades,

It would have been a great pleasure for me to bring the fraternal greetings of the United Secretariat and those of the entire F. I. to your convention of the S. W. P. Unfortunately the citadel of the "Free World" has prohibited me and I must ask a comrade to read you what I would have liked to say in person.

First of all I express to you the attention and the passion with which the international Trotskyist movement in its entirety follows the action against the Vietnam war waged in the U. S. A. and in which you, the S. W. P., play such an important role. It is this mass mobilisation increasingly large and increasingly firm to "Bring the GIs home now" which, after the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, contributed decisively to sap at the determination of American imperialism and to paralyse its forces. This anti-war activity must not stop for one minute, even if the victory of the Vietnamese revolution seems imminent. It must continue in the U. S. A. as in the whole world to prevent American imperialism from making an orderly retreat, to insure that its defeat henceforth inevitable should be the worst possible.

Your anti-war activity and your other activities (Afro-American movement, Chicanos, women's liberation) inscribe themselves in the turn that the international Trotskyist movement began to effectuate since May 68. Because of the changes in the objective and subjective situation we are ceasing to be the mere propaganda groups as we had been constrained to be for decades, we can finally make the test of our ideas in actions still partial and limited, but in actions which in the eyes of the masses are a verification that even the best formulations of our ideas has not carried.

It is not possible for me to give you a complete slate of the activity and progression of our sections. Thus I will limit myself to several remarks, but in the months to come you will have the possibility during the preparation for the next World Congress of the F. I. to become aware of these activities and the results already attained.

It is in Europe, and not only in France, that the sections of the F. I. have known a development which contrasts with the situation that existed during the years of political apathy. All the sections are growing, multiplying by 2, by 3, sometimes by 8 or ten times. It is the case with England, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Switzerland. New sections are built in Scandinavia and Luxemburg. In Spain the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (former group "Comunismo") recently organised in four large cities simultaneous demonstrations gathering more than a thousand people. You are certainly aware of the two large demonstrations organised under the banner of the F. I., at Brussels for a red Europe against the Europe of the trusts with 3,500 participants, and the demonstration for the centenary of the Paris Commune at the Mur des Federes with 30,000 demonstrators, a political event of such importance that the bourgeois press in many countries mentioned it.

In Japan, our section is making comparable progress to those of Europe. In other Asian countries our movement knows difficulties, notably in India and Ceylon but this is because it is involved in the great struggles of these countries. In Latin America where the general situation is more than ever chaotic, in a number of coun-

tries militants draw lessons from past and painful experiences, and groupings issued from various revolutionary groups, from formations having led armed struggles, discuss the ideas of the F. I. and are attracted toward it. In some countries far from the center and where the Trotskyist movement is recent, as in New Zealand, we note a political awakening of youth directed towards our movement. In the Arab countries the heavy defeat of the Palestinian resistance weighs substantially, but political clarification is going on and we are gaining militants who will be tomorrow's cadres.

I can only mention our intervention in the workers' states. A recent conference registered the results obtained in six of these countries. You also know that in two important political trials, in Poland and recently in Czechoslovakia, in the trial of Peter Uhl and his comrades, the activity of the F. I. has been denounced by the Stalinist prosecutors.

The advances we have made are still small in relation to the needs of the world situation. But we must not forget that our movement found itself reduced to very little forces for decades, and that with the decomposition of Stalinism a considerable confusion has set in which is still far from being dissipated. In spite of all these difficulties the F. I. has completely justified itself in finding the way toward new generations, in helping them against confusion to build Marxist revolutionary parties.

We attach the greatest importance to our next World Congress, not only because a World Congress constitutes the highest instance of our movement, that which assures its unity, but above all because this time the largest part of the members of our movement will take part for the first time at a World Congress. Our new members will be able to understand internationalism not only as a theoretical concept but in the most concrete form, that of belonging to a one and single world party, thus being responsible for what is done at antipodes as well as in their own country.

The next World Congress will have to make an important analysis of the world situation, all the more that at the time it will convene the defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam will be clearer than today. The present right turn of the Chinese is very important, but the consequences of the defeat of the most powerful imperialism by a small people fighting for a socialist revolution will be more important. They will be enormous, especially in the U. S. A. The growing economic difficulties in your country will unavoidably transform themselves in political difficulties, and we can be almost certain that your working class will also begin to enter the political field.

At the next World Congress will also be discussed the divergences at present existing between the S. W. P. and the majority of the International, and as you are discussing some of them at this Convention, allow me to speak about them. I would like to start with a preliminary remark. We have noticed in the last year a tendency to add new divergences to those which existed earlier. It is possible that the objective development of the discussion needs it, but it is also possible that, for some of the differences, it is only the product of an hasty generalization. We all know the example given by Trotsky in his struggle against Burnham and Shachtman, but we should not forget that he was in presence of a tendency on its way of breaking with Trotskyism. None

of us, I hope, think that that is the case to-day. We think that it is dangerous to accumulate the matters of differences for, instead of helping to find answers to the various questions, we would risk to reduce the basis of our common activity. We think for example that on questions like China or the youth, the differences if they ever do exist are not decisive. Even on the question on the Near East we don't think that they are so decisive. Thus, if we all support the actual struggles, including these of the Fatah, we do not understand why your document supports also their proclaimed aim of a "democratic and secular Palestine." This is not our aim. We support all real struggles against imperialism without ever necessarily identifying ourselves with those who conduct them. We reject any conception of a democratic revolution, of a revolution by stages; we are in Palestine as everywhere for a socialist revolution. As for the question of the right of the Israeli Jews to self-determination, this discussion can take place without being arbitrarily associated to the other questions which appear to us of a much more decisive importance for the International. These questions are for us our orientation in Latin America and the structure of the F. I.

On Latin America I cannot avoid to deal with the text of my friend Joe Hansen, though I rather would have liked to forget it. I will put aside all kinds of digression, as the martyrs of Chicago, entryism, and so on, as they do not bring much to the discussion. I wish to deal with the essence of his argumentation, and I think that I am not distorting it if I summarize it as follows:

— a) the majority of the International, in accepting the strategy of armed struggle for Latin America, renounces the building of revolutionary parties—this dilemma is even posed in the title of the article;

— b) the orientation of armed struggle for Latin America cannot, in the logic of those who defend it, avoid to be extended to other countries than Latin America;

— c) the adoption of this policy is the consequence of ultraleft pressures on our movement, particularly on its European leaders;

— d) we see no necessity, says Joe, to oppose another policy to that of armed struggle, we remain in favor of building revolutionary parties in Latin America as elsewhere, after the 9th World Congress as before it.

A document of 62 pages is not easily summarised in a dozen lines. But I think that I have put the light on the pillars of Joe's text, and if they do not stand up—as I wish to prove—then 60 or even 600 pages will not add anything to the validity of its contents.

First of all, is it true that the policy of armed struggle is in opposition to the building of the revolutionary party? If we read carefully Joe's article we will see that he "proves" it only through quotations of Bejar, Dowbor, Bustos and other Weathermen. No doubt many ultra-lefts to-day fight the idea of building parties to lead the struggle for socialism and oppose to it the idea of armed struggles. But since when have these ultra-lefts become political authorities for our movement? Since when have *their* dilemmas become dilemmas *for us*? Do we share for example their dilemma between trade-unions and committees of a soviet type? If one wishes to have a discussion and not a dialogue of deafs, one has to discuss the positions of the majority of the International, not those of our common opponents. You cannot attribute to the International the positions of the ultra-lefts.

The dilemma armed struggle versus building the party does not exist for us. No more, shall we say, as the syn-

dicalist dilemma "general strike versus building of the party." For us the building of the party is a *permanent task*, be it for a group of 5 or 500, be it for a party already linked to the masses and even, as history has shown, a party which has already conquered power. Experience has shown that a revolutionary party has never been created once for ever. But the building of the party is not a thing in itself, it is done among other things by determining policies, which are function first of objective conditions, second of the forces of the organisation at a given moment. Propaganda and agitation are constant political tasks. But, *at given moments*, our political tasks include actions which can extend from meetings, demonstrations to more or less large actions for the defense of the working class organisations, to armed struggles which can lead to the struggle for power.

The building of the party is a permanent problem, armed struggles can only become the policy of an organisation at a given period according to circumstances. If comrade Joe wishes to combat the policy of armed struggle for Latin America, he must show that in the actual given conditions in Latin America, another policy is to be followed, for example as suggested by comrade Peter Camejo at the last Plenum of the IEC, a propaganda activity in elections. Let me say in passing that our Bolivian comrades shortly after the revolution in 1952 put up a candidate in a presidential election. If they no longer do it today, though they do not neglect propaganda, it is because their analysis of the situation in their country has led them to the preparation of armed struggle as an immediate task and not merely as an item of a programme for an indeterminate future.

The second argument of comrade Joe, i.e. that the logic of those who today advocate armed struggle for Latin America must lead them to extend it to other countries, has surprised me even more than the first one. Not that the policy of armed struggle is not relevant to other countries. I suspect that the Bengalis, the Ceylonese, for example, are giving some thoughts to armed struggle. What surprised me is first that Joe makes again his "demonstration" with quotations of ultra-lefts, and second that he places himself in tow of these ultra-lefts in raising the question of armed struggle for countries like the USA, Canada and Great-Britain. I really cannot understand how Joe could bring up such an argument: if you say that armed struggle is today the policy for Latin America, you will have to say that it is also valid for Great Britain. Haven't you forgotten, Joe, the numerous examples of uneven development presented by comrade George Novack? Haven't we rejected the caricatures of the permanent revolution as signifying revolution at any moment and in every country? Of course if you place yourself in the same dilemma of the ultra-lefts "armed struggle versus building of the party", you either accept armed struggle for all countries or accept building of the party for all countries. But as I have already said, *this dilemma is not ours*. For the F. I. there is an *international unity* of revolutionary struggles all over the world, but *unity does not at all signify identity*. The F. I. knows that what is good for Latin America is not necessarily good for the U. S. A. and vice-versa what is good for the U. S. A. is not necessarily good for England or Brazil. Armed struggle as a policy can be determined for a country or a group of countries only after a concrete analysis of the situation in this country or group of countries and is not conveyable to other places. I am really amazed

that Joe took for good such a dogmatic argument of ultra-lefts, only to put it inside out. That such an argumentation takes so many pages in Joe's text should give thought to the political validity of it.

Let me come to the ultra-left pressures on our movement. From the day when the radicalisation of the youth began to show, we have been very conscious of ultra-left pressures in Europe. Every section has had and still has to fight them every day, also the reflections of these pressures in our own movement. We fought for the necessity to work in the unions against those who opposed to them committees which could be only of a temporary nature in present conditions. We know when to participate in elections and when not. But I do not support at all the idea that ultra-lefts are petty bourgeois who are the image on the left of the petty bourgeois opportunists of the right. Neither do I think that to advocate armed struggle, even its particular form the guerrilla, is evidence of ultra-leftism.

To say that opportunism and ultra-leftism are petty bourgeois currents symmetrical in relation to a proletarian Marxist line may be correct if one can place himself on the plane of a pure spirit, with no links to such contingencies as men and organizations. In any case I distrust such an affirmation not only because it is too often used by bureaucrats of all ilk (see Chou En-lai's letter to Mrs. Bandaranaike) but also because it does not correspond neither to Lenin's analysis in "Left wing communism, an infantile disorder" nor to reality. For Lenin ultra-lefts are in first instance revolutionaries who errors are false reactions to the opportunism of the traditional organisations. Our aim is to eliminate from the workers movement by political means the opportunist leaders and organisations, but to cure the ultra-lefts and win them to our program and organisation. This is certainly not an easy task, in many cases we know it is hopeless. But there is no symmetry built up on pure ideology between opportunists and ultra-lefts. There is no symmetry for us between Marighella and other Brazilian revolutionaries and the Chilean president, Allende. The former have the right to our support, also to our criticism but I deplore those which were published made by Brazilians who are not in actual struggle. Whilst Allende must be denounced by us so that the working class loses confidence in him and gets rid of him.

On the label ultra-left put on those who advocate armed struggle, I would advise to be prudent, even if those who do it do not share our ideas and program on some points. Let us suppose that in the middle 50's two men had come to the office of the S. W. P. and said "Our names are Castro and Guevara, we are preparing the landing of a fistful of men in Havana to engage in guerrilla struggle against Batista. Can you help us?" How would you have qualified them *at that time*? Perhaps as some petty bourgeois ultra-lefts? Isn't it worth pondering some minutes on this question?

We in the International haven't open our arms to all those who advocate armed struggle, we have had some examples not only of ultralefts but also of unstable people. Yet is it impossible under the pretext of fighting dogmatic ultra-left conceptions to surrender to no less dogmatic conceptions. When it comes to armed struggles it is more than ever necessary to make a concrete study. Let me first give an example, that of the Ligue Communiste in regard to the meeting of the fascist organisation

"Ordre nouveau". You are certainly up to date concerning the facts. After all, this was an armed struggle, a punctual one certainly, not linked to a general political line, but to a propaganda campaign. There was a difficult delimitation with ultra-leftism, so much more that ultra-left groups participated in this action. Moreover there was the danger of a banning of the Ligue. Didn't we risk a reversal on our building of a revolutionary party? It wasn't an action linked with large masses, only with a vanguard.

Concerning the activities of our comrades of the Argentinian section, the P. R. T. and its armed organisation, the E. R. P., we don't look at them as being ultra-left. We think that their policy corresponds largely to the present needs of the class struggle in their country. It is true that in armed actions which involve only small numbers there is always the danger of tending to be separated from the demands and needs of the masses. This can be for example reproached to many revolutionary groups in Latin America. But all the actions led by our comrades in Cordoba, Rosario and Tucuman have shown their preoccupation to link their actions with the needs and demands of the masses. A bourgeois paper as careful and informed as *le Monde* and some Argentinian bourgeois papers have seen it a propos the Rosario affair. We are convinced that these actions, especially the latter, will be studied by revolutionary groups in Latin America and make them understand that armed struggle is only a means, that it needs a political program, which is the first step to understand the necessity of a revolutionary party.

Let me mention you on this question of armed struggle a discussion which took place in June 1938 between Trotsky and the leadership of the S. W. P. about the transitional program. I cannot read the full ten pages, but only two short excerpts:

"There are two dangers in the elaboration of the program. The first is to remain on general abstract lines and to repeat the general slogan without real connection with the trade unions in the locality. That is the direction of sectarian abstraction. The other danger is the contrary, to adapt too much to the local conditions, to the specific conditions, to lose the general revolutionary line. I believe that in the United States the second danger is the more immediate. I remember it most especially in the matter of militarisation, armed pickets, etc. Some comrades were afraid that it is not real for the workers, etc."

And further, concerning something that happened then in New Jersey:

"Now I think the example of New Jersey is very important. We would utilise everything, but this especially. I will propose a special series of articles on how the fascists became victorious. We can become victorious the same way but we must have a small armed body with the best discipline, organised workers, defense committees, otherwise we will be crushed and I believe that our comrades in the United States don't realise the importance of this question. . . . we must begin very modestly, that is, with defense groups but it should be launched immediately."

There is certainly no question for us to mechanically

apply to the present situation what Trotsky said at that period, but one can see that Trotsky did not oppose the building of the party or the transitional program to armed struggles in some given conditions. He did not see in such struggles the manifestation of ultra-leftism, he showed their importance in given conditions. We do not hold to the letter of each quotation of Trotsky, what we look in them as well as from other Marxist masters are guidance for thinking and action, their dialectics removed of dogmatism, mechanism, to approach new questions, new situations.

I come now to the most important question of all, the centralist and democratic structure of the International. Its importance is double. First it reduces the risk of errors without eliminating them, second it gives the best conditions to rectify collectively the errors which have been made. You certainly read the discussion article of comrade Alain Krivine and myself against the danger of introducing federalist conceptions in our movement. We wrote this article before having to read carefully comrade Hansen's article, and in reading it our fears were more than justified. Let us read page 59:

"To take full advantage of the openings now appearing they [the larger sections in the advanced capitalist countries] must concentrate all their resources, both in cadres and finances, on the struggles in their own areas. . . . In Latin America and similar regions, sections should clearly understand that engagement in guerrilla struggle is a tactical problem to be weighed in the light of their own resources without being able to count on anything requisite to their needs from abroad."

These lines, alas, lend themselves to no equivocation. Thus, if a section of the F. I. on the basis of the analysis of the situation in its country decides to engage in armed struggle, it is warned in advance that it will do so on its own with no aid whatsoever from another Trotskyist organisation. *This is not possible.* By the way, how could you give support for example to petty bourgeois nationalists like some of the Palestinian organisations and take a negative attitude to militants and sections of the F. I.? If a section takes the decision to engage in armed struggle and if, in addition, the majority of the F. I. approves it, it follows that this section will receive a support without any reservation, even at the expenses of some of our other activities. To do otherwise is not a matter of cents or dollars, it is to oppose the decision of a given section and it would be the negation of the world party. It would be leaving the door wide open to federalist conceptions, because it would mean acting together only on questions on which we are in full agreement. You wouldn't accept that in your national organisation, it cannot be done in a world party. So we hope that the next World Congress will not agree that the richest organisations concentrate only in their own areas but will devote men and means to the center of the International.

To conclude I hope that our international discussion will get rid of arguments which are not relevant to the

situation in Latin America. Obviously after having to use so much time about them, I cannot begin here to make a deep analysis of the general situation in this continent. But in order to understand the revolutionary potentialities contained there, let me remind you of the Rockefeller report "Quality of life in the Americas" written after his last trip in Latin America. He mentions the perspective of one or many more Fidel Castros—these are his own words. They characterize greatly the situation in Latin America. We don't draw from it mechanical conclusions: the differences are sometimes big from one Latin American country to another. For the time being, but for how long no one can say, the armed struggle is not to-day on the agenda in Chile or in Bolivia, but the trend of the situation in these countries leaves no doubt: there will be no broadening of bourgeois democracy. We should make a very concrete analysis of the situation in each country. But what is for us certain is that in most of these countries, the main bourgeois party is the army, and the mass struggles of the workers, the peasants, the students, cannot be conducted without organisations of armed defense among other things. If anyone does not share this point of view, it is his full right to defend it in the International, but it is then necessary for him to make another analysis and to present another political orientation.

We are sure that our discussion will not continue from abstract and dogmatic views. We ask you with urgency and insistence to reject all that could bring injury to the structure of the F. I. as the world party of the socialist revolution. Because of a reactionary law, you cannot formally belong to it, however you are linked to it all the more stronger by our common ideas. Any danger for the F. I. is also a direct danger for the S. W. P. itself. No Trotskyist organisation can without danger for itself take a federalist type of distance, even only on some questions. The present discussion between us has to develop, but it cannot by its very existence stop the application of the F. I. decisions taken by a World Congress. Your country if it knows to-day a political retardation of its working class movement, receives in its midst the contradictions of the whole world. The revolutionary struggles in your country will in the final instance be decisive for the world. The entire F. I. recognises the importance that the S. W. P. represents for the future of the world socialist revolution; reciprocally you will understand how directly you depend on the development of the F. I. and all its sections. You and we do not follow convergent or parallel paths, we can only constitute a single International movement.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party!
Long live the Fourth International!
Long live the World Socialist Revolution!

July 26, 1971.

s/Pierre Frank

**CREDENTIALS REPORT
1971 Convention**

	1971	1969	1967
I. Total attending convention:	1107	660	367
Women:	461	245	128
Men:	646	415	239

Total number of delegations: 20
Number of new branches since 1969: 5

II. Delegations

Total number of all delegates: 228
 Women: 108
 Men: 180

Full Delegates:

Age:	17-25	26-35	36-50	over 50
	44	62	6	1
Youngest:	19			
Oldest:	67			

Number of years in SWP:	1 year	2-5	6-10	11 or over
	4	67	35	7

Number of full delegates: 113
 Women: 42
 Men: 71

Alternate Delegates:

Age:	17-25	26-35	35-50	over 50
	53	36	6	1

Number of years in SWP:	1 year	2-5	6-10	11 or over
	11	65	14	7

Number of alternate delegates: 99
 Women: 44
 Men: 55

Consultative Delegates:

Age:	17-25	26-35	36-50	over 50
	16	23	17	20

Number of years in SWP:	1 year	2-5	6-10	11 or over
	1	16	20	39

Number of consultative delegates: 76
 Women: 22
 Men: 54

III. Visitors

Number of visitors: 819
 Women: 352
 Men: 467

Age:	19 & under	20-24	25-30	31-40	over 40
	143	389	188	51	47

Attended previous convention: Yes: 223
 No: 596

IV. Selected Characteristics of Delegates and Guests:

Geographical distribution:	Guests	Delegates
East:	329	128
Midwest:	217	48
Southwest:	89	13
South:	68	9
West:	92	78

Total number of unions represented:	36	
Participation in other mass organizations:		
Total:	718	231
Antiwar:	505	212
Women's Liberation:	181	0

REPORT FOR NOMINATING COMMISSION

presented by Peter Seidman to the 1971 SWP National Convention

The party convention has been discussing the deepening radicalization and coming to grips with our task of supplying the leadership for that radicalization, making our party a stronger and more effective force capable of building a mass revolutionary socialist party to lead the American revolution. The crisis of leadership that faces this radicalization and the historic task of the Socialist Workers Party in solving that crisis of leadership is reflected internally in the seriousness with which we select the leadership for our own party.

It is the tradition of our party that a Nominating Commission, made up at this convention of one delegate from each branch, has the responsibility for considering the nominations to the National Committee made by the comrades from around the country. This Nominating Commission makes a recommendation to the convention delegates of what it thinks is the best possible national leadership team for the party as a whole.

The party's intervention in this radicalization, and our growth through it, has produced for us a great richness of newly developing leadership. The convention discussion reveals this and our success in the mass movements has revealed this. The task of the Nominating Commission was to recommend, from the experienced as well as the developing leadership of our party, a national leadership team which corresponds as closely as possible to the actual leadership team which is leading our work. We do this because we want our leading body, the National Committee, to have the maximum authority to lead the work of the party in the period ahead.

The Nominating Commission represents an institution of the party at a convention where the rank-and-file comrades of the party, through the delegates whom they put on the Nominating Commission, have the chance to review the functioning of their leadership over the past period, to consider the newly developing leadership and to make nominations for the National Committee to the convention as a whole.

We had to consider three tiers in our national leadership team: the advisory members of the National Committee, the regular members of the National Committee and the alternate members of the National Committee. It is the regular members of the National Committee who have the decisive and deciding vote in carrying out the line of the party between conventions. The alternate members of the National Committee represent that layer of comrades who, in the eyes of the convention delegates, represent candidates for full national leadership of our party, comrades who are developing towards the stature of a full national leader of our party. The advisory component of our National Committee leadership team represents that component of national leaders of the party who cannot, for reasons of health or age or inability to be fully active, take on the full responsibilities of the day-to-day national leadership of the party. Though we expect regular National Committee members to be fully active and available, advisory members of the National Committee represent an important component of continuity and political experience for the National Committee.

The Nominating Commission had to consider the size of our National Committee, whether we want to make a

recommendation to the convention to expand any component of the National Committee. The Nominating Commission has discussed this question and decided not to recommend any change in the size of our National Committee at this convention. We felt that in order to justify making such a recommendation we would have to show a qualitative change in the size of the party which we do not think is the case at this time.

I just want to go over briefly some of the traditional criteria our party uses in selecting a national leadership team for the National Committee. First of all, one of the most important lessons that our party has learned is the importance of combining in the National Committee the continuity of experience of our party through the past struggles with the newly developing leadership. This combination of continuity plus the transition of new layers of comrades into leadership is the key, in our opinion, to the success of a national leadership team.

We also want this team to reflect the many areas of work that our party has been involved in. Comrades taking internal responsibilities for the leadership of the party as well as responsibilities in leading the party's mass work. We took note of the fact that since the last convention there have been new mass movements developing in which the party has played a very active role. For example, we felt the leadership of our work in the women's liberation movement and the Chicano struggle should be seriously considered in putting together a national leadership team for the party.

We also felt that the National Committee of the party had to represent, as Cannon points out in the article in *Letters from Prison* in your kits, in a sense, a microcosm of the party — in whose deliberations and discussions the national leadership can feel confident that the party as a whole is represented.

Last of all, we were supremely aware of the fact that in presenting a slate for the consideration of the comrades, we had to look at it from the point of view of presenting the best possible slate of candidates for the National Committee for your consideration. That is, the quantity of leading comrades, the different areas of work that the party is involved in, and the relatively limited time that the Nominating Commission had to discuss these questions, means that we couldn't strive to get what everyone in the Nominating Commission might necessarily consider to be a perfect slate, but rather a slate which represented a consensus of the Nominating Commission as being the best possible slate of national leadership for our party.

There were additional considerations in the selection of nominations for the National Committee at this convention, where there are a number of minorities within the party. It was the responsibility of the Nominating Commission to review all of these minorities and determine whether or not it is in the best interests of the party as a whole to have any or all of them and their views represented in the deliberation of our leading committee. This consideration must be made independently of whether these minorities have or have not made nominations for the National Committee, because the party must elect the best possible National Committee. There were four

such minorities whose nomination we considered: (1) the Langston-Langston-Rothschild tendency; (2) the Communist faction; (3) Sudie-Geb; and (4) the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. We had to evaluate all of these minorities in three ways: first of all, by their size and weight in the party and within the leading bodies of the party; second of all, by the independent qualifications for national leadership of the adherents of these minorities; and thirdly, by the nature of the particular groupings these minorities represent, and flowing from that, what their participation in the National Committee would represent. We would like to review for the comrades our considerations with respect to all four of these minorities.

I want to explain that the Nominating Commission was in a unique position to survey the party as a whole to establish some information about these various minorities. That is, we had a representative from every branch in the country. Although the memory of these comrades was not always perfect, we were able to get a fairly general idea of the degree of support and the character of support for these various minorities in the different branches.

First we considered the Langston-Langston-Rothschild tendency. We feel this is a clear-cut ideological tendency within the party. In our survey, we found that the Langston-Langston-Rothschild tendency received thirty-two votes nationally. They did not ask for or make a nomination for someone to serve on the National Committee of the party, and they currently have no spokesperson for their views serving on the out-going National Committee of the party. Although we considered that the Langston-Langston-Rothschild tendency raised important political questions, we decided to recommend to the party that we not elect someone from this tendency to function on our leading body, because of the small size of this ideological grouping and because there are no individual adherents of this tendency whose stature made them independently qualified for consideration as national leaders of our party.

The next minority within the party which we considered was the Communist faction. Our survey indicated that this faction received eight votes around the country. They did not place forward a nomination for consideration for the National Committee. In deciding not to nominate a spokesperson for this faction to the National Committee, the Nominating Commission considered some of the conduct and statements of this faction within this convention: their reference to our party as a "Zombie" for example. We also considered the very small size of this faction within the party.

Next, the Nominating Commission considered the Sudie-Geb grouping, which based on our survey received five votes around the country. They had no delegates to this convention, nor did they nominate someone for the National Committee. Here we felt, in addition to their very small size within the party, that there was no adherent within this grouping with the stature of a party leader to be considered for the National Committee.

We considered next the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, which, unlike the other minorities, did make nominations for the National Committee of our party. On Tuesday evening Comrade McCann came before the Commission and presented, as a representative of the Tendency, three nominations for the National Committee: Comrades Lewis and Gregorich, in that order of ranking, for regular members of the National Committee of the party, and Comrade

Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee.

Comrade McCann explained how it was that Comrades Lewis and Gregorich were nominated for the National Committee by this Tendency. He said that they were chosen "as the most capable comrades in the Tendency regardless of their politics." However, he could not tell us what their current assignments are, or give an account of their recent activity in the party.

The Nominating Commission felt that it had to determine two things with regard to these nominations. First, whether in fact the votes as regular members of the National Committee of the nominees of this grouping would represent a clear tendency. Second, whether based on the individual stature of Comrades Lewis and Gregorich, they should be considered for nomination as regular members of the National Committee. It should be pointed out that neither of them are members of the current National Committee, either regular or alternate.

The feeling of the Nominating Commission was that the Proletarian Orientation Tendency is not constituted on a clear political basis. The Nominating Commission did not feel that the contention of Comrade McCann that his grouping represented a clear political tendency, which by the norms and traditions of our movement should have representation on our party's National Committee, is correct.

I would like to review for the comrades some of what we found in our survey of how the Proletarian Orientation Tendency was constituted in different branches. According to our results, which are not the final authoritative figures because they are based on the memory of the comrades reporting their experiences in the branches and not on the official records of any of the branches, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received 75 votes nationally. However, we found that these 75 votes were obtained on at least two different bases. In the Oakland-Berkeley branch, where the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received 25 votes, the Tendency was constituted around support for five documents: the three documents which were listed in the letter from Comrade Gregorich as being the basis for the constitution of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency ("Declaration of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency," *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 16) and the two documents submitted by the Berkeley Minority on the Chicano struggle and women's liberation (*SWP Discussion Bulletins*, Vol. 29, No. 24). In the other branches around the country, where Proletarian Orientation Tendency supporters put forward a motion to constitute a caucus and elect delegates, the Tendency was defined only by the "Declaration of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency" which is contained in the *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 16. That is, around only three documents, and around *support* to the party's position on women's liberation and the Chicano struggle. In addition to that, within the 50 votes which the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received upon the "Declaration of Tendency" documents, there were other combinations. That is, there were comrades, for example, who voted for the three Proletarian Orientation Tendency documents and voted in support of one or another of the two Oakland-Berkeley minority documents, or in support of one or another of the Political Committee resolutions on the Chicano struggle or women's liberation, or who abstained on these documents. It is on this basis that we feel that the Proletarian Orientation Tendency in the party is not constituted around a clear political line or that the vote of

a member of this grouping who was on the National Committee would in fact represent a clear political tendency within the party.

We did consider the nomination of Comrade Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee. It should be pointed out that Comrade Turner was an advisory member of the outgoing National Committee. There has never been an automatic right of any grouping within the party to have its views represented on the National Committee. The merit of each minority must be considered in the concrete. It must be a decision of the party as a whole based on its own decision of what is in the best interests of the party. Although the Proletarian Orientation Tendency is not, in the opinion of the Nominating Commission, a clearly defined political tendency entitled to representation on the National Committee by virtue of our norms and traditions, we do feel that it would be correct to renominate Comrade Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee.

We consider it would be in the best interests of the National Committee, and of the party as a whole, to have Comrade Turner continue to serve and have his views represented in the discussions of the National Committee. Although it is not clear that Comrade Turner, or anyone else, can represent the views of all the members of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, we do feel that his long experience on the National Committee and his individual stature as a leader of our party warrants his renomination as an advisory member of the National Committee.

Therefore, taking into consideration the general norms and traditions that our movement has in trying to select a National Committee team, and the specific considerations posed for us at this convention by these four minorities, the Nominating Commission would like to present the following slate for the consideration of the delegates for our National Committee.
(SLATE PRESENTED)