

MINUTES OF THE 24TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Oberlin, 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: Barnes, Boehm, Breitman, Britton, DeBerry, Dobbs, Halstead, A. Hansen, J. Hansen, Horowitz, Lovell, Novack, Ring, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone, Waters.

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: 1¼ hours plus ½ hour summary
2. The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist Movement: 1¼ hours plus ½ hour summary
3. Israel and the Arab Revolution: 1 hour plus ½ hour summary
4. Political Resolution: 1¼ hours plus ½ hour summary
5. Women's Liberation Movement Resolution: 1 hour plus ½ hour summary
6. Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution: 1 hour plus ½ hour summary
7. Black Liberation Struggle Report: 1 hour plus ½ hour summary
8. Organization Report: 1 hour plus ½ hour summary
9. '72 Election Campaign: ¾ hour plus ¼ hour summary

Moved.

Carried.

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

Youth Report: 1 hour plus ¼ hour summary

Moved.

Carried.

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

1. Political Resolution: Equal time of 1¼ hours plus ½ hour summary, to be divided equally between the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the Communist Tendency with 37½ minutes each and ¼ 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: D. Smith

Countermotion by D. 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 12½ 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: Wald

Counter-motion by Wald: 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 Christie, Dork, Feigenberg and Lesnik serve as convention secretaries.

Moved.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Nominations: Burruss, Aptekar, S. Seigle, A. Kirsch, Guckenberg

Motion: To elect the five nominees.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Nominations: Jon Britton, Frank, S. Singer

Motion: To elect the three nominees.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Delegates subsequently elected by delegations to serve on Nominating Commission:

I. Stanton, Atlanta
Singler, Austin
Zimmermann, Boston
Wendy Reissner, Brooklyn
L. Sheppard, Chicago
B. Marcus, Cleveland

Bloom, Denver
Brundy, Detroit
Tracy, Houston
A. Davis, Los Angeles
LaMont, Lower Manhattan
Anderson, Minneapolis
Studer, Oakland-Berkeley
F. Stanton, Philadelphia
P. Hardy, Portland
Stancliff, San Diego
Star, San Francisco
Kelly, Seattle
P. Seidman, Upper West Side
Chase, Washington, D.C.

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

Moved.

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

Proposal: That the official convention photographers be Petrick, Shannon and Weaver.

Moved.

Carried.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Reporter: J. Hansen

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

Discussion: Wald, Fender, R. Garza, D. Smith, Thomas, Alvin, P. Camejo

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: Maisel, D. Edwards, Stodola, Tormey, T. Edwards, Hill, Buch, Roger Sheppard, Bloom

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 Lesnik (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: P. Camejo

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: Fender, Roberts, T. Edwards, Trainor, Maisel, Thomas, Tormey, Feldman, Stodola, Aber, Alvin, T. Kerry

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: Thomas, Levitt, Frankel, Pulley, Rosenthal, D. Edwards, Block, Feeley, Aber, Mackler, Buch, Boutelle, A. Camejo, L. Charous

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: Levitt
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 at Oberlin with the hope that your deliberations will bring us that much closer to a peaceful, productive and socialist mankind. Venceremos and FTA.

Discussion: Montauk, S. Singer, DeBerry, Alvin, Vass, Deveze, Bloom, Bermann, McCann, L. Sheppard, Tussey, Ring, Maisel, Boutelle, Kelly,

Roberts, L. Charous, Wulp, Savage, Roger Sheppard, Thomas

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 Trainor be given 20 minutes to speak on this point.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Trainor

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: Bennett, Coontz

Motion by Coontz: To grant Coontz a 1 minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Thorstad, Iiyama, Boehm, Blackstock

SUMMARIES Political Resolution: Fender
Levitt

Motion by Levitt: To grant Levitt 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: Feeley, Reed, Whicker, Anderson, Bennett, Pulley

Recess 7:04 p.m.

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

Further Discussion: Aptekar, Strebe, R. Getts, N. Allen,
Ashton, P. Edwards, Himmel, Jaquith, Massey, Lipman

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. Garza be the next chairman.

Moved.

Carried.

VII. CHICANO LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESOLUTION

Proposal by Barry Sheppard for Presiding Committee: To concur with the request by Levitt 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: Jones, Iiyama

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 ¼ hour. That the next three agenda points have a 5-minute speakers' limit.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Stodola, Vidal

Request by Vidal: To grant Vidal a 1 minute extension.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: DeLeon

Motion by DeLeon: To grant DeLeon a 1 minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Perdue

Motion by Perdue: To grant Perdue a 1 minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: DeBerry, R. Garza, D. Edwards, Rodriguez,
P. Camejo, Kitt

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 move-
ment 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: Thomas

Request by Thomas: To grant Thomas a 1 minute extension.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Mackler, Feeley, Massey, Buch, Pulley, Boutelle, Miles, Washington, Hawkins

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.

Discussion: D. Rossi, Schneider, Coontz, Bonnie Sheppard, L. Smith, Savage, Miah, B. Siegel, Boehm

Motion by Stodola: To grant Stodola 5 minutes as an addition

to speakers' list.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Montauk, Stodola

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: J. Johnson, Thorstad, N. Allen, Feldman, Harer,
Fitzpatrick, Dawson

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: Sell, Votava, L. Smith, R. Garza, Levitt,
E. Shaw, Jasin, Barnes

Request by Barnes: To grant Barnes a four minute extension.

Moved.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Wallace

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 democratic 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.

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

1 against, 0 abstentions,
all others for

Carried.

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

Moved.

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 Merlino 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: Aber, M. Henderson, Roger Sheppard, A. Camejo, Roberts, Zimmermann, Leonard, DeBerry, Maisel, N. Allen

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

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

J. Barnes
G. Breitman
Joel Britton
P. Camejo

P. Chertov
O. Coover
Clifton DeBerry
F. Dobbs

R. Garza
F. Halstead
A. Hansen
J. Hansen

B. Himmel	F. Lovell	B. Stone
G. Horowitz	G. Novack	J. Tussey
D. Jenness	H. Ring	M. Waters
J. Johnson	A. Sharon	N. Weinstein
L. Jones	E. Shaw	G. Weissman
	Barry Sheppard	

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

1. C. Bolduc	8. C. Lipman	16. T. Leonard
2. D. Morrison	9. L. Henderson	17. E. Sell
3. L. Seigle	10. C. Scheer	18. H. Kirsch
4. J. White	11. T. Thomas	19. A. Camejo
5. D. Wulp	12. P. Montauk	20. T. Edwards
6. D. Styron	13. S. Lovell	21. D. Roberts
7. J. Benson	14. B. Scott	22. A. Pulley
	15. L. Evans	

Nominating Commission Nominees for Advisory Members of the National Committee:

M. Alvin	A. Harer	E. Reed
J. Cannon	T. Kerry	L. Trainor
B. Chester	J. Liang	

Nominating Commission Nominees for National Control Commission:

A. Chester	R. Hansen
D. Ferguson	H. Scheer

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.

Discussion: Boutelle, R. Garza, Levitt, Roger Sheppard, Stone, R. Shaw

Further Nominations: L. Jenness, Boutelle, Gregorich, Heisler, LaMont

Motion: To close nominations.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Boutelle, R. Garza, Levitt, Roger Sheppard, Anderson, A. Davis, Kelly, Brundy, Dawson, Boutelle

Declinations: L. Jenness, Boutelle, LaMont

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: Buch, Barnes, Rodriguez, Barnes, A. Camejo, Barnes

Carried.

Motion: That the talliers be P. Camejo, Coontz, Dawson, Feigenberg, Hawkins, Horowitz, Matson, Barry Sheppard, S. Singer, Zimmermann

Carried.

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

Moved.

Carried.

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.

Carried.

Credentials Committee Report

Reporter: Aptekar (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:

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. C. Bolduc | 8. C. Lipman | 16. T. Leonard |
| 2. D. Morrison | 9. L. Henderson | 17. E. Sell |
| 3. L. Seigle | 10. C. Scheer | 18. H. Kirsch |
| 4. J. White | 11. T. Thomas | 19. A. Camejo |
| 5. D. Wulp | 12. P. Montauk | 20. T. Edwards |
| 6. D. Styron | 13. S. Lovell | 21. D. Roberts |
| 7. J. Benson | 14. B. Scott | 22. A. Pulley |
| | 15. L. Evans | |

CONVENTION SCHEDULE

Sunday, August 8, 1971

8:00 - 9:00 AM Breakfast (1½ hours)
10:00 Organization of Convention (½ hour)
10:30 The International Situation Report (1¼ hours)
11:45 Discussion (¾ hour)
12:30 PM Lunch (1½ hours)
2:00 Continue Discussion (1 hour)
3:00 Summary -- International Situation (½ hour)
3:30 The Internal Discussion in the World Trotskyist
Movement Report (1¼ hours)
4:45 Discussion (2¼ 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 (½ 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 (1½ hours)
2:00 Summaries
Minority Reporter (10 minutes)
Political Committee Reporter (½ hour)
2:40 Political Resolution
Political Committee Report (1¼ hours)
Proletarian Orientation Tendency Report (37½ min.)
Communist Tendency Report (37½ minutes)
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 - Midnight⁴ Cabaret

Tuesday, August 10, 1971

7:30 - 8:30 AM Breakfast (1 hour)
9:00 Continue Discussion (2½ hours)
11:30 Summaries
Communist Tendency Reporter (10 minutes)
Proletarian Orientation Tendency Reporter (10 min)
Political Committee Reporter (½ hour)
12:30 PM Lunch (1½ hours)
2:00 Women's Liberation Movement Resolution
Political Committee Report (1 hour)
Extended Time for Oakland-Berkeley Minority
(25 minutes)
3:25 Discussion (1½ hours)

4:55 Summaries
 Oakland-Berkeley Minority Reporter (10 minutes)
 Political Committee Reporter (½ hour)

5:35 Chicano Liberation Movement Resolution
 Political Committee Report (1 hour)
 Extended Time for Oakland-Berkeley Minority
 (25 minutes)

7:00 Recess

7:00 - 9:00 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00 - 11:00 Militant and ISR Panel
 Palestine Defense Panel
 Black Work Fraction Meeting
 La Raza Work Fraction Meeting

11:00 - Midnight 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 minutes)
 Political Committee Reporter (½ hour)

11:30 Black Liberation Struggle Report (1 hour)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1½ hours)
 2:00 Discussion (2 hours)
 4:00 Summary -- Black Liberation Struggle Report (½ hour)
 4:30 Youth Report (1 hour)
 5:30 Discussion (1¼ hours)
 6:45 Summary -- Youth (¼ hour)
 7:00 Dinner (2 hours)
 9:00 Organization Report (1 hour)
 10:00 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 (½ hour)
 12:30 PM Lunch (1½ hours)
 2:00 '72 Election Campaign Report (¾ hour)
 2:45 Discussion (1 hour)
 3:45 Summary -- '72 Election Campaign (¼ hour)
 4:00 Election of National Committee

ADJOURN

5:00 - 6:30 Dinner
 6:45 Leave for Cleveland for 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 Fédérés 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 countries 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 content.

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 of the party does not exist for us. No more, shall we say, as the syndicalist 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 whose 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 ultra-lefts but also of unstable people. Yet it is 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 à 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 should 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 have 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 characterise 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

CREENTIALS REPORT

1971 Convention

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
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:	<u>17-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-50</u>	<u>over 50</u>
	44	62	6	1

Youngest: 19

Oldest: 67

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

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

Alternate Delegates:

Age:	<u>17-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-50</u>	<u>over 50</u>
	53	36	6	1

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

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

Consultative Delegates:

Age:	<u>17-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-50</u>	<u>over 50</u>
	16	23	17	20

Credentials Report page 2.

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

Number of consultative delegates: 76

Women: 22

Men: 54

III. Visitors

Number of visitors: 819

Women: 352

Men: 467

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

Political affiliation: SWP: 428

YSA: 440

guests from abroad: 19

Attended previous convention: Yes: 223

No: 596

IV. Selected Characteristics of Delegates and Guests:

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

Trade Union Affiliation:

Total number of unions represented: 36

total number of people in unions: 157

Unions with significant representation: AFT-21; IBT-15;
ITU-11; UAW-9; UTU-7; AFSCME-6; SSEU-5

Participation in other mass organizations:	<u>1971</u>	<u>1969</u>
Total:	718	231
Antiwar:	505	212
Women's Liberation:	181	0

Occupation -- guests only

students-256; office workers-82; teachers-51; drivers-21;
printers-16; case workers-12

People on full time for various movements: YSA or SWP-119;
antiwar organizations-37; women's liberation organizations-8