

(1)

SWP Plenum April 26-29, 1973

1.) opening procedures, agenda, etc.

2.) Barry report on Labor Committee - accounts on left

NCIC - gated threats - SWP headquarters
union headquarters
individuals

in Phila. - attacked an individual in a restaurant

Monday night - Student Body mtg.

~50 people // clubs, etc.

6 ideas hunt

The attacks and heckling were led by thug types
- one of the attackers of Phila Youth was a parole
officer with a gun - although there
were NCIC in there

our response - 1) political campaign

2) united defense

keep them out of mtgs if possible

(2)

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION - reporter: Barnes

changing situation around Vietnam developments // ^{- Moscow}
^{- Peking}
^{detente}
new historical period

this report - somewhat speculative

try to provoke discussion - lay basis
for a fundamental political document
updating of 1963 summation principles

detente - at heart of developments

post WWII - framework set by

1946 - ^{monetary} economic: Bretton Woods - dollar foundation

1947 - political-military: cold war launched

? - Marshall plan - reconstruction of capitalist
Europe under U.S. hegemony

This whole framework is finished - ~~and~~

detente = reversal & dropping of entire
containment policy - a new period is launched

Vietnam - showed up limits of intervention in
context of other monetary, economic,
political, & military problems

WORLD POLITICAL

(3)

Key: the change stemmed not from strength, but weakness

Its elements include

1) acceptance of *isles* states - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{given} \\ \text{military} \\ \text{economic} \\ \text{power} \end{array} \right.$

2) efficacious role of Moscow - taking in stifling revolution

3) insistence that other capitalist states share the economic burden of policing the world

4) limits on possibility of waging a domestically popular anti-communist war

5) change in economic and financial structure of world capitalism

6) USSR/China are not only enemies, but also potential economic opportunities

a new ~~order~~ system must

be arranged

American capitalism

~~is still~~ first -

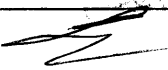
but more first among equals

→ more capitalist industrializing

7.) VN - ^(press for) accord going through

8.) Sino-Soviet dispute, + potential to deepen

9.) col. rev. - - adverse effect of 1st settlement.
- also new sit => greater opportunity for manoeuvre



Recent developments

(

- France demos
- Britain
- S. Africa
- Argentina
- Chile
- Spain
- Greece

)

class struggle has not been reversed. - it continues, but within the context of changed situation



wage control - high inflation - profit boom

↳ cannot be carried out without infringing on the rights of the workers.



an inter-imperialist war is ruled out, but there will be increasing rivalry/competition among the imperialist powers

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION (5)

increasing role of Japan

attempt by bourgeoisies to maneuver

— Canada, Australia nationalism

Kissinger's speech re: new Atlantic Charter

— previous era is over

1940's + 1950's — key was economic security
military

US hegemony

But this stability can no longer be taken

for granted —

Other European capitalists — must

recognize ~~the~~ toll that decades of US
(have taken)
imperialist responsibilities — o' o' other capitalists
must pay.

underneath the call for ^{imperialist} collaboration is the
threat of competition

(6)

the depth of the betrayals by Moscow + Peking in their bids to curry favor with imperialism

there will be increasing (limited) room for maneuver by East European regimes - in context of China redefining its relationships

COLONIAL - more tendency towards "classical" methods for

there will be no automatic bypassing of Stalinist and social democratic misleaderships of working

class
increasing inadequacy of g-war // increasing importance of Leninist ^{ideas}

more inter-relation between the ⁽³⁾ sectors of the ~~world~~ world revolution - more inter-change of ideas

re-unification principles - stand up very well
= we must add to them based on new developments

- rise of youth radicalization as a permanent feature
- national question - in all 3 sectors
- new developments in political revolution
- decline ^{of} world economic capitalist stability
- evolution of colonial revolution

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION (7)

cont'd - new pts to add to fundamental theses

- rise of women's liberation movement
- conclusions from WW experience
- change inside American imperialism
- changes in Europe / new stage of class struggle

new forms & combinations of struggles

balance sheet on crisis of leadership:

- Moscow
- Peking
- OAS
- petty bourgeois nationalists

Bankruptcy of former Trotskyists -

Healy

Pablo

differences do not stem primarily ~~from~~ from either personal inadequacies, or by effect of their concrete national experiences

they stem from their failure to understand the post WWII developments

stalinophilia or stalinophobia

key: necessity of leninist combat parties

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

Discussion

(8)

DICK ROBERTS -

there will be a world recession in 1974

T. EDWARDS

previous crisis of imperialism

WWI - class collaboration w/ soc-dems

1930s - bourgeoisie went over to

counter-offensive

1940s - w/stalunists class collaboration

now - capitalists attempting to get out of

it through class collaboration

Lee -

evolution of Marxism

Guardian's political party

Fred -

Dick Gray -

When can the detente continue - Vietnamese

are continuing to fight

(
WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION (9)

LYNN Henderson -

new economic situation -
no longer ^{capitalist} in economic boom
- most cdes have lived their whole
political lives under the sign of a capitalist
economic boom

Len - Political Revolution

Harry -

some of the people formerly in Stalinist
circles around Moscow Stalinism - will tend to
circle a bit

signs seem to indicate that Peking genuinely fears
a military attack from Moscow -

Tony Stones

impact of such a document on the discussion in
the world movement

vs Germain document which says differences flow
from ~~extrapolating~~ extrapolating artificially the experience in one
sector of the world rest to other sectors

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

(10)

Summary - Barnes

connection - this document and FI disc.

~~///~~

~~—~~

WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT

11

I. Mary Alice

last plenum

- Sallustro

- IMG fact finding commission

will discuss extension of error into Europe

will focus on

Canada

Britain

Spain

Canada

importance of Canadian section - its historical importance in FI

- Ernest's document puts Canada into prominence

2 debates -

a) Canadian (English Canada) interests

b) R.C.T.

outlines UT position

majority PC position

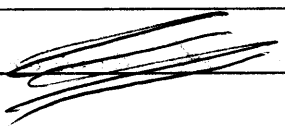
a fraternal debate although over principal questions

R.C.T. -

Geiman document on Canada

deliberate attempt at falsification of ~~data~~
obfuscation ^{also} ~~nothing~~ previously raised w/ ^{Canadian} leaders
^{for yrs} but first time it gets a concerted
3-year anti USA/ISO campaign out from
underground & into the open

maturation of the leadership



IMG convention

6 tendencies

largest tendency -

^(Ross) Jones + Pennington

79 of 164 votes

2 nd		28	Tariq Purdie	Lawless
3 rd	LOT left opp tendency	22	split from group	Marshall & Tony Gordon
4 th	WOT w/ opp th	18	Pat Jordan	
		3	Joseph/Blanca	
		11	Tendency	

(13)

great confusion

general strike
felectoralism
trans program

vs { Tory govt
- capitalist state

common market

Tendency proposed - no votes
continued discussion 3 mos. -
Then convention

Pierre Frank - proposes 60% of NC
to Jones group

Jones-Pennington - elected a temporary
PC - did not put Tariq Ali, Pat Jahn,
Connie, ~~St. Purdie~~ on -

Pennington is ~~not~~ a new-comer ^(has been) in & out of SLG

↳ ^{he is} = cde King in fact-finding commission

IMG developments illustrate 9th Wld Congress line
application

developments in IMF have been brewing for a long time

we have been calling attention of USec to this situation & to intervene - IMF adaptationism

IMF must answer -

how 5 tendencies can all claim to be based on European document

after 4 years of USec adapting to & pandering to errors of IMF - they see a crisis 2 wks beforehand & intervene in a factional way to pop up Taig/Pat tendencies



Spain -

Rev. Comm. League (LCL)

~~prior to split~~ 300 members

~1000 organized sympathizers

largest working class base in Europe

pl dies
sold press
attended mtgs

differences began over Spanish questions

documents on Spain - refer to Spanish
Commission, etc of FI - we have
never seen such documents

1969 - Comunismo arose - a split-off
from a populist Christian organization

Jan 1971 - joined FI -
changed name to UCR

Feb 1972 convention - disputes - no
decisions, but held further discussions

previously had opposed united fronts
with CP until they had passed a
certain threshold. Then they could
initiate u.f.'s

May 1972 - Ligue Communiste (French) had
argued against [↑] - this didn't make
sense based on previous rationale

re-studied Trotsky, Marx - ~~the~~ FI
docs. - led to an internal dispute

dispute over vanguardism, initiatives in action,
how to intervene in the workers commissions,

Discussion

Tony Thomas -

on leje communiste ^{position} ~~top~~ on the
French elections - both rounds

illustrate method of adaptationism

Peter Campo -

Spain -

CC: 10-9 for Encarnyada
mache

then 2 of Encarny declared Lambertist
The Encarnyada - broke with them

oo 2-8-9
LEm

then 1 of E was arrested
and 2 of L changed & became E

oo 9-9 but Q? who would replace

the M ~~change~~ said rest all (m) should be elevated

E protests - (police shouldn't detain)

M took CC & entire organizational apparatus - backed up by U Sec.

Call promiss committee

M said couldn't write on defending document of E because it came 5 days late (take)

delegation to U Sec - agreed unanimously

- 1) party conv
 - 2) program conv.
 - 3) reps of both sides on ~~PC~~
- PC -

1 M E C joint

CC is again 9-9
deadlock

E proposes poll of ~~members~~ membership. M refused
Examined anyway got an absolute majority

M refused to recognize the poll

M said no agreement was possible

Pol Ban begins expulsions

then / get

of voting members \equiv slight majority for E
(M claims maj. - by not counting expelled members)

non-voting members $\frac{2}{3}$ overwhelming for E
making E: 2-1 majority over M

80% in Barcelona }
80% in Madrid } E
by majority in north }

After 11 Dec had just ~~announced~~ voted to get
facts

French Ligue communiste publishes
public statement supporting M

Peter
recently

a small Lambertist minority did
appear in E. violated discipline.

6 of their leaders were expelled
— will weaken the organization in
the student movement in Barcelona —

Barcelona —

workers marches in factories

When police come to disperse — workers
march to university or other factories

Dick Roberts

on VN

the NMF exempts VN leadership from
Stalinist camp because of armed struggle

Judy White -

Livia - on Latin American Political Issues
(to Telew) in response - molotov cocktails more effective than picket lines

SWP record in defense of PAT(c) stands up best in FI.

Milt Alom - (next elections)

terrible ~~and~~ violation of all principle in calling for vote for bourgeois candidates

civil war in Argentina ^(according to USMO) yet Elections - when ever in world history has such a situation existed

John Kiddell

- German document on LSA/LSO

on German procedure

- 1) no previous criticism of leadership
- 2) doc. circulates to some members
- 3) doc formally appears 1 week before the convention

Kiddell

Albanian polemic

- one feature is a polemic ~~not~~ not
against real positions of USA/USO

Mandel's own views that led
in the direction of Canadian nationalism

on NOP - based on errors in 2 articles

Pol Bureau w/ reps of both minority views

Ross Dawson - chair

John Kiddell exec secy

Art Young Org sec

George Addison - editor of Labor Challenge

Dan Styron

Just
discussions ~~are~~ beginning in Europe

Europe resolution has been published
publicly in Italy, Luxembourg

Dan Seymour cont'd

Sweden
Luxemburg
Austria
Ireland

// Mideast - settler state
~~they~~ for them, this is
a key question

Mideast ^{and} tendency to our positions

Fred

sign now - FSI conf
initiated & supported by
logue communists

around absence of principle
a layer of eds in secondary leadership
have no conception of what Trotskyism
is taking over the org

Andrew Salley

on nat'l question
Mandel's argument calls into question the
Leninist concept of imperialism

Andrew Pulley

VN - at IEC he said he rejects ^{the} concept
that ~~the~~ it is a nat'l struggle - it is a
class struggle (also in Germain document)

nat'l oppression - ~~not~~

What about other states?

if formal independence = end of
national oppression

Mary Alice - Summary

on French elections

a) 1st round - lutte Ouvrière
 a "non-agressive pact" is OK or even
 joint candidates ~~for~~ a specifically defined
 platform

b) 2nd round - Union of left - wings to
 call for a vote even if Party radicals in it
 perspective of union of left was
 a popular front

at Ligue communiste convention - the vast majority
 did not want to characterize SP as a worker party
 - thought it was irrelevant

Spanish comrades have written a criticism of the
 French electoral app. & are submitting it to the
 discussion bulletin

May Alice summary

recent French student upsurge

- confirms our criticism of the European document
- how the student radicalization can be the ^(means) ~~end~~ of our ^(taking) initial step to outflank the CP + SP

- begins with Fred's remarks on secondary leadership. The key responsibility lies with majority leadership of U.Sec.

ED SHAW REPORTBolivia

Livia presented 2 reasons for coup // failure of rev.

- peasant conservatism // vs. 9th Wld Congress ~~doc~~
line - peasantry has assimilated the lessons of Cuban Rev.
- no Cuban help // vs. 9th Wld Cong. document & integrate into OAS

Ernest vs. Peter on trade union work under dictatorship in Argentina - forgets Argentina is in a pre-revolutionary situation

Barry -

on VN

Sumner document - line still same, for all obscuration & demagoguery

initiatives are from outside - problem is to link

Peter C. -

nat'l @

re-written theory of perm rev.

development of imperialism change the situation

→ Mandel changes theory from objective to subjective

refuse to postpone

all nationalisms become

Go - nat'l @ vs. Mandel

Fred - on Argentina

on Sitram Sitram ~~the~~ PRT (C) representation

- read balance sheet

in Cordoba PRT split had all gone to PRT (C)

PRT (C)'s speaker ^(Fred asks Paetz) - Paetz answer ^{to PRT (C)}
speakers, like all others ^{including ~~Paetz~~ Vended} did not speak as
from PRT (C) but from factory committee

on banner on the coffin: - Brother
(Maoist + Argentine flag)

~~A~~

PRT (C) started ~~out~~ with more than
Vended in the Cordoba plants - now
PST has 40 cdes; PST nothing

Phil Courneyer -

on Mandel re: Quebec

- 1.) a distortion of USA/USO positions
We say ^{that the} consciousness that flow out of the struggle
against national oppression is progressive -

Ruth Talan (R.C.T.)

(of attacks on)
 highly factional nature & distortions
 of I.M.T. positions — a report
 will be turned over to I.M.T.

↑ Phil C.
written

(Loyalty)
 report/program of class solidarity in national struggle

we do not have a nationalist program we
 have a class struggle program that includes
 nationalist & economic & all class struggle
 demands

on record of LSA/LSO during May, 1972 a opposite
 record that LSA/LSO was only involved in a
 language exam and an abortion exam.
 — line of LSA/LSO during

Dave Wulf =

on Ernest's comments about Peter's
did Peter intervene in discussions in the
Mexican section

Lex Evans

what is evolution of dispute ~~is~~ over
democratic centralism in the FI?

What is Ernest's kind position on ERP

Dick Roberts

MMF attitude ~~to~~ PRT(C) is not only a sign of
adapting to PRT(C) but also adapting to Marxism

they continually avoid the point ^(about) China -
if not Stalinist, what is it?

Jack Barnes

within SWP the most thorough discussion will
take place

ideas should contribute to the discussion

this fight is as deepgoing as the 1939-40 fight

we have been facing a secret faction since
prior to 9th World Congress

we ~~do not~~ defer other organizational
questions. We demand only a democratic
discussion

Lynn Henderson

MMF - pattern of opportunism fused
with ultra-leftism

basically they have a history of
adaptationism - bending principles

MMF - know Trotskyism, but adapt -
except they don't understand Leninist concept of the party

Lynne

their lack of confidence in Soviet party - is at
root of their adaptationism

Ed Show - SUMMARY

Mandel document - Compara forced to
praise armed gps -

Germain forgets that ~~French~~
3 Peronist armed gps. - & that
majority of victims of Trelew were
Peronists -

gives time to Peter Camejo to answer

a document, factually false written
by a Mexican living in Paris. A
cc member of Mexico wrote Peter asking
his opinion -

Peter replied - cc to USec
& Mandel

POLITICAL REPORT - Lew Jones

purpose of the report - to describe the present situation - ~~the~~ org. report will deal w/ tasks

radicalization uneven - while some sectors lag, others move ahead (e.g. meat boycott)

in general radical ideas continue to spread

meat boycott -

news of it spread and became big within a matter of weeks

rejection of Nixon's price ceiling - indicates continued distrust of govt. - from a-w-m

what has been response of w.c. to wage controls.

It's just not much - has taken time for ^{high} price rises - low wage rises to take effect - union bureaucracy has accepted wage controls

Political Report

(33)

When wage controls were first introduced we could not foretell what response would be — we took an optimistic view — called for a Congress of Labor (only previously did so when Taft Hartley —) we shouldn't use this demand when it is no longer corresponding to the situation

Then Attica

Then Gary, Indiana Black convention

W-N / a w m

W-L - m || Supreme Court decision on abortion

Wounded Knee

But chief source of political conflict recently has been inflation (coupled with another monetary crisis)

Students as such have not been a prominent component of recent developments

(of radicalization)
 I noticeable molecular process among
 workers

The current radicalization, which
 could last for many years, is not
 a pre-revolutionary situation.

Watergate

- effect on

- Nixon attacks on media
- "law and order"

ultimately - capitalist class must
 directly confront the unions

~~get~~
 - attempt to agree to.

agreement of U. bureaucrats to
 small wage increases for major unions,
 while bigger assault on unorganized
 who or who in weak unions

high standard of living ^(which has) generally a
 conserving influence, can ~~not~~ have a radicalizing
 effect if the high standard of living attacks

Tied to this is the deterioration of
 the quality of life

~~education & housing struggles~~

~~Consumers movement -~~

our program - to defend wks
 centers around sliding scales

CP line - asks govt to control prices

CP did not have the edge on us in
 the meat boycott struggles

CP remains our key opponent

POLITICAL REPORT (36)

current situation in CP -

larger, richer, more influential than us
but much weaker in youth cadre

CP in ^(in 45) bind over Nixon peaceful co-existence
reflected in "left turn" by CP - rather
~~than~~ than so much emphasis on liberal
democrats -

↳ this creates a problem for the CP

move to enforce discipline in CP

YWL - about same size as YSA with about
the same geographic spread

Angela Davis defense was a key factor in
CP recruitment

Political Report - discussion

37

Milt -

we should organize classes on

- 1) - on a-w-m
- 2) student upsurge of the 1960s
- 3) Black struggle - last 20 yrs
- 4) w-l-m
- 5) Chicano movement

we have a new membership - which had never experienced a lull - need to prepare ideas for this.

escalator clause -

should be extended to

- social security
 - welfare
 - student subsidies
- } + all others on fixed incomes

open the books

Tony Thomas

the radicalization - rooted in objective
causes -

don't view it impressionistically

Pat Gaura

PSP convention - large - relatively

Puerto Rican work has not ~~not~~ achieved
the attention in SW that it deserves

Nat Weinstein

on April 28 demo in SF

labor bureaucrats beginning to
talk more radical

J Edwards

inflation - average = high enough. But some
items increase much faster

T. Edwards -

- a sign of high standard of living
(+ radicalization of that is effected) is
that in USA you have protests over meat
while in Russia it was bread, and in
Germany, potatoes.

Tom Leonard -

women, black + some middle class
elements in relation to labor struggles

Jack Barnes -

- meat boycott -

- re-read Transitional Program

- re-read debate with Mao

- 1947 USSR - program re. inflation

first level of consciousness is for the govt. to do
something about prices - that's wrong.

Vietnam Veterans - [GI Bill]

need to think of ways of relating

small farmers -

FRED

ecology

energy crisis

ORGANIZATION REPORT - Betsy Stone

inflation protests key is to get out our view on inflation

class struggle left wing = a programmatic left wing
but no motion observable now

Black struggle - still in a relative lull - but there are
some struggles. I am upturn among Black students
-- in South --, but also in north

general sentiment in Black community is one of
deep alienation from this society

there now exist a large layer of Black radicals
who have gone through various political experiences,
both ultra-leftism and reformism

we need to do some basic education about
racism

black nationalism - careful about terminology

need to avoid being too abstract - Black Control of the
Black Community - need to be specific

ORGANIZATION REPORT - Stone

African Liberation Day Struggles -

Anti-Stress campaign - eds helped initiate & lead

District 1 Struggle

women's liberation movement.

at this time there is no national focus for our women's work

ERA

Child Care

campus women's liberation groups

continue to participate in NOW

Defense Work

- Iron defense

- USLA

Antiwar -

- smaller scale, but still important

local election campaigns

Sales campaign

- single copy sales
- black community
- general sales

1967 - low point in party size

since then 757 net gain

this year 135 net gain

- a small, but significantly new

layer was recruited directed into the party

we're still recruiting one by one

Organization first

(44)

DISCUSSION

Dick Roberts

Frank Lovell =

plant gate sales - much easier

we can recruit some workers out of the plants & we should pay special attention

Andrea =

11.53 = avg per capita → n.o.

Judy White

on USIA

- its reputation internationally

Tony Thomas

African Liberation Day

tactical problem - US restoration
our goal: against U.S. independent complicity w/ settlers, etc.

Harry King -

in precisely the period of hiatus of the Black struggle
we have recruited & accumulated a Black cadre
larger than ever before - militant staff ; anti - Stew

underlines importance of education & propaganda

need to strengthen the basic cadre of the
branches

o need re-assessment of our allocation of
resources on a national scale

^{need}
Not so much new branches as strengthen
the existing ones

~~_____~~
Milt Alvin

women → unions

Tom Kenny

on the library

Paul Montank

many of those recruited in past several years
have been very active in a-w-m // w-l-m
and have not received total exposure to
all-sided nature of the party & bolshevism

re-institution of party norms in Oakland-Berkeley

Doug Jones

on Puerto Rican work in NYC

PSP has not been involved in ^(P.R.) community struggles
in NYC

PSP agreed to capitalist candidates in elections

on P.I.O.P. - Mist article in next Militant
older than PSP // moving left

Derrick

African Liberation Day

- we can take many of the ideas we
learned from a-w-m etc into this
ventured fronts // non-exclusion // openings for us

Debut cont'd

on ~~the~~ tactical use of the term "black nationalism"

↳ the term tends to ~~be~~ ^{be} understood
as Cong of African People or
some other specific nationalist
movement

The current organized nationalist movements
are small

- Black awareness // Black consciousness

I tend to reject organized nationalist movements

same thing about Pan Africanism -
most people who are concerned about Africa don't
consider themselves Pan Africanism - I'm growing
concern among students re: southern Africa

DeBerry

BPP has at previous times attracted a layer
of black youth \approx same for their present
election campaign (like Baraka)

Carol Lipman

on April 28th demo in SF

demo called for + ultimately controlled by a layer of "left" A.U. officials — then they infiltrated the United Labor Action Coalition with openings to rank + file participation — gave an opening for us to intervene

Derrell Myers — able to intervene in an organizational role. —

our line² of the demo was to become a large demo — it had to convey the image of being not merely a ~~trade~~ union demo, but a demo of all — including students — key for students to view the demo as theirs too and not something apart from them, called by unions, which they could support, but not consider an arena for major involvement

Helen Meyers

high + bkstr - is becoming a place where people come to discuss radical ideas

not only do I some older people who we can recruit directly to SWP, but I also many "older" people who should not join, who should remain periphery & help the party as sympathizers — the best means we've found for involving them has been through the cogen committees

importance of the national ^(office) Laura

Lynn Henderson

in govt. cogen to drive down real wages the wkrs who feel it hardest are not the strongly unionized wkrs — but weaker unions, unorganized — oppressed nationalities

struggles — even if I unions — tend to go ~~on~~ around the unions
take on a nationalist character // ^{is} racism or the job

Lynn Henderson
~~understanding~~

strikes not just between employer and employee, but between employer and entire Black community

Why appearing in Atlanta first - in Atlanta is engaged all the main gains of the civil str struggle - in the memory of a large section of the working class, & there has been a big change in the condition of their lives

SWP branch took line of orienting to participation in these strikes - made it the
 → key to our Black work - we had become participants in the strike

key = don't counterpose sales, propaganda to actual participation // participation vastly enhances our ability to get our ideas out

unlike a-w-m, w-l-m, our Black work will ~~occur~~ occur around struggles that occur initially locally, not nationally - has implications nationally

Jimmie Henderson

Black work - highest development of
struggles does not occur around campuses

other struggles: begin on campuses,
and problem is to draw in the community -

Black struggles: ^{first to} begin in community
& reach highest level there & ~~draw~~
draw in the students

African Liberation Day ^(important, but) - it would
be an error to make this the focus of our
work - it fits into the pattern of our
work in other movements

Matilde Zimmerman

on sales of paper

on basis of the Militant - Ed. was invited
to participate in Kitty Hawk defense

forums - called Militant forums - good
identifies them with the paper

Mattde -

Militant is widely read in Chicano movement -
it is passed around

John Studer

as each new arena explodes, they tend
to incorporate lessons from already
existing & recent movements - e.g. a-w-m; w.l.m

This gives SWP a big opening though
on eds who are known as leaders in
a-w-m, etc

disruptive of effects of SWP election
~~opps~~ ^{opps} - we are developing a
periphery

Militant is getting to be much more
~~known~~ ^{known} & respected than we may sometimes
be aware of

Mike Kelley

on anti-stress oppn in Detroit

STRESS is a prototype unit - so the anti-stress oppn takes on a national importance

Out of 1965-1968 ghetto uprisings came
two fold - 1) some concessions - CEO; model cities
etc
2) repression -

Stress was ostensibly set up as an anti-essence unit but it evolved into a terror unit against Black community to prevent mobilization of Black community. ~~was~~ largely effective in this case past year until anti-stress oppn this past year.

1st - hearings - breaking down fear

2nd - oppn - mass action

Role of SWP - Key

STRESS is major political issue in Detroit

Frank Boehm

importance of election eggs — because in eyes of most people, election eggs are where the serious political alternatives exist and are presented

Berkeley —

- 1) large campus community
- 2) effect of yrs of radicalization

⇒ Democratic Party can't use its own name so easily — have to use other names, tags — e.g. April Coalition

Andrew Buckley

Black Radicalization very uneven — some sectors come into question while others fall behind

Black students remain the most conscious section of the community

Jean Savage — education before work
Helen Shiff — district 1

Joel Britton -

on strengthening branches vs new branches —
not sure these should be counterposed
should try to do both

there will probably be a layer of ideas
in each branch who would be key in
helping build new branches, but who may
not be the cadres necessary to solve the
kind of existing branch leadership
problems that Harry was talking about

Mel Kent - will do some in depth
analysis of particular industries — &
application of our line in them

Stan Singer

on CP

3 important political disputes in CP — { ^{elections} _{epoch books}

Marta Vidal

on PSP & PIP in Puerto Rico

George Weinman

on Pathfinder

- look at it from the extent of the books & pamphlets we've published - from the point of view of education & propaganda

on quantities available of Trotsky -

on professionalism - in all aspects of Pathfinder

Bruce Marcus

local election signs

national problems - demand national solutions - if we relate local problems to these

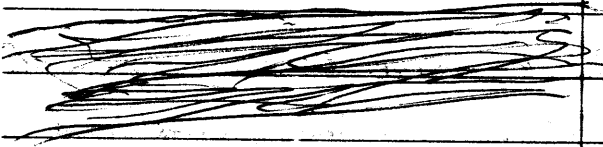
Ans - PP Books

Organizational

BETSEY STONE - Summary

CODEL -

Black Work



✓

YOUTH REPORT - ANDY ROSE

decline in application to universities - 1st time
in 10 years - higher tuition & costs
- cutbacks in scholarships, etc.

↓
has led to struggles // Black students

issues facing Black students are very much
intertwined with entire social questions
& general cutbacks in social welfare programs

unemployment // youth
summer jobs

relative decline in student movement

- 1) withdrawal of troops - UN
- 2) ~~the~~ led in Black struggle
- 3) widespread feeling of ineffectuality of
students to cause change // evidence
of ultra-leftism

YOUTH REPORT

59

But:

Black students at Wayne State have been in the forefront of the anti-Smoot campaign.

Atlanta - Black high school students

YST is stronger today than a year ago
emphasis ~~is~~ on building campus factions

high school -

important -

YS - geared to a significant extent
to Black U.S. students.

- high school sales

- ~~year~~ ^{year} election opens to high schools

YST gains - monthly newspaper / now ~~of~~ over 10,000

emphasize continuity of leadership

YOUTH REPORT

(60)

improvement in finances

recruitment:

Last party plenum - 1200-1300 (same since mid 1970)

over past year, the total size has remained stable - 1276 members today

indications of greater potential for Black recruitment

I ~70 Black cdes // many cadre
I 12-15 ESUP & YSA //

(Black cdes)
10 for N.C.

5 ^{Black} organizers of YSA locals

I much recruitment in the regions and some 37% of YSA is in ~~areas~~ areas where there is no party branch. But we have a continual policy of encouraging cdes in region to go to branch centers - while continuing regional work

YOUTH REPORT

regional teams -

3 keys

- 1) 1 key leader of team
- 2) money
- 3) more branch involvement in regional work

7 60 locals of YSA + at-largers in 100 cities

YWLL - largest and strongest opponent

YWLL membership ~ same size or slightly smaller than YSA

geographical scope roughly comparable to ours

But YSA is significantly stronger than YWLL - better organized, politically much stronger

They are on a big drive to build up YWLL - recruitment drive to double membership re-establish a monthly paper. \$10,000 fund drive

They build up YWLL in the daily world. had Angela Davis demonstratively join the YWLL

YOUTH REPORT

(62)

ex - New left & ultra-left milieu

↳ attempt to regroup some of the various
Marxist gps into a new Marxist party - { size of all 2
{ size of YSL + SWP
October League; Revolutionary Union are
well organized

YSL is recruiting some very talented student
leaders who have gone through many previous
experiences - e.g. Bloomington

YPSL -

main activity = building Youth for Peace
and Democracy in Midwest

- around Zionism - right wing

ideology has strongest hold on campus

- claim 5 full-time organizers of
this Youth Committee - big attacks
on YSL - ~~SWP~~

indicates interest in Zionism

YOUTH REPORT - discussion (63)

DICK GARZA

- PSP, PIP, are competing with us for cadres
- we must stay on campuses - this is key to party growth

Andrew Pulley

Black work fractions idea - did not contribute to developing Black cadre

Fred Halstead

West Coast Farmworkers Union - vs Teamsters

note: ~~the reality of~~

The initial victories of the farmworkers were not due ^(so much) to the intrinsic strength of the union but to student movement which put the grape boycott over. -

YOUTH REPORT

64

Pearl Chester -

regional work

SUMMARY - ANDY ROSE

other opponents

NCIC - largest

Wohlf, Spats - in hundreds (together)

IS - severe decline

N.A.M.s

~~report~~
report is written - there is no need
for a separate print or convention agenda
because there is no projection of any
special campaign in this area

T. Edwards

~~relates~~ relates story of anti-Soviet red-baiting at
a lesbian conference

~~Evelyn Sell~~
Evelyn Sell

agree with approach & conclusions but F.O.'s
on not putting on convention agenda - there
should be a way to work in an educational
discussion on
that has been the reaction of the gay
comrades to this proposal for decision

Harry Ring -

will vote for resolution and probably append a statement - he considers the resolution insufficient and will probably offer amendments

agrees cannot say "gay is good" but can reject idea that "gay is bad or sick".
The onus is on those who say gays are sick

it does not sit well to have - given previous record of SWP - to have the thrust of such a resolution be an admonition to gay comrades $\frac{1}{2}$ a greater problem than the over-enthusiasm of gay cdes re: g-l-m is the question of a certain layer of cdes who are opposed to g-l-m. A resolution which papers this over is a disservice

I no literature on gay liberation

L.A. conference - attended by 1,200 - SWP had no intervention, altho 50 cdes attended

Dave Wilp

assumes that within the framework of present resolution, it would be possible to intervene in such a conference and to suggest a mass action perspective - if not, he would not want to vote for such a resolution

we should indicate ^{and} while I'm in position on "gay is good," we do ~~say~~ "gay is not bad"

Les Evans

1.5th of last page

- agnostic position on what factual information exists about homosexuality

- ~~is~~ ^{in society} ~~is~~ not whether gay is better but whether it is a form of mental illness

Joe Johnson

also has serious questions, particularly over what SWP is going to do — intervene on a local level or not?

Doug Jensen

report does not say there is no scope for some specific local intervention — it says there is no basis for a major national intervention and that the ~~relative~~ relative weight of SWP propaganda on gay liberation is smaller than in other areas of our intervention.

disagrees with Harry. The problem has been the opposite — a disproportionate attention paid to g-l-m in SWP propaganda and social events

Bob Chester

agrees with Harry. Gay eds seem unclear over what sorts of political interventions are possible

GRAY LIBERATION DISCUSSION

(69)

Bob Clutter

resolution should specify the possibility for g-l-m being a field of political activity of SWP

Mary Alice -

The resolution does not in any way make an admission to gay color. It spells out our political line

a) - support struggle for democratic rights
b) - we take no position on the question of sexuality

c) - in our long term strategic priorities, g-l-m is less important than w-l-m or nat'l liberation

Bob Himmel

The memorandum does not adequately deal with the questions that must be answered by SWP at the present time

It is precisely the other questions that we have to answer

On no forums on g-l-m via SF - during internal discussion

Bob Himmel

interprets resolution along lines that branches
can hold firm on the question - guy is not sick
otherwise he could not vote for the
memorandum

Dick Gays

suggests the document

if a question was raised about some ggs
~~if a question was raised~~
not being paid enough attention to, it would
be Puerto Rican — these types of questions
should not be raised

Tony Thomas

PC proposal is correct

(relative weight)
2 party must project objective situation not
degree of personal concerns

Andrew Puller -

agrees with general line of report + document +
M-A + Tony Thomas

does not see ambiguity at all

- on priorities

- on S&P not taking position on scientific

prejudices of society against homosexuality as in no
way reflected in the document

we take political positions not ~~unwisely~~ take a stand
on new cultural ideas on sexuality, etc.

ides should not read into the document what
is not there

Dick Roberts

agrees with all resolution except pt. no. 6
(whether or not there should be a separate pt in
the convention agenda)

g-l-m (disagrees with Doug) has not been
reflected in our literature ^(as) much as it
could be.

Jack Barnes

disagrees with the way Harry, Ed Austin and some others are addressing the question look at it historically

When g-l-m developed -

1) SWP - paid much attention to it but we attempted to do so in overall context of our strategy as a whole

it's not true that we haven't given much attention to this -

- I no special way of ^{treat} ~~handling~~ gay cdes & g-l-m
- I no admonition to gay cdes

} any intel
 } from any
 } other cdes
 } of in
 } question
 } of party of
 } as a whole

on intervening in a lesbian conference -

it all depends - if it involves political action, it can be considered; if it is just on homosexuality then it is very dubious - because that is not an area where SWP can have a position

Jack

... is homosexuality sick? — society is sick & we deny right of ruling class & its ~~pre~~ lieutenants to define the question

Lynn

this discussion ~~did~~ ^{take} not seem to ~~take~~ ^{take} up a ~~lot~~ ^{lot} of the pts. raised in the literary discussion & answered in document

one of the main points in literary discussion was that the gay movement is a movement for much more than democratic rights

another: that homosexuality ^(or bisexuality) is preferable to heterosexuality

another: homosexuality is a fundamental aspect of the revolution — abandoning Marxism & even non-Marxist materialism

This must be answered

another: relative wt. of g-l-m ~ w-l-m // h-l-m

GAY LIBERATION DISCUSSION

74

Lynn cont'd

interventions in dems - struggles
in Atlanta

~~Betsy~~

the type of document this is: a
succinct statement of political line

we do not support counter-culturalist
aspect of g-l-m - (building a better
life within this society)

~~Nat~~

agrees with the memorandum ^(feels that it) reflects his
thinking on this question

on SF - frame of discussion about

on 50 cdes at the lesbian conference - isn't
that an intervention

I think there is nothing there (in g-l-m)
of significance to coming American revolution

Walter Reuther

there is going to be continued discussion on this because of ambiguity — & the result will be appeals to "higher authority" — cannot have things settled by an arbitrator

Tom Kerry -

Jack expressed essentially Tom Kerry's view

will speak only on the coming convention
what will be the character of the coming convention

- we are facing a historical turning point - in American capitalism & in the party

- Are we going to have an international?
That will be the central point at the convention

Look at the other historical turning points
- war & depression - & look at how the party has reacted

Tom Kerry

a historical detour - 1946 -
reflected in composition of the party

Now I another historical turning point
- a-w-m
- w-l-m (abortion) } ended

Is there a national issue? - yes

reflected ⁱⁿ meat boycott

action of the working class - as consumers

Next stage - will be American working
class as producer - not spontaneous -
through their trade unions

That will be the nature of the next
convention - and it will be a wrench
for the party - a wrench from the old
comfortable routine

The g-l-m is not a factor in the
American rev. - it's a fantasy

Harry King

(reference to)
on his previous record - Harry was
referring to period prior to ~~the~~ discussion
on membership policy

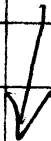
on being an attorney for the gay cdes
- Harry is speaking for himself

on prejudice

- cdes who think there ~~is~~ is nothing
to this movement, or that the image
of the party is marred by ~~any~~ gay cdes

on centrality of specific questions
- Native American Movement - is also not
central

g.l.m. - ^{generated} has far ~~more~~ more interest &
concern among radicalized youth than
ever before



Harry King

If there ~~is~~ was basic agreement on the resolution in leadership, there would be no problem, but I disagree and in that framework, the resolution passes over

disagrees with Tony's ~~and~~ assertion that there has been a disproportionate emphasis in our literature

- maybe in election year propaganda, but not in Militant, L&B, Pathfinder

Q. To Barry? - do you agree with Nat

Q. Was what Tom said the meaning of the resolution?

(Tom - didn't say he agreed with resolution)
said he agreed with Jack's remarks)

SUMMARY - Barry Steward

(report does) (attempt to be)
The document is not a full resolution about
everything related to g-l-m

given our knowledge of experience with g-l-m
it is not insufficient

we reject all forms of bourgeois prejudice
against gay people, including quack psychiatric
views - But we do not take a position on
merits or nature of homosexuality

there has been some disproportion in some
of our propaganda - election cpys; some in Militant

we have polemized in the past against the
CP's position) & continuing this as in line
with the memorandum

[that homosexuality is
a degenerate sickness]

proposes re-writing that it is resolution
about rejecting all quack psychiatric theories

GAY LIBERATION DISCUSSIONS (80)

on vote

Tom abstains - with a reservation

agrees with conclusions of the memorandum
but the memorandum leaves open too
many loopholes

- was against (the public, against
the literary discussion)

has been against it from the
very beginning

Harry - statement

statement so that he may make a
contribution later

generally agrees

Bob Chester

will add contributions later

unanimous - regular vote
1 abstention - consultative

⌋ = VOTE

ELECTION OF P.C. - JACK BARNES

proposing to place - previous plenum's point on leadership into the internal bulletin

centrality of internationalism in constructing our leadership & internationalist responsibilities of our leadership

central MMF leadership are no longer candidates for world leadership
no longer ^(SWP) organizational support & political collaboration to these eds as a central leadership team. They are an obstacle

expansion of resources of SWP
(responsibility of) younger SWP leaders (who have come into leadership in last 20 yrs) to shoulder responsibilities of world leadership

Election of PC.

(82)

Jack — ^{also} we are joining the debate over the road to power in the advanced capitalist countries

J/M-A → USA
Peter → Europe

Barry — as PC + Norway Sec — to be resident in Calif.
Calif will be the center of the int'l debate

1 stage where division of LA Branch is on agenda —

No state or district unit ~~of~~ for Calif.
— leadership is elected by ranks —

Lew — on desk

Jack — nat'l sec'y

int'l commission — Ed Shaw // M-A, Ross, Joe

Political Bureau — PC will delegate political authority to it — nat'l sec'y will be responsible for calling it together

83

Pol. Bur.

Barnes, Button, A Hansen, Stone,

~~_____~~

CONVENTION CALL