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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7121)
FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.
SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

DATE: 7/19/57

On 7/15/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR., with a handwritten report concerning the ISL National Convention held at New York City, N. Y., on 7/5-7/57. Informant's report is located in [redacted] and is set forth herein.

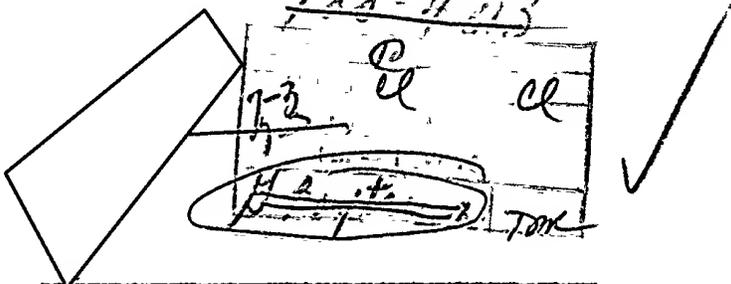
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- 5 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-1840 (ISL))
- 3 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted] (LNU))
 - (1 - 100-9025 (ISL))
- 2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - [redacted] (LNU))
 - (1 - 100-3476 (ISL))
- 4 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted] (LNU))
 - (1 - Unknown Delegate)
 - (1 - 100-18417 (ISL))
- 20 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - 100-6680 (ISL))
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - ALBERT GATES)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - MAX SHACHTMAN)
 - (1 - 100-123545 ([redacted]))

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100-49738-151

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Searched _____	Indexed _____
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July 19, 1957	
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INDEXED: HERB (LNU)

PH 100-7121

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New York (Cont'd)

- (1 - 100-109959 ([redacted]))
- (1 - [redacted] (LNU))

(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)

- 1 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED MAIL)
(100-5567 (ISL))
- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - [redacted] (LNU))
 - (1 - [redacted] (LNU))
 - (1 - 100-2397 (ISL))
- 1 - Seattle (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - ISL)
- 9 - Philadelphia
 - (1 - 100-7121)
 - (1 - 100-32106 ([redacted]))
 - (1 - 100-35564 ([redacted]))
 - (1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON))
 - (1 - 100-31370 ([redacted]))
 - (1 - 100-32731 ([redacted]))
 - (1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY))
 - (1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM
BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION))
 - (1 - [redacted]))

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"I. S. L. Convention

"The convention was convened at 9. a.m. Friday July 5, 1957 in Room 10-0 Adelpia Hall, 74 -5th Ave. N.Y.C.

"Rules Committee Report.
Credential Committee Report.
Resolution Com. Report.
Installation of Chair.
Roll Call of Delegates.

"After the rules committee reported outlining the rules for the 1957 convention the credential com. reported all delegates were properly accredited except those from Los Angelese, they held up the report on these delegates until after the noon recess.

"Roll call of Delegates was by either first names or initials and by cities. Delegates from the following citys attended the convention.

"New York, Newark, Phila., Reading, Pittsburg, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angelese. There were about 30 delegates in all.

"All told, including the national com., party members, and sympathizers there were about 125 to 150 persons attending the convention at various times during the three days of the convention. This number also includes a delegate of Youth.

"The important part of the convention centered around two main resolutions, the Unity question and the United States Resolution.

"These two questions were hotly debated and so many addmendments were tacked on to them that at times, no one, including SHACTMAN seemed to know what the delegates were talking about.

"AL GATES, presented the majority position on the Unity question. He did a very good job. HAL DRAPER presented the minority position, and he made a hash of it.

"DRAPER and HASKELL, who were the leaders of the minority block and who had scattered support from Newark and L.A. were very inept, they seemed to have no idea how to organize an minority opposition, they called no cacuses and failed to contact and solidify their followers.

"Needless to say, on this question, SCHACTMAN made mince meat out of DRAPERS and HASKELLS arguments.

"The arguments pro an con on this question went on interminally from noon till 11 P.M. at which time the vote was called for.

"At 10.50 SCHACTMAN asked that all action on the unity question be held up for a few minuets as the Committee for Unity of the S.P.-S.D.F. were deliberating on the question of accepting the I.S.L. into the S.P.-S.D.F. and he pointed out that they were about to vote on the question.

"In two or three seconds he returned and said the committee had voted not to accept the I.S.L.

"This was anti-climax after all the long hours of debate and when it was put to the vote the unity resolution was carried 26-0. There were no votes against, no abstentions and no recorded no vote, on this question.

"The most impressive thing about this resolution to me was the frankness of the speakers toward their feverish desire to make an opening in the S.P.-S.D.F. for the GATES faction and all other former C.P. members.

"Part of SCHACTMANN'S argument for Unity was the fine reception EARL BRODER gave it.

"The next big issue was the resolution on the parties role in the coming period in the U.S. This was known as the U.S. resolution.

"BEN HALL presented the majorities position on this resolution and it covered every thing from the parties

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"future role in the labor movement, parcipatating in election campaigns to what position the party should take in regards to supporting the satalite states in rebelling against Russia.

"Again the opposition to the majority resolution was led by DRAPER and HASKELL with the same ineptness.

"DRAPER firsts attacted the minorities Labor position and presented Newarks resolution on this aspect of the U. S. resolution.

"He then proceeded to condemn the majorities proposals on the parties position on elections. Pointing out that under the majority position the Party would find itself supporting capitalist candidates for office.

"He went on at great lengths to say that if the majority position was upheld, the party was throwing away a great educational weopen.

"From this he took up the majorities position on aid to foreign countries in their struggles for freedom.

"He covered this subject from the Easter Rebellion in Ireland and the Spanish Civil War to Hungary.

"SCHACTMANN and GATES, leading the defense of the majorities position, using ridicule, invective and personal insult against the three outstanding spokesmen for the minority, failed to carry the majorities resolution.

"SCHACTMANNs main points were chiefly, regardless how reactionary the Labor movement position might be on main political and economic questions, the Party must not openly oppose or attact it.

"On the participation in election campaigns the party role must be only that of a supporter of the Labor movements choice and under no circumstances would the party advance candidates of their own.

"The party, at no time, under no circumstances, would call on the U. S. govt. to give arms or aid to any country in its struggle for freedom. Also complete support of the U. S. in the event of a war with any aggressor.

"This was too much even for the most loyal followers of the majority leaders. It seemed as if every delegat from every branch, with the exception of Detroit, wanted to tack admendments to chang, modify or completely sabatoge this resolution.

"SCHACTMANN, always the master tactician, quickly got an admdment advanced returning the original resolution back to the national com. thus staving of a no vote. Which would have been the first defeat of his forces in the convention.

"Another of SCHACTMANNs tactist which suprised some of the members of the delegates and members, especially those in the minority, was the method used in disposing of the following points.

"The usual practice of most organizations is that before the convention gets down to the real meat, the nominations and election of officers takes place.

"SCHACTMANN did it differently, first came a reccommenda-tion to enlarge the national com. Then a reccommenda-tion to add a member from each branch, this doubled the size of the national com. and as the branch organizer is the logical person to be selected, simplified the nominations and elections by making it more or less mechanical.

"The real kicker came next. The officers would be elected from the national committee at the next meeting of the committee, with the majority of the new committee members being of course Schactmannites. SCHACTMANN can select his own choice of officers.

"On the resolution of the Phila. Branch demanding regulary scheduled yearly convention SCHACTMANN pointed out that this was not necessary, as the constitution provided that conventions could be held at any time if 1/3 of the branches voted for it.

"On the demand of the Phila. Branch to know by what authority the National Com. could constitute itself as the Rules com. for convention instead of electing such a com. from the branches, SCHACTMANN said this procedure was acording to constitution proceedure.

"On the Phila. branch protest of a poll tax on members before they could vote for convention delegates and resolution, SCHACTMANN again quoted the constitution.

"This led to a motion that a copy of the constitution be produced for all members. When it was found that there were none available at the national office SCHACTMANN promised to see that they would be made available in the future.

"Nearly every key resolution including that which concerned the future publication of the Party Press was orientated toward the achievement of unity with the S.P.-S.D.F. and when this did not materialize you got the impression that SCHACTMANN had more or less lost his hold on the majority.

"As the sessions started early and ended late at night with only an hour break for lunch and dinner plus the fact that when these breaks occured the delegates scattered into the many nearby resturants or were so tired they hurried to where ever they were going to sleep that night, it was nearly impossible to get acquainted with them, althow there were some who had at some time or another had had some contact with the eastern branches either at social functions in the area or by spending some time in the eastern branches.

"Among the many people present were of course MAX SCHACTMANN, AL GATES, MAX MARTIN HARRINGTON, BEN HALL, JAMES FENWICK, JOE DIAMOND, ALEX WOLLOD, JOSEPH DAVIDSON, JOHN MC BRIDE, FRANK and HANNAH CARNER, HELEN & DON, HAL DRAFER, GORDON HASKILL, ARCHIE from Newark, the [redacted] fellow I had met previously at the youth affair in Washington, N. J. also ANNE, who I had met at the same time and understood she was married to [redacted], BERNIE and BOB from San Francisco, OSCAR, from Detroit, J. D_ or J.B. also a delegate from Detroit who is very active in the U.A.W. and has appeared on

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"T.V. and Radio as a spokesman for the U.A.W.

"There was one colored girl there as a delegate but as she had nothing to say I could not ascertain which branch she belonged to. The only other colored person there was a spectator, see note 1. Another female delegate named HELEN, no branch known, JOE a delegate from New York, JULES, I believe he was one of the challenged delegates from Los Angeles, a fellow and his wife who used to belong to the W.P. branch in Phila. and lived with [redacted] on [redacted] he worked at [redacted] there. Another fellow from Reading Pa. named HERB who sends his children to the same summer camp as the [redacted]s. Another delegate from Newark, rather an alternate, DEBBIE MEIR and SAUL BERG of Chicago also see note 1. MAX WEINTRIB and HELEN HILLYER of Chicago.

"Note 1. HELEN, turned out to be HELEN HILLYER of Chicago.

"Note 2. The following portion of this report is a description of those persons present other than the following, SCHACTMANN, GATES, MARTIN, HARRINGTON, HALL, FENWICK, DIAMOND, WOLLOD, DAVIDSON, CARNERS, MC BRIDE, DRAPER, HASKELL, and ARCHIE_

"HELEN & DON.

"HELEN, about [redacted] or [redacted] years old, [redacted] slender build, light brown hair, [redacted], blue eyes, fair complection, about [redacted] lb._

"HELEN formerly belonged to the Phila. Branch of the Youth during the day of the W.P. about 19[redacted] she attended [redacted]. I believe she is married to DON.

"DON, about [redacted] years old, [redacted] weight about [redacted], dark wavy hair, brown eyes, fair complection, medium build, do not recall him as ever being around the movement. They attended all sessions of convention, do not know wether they are at present members of the League or sympathizers, do not know their present or past adress.

[redacted]

[redacted], Height [redacted] weight about [redacted] lb__ age about [redacted], last met him at youth gathering in Washington N. J. 1956, at that time he told me he had been educated at [redacted] and that he was living in N. Y. and was unemployed. He said at that time he was working with the Youth but was a member of the N. Y. Branch of the I.S.L., did not get opportunity to talk to him during this convention.

"ANNE.

"ANNE is about [redacted] weight about [redacted] age early [redacted], light brown hair, [redacted], meidum build. I met her at the Youth conference in 1956 at Washington N. J. and at that time I was either told or got the impression that she was married to [redacted]. I am not sure, but think she represented N. Y. as a delegate.

"BERNIE.

"BERNIE, about [redacted] or [redacted], [redacted] weight about [redacted] light brown hair, blue eyes, light complexion solid build, appears to be well educated, from his conversation I believe he work in [redacted], he was a delegate from S.F. his wife is from [redacted] and they just returned from a visit to [redacted] before attending convention. ([redacted]) He is acquainted with the [redacted]s through the fact that when [redacted] went to S.F. in 56 as a delegate to the N.A.A.C.P. convention she made it her buisness to contact him.

"BOB.

"BOB also was a delegate from S.F. but he stated that he had been transferred to N. Y. It was not made clear wether the co. he works for made this transfer or wether the I.S.L. had made it.

"BOB appears to be in his early [redacted], he is about [redacted] weight about [redacted] slender build, sparse black hair, blue eyes, very pale complexion he also appears to be well educated.

"OSCAR.

"Met OSCAR about 19[] when he came to Phila. with []
[] since then he has been living and working in
Detroit, Mich. he was not a delegate just a party member
who visited the convention.

"He is about [], [] weight about [], very thin,
black hair, brown eyes, []
[]

"J. B. or J. D.

"see Note 2 J.B. or J.D. I am not certain which last
initial is correct. was a delegate from Detroit. He is
about [] years old, [] weight about [], brown eyes,
[]

"Note 2. There are seven members in the Detroit branch,
they are all active in the U.A.W. and are known
as Rutherites in the Local unions, they are
trade union activist, and play no political
role in Detroit.

"Colored Girl.

"This colored girl was the only colored delegate present,
she had nothing to say all during the sessions and
therefore it was difficult to ascertain what branch she
represented.

"She was about [] yrs. old, [] weight about []
she had black hair, brown eyes, light tan complexion
[]
[]

"Colored Man.

"The only other colored person there was definitely a ne-
gro, he was not a delegate but a visitor. I do not know
if he was even a party member.

"He was about [] yrs. old, [] weight about [] very
slender build, [] and was very dark complexioned.

"He resembled [redacted], of the Johnsonite sect. very much.

"HELEN HILLYER

"HELEN HILLYER, delegate from Chicago, about [redacted] yrs old. [redacted] light brown hair, [redacted] had [redacted] blue eyes, [redacted] light complected very thin. ([redacted].)

"JOE. Delegate N.Y.C.

"JOE, Delegate from N.Y.C. about [redacted] or [redacted] hgt. about [redacted] wgt. about [redacted] Dark brown wavy hair, brown eyes, [redacted] stocky build, good looking fair complection.

"JULES.

"JULES, about [redacted] or [redacted] hgt. [redacted] wgt. about [redacted] black curly hair, brown eyes, slender build, could not determine wether he was from Pittsburg or Chicago.

"Man & Wife.

"This is [redacted] and wife, he was at the convention as a visitor. I believe he is a member of the N. Y. branch.

"HERB.

"HERB, a visitor from Reading Pa. a league sympathizer, he is acquainted with the [redacted] sends his children to the same summer camp. He is about [redacted] years old, [redacted] weight about [redacted] brown eyes, [redacted] he is an old timer with many connections in the S.W.P. and the I.S.L.

"Delegate from Newark.

"This man was an alternate delegate from Newark who attempted to speak on the U. S. resolution but was ruled inelegible, this caused a great controversy which was

"resolved when the convention delegates over ruled the chair and permitted him to adress the convention, he spoke for the minority.

"This man was about [redacted] wght about [redacted], blond hair, grey eyes, [redacted], tall well built, fair complected, [redacted]
[redacted].

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"IRV.

"IRV, resident of N.Y.C. lives in the 'village,' about [redacted] hgt [redacted] wght. [redacted], [redacted], brown eyes, [redacted]. He was a member of the housing committee.

"DEBBIE MEIR, PAUL BERG and MAX WEINTRAUB

"I could not see DEBBIE MEIR when she spoke as she was sitting on the left side of the hall, the same side I was on and a door in the wall, kept open to insure circulation, blocked my view.

"I moved to other side of room but she had finished speaking and sat down among some other women. I then went out into corridor and stood by open door to try to spot her or perhaps hear some one speak to her but failed.

"PAUL BERG & MAX WEINTRIB.

"I am sure that these two acted as chairmen during various sessions but I could not distinguish which was which_ therefore_ I hesitate to identify either."

Copies of this report have been designated to offices represented at the convention. Copies for individuals were designated on the basis of descriptive data furnished.

Offices desiring further identification of individuals attending the convention should furnish photographs for display to [redacted].

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Extreme caution should be utilized in reporting this information to fully protect informant's identity.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013) DATE: 7/8/57

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

Reference Boston letter dated June 24, 1957.

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity must be protected, on June 20, 1957, furnished his final report concerning the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY's National Convention held May 31 through June 2, 1957, at New York City, including in this report specific detail regarding the various convention sessions, outlines of which are set forth in referenced letter. Informant's report is located in Boston File [redacted] and in part is as follows:

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35 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 2 - 100-4013 (SWP)
- 1 - 100-59096 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7388 (FARRELL DOBBS)
- 1 - 100-60274 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-59476 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-88074 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-26400 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-79299 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-84588 [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: [redacted])

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1 - 100- [redacted]
(ATTEMPTS OF CP, USA, FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

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JUL 9 1957
NEW YORK
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cc's continued

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New York

- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 4 - 100- (CP, USA, AND PERTINENT SUBDIVISIONS)
- 1 - 100- (AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)
- 1 - 100- (ISL)
- 1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
- 1 - 100- (YSL)
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: YSL Leader, NYC)
- 1 - 100- (SOCIALIST UNITY COMMITTEE)
- 1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
- 1 - 100- (SUA)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (LNU)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (LNU)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: [redacted])

100-49738* I
100-21059* NI

5 - Buffalo (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-6516 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- (SAM MARCY)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (LNU)
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: [redacted])
- 1 - 100- (possibly [redacted] (LNU))

3 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 65-645 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- ((FNU) [redacted])
- 1 - 100- (HOWARD MAYHEW)

5 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-1012 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- (TED DOSTEL)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (LNU)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (ph)

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cc's continued

5 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-1334 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- ()
- 1 - 100- ()
- 1 - 100- ()
- 1 - 100- ()

7 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-17375 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- (ARNE SWABECK)
- 1 - 100- ()
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: ())
- ()
- ()
- 1 - 100- (CP-ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100- (CP-MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB: ())

2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-7313 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- ()

3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-1246 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- (R. V. DUNNE)
- 1 - 100- (HENRY SCHULTZ)

2 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-1984 (SWP)
- 1 - 100- ()

1 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-2036 (SWP)

1 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-662 (SWP)

1 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 61-380 (SWP)

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cc's continued

3 - Seattle (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100-3864 (SWP) [redacted]
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100- (UNSUB: [redacted])
[redacted]
[redacted])

4 - Boston
1 - 100-442 (SWP)
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-19245 ([redacted])
1 - 100-7697 (L. P. TRAINOR)

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I. SESSION #1

This session held at Wortermann's Hall, 3d Avenue at 16th Street, New York City, on Friday, May 31, 1957, from 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., was chaired by TOM KERRY, the SWP's Organizational Secretary, and attended by approximately 200 to 225 individuals.

A. Opening of 17th S.W.P. National Convention - DOBBS

FARRELL DOBBS, the S.W.P.'s National Secretary, formally opened this 3-day National Convention by extending to all Party Delegates, Alternates, Visitors and invited guests a hearty welcome from the personnel of the S.W.P.'s National Headquarters and New York City Local.

A very brief speech of no particular significance.

B. 17th Convention Rules and Procedure - TOM KERRY or FARRELL DOBBS

Either DOBBS or KERRY briefly reviewed the "rules" and "procedure" to be followed during this 17th S.W.P. Convention.

Convention Delegates and Alternates were asked to refer to the material in their folders for additional information or an explanation of these "rules" and "procedure".

C. Election of Presidium - 12 - SWABECK

The Convention Delegates formally approved the recommendation of ARNE SWABECK, "Old Guard", SWP leader, N.C. member, currently assigned to the Los Angeles Branch, that the Convention Presidium be comprised of one representative each from Illinois, Minnesota, Washington, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and two representatives from New York and California. Included among those individuals on the Presidium were: JAMES P. CANNON; FARRELL DOBBS; TOM KERRY; MORRIS STEIN; MURRY WEISS; ARNE SWABECK; R. V. DUNNE; TED. DOSTEL, and F. LOVELL.

Nomination and Election of Convention "Recording" Secretaries

SWABECK requested the Convention Delegates to nominate 3 or 4 S.W.P. members present to serve as "recording" secretaries at the various sessions to follow.

Note:

The major task of a "recording" secretary at a Convention session is to operate and to observe the tape recorder which tape records just about every word uttered from the Convention rostrum.

After much unexplainable difficulty, the Delegates finally nominated a maximum of 4 "recording" secretaries, whom the Delegates quickly and unanimously elected to that post.

Among the 4, the only one known by this writer was CONNIE FARR (WEISSMAN), wife of GEORGE WEISSMAN, JR. and the mother of [REDACTED] by a previous marriage.

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D. Report of Arrangements Committee

"Arrangements Committee" comprised of S.W.P. personnel from Manhattan and Brooklyn Branches of the New York City Local.

The "Arrangements Committee" responsible for registration of all S.W.P. personnel and invited guests attending the Convention.

Also, for housing or hotel accommodations for all Convention personnel, for providing information on restaurants, entertainment, etc., and for the needs of Convention personnel at all Convention sessions.

E. Report of Credentials Committee

"Credentials Committee" also comprised of S.W.P. members assigned to the 2 branches of the New York City Local.

The "Credentials Committee" allegedly is responsible for issuing and checking the Credentials of Convention Delegates and Alternates, ascertaining the identity of all Convention personnel and issuing necessary materials (folder) to Delegates and Alternates.

The Credentials of Branch elected Convention Delegates, in duplicate, are mailed to the branches about 3 weeks prior to the Convention.

As soon as the various branches elect their Convention Delegates, the Secretary-Treasurer fills out both copies of the "Credentials", mails one copy to the S.W.P.'s National Headquarters and gives the second copy to the elected Delegate to be used to identify him as the duly-authorized branch representative at the opening session or upon registering for the Convention.

If correctly recalled, a TOM KERRY "Convention" communication requested S.W.P. Branches to return the N.O. copy of the Delegate's "Credentials" to National Headquarters not later than 5/20/57.

F. Report of Nominations Committee - ARNE SWABECK

The "Nominations Committee" is comprised of at least 1 branch-elected Convention Delegate from each of the 18 S.W.P. Branches. The exact composition of the remainder of the "Nominations Committee" is not known to this writer.

SWABECK requested that each branch select one of its Convention Delegates as its representative on the "Nominations Committee", which would meet briefly at the close of this Convention Session #1. SWABECK added that the "Nominations Committee" at this 17th Convention would attempt to nominate all candidates for the S.W.P.'s new National Committee (both "Members" and "Alternates") at one session, reportedly scheduled to take place on Saturday evening, 6/1/57, during the period allotted for the 3 panels.

Although neither J. CHRISTIANSON nor A. M. TRAINOR, the 2 "delegates" from the Boston Branch, wanted the "Nominations Committee" assignment, A. M. TRAINOR capitulated sooner and begrudgingly accepted the task which consists of listening to from 50 to 60 talks on the qualifications of various candidates for the N.C.; then discussing the qualifications of each of the N.C. nominees with the other members of the Nominations Committee and then voting either to submit or reject each individual nomination.

Note:

The Reports of the Arrangements, Credentials and Nominations Committees at the start of the Convention are mere formalities with the contents of the reports lost in the noise, general confusion, seating of personnel and cross-

conversations, which drown out and defeat the efforts of the speakers on the rostrum to make themselves heard and understood by the few who might be trying to listen to them.

Therefore, this writer's above comments on the Reports of the "Arrangements", "Credentials" and "Nominations" Committees at this 1st session of the 17th Convention are "generalizations" pertaining to the functions of these Committees rather than a factual account of the contents of the Reports, which were both brief and extremely difficult to hear and to understand from this writer's "vantage" point in the "Visitors" section at the rear of the hall.

In fact, the uproar in the section assigned to the Convention Delegates and Alternates at the front of the hall, was so great that L. P. TRAINOR, Boston Branch Alternate, escaped to the "Visitors" section, which, in comparison was quiet and less confused and anticipating the eventual end to the pandemonium, which continued through the 45 minutes required to complete the above agenda items in the 1st session.

G. "Political Report" (P.C. Draft Resolution) by FARRELL DOBBS

The DOBBS' address, representing the "official" S.W.P. Majority political orientation, was extremely brief and was completed in much less time than the 60 minutes allotted to the National Secretary for his presentation.

DOBBS, after concluding this address, stated that he would utilize the 30 minutes due him during his rebuttal address, if it should become necessary, in order to answer satisfactorily any charges which might be made by either or both of the 2 Minority speakers, SAM MARCY and/or "ARTIE" FOX (AP).

(Agents Note:

According to informant, the initials AP are those used by FOX when writing articles in SWP publications.)

The DOBBS "Political Report" was a summarized account of the contents of the P.C. Draft Resolution on the S.W.P.'s proposed political orientation for the coming period.

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This P.C. "Political" Resolution and its contents were based on the discussions and decisions reached by the National Committee Majority at the N.C. Plenums of 5/56 and 12/56.

This DOBBS' "Political Report" of 5/31/57 followed the same pattern of similar "Political Reports" presented at the 15th Convention in 7/52 and the 16th Convention of 11/54.

This 1957 DOBBS "Political Report" followed exactly the pattern set in the P.C.'s Draft Resolution, thus detracting from its importance as a significant Convention Report.

There was nothing controversial about the DOBBS Report and/or the P.C. Resolution, since neither recommended any major change in the S.W.P.'s political orientation for the coming period.

One minor change, if it can be interpreted as such, was emphasized and explained by DOBBS.

This minor change, which DOBBS recommended be inserted in the P.C. Draft Resolution, concerned the S.W.P.'s "Campaign against Stalinism" and might have been suggested originally by L. P. TRAINOR to his N.C. colleagues at the 5/30/57 N.C. pre-Convention Plenum, since it recommended the step-up of the S.W.P.'s propaganda campaign against the American Stalinist leadership, which TRAINOR had set forth at a 5/57 weekly meeting of the S.W.P.'s Boston Branch.

DOBBS, in his 5/31/57 Report, recommended that the Convention Delegates vote to insert this "stepped-up propoganda attack, in coming issues of 'The Militant' against the American Stalinist Bureaucracy" as part of the S.W.P.'s "Campaign against Stalinism" orientation for the coming period.

This stepped - up propoganda attack against the American Stalinist Bureaucracy is aimed at awakening rank and file Stalinists to the truth about their corrupt and opportunistic leaders, thus forcing the rank and file Stalinists either to rid the CP of its leaders or to quit the CP themselves with the hope that they (rank and file Stalinists) can be recruited into the S.W.P.

The DOBBS "Political Report" featured the N.C. Majority's up-to-date analysis of the international political scene today, which differed slightly, if at all, from the same analysis reported by MURRY WEISS at the 16th S.W.P. Convention in Chicago in 11/54.

According to FARRELL DOBBS:

1. Capitalism vs Socialism - This continuing death-struggle between the 2 social orders is the key to each and every incident taking place today on the international political scene.
2. Capitalism's survival - attributed to the treachery of International Stalinism.
3. Balance of power - now lost forever to World Capitalism, is currently in the hands of the Soviet bloc.
4. Capitalism's decay - since World War II has been accelerated by the colonial revolutions.
5. Statism - its application has created new contradictions rather than having solved the old ones for World Capitalism.
6. Capitalism's chief problem - exporting capital, prevented by the rising tide of colonial revolutions.
7. World War III - despite its potential consequences, will be utilized to prevent the collapse of the Capitalist system.
8. United Nations - no deterrent to World War III.
9. Class Struggle - American working class is trade union conscious but not politically conscious. Class struggle in U. S. will erupt when American Capitalists attack trade unions to subjugate workers in new crisis.
10. Negro Question - linked with working class in class struggle. Negro struggle for equality more acute rather than solved by desegregation as it exists today.

11. Stalinism - responsible for prolonging the life of the Capitalist System and for postponing completion of the Permanent Revolution.
12. Stalinism's role in Poland - suppressed revolt of Polish working class.
13. Stalinism's role in Hungary - a counter-revolutionary force utilizing the Red Army to thwart the Hungarian Revolution.
14. S.W.P.'s orientation in Hungary - full support of Hungarian working class and the Hungarian Revolution against Stalinism and the Red Army.

(The major basis of dissent against the P.C. Resolution by the Marcyite faction)
15. S.W.P.'s orientation in Poland - full support of Polish working class against suppression by counter-revolutionary Stalinism.
16. The Chinese Question - S.W.P. to continue to regard China as a "deformed" workers state and to continue to give "critical support" to Stalinist regime of Mao Tse Tung.
17. Negro Question - S.W.P. orientation continues on its course of "pro-desegregation".
18. Conclusion - "Regroupment" - S.W.P. orientation calls for continued cooperation with other Left-Wing groups towards "Socialist - re-groupment" in the U.S.

This concluded the "Political Report" of the S.W.P. Majority by DOBBS.

H. Minority Report #1 by SAM MARCY

SAM MARCY, Organizer of the S.W.P.'s Buffalo Branch, is the top leader of a Minority group within the S.W.P. which is comprised of 100% of the membership of the Buffalo Branch

plus the great majority of the members of the Youngstown Branch. The remaining 16 branches report no support whatsoever for the Marcyite opposition, described by DOBBS, himself, as a "loyal Minority" --- discounting for the time being at least, any potential factional struggle within the S.W.P.

The Marcyite tendency within the S.W.P. dates back to the 14th S.W.P. National Convention in 1948 when it opposed the P.C.'s "political orientation" by advocating support of HENRY WALLACE and the Progressive Party in the 1948 national elections.

Immediately following the 15th National Convention in 1952, the Marcyites again opposed the P.C.'s orientation, stating their own position in the S.W.P. internal document entitled "The Global War".

Now, the Hungarian and Polish Events of 1956-1957 have reactivated the always organized Marcyite group, which currently opposes the P.C.'s analysis of the recent events having taken place in Hungary and Poland. Thus, the Marcyites' views on these events are expressed by SAM MARCY at this 17th Convention in this Minority Report #1.

According to SAM MARCY:

1. The events in Hungary described as "counter-revolutionary" rather than "revolutionary" acts by counter-revolutionary forces.
2. The present regime in Hungary is a bourgeois regime, the executive committee of a reorganized capitalist class. The goal of this new regime is to rid Hungary of the Red Army and to establish economic relations with the West.
3. The previous regime (Hungarian Stalinists), a deformed workers state, had seized the state power from the Bourgeoisie but had failed to destroy the latter as such.
4. Therefore, the Stalinist Bureaucracy alone is responsible for the massacre of Hungarian workers during the subsequent events.

5. But, the Stalinist Bureaucracy in Hungary represents the Left in the class struggle as compared to the orientations of other political groupings there.
6. The Stalinist Bureaucracy, through the Red Army attacked the Hungarian workers, allowing the bourgeoisie to rally support of all classes. Then, the Stalinists attempted to persuade the Hungarian workers to fight against the class enemy, the forces of the bourgeoisie --- and failed.
7. The Marcyites oppose the P.C. position also with regard to the role of the Workers Councils in the Hungarian Events.

Workers Councils lacked new and revolutionary leadership necessary to be progressive.

The composition of Workers Councils still not known but if comprised of 100% working class elements, Councils without proper leadership, like those in Hungary, could move in a "counter-revolutionary" direction as they did do.

Therefore, the Marcyite grouping opposes the P.C.'s Resolution with regard to the latter's full support of the actions taken by the Hungarian Workers Councils.

The Marcyites hold the Workers Councils responsible for defending bourgeois interests over those of the Workers, illustrated by the Councils' failure to demand a "proletarian dictatorship".

8. In conclusion, Marcyite support of the Stalinist Bureaucracy lies in the Marcyite analysis that the Red Army, not the Hungarian working class was defending the deformed workers state during the events portrayed.

MARCY, allotted 60 minutes to present his Minority Report, took that entire period.

I. "Minority Report" #2 by "ARTIE" FOX (A.P.)

"ARTIE" FOX (A.P.) of the S.W.P.'s Detroit Branch, the only known ex-Johnsonite to retain membership in the American Trotskyist Party, represents a one-man Minority in opposition to the Majority on the Chinese Question only.

As a result, FOX was allotted 45 minutes to present his views on the S.W.P.'s political orientation in a 2nd Minority Report at this 17th National Convention.

FOX, steeped in the political orientations and theories of the former Johnson-Forrest tendency which quit the S.W.P. in 1951, has been at odds with the Majority's political orientation on several occasions in the intervening period.

However, the FOX position has aroused little or no support either in Detroit or in other S.W.P. branches and despite his frequent political differences with the Majority, FOX has remained, and, is regarded as a loyal minority within the S.W.P.

According to Fox in "Minority Report #2":

1. Basically, FOX opposes the Majority's interpretation of the Mao Tse-tung regime in Red China and the nature of the state itself as a "degenerated workers state" under the leadership of an un-reformed Stalinist C.C.P. (Chinese Communist Party) with counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois elements included.

Such a leadership as the Mao Tse-tung regime, as described by FOX, is incapable of advancing in Red China to the next step of the Permanent Revolution --- the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. FOX contends that the Mao Tse-tung regime is comprised of petty-bourgeois elements with a capitalist class, not a working class orientation and that the nature of the Chinese state is "state-capitalism" defined as the final stage of Capitalism in which the capitalist-oriented petty bourgeoisie applies counter-revolutionary measures to the rising tide of pressures from the masses to the time of the final total collapse of capitalist control.

3. FOX further criticized the Majority's position on the basis that it applies the steps and conclusions of the theory of "Permanent Revolution" to the Chinese state irrationally and unrealistically, thus giving revolutionary content to counter-revolutionary moves.
4. In China, the working class does not control the state apparatus and, therefore, its definition by the Majority as a "workers state", is a fallacy.
5. The missing factor, according to FOX, is the revolutionary vanguard. The ingredient necessary to fulfill the historical role of the working class, the seizure of the state apparatus from the Bureaucracy and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
6. FOX concluded that nationalized economy without working class control of the state apparatus is still Capitalism.. "State Capitalism".
7. FOX's "Minority Report #2" also expressed differences with the Majority's interpretation of the Hungarian Events -- differences along lines similar to the ones he holds on the Chinese Question.

II. SESSION #2

This session held at Wortermann's Hall, 3d Avenue at 16th Street, New York City, from 3:00 p.m. to 7:15 p.m. on Friday, May 31, 1957, Chairman unknown, attended by approximately 225.

A. Introduction

At this 2nd of 3 sessions on the first day of this 17th S.W.P. National Convention, a near-maximum attendance was on hand to hear the Buffalo and Youngstown Branch personnel defend SAM MARCY's "Minority" Report #1 against the "Delegates" supporting the P.C. Resolution and its interpretation of the 1956-1957 Hungarian Events.

The lunch period between the 1st and 2nd sessions had been brief in order to keep the over-all Convention Agenda as close to its original schedule as possible.

So many of the "Delegates" participated in this discussion, that this writer has no conception of the exact number.

Without question, it can be stated that those "Delegates" supporting the "P.C. Resolution" far outnumbered those of the Marcyite tendency, since the latter was limited to the number of Delegates allotted to the Buffalo and Youngstown Branches.

At the beginning of this discussion, each Delegate was allotted 10 minutes to express his views from the rostrum.

At 5:00 p.m., after 2 solid hours, it became necessary to limit the remaining "Delegates", who wished to speak on this subject, to 5 minutes each. Despite this limitation, the parade of Delegates to the rostrum continued through a 3rd hour.

On the basis of elapsed time per Delegate, plus the length of time consumed by this discussion, this writer estimates that a total of 25 Convention Delegates participated with about 10 of the Buffalo and Youngstown Delegates supporting the "Marcyite Report" and about 15 Delegates from the remaining 16 Branches and the N.O. supporting the P.C. Resolution.

In general, the comments made by the 25 speakers adhered to the contents either of the DOBBS Report or of the MARCY Report presented in Session #1.

In order to present as complete a picture as possible of this 2nd session, below will be listed the names of the known "Delegates" who spoke from the rostrum during this 3-hour discussion, not in the order of their appearance, but, rather, grouped according to which of the 2 "political reports" each one supported.

B. "Delegates" Speaking for the "Marcyite Report"
(Minority Report #1)

In general, the following list of "Delegates" supported the Marcy contention that the Hungarian workers fought on the side of the counter-revolutionary forces in the recent Hungarian uprising and that the Stalinist Bureaucracy and the Red Army were not entirely to blame for suppressing the Hungarian workers since it was the Bureaucracy and the Red Army (its instrument of suppression) which acted as the defender of Hungary's deformed workers state -- the Hungarian regime ousted in the uprising.

1. VINCENT GREY (COPELAND) - MARCY's 2nd-in-command in the Buffalo Branch and in the Marcyite tendency itself, effectively and emotionally defended MARCY's contentions, vehemently argued against the fallacies in the P.C. Resolution and drew the largest and loudest response from the audience of all 25 speakers. Although COPELAND is from Buffalo, he still might be assigned to the N.O. This writer cannot definitely state whether or not COPELAND has been re-assigned to the Buffalo Branch from the N.O.
2. TED DOSTEL - Youngstown Branch Organizer and Youngstown leader of the Marcyite tendency, also vocally portrayed his serious support of and belief in the interpretation of the Hungarian events set forth during Session #1 by SAM MARCY.
3. DEEDRA - The [] year old daughter of Trotskyists, who has been a member of the S.W.P. since she was at least [] years of age, illustrated the speakers' talents for which all Buffalo Branch members are noted, with a stirring defense of the Marcyite position and a seathing attack against the contents of the DOBBS report.

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4. ----- (N)(M)(Mid-20's)(Buffalo)(16th National Convention in Chicago) One of the S.W.P.'s most promising Negro elements presented a very well-organized defense of the Marcyite tendency's position.

(Informant orally advised on June 20, 1957, that it was his belief this unnamed individual is identical with [] (LNU).)

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The remaining 4 to 6 Buffalo and Youngstown Branch "Delegates", who spoke in favor of Marcy's "Minority Report #1", cannot be identified nor recalled by this writer at this time.

C. "Delegates" Speaking for the "P.C. Resolution" (DOBBS' "Political Report")

In general, the following list of Convention Delegates supported the P.C.'s contention that the S.W.P. should endorse 100% the revolt of the Hungarian workers against its oppressors, the Stalinist Bureaucracy and its instrument of oppression, the Red Army, which the P.C. contends carried out the process of "counter-revolution" against the revolutionary uprising taken and ordered by the Hungarian workers and their "Workers' Councils", respectively.

1. MORRIS STEIN - N.O., N.C., Presidium, N.Y.C. Local.
2. ARNE SWABECK - N.C., Presidium, Los Angeles Branch.
3. MURRAY WEISS - N.O., Secretariat, Militant Staff.
4. "BOB" ----- - Cleveland Branch.
5. ROBERT CHESTER - N.O.
6. JEAN SIMON - Cleveland Branch.
7. "IZZY" KLEIN (phonetic) - Cleveland Branch.
8. MYRA TANNER (WEISS) - N.O., N.Y.C. Local.
9. FRANK LOVELL - Detroit Branch.
10. TOM KERRY - N.O.

The remaining 5 to 7 pro-P.C. speakers were "unrecalled" "Delegates" representing S.W.P. Branches in Los Angeles, Seattle, the Twin Cities, Chicago and New York City.

This concluded the "Delegates" pro and con discussion of the S.W.P.'s political orientation for the coming period.

D. MARCY Summary - "Minority Report #1" - SAM MARCY -
20 minutes

The tireless MARCY, refuting several of the comments made by the 15-17 pro P.C. Delegates, reached his oratorical peak with a re-stated, re-hashed defense of his interpretation of the Hungarian events.

MARCY's 20-minute summation emphasized:

1. The bloody Hungarian uprising, counter-revolutionary by nature, will remain an important lesson to the world working class --- from a negative stand-point.
2. The Hungarian events pointed out, primarily, the need of the working class for a revolutionary vanguard party.
3. The Hungarian events destroyed the theory that "Socialism-in-one-country" is workable or that it can become a practical reality.
4. The Hungarian uprising proved that the Stalinist Bureaucracy is incapable of reforming itself.

E. DOBBS' Summary - P.C. Political Resolution - FARRELL DOBBS -
20-30 minutes

The DOBBS' Report summation featured the National Secretary's conception of the "Marcyite tendency" as a "loyal minority" within the S.W.P., which has minor political differences with the P.C. Majority --- differences which can and will be resolved via internal party discussion during the coming period.

To illustrate the loyalty of the Marcyites, DOBBS referred to the recent national fund drive of the S.W.P., in which the 100% "Marcyite" Buffalo Branch pledged the 3rd largest quota and then over-subscribed to it prior to the fund campaign deadline.

The DOBBS' summation emphasized:

1. The value of the Hungarian Events as political propaganda to be utilized by the Trotskyists against the Stalinist Bureaucracy.
2. Full support of the Hungarian workers "political revolution" to establish Socialism.
3. Full disapproval of the Stalinist Bureaucracy's counter-revolutionary actions against the Hungarian workers.

And so concluded the DOBBS' summation.

F. Vote of Convention Delegates on Acceptance of "Minority Report #1"

SAM MARCY presented a motion that the Convention Delegates vote to incorporate his "Minority Report #1" into the P.C.'s Political Resolution to be the S.W.P.'s political orientation for the coming period.

The results (approximate) of the Delegates' vote on MARCY's motion were:

To accept: 5 votes
To reject: 82-87 votes.

G. Vote of Convention Delegates on Acceptance of P.C. Political Resolution

One of the prominent S.W.P. national leaders (KERRY or DOBBS or STEIN) presented a motion to the Convention Delegates that they vote to accept the P.C. Political Resolution as the S.W.P.'s political orientation for the coming period --- without changes and as set forth by FARRELL DOBBS as 'the P.C.'s spokesman for the Resolution.

The Delegates' vote on the P.C. Political Resolution was:

To accept: 87 votes
To reject: 5 votes.

H. Delegates' Vote on Minority Report #2

If correctly recalled, "ARTIE" FOX requested that the Delegates vote to accept and to incorporate his Minority Report #2 into the P.C.'s Political Resolution.

If so, the approximate number of votes recorded were:

To accept: 5
To reject: 87.

III. SESSION #3

This session, Chairman unknown, was held at Wortermann's Hall, 3d Avenue at 16th Street, New York City, from 8:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. on Friday, May 31, 1957, and attended by approximately 175 to 200.

A. Introduction

This 3rd session of the S.W.P.'s 17th National Convention on the evening of Friday, 5/31/57, was not attended by this writer.

As a result, the contents herein included on this "Session #3" are based on reports made to this writer by other S.W.P. personnel who attended this session and on the Report to the Boston Branch on Thursday, 6/6/57, on this session, made by L. P. TRAINOR, the Organizer of the Boston Branch and one of its 2 "alternate delegates" to the Convention.

B. "The Negro Question" - P.C. Resolution - Reported by
GEORGE BREITMAN

According to L. P. TRAINOR (Report to the Boston Branch, 6/6/57).

The P.C.'s Draft Resolution on "The Negro Question", presented at the Convention by GEORGE BREITMAN, brought up-to-date, without alterations, the S.W.P.'s analysis and orientation on "The Negro Question" for the coming period.

This "Majority Report" by BREITMAN, which relates "The Negro Question" in the U.S. to the Colonial Peoples and Revolutions throughout the world, reveals no new developments on the subject and no significant changes in the Party's orientation towards it.

The P.C. Draft Resolution itself states:

"The Negro struggle for equality is an integral part of the world revolutionary upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples" - "In this country the Negro masses are fighting as a united, militant, self-sacrificing people" - "They struggle to end all forms of racial segregation and discrimination" - "They aim fundamentally to attain full economic, social and political equality".

"This inter-relation between the Negro struggle in the United States and the world-wide movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples plays a vital role in the development of the American working class. It foreshadows the linking up of the struggles of the American working class, which have not yet assumed conscious anti-capitalist forms, with the relatively more advanced character of the world revolutionary process."

On De-segregation - Full Negro equality is impossible through reliance on the capitalist government.

On NAACP Policy - Deliberant restraint of mass action has been a central component of official NAACP policy. Complete reliance on the capitalist government to secure civil rights, the fundamental flaw in NAACP policy has upset, repeatedly, its organizational control over the insurgent Negro masses.

Trend towards Social Change in the South - implies a major breach in the wall of white supremacy leading toward fusion of the civil rights movement with the class struggle in industry.

Labor - Negro Unity - their fusion into a united political force would imply a head-on collision with the capitalist ruling class, breaking up the present two-party swindle and precipitating a class polarization in politics. In the

process the civil rights forces could be expected to ally themselves with labor to launch an independent labor party based on the unions.

Crisis of Leadership - both the union officials with their middle-class mentality and the middle-class Negro leadership violate the democratic rights of their memberships, shrink from direct struggle against the capitalist ruling class and appeal to the capitalist government for reforms to appease the masses.

Transitional Program - The road to Negro equality can be helped along through a transitional program leading toward fusion of the civil rights movement with the class struggle for socialism.

S.W.P.'s Conclusions - The socialist movement should advocate:

1. Complete economic, social and political equality for all minority peoples.
2. Abolish all forms of bureaucratic control within the mass movement and establish complete rank and file democracy.
3. Discard all class collaborationist policies and institute class struggle methods.
4. Fight for equality through mass action instead of relying on the capitalist government to grant reforms.
5. Run independent Negro candidates in opposition to both capitalist parties.
6. Full union support to the civil rights movement.
7. A labor-Negro alliance to launch an independent labor party based on unions.
8. Replace the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government.

9. Abolish capitalism and establish a socialist society.

Only on this class struggle road does the S.W.P. believe the civil rights question can be fundamentally and permanently resolved.

And such was the reported content of GEORGE BREITMAN's 3rd Convention Session Report on the Political Committee's Draft Resolution entitled "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality".

- C. "The Negro Question" - Minority Report - by RICHARD FRAZER
-

Since the FRAZER "Minority" Report was completed and placed in the hands of the N.C. just 2 days prior to the start of this 17th National Convention, only a few of the S.W.P. leaders had had the opportunity to peruse FRAZER's document and to learn what specific differences the latter had with the P.C. Draft Resolution.

Therefore, FRAZER's Report to the Convention tonight was his first public announcement of why and how he differed from the P.C. Resolution on "The Negro Question".

Since this writer did not hear FRAZER present his "Minority Report" its following reported contents are those told to the members of the S.W.P.'s Boston Branch by its Organizer, L. P. TRAINOR, at its Thursday, 6/6/57 meeting.

According to L. P. TRAINOR (at 6/6/57 Boston Branch meeting):

1. FRAZER's "Minority" Report opposes the fundamental thesis of the P.C.'s Draft Resolution in that FRAZER denies the existence of any relationship between "The Negro Question" in the U.S. and the Colonial struggles taking place throughout the World.
2. FRAZER characterized the P.C.'s Draft Resolution as setting forth a "paternalistic" and a "chauvenistic" approach to "The Negro Question".

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3. Finally, the FRAZER Report intimated that the P.C. Draft Resolution, insofar as its interpretation of the Negro struggle in the South is concerned, has a pro-Stalinist orientation based on the P.C.'s references to "Negro nationalism".

Although the above synopsis of the FRAZER "Minority" Report is very brief, it constitutes all of the information that this writer has available on it at this time.

FRAZER, who is married to another S.W.P. member, [redacted] [redacted], currently is assigned to the Party's Seattle Branch. At the time of the 16th National Convention in Chicago, 11/54, FRAZER was assigned to the S.W.P.'s Los Angeles Branch.

b6
b7c

And so concludes this writer's account of FRAZER and his "Minority Report" of 5/31/57.

(Agent's Note:

Informant advised that no mention was made as to whether any of the Convention delegates discussed the "Negro Question" at this third session following the BREITMAN and FRAZER Reports.)

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IV. SESSION NO. 4

This Session, chairman unknown, was held at Wortermann's Hall from 10:00 AM to 12:30 PM, Saturday, June 1, 1957 and attended by approximately 200.

A. Introduction

Session #4, like Session #2 on the previous afternoon, featured a parade of "Delegates" to the rostrum, each with a 5-minute time allotment to express their support and/or the criticisms of either the Breitman or the Frazer Report on the "Negro Question."

Since none of the 20 Delegates participating in this discussion offered any new or unique concepts on the "Negro Question," this writer will attempt only to identify as many of the 20 Delegates as possible in 2 lists ---- one of which will be comprised of Breitman's supporters and the other one will be comprised of those known Delegates supporting the Frazer position.

B. Delegates Speaking in Support of P. C. Resolution on "Negro Question"

Generally speaking, the following Delegates expressed their support of the P. C. Draft Resolution on the "Negro Question" in 5-minute talks from the rostrum during this 4th Convention Session -- All of these Delegates appeared to be in agreement with the Breitman expressed, P. C. thesis that the Negro struggle in the U. S. is linked to the struggles of Colonial Peoples throughout the world --

Of the 20 Delegates who spoke on this subject, about 14 supported the P. C. Resolution as reported by George Breitman

1. Jean Simon - Cleveland "Specialist" on "Negro Question."
2. Bob _____ - Cleveland Branch -
3. "Izzy" Klein - " " -
4. George Weissman - N. O. "Militant" Staff -

5. Frances James - "Militant" Business Manager - N.Y.C. Local -
6. Dee - Chicago Branch
7. Bert Deck - N. O. -
8. Howard Mayhew - Chicago Branch Organizer -
9. _____ - (N)(M)(2830)Recently toured all sections of the South.

(Agent's note: Since it is not known to which branch this individual is assigned, the information concerning this individual is being furnished to the New York Office as it is felt the New York Office may be able to further identify this individual and forward the copy to the appropriate office.)

10. Frank Lovell - Detroit Branch Organizer -

The remaining 3 or 4 pro-Breitman Delegates, who spoke on the "Negro Question" cannot be recalled by this writer at this time.

C. Delegates Speaking in Support of Frazer Report on "Negro Question" -

About 6 or 7 Delegates spoke in support of Frazer's orientation on the "Negro Question," which denied that the Negro struggle in the U. S. is linked with the struggle of Colonial Peoples in other parts of the world and which referred to the P. C. Draft Resolution as "paternalistic" & "chauvenistic."

L. P. Trainor reported later that the great majority of Delegates supporting the Frazer Report came from S. W. P. Branches in Seattle, San Francisco & Los Angeles.

It appeared to this writer that the majority of Negroes attending the Convention supported Frazer's Report rather than the P. C. Draft Resolution on the basis that Frazer de-emphasized the "Negro Question" as a "social problem" whereas the P. C. Resolution & its reporter, Breitman, emphasized the "Negro Question" as a major social problem with an elusive solution which will take decades to discover - In other words, the P. C. & Breitman again, like most Trotskyist & Stalinist Resolutions of the past, have separated the Negro as a creature apart from the remainder of the human race, implying not that the Negro should be treated as a "slave" but as a "pet" by other races -

1. _____ (N)(F)(22-24) Los Angeles Branch -
2. _____ (W)(F) Seattle Branch -

This writer is unable to recall the names of any of the Delegates speaking in support of the Frazer Report but a total of about 6 sided with Frazer against the P. C. Draft Resolution as reported by George Breitman.

D. "Minority Report" Summation - "Dick" Frazer - 20 minutes

Although Frazer devoted most of his 20-minute summation to a critical blast at the P. C.'s orientation, describing it, again & again, as "paternalistic," he also denied that he had referred to the P. C. Resolution as "pro-Stalinist" in its approach.

When Frazer tried to explain what he had meant in using that term, "J. P. Cannon, angered by Frazer's charge, loudly asked: - "Well, what in H___ did you mean by it"?

Cannon's question evoked no response from Frazer, but it prevented the latter from denying the charge that he had described the P. C. Resolution as "pro-Stalinist" - Therefore, the impression left in the minds of the Convention Delegates was that Frazer charged that the P. C. Resolution has a pro-Stalinist orientation -

Chief emphasis in Frazer's summation, was that the Negro struggle in the U. S. is separate & apart & unrelated to the struggles of Colonial Peoples in other parts of the world -

Frazer argued effectively on this major point of difference with the P. C. Resolution, describing the latter as "unrealistic" for linking together completely unrelated struggles -

Frazer also -- intentionally or otherwise -- misinterpreted passages in the P. C. Draft Resolution -

For example: -

"Theoretically, the profound growth of racial solidarity and national consciousness among the Negro people might under certain conditions give rise to separatist demands."

Frazer charged that the P. C. defined & meant that the Negro people want, and are thinking in terms of "a Negro nation within a nation" (the C.P.'s "Black Belt" theory) by their use of the phrase: "national consciousness" -

Breitman, in his summation which followed Frazer's, referred to the above charge by Frazer & angrily reassured Frazer that the phrase meant: - "conscious of the nation" (the U. S.)

Frazer's summation, like his Report, was one of extremes, strong on some points & extremely weak on others -

When Frazer concluded his summation he realized that he & his report had incurred the wrath of the top leadership, which assured his Minority Resolution of certain defeat by the vote of the Convention Delegates.

However, Frazer's Report had included much of a controversial nature, plus a new approach to the Negro Question, which not only will save the Report from extinction, but will make it a document to be discussed internally throughout the S.W.P. during the coming period -

E. "Majority Report" Summation - George Breitman - 20 minutes

A serious, emotionally upset George Breitman spent all of this period at the rostrum denying, one by one, each of the more petty charges which Frazer had hurled @ the P. C. Resolution -

In addition, Breitman accused Frazer of "deliberately misinterpreting crystal-clear explanations," of reading statements in the P. C. Resolution out of context, of "misquoting the P. C. Resolution" & of "half-quoting P. C. statements & passages."

Breitman, visibly upset by Frazer's alleged "falsifications" & "spurious charges" against the P.C. Resolution, plus Frazer's own irresponsible, unreal & unworkable theories on the "Negro Question," concluded his summation abruptly & prior to the end of his allotted 20 minutes, in order to avoid the emotional outburst which he evidently felt that he could contain no longer.

Breitman's summation also re-iterated the Resolution's major theme of relating the Negro struggle in the U. S. to the Colonial struggles elsewhere -- concluding with the S. W. P.'s continuing fight for total "Desegregation" in the U. S. -

F. Frazer Motion & Delegates' Vote on Frazer Resolution

Frazer next put forth a formal motion to the Delegates that his Minority Resolution on the "Negro Question" be accepted as the S. W. P.'s official orientation on this subject for the coming period -

Then followed the voting of the Delegates on the Frazer Motion with the approximate results announced below: -

To accept the Frazer Resolution = 5 -

To reject " " " = 87 -

G. Motion & Delegates' Vote on P. C. Draft Resolution

If correctly recalled, Farrell Dobbs made the formal motion to accept to the P. C. Draft Resolution, "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality," as reported by George Breitman, as the S. W. P.'s official orientation on the "Negro Question" for the coming period -

The Convention Delegates then cast their votes on the motion to accept the P. C. Draft Resolution - The results of the vote were recorded & reported approximately as follows: -

To accept the P. C. Draft Resolution = 87 votes -

To reject " " " = 5 " -

Therefore, the P. C. Draft Resolution (Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 18 No. 8, 4/57), entitled "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality," was accepted by an 87 to 5 vote of the Convention Delegates, to be the S.W.P.'s official orientation on the "Negro Question" @ this 4th Convention Session on Saturday, 6/1/57 -

H. Motion on Frazer's "Minority Report"

An unidentified Frazer supporter presented the motion that Frazer's "Minority Report" on the Negro Question be published in an S. W. P. Discussion Bulletin & that its contents be discussed by Branches throughout the S. W. P. prior to the time of the next N. C. Plenum, when the Frazer Report will be reviewed by the National Committee -

The vast majority of the Delegates approved this motion without the recording of a formal vote -

I. Announcements

1. Panel Discussions

The Chairman announced that Panel Discussions on 1. Youth 2. Literature & 3. Trade Unions would be held @ 8:00 PM on this date, 6/1/57, @ Adelphi Hall (Rooms 10-B, 10-F & 10-C) 74 5th Avenue, New York City -

2. Nominations Committee Session

Arne Swabeck announced that the Nominations Committee session also would be held @ 8:-- P.M. on this date, 6/1/57, @ the S.W.P.'s National Hqs., 116 University Place in New York City -

3. S. W. P. Literature Table

The Chairman mentioned the literature table @ the speakers right-hand side of the hall with its stock of recently published S.W.P. pamphlets & rarely-available cloth-bound Marxist editions - The literature table & sales were under the supervision of John Tabor, Literature Agent of the S.W.P.'s New York City Local -

V. SESSION NO. 5

This Session, chaired by Ted Dostel, was held at Wortermann's Hall from 2:00 PM to 6:30 PM, June 1, 1957 and attended by approximately 200-225.

Session No. 5 featured the 60-minute-plus address of the S.W.P.'s National Secretary, Farrell Dobbs, on the 2 major campaigns which have occupied the time & efforts of all American Trotskyists during 1956 & 1957, particularly since the date of the 20th Congress of the C.P., U.S.S.R. when Nikita Khrushchev revealed the allegedly true facts about Stalin & Stalinism, only to withdraw most of the allegations during recent months -

During Dobbs' address, he again referred to the recommendation made @ the N. C.'s pre-Convention Plenum on Thursday, 5/30/57 about "stepping-up the S.W.P.'s propaganda campaign against the American Stalinist Bureaucracy in an attempt to awaken rank and file Stalinists to the knowledge that the C. P. leadership is a "corrupt" & "opportunistic" leadership.

When Dobbs referred to that recommendation this 2nd time, in the midst of his address on "Regroupment" & the "Campaign against Stalinism"; he requested that the Convention Delegates at this time, approve his (Dobbs) formal motion to incorporate that recommendation into the official P. C. Political Resolution which had been approved & accepted by the Delegates @ Convention Session #2 on Friday afternoon, 5/31/57 -

During this Dobbs initiated interruption in his own speech, the Delegates voted, almost unanimously, to accept the Dobbs motion & to incorporate the content of the recommendation into the P. C. Political Resolution, which will be the S.W.P.'s political orientation for the coming period. -

This 4 hour & 30 minute 5th Session was not of sufficient length to complete the "Delegates" discussion on the Dobbs Report, & therefore that agenda topic was continued until Session #8, scheduled to take place on Sunday A.M., 6/2/57 -

Address by Farrell Dobbs - "Regroupment" & "The Campaign against Stalinism"

The S.W.P.'s National Secretary played a "key" role @ this 17th National Convention as illustrated by the fact that he presented his 2nd major address to the Delegates on the 2nd day of the 3-day affair -

I - "Regroupment"- Dobbs

Dobbs more or less reviewed the S. W. P.'s role in the "Socialist Regroupment in the U. S., which has taken place during the past year or two -

1. - "American Forum for Socialist Education

The major highlight of this "Regroupment" section of this Dobbs address was the latter's report on the "American Forum for Socialist Education" initiated by A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the F.O.R. in 11/56 or 12/56 in New York City -

The significant feature of Dobbs' Report on the American Forum for Socialist Education was the comment by Dobbs: -

"Already, the 'American Forum for Socialist Education' has resolved itself into a "Regroupment between the Communist Party & the Socialist Workers Party" -

According to Dobbs, the other Left-Wing organizations represented in the "American Forum" have no power, no standing, no program & no course to follow -

Also with reference to the "American Forum," Dobbs reviewed its entire history from the first "Labor Temple" Conference of 30 nationally prominent, Socialist-minded figures, if correctly recalled, in 11/55, through the 2nd such Conference in which Dobbs participated for the S.W.P., the eventual inclusion of the C. P. in this "Regroupment" program, the Muste-called conference & founding of the American Forum in 11/56, the recent "witch-hunt" attacks against the "American Forum" as a "C.P. Front" & announcement of the Forum's 1st public meeting scheduled to take place in New York City on 6/12/57 w/ A. J. Muste speaking on behalf of the Forum & w/ Dobbs included among the Forum's N. C. members on the Panel -

2. Dobbs on S.P. - S.D.F. Merger

A merger signifying nothing except that the two combined into one organization means that the latter will take longer to disappear from the historical &/or political scene -

The S.P. - S.D.F. grouping poses no threat to the S.W.P. & can contribute nothing to a Left Regroupment in the U.S. -

The SP-SDF grouping is defined as the extreme Right of the Left-Wing or Radical Movement -

3. International Socialist League (Shachtamintes)

Max Shachtman, top national leader of ISL, sometimes referred to as the 3rd Camp.

Politically, Shachtman & the ISL are considered by the S.W.P. to be Right of Center in the Left Wing or Radical Movement w/ Shachtman going all out to sell the merged S.P. - S.D.F. on permitting the I.S.L. to join, or to become a part of that merger -

Shachtman both refused to become an N. C. member in the "American Forum" & refused to permit the ISL to participate or to join the American Forum -

The ISL's political orientation of "no defense of the Soviet Union" disqualifies it as a revolutionary Left Party & places it politically to the Right of Center -

Y.S.L. (Young Socialist League)

The Y.S.L. is the I.S.L.'s Youth Organization, which recently rebelled against Shachtman's turn to the Right to merge w/ the S.P.-S.D.F. grouping -

As a result, a factional struggle & reported split developed in the Y.S.L. w/ 28 of the members allegedly on the verge of being recruited into the S.W. P. - Among the 28 Y.S. Lers S.W.P. - bound are 2 national leaders, 1 from the Antioch College Campus & the 2nd from New York City - (Agent's note: Information concerning the YSL leader, Antioch College has been furnished previously to Cleveland.)

Two of the 28 Y.S.Lers reportedly are attending this 17th S.W.P. National Convention but neither one of the two was identified in any way -

Socialist Unity Committee

The S.U.C, its leadership (Clarke, Zaslow, McAvoy), its series of forums & its cooperation w/ the American Forum for Socialist Education were referred to by Dobbs -

The S.U.C. still localized (New York City), small membership w/ Left Unification & an American Brand of Socialism its only program - Insignificant on the Left-Wing scene -

"American Socialist"

The political careers of Cochran & Braverman continue to fade as the 2-ex-Trotskyists edit & earn a living from the respectably socialist "American Socialist" monthly magazine -

S.W.P.'s "Regroupment Program"

To continue w/ the orientation stated in the pamphlet on "Regroupment" published by the American Trotskyists earlier in 1957 -

Continued co-operation w/ all revolutionary Left organizations seeking Regroupment of the American Left on a principled basis & w/ a program around which to incite --- a Marxist-Leninist program, not a program calling for unification for unification's sake -

The exploration of all programmatic positions in order to achieve a lasting, realistic regroupment is the next phase, of the S.W.P.'s "Regroupment" strategy -- a phase that can be opened within the frame work of the American Forum for Socialist Education.

2. "Campaign against Stalinism"

Dobbs reviewed the S.W.P.'s "Campaign against Stalinism" since its inception @ the time of Khrushchev's Revelations @ the 20th Congress of the C.P., U.S.S.R. in early 1956 through the current trend within the C.P., U.S.A. to return to the pre-20th Congress orientations & discipline under the direction of William Z. Foster, whose fight against the faction led by the "Daily Worker's Editor, John E. Gates, for control of the American Stalinist Party is coming to its end -

S.W.P.'s "Campaign against Stalinism" Summarized

1. Unceasing propoganda attack in "The Militant" weekly against Stalinist Bureaucracy @ home & abroad -
2. Continuous appeal to rank & file Stalinists in "The Militant" to rid CP of its leadership or to quit CP themselves -
3. Free "Militant" mailings to Stalinists weekly totaled 40,000 copies in 1956.
4. Free "Militant" mailings to Stalinists in 1957 totals about 1000 copies per week -
5. Recruitment of Stalinists into S.W.P. --- a slow, painstaking process --- a good potential despite actual past results --- 7 Stalinists recruited into S.W.P. on West Coast -- other Stalinists working with S.W.P. within C.P. technically are not S.W.P. members -
6. The "Campaign against Stalinism" carried out by the S.W.P.'s Los Angeles Branch ;has contributed to the disintegration of the C.P. in that area w/ the latter's membership reduced from its original 4000 to a recently reported figure of less that 1000 members.

Note: Dobbs summarized the contents of the N.C. Communications on this "Campaign against Stalinism," which have been summarized & forwarded in previous reports by this writer - (Agent's note: This information has been forwarded previously to New York and interested offices.)

S.W.P.'s Future Orientation on Anti-Stalinist Campaign

No major change in orientation, except to step-up propoganda barrage against American Stalinist Bureaucracy in weekly issues of "The Militant".

Continue to seek S.W. P. recruits from among rank & file C.Pers - Recruit or demoralize them to drive them out of the Stalinist movement - Overall strategy will continue to be to smash the organizational apparatus of the C. P., U.S.A. to eliminate it from contesting the S.W.P. as the revolutionary vanguard of the American working class in the "coming American Revolution."

So concludes this writer's synopsis of this Dobbs address -

C. Delegates' Discussion on Dobbs' Address, Part I (Regroupment) Part II (Anti-Stalinist Campaign)

For the remaining period of Session #5, from 25 to 30 Convention Delegates paraded to the rostrum to present their personal views & /or their Branch reports both on "Regroupment" & the "Campaign against Stalinism" -

Since there was nothing controversial about either part of the Dobbs Address, there were no conflicting opinions or areas of disagreement to be expressed by the parade of Delegates.

The majority of the Delegates who spoke merely related local incidents or summarized Branch activities in both the Regroupment & Anti-Stalinist Campaigns -

The writer will attempt merely to list as many of the participating Delegates as possible & then to state general conclusions drawn from the combined contributions of the majority of speaking Delegates.

Following are the recalled Delegates who spoke from the rostrum during this 5th Session -

At first, 10 minutes was allotted to each speaker but later in the afternoon it became necessary to limit the remaining speakers to 5 minutes each -

1. - "Al" _____ (W)(M) () - New York City
Local - b6
b7c
2. - Jean Simon - Cleveland Branch -
3. - "Izzy" Klein - " " -
4. - Howard Mayhew - Chicago Branch Organizer -
5. - Robert Himmel - Detroit Branch -
6. - "Dan"Roberts - Newark Branch

7. Lawrence P. Trainor - Boston Branch - "Campaign against Stalinism" -
8. James Bolten - Milwaukee Branch -
9. "Ted" Dostel - Youngstown Branch -
10. Vincent Gray - Buffalo Branch
11. Myra Tanner(Weiss)- New York City Local -
12. Murray Weiss - N. O. -
13. Ann Mann - New York City Local -
14. Harold Robbins - " " " b6
b7c
15. "Pete" ? " " " 's
ex-husband)
16. "Dick" Frazer - Seattle Branch -
17. Henry Schultz - Twin Cities Branch -
18. "Artie" Fox - Detroit Branch -
19. Arne Swabeck - Los Angeles Branch -
20. "Bob" ? - Cleveland Branch
21. _____ - (W)(M)(20s)(Seattle or Portland)(ex-LYL) -
(Agent's note: In view of the lack of specific branch assignment of this individual, no copy of this letter is being designated for this unnamed individual. However, this information is being directed to New York, Portland and Seattle by separate letter.)
22. _____ (N)(F)(20s) Los Angeles Branch -

The remaining 3 to 8 participating delegates cannot be recalled by this writer @ this time -

Insofar as L. P. Trainor's Report (10-minutes) on the "Campaign against Stalinism" in Massachusetts is concerned, its contents were the same ones included in Trainor's own "N.C. Communication," circulated nationally, w/ its contents submitted in previous reports -- by this writer -

During his 10-minute talk, Trainor set forth again his recommendation on the accelerated propoganda campaign against the "American Stalinist Bureaucracy" -

Conclusions: -

1. With the exception of the Los Angeles Branch, the 17 other S.W.P. Branches reported extremely meagre results in their individual branch "Campaign against Stalinism."
2. Recruitment of Stalinists into the S.W.P., if any, totaled a hand-ful throughout the U. S.
3. The majority of Delegates reported difficulty in locating individual Stalinists, particularly rank & file C. Pers -
4. The Labor Youth League is a better source for S.W.P. recruits than is the C. P. -
5. Delegates' reports appear to indicate that C.P.'s return to its pre-20th Congress orientation & discipline including non-association with Trotskyists -
6. Major activities w/ regard to "Regroupment" will take place & be carried out in New York City by the S.W. P. leaders assigned there -
7. The best, most receptive & most recruitable Stalinist elements are ex-C.Pers who left voluntarily or who were expelled from the C. P. during the past 10-year period of the alleged "witch-hunt" -

Most reporting Delegates were in agreement with this analysis, &, it was admitted, generally, that this source in most major U. S. cities still is untapped -

8. Individual branch campaigns against Stalinism ranged from one extreme to the other w/ the Los Angeles Branch occupied full-time w/ the project & the Cleveland Branch searching desperately for some sign to indicate that such a creature as a Stalinist exists -

9. On the basis of admitted results to date on the "Campaign against Stalinism," Boston appears to be one of the branches most actively engaged in the project w/its "0" results rated as "normal" or "average" -

10. Continued S. W. P. -C.P. collaboration on civil rights & other issues will be sought throughout S.W.P. Branches to stave off as long as possible or to present entirely the C. P. membership's return to pre-20th Congress orientation and discipline

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VI. SESSION #7

(Agent's Note: The report concerning Session #6 is contained in relet.)

I. Personnel - 125 to 150

Approximately 150 SWP members appeared at this 6/1/57 Convention Social at the Party's National Hqs. address.

The long, narrow, 2nd floor hall at 116 University Place was over-run with Trotskyists, making it impossible to move about freely.

The chief reason for the poor attendance at this 6/1/57 Social was the solidly packed 17th National Convention Agenda with Session #6 (3 panels) adjourning as late as 11:30 P.M. tonight.

Also, the Nominations Committee still was in session during the time of this Social.

SWP personnel at this 6/1/57 Convention Social included:

JAMES P. CANNON; the SWP's National Chairman
MYRA TANNER (WEISS); SWP's 1956 Vice-Presidential Candidate
MURRY WEISS, N.C. Member, "Militant" Staff - National Secretariat
LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR; N.C. Member & Boston Branch Organizer
JAMES BOLTEN; N.C. & Milwaukee Branch Organizer
"DICK" FRAZER; N.C. & reported Seattle Branch Leader
HARRY RING, N.C. Alternate & "Militant" Staff

The personnel of the New York City Local (Manhattan and Brooklyn Branches) were the hosts at this 6/1/57 Convention Social.

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VII. SESSION #8

This session, chairman unknown, was held at Wortermann's Hall, from 10:30 A.M. to 2 P.M., and attended by approximately 175.

A. Introduction

This 8th Session featured a shift to a 2nd hall on the same 2nd floor in the same Wortermann's Hall building -- but -- in size -- much smaller.

B. Delegates' Discussion on 6/1/57 Dobbs Report (continued)
"Regroupment" & "Campaign Against Stalinism"

Approximately 10 more delegates, in addition to the 25-30 who spoke during Session #5, went to the rostrum this A.M.; each with a 5 minute time allotment, to express their views and/or present their Branch reports on "Regroupment" and on the "Campaign Against Stalinism."

The general conclusion drawn from the 25-30 delegates who spoke during Session #5 also included the contents of the 10 delegates' speeches which were presented at this 8th Session.

Since this writer listed these general conclusions in Section I-C of his report on Session #5, they will not be repeated in this report of Session #8.

(See Section I-C, "Report on Session #5")

Of the 10 Delegates who spoke from the rostrum on "Regroupment" and/or "The Campaign Against Stalinism," only 3 can be identified by this writer at this time:

1. "BOB" CHESTER - N.O.
2. FRANK LOVELL - Detroit Branch
3. FRANCES JAMES - N.O.

The remaining 7 or so cannot be recalled.

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C. Delegates' Acceptance of "Regroupment" Orientation

Delegates overwhelmingly voted to accept the DOBBS Report on "Regroupment" as the SWP's orientation for the coming period.

D. Delegates' Acceptance of DOBBS Report on "Campaign Against Stalinism"

The Delegates voted overwhelmingly to accept the DOBBS Report on the "Campaign Against Stalinism" as the SWP's official orientation for the coming period.

E. Organizational Report by TOM KERRY

TOM KERRY, the SWP's National Organizational Secretary, presented the organization's statistical report to the Convention Delegates at this 8th Session on Sunday, 6/2/57.

Much of KERRY's Report, including many pertinent statistics, are missing from this writer's summary of it, but, those recalled appear below:

1. On SWP Literature

(Agent's Note: Informant noted that KERRY's Organizational Report on SWP Literature duplicated the information set forth in Informant's report concerning Session #6 -- see relet.)

2. On SWP Finances

a. National Fund Campaign (1/15 to 4/15/57)

The 3-month national fund campaign during the 1st quarter of 1957 attained its \$20,000.00 goal, thus alleviating the excessive financial burden placed on the SWP's National Hqs. resulting from the expense of its 1956 DOBBS-WEISS Election Campaign.

The \$20,000 goal, highest in SWP fund campaign history, was necessary to meet the huge expense incurred by this 3-day, 17th National Convention.

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b. National Fund Campaign (9/57 to 12/57)

KERRY announced the probable scheduling and beginning of a 2nd national SWP fund drive (quota and/or goal undetermined) in 9/57 through 12/57 to replenish the funds necessary for National Hqs. operating expenses, which were spent instead to pay the costs of this 17th Convention.

The new N.C. to be elected later during this 8th Convention Session will make the decision on whether or not the 9/57 to 12/57 fund drive will become a reality at a short post-Convention session tonight, 6/2/57, or on Monday, 6/3/57.

c. National Hqs. Operating Expenses

Like all expense items, the 1957 operating expenses of the SWP's National Hqs. show an increase (on a pro-rated, per month basis) over the monthly operating expenses of 1956 at National Hqs. (Statistics by KERRY not recalled if presented.)

3. SWP's 1956 DOBBS-WEISS Election Campaign

Briefly referred to by KERRY as the SWP's most successful national election campaign in its history -- from these points of view:

- a. TV and Radio Coverage - Publicity
- b. New SWP Contacts
- c. Prestige - (Only Revolutionary Left Party in 1956 Elections)
- d. Literature Sales - (Pioneer Books and Pamphlets)
- e. "Militant" and "ISR" subscriptions increase

If KERRY reported actual statistical data on this SWP 1956 Election Campaign, it is not recalled by this writer.

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4. Report on the Trotsky School

- a. 1956-57 Session - originally scheduled to begin 11/1/56 and to end 7/1/57 canceled due to shortage of SWP funds.
- b. 1957-58 Session - KERRY's "Organizational Report of 6/2/57 announced that the 11/57 to 7/58 Session of the Trotsky School at the SWP's Mountain Spring Camp in Washington, New Jersey, has been canceled due to the SWP's current lack of funds.

5. Report on Branch "Sustaining Fund" Pledges

KERRY reported that a N.O. review of all present Branch "Sustaining Fund" Pledges in ratio to reported monthly Branch Income and Expense, on the whole, reveals that the majority of the Branches are in a financial position which would enable each of them to increase its "Sustaining Fund" Pledge to the N.O. 10%.

The N.O., therefore, recommends that each Branch renew its financial status with the aim of increasing its monthly pledge 10% over the present pledge.

If correctly recalled N.O. operating expenses are paid from Branch Sustaining Fund Pledge payments.

Total Due N.O. Monthly from Branch S.F. Pledges	-	\$1,150.00
" Received at N.O. Monthly from Branch S.F. Pledges	-	850.00
" Unpaid Balance due from Branch Pledges	-	\$ 300.00
Total Monthly N.O. Operating Expenses	-	\$1,200.00
" Paid by Branch Pledges	-	850.00
Monthly N.O. Deficit	-	\$ 350.00

The current N.O. monthly deficit of \$350.00 for operating expenses must be paid out of the balance raised from national fund drives.

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KERRY urged all Branches to keep Sustaining Fund Pledge payments up to date to alleviate this N.O. deficit in operating expenses.

6. SWP Membership Report

If this writer recalls correctly, the last known total number of SWP members, throughout the U.S., from an official SWP source was an approximate 500.

In this Organizational Report of 6/2/57, KERRY neatly avoided presenting any figures on membership, negating even the possibility of drawing approximate conclusions, using the 500 total as a starting point.

KERRY reported only:

Recruitment in the SWP during the period between the 16th National Convention, 11/54 and this 17th National Convention, 6/57 (2½ years) has increased by a 2 to 1 ratio over the number of members who have left the SWP during that same period.

KERRY announced also that an unidentified, middle-aged woman, who has assisted voluntarily the staff at the N.O. for several months, has joined the SWP officially during this Convention weekend.

KERRY also announced that 28 members of the YSL officially will be recruited into the SWP in the very near future.

Also, he announced that 7 CPers in the Los Angeles area officially have become members of the SWP during the past year.

F. Delegates' Discussion on KERRY's "Organizational Report"

About 6 to 8 Delegates spoke on KERRY's Report with their remarks limited to those of a favorable and an uncritical nature.

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Each of the participating Delegates spoke between 5 & 10 minutes with the Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Buffalo and New York City Branches among those represented by the unidentified Delegates -- except for FRANCES JAMES of New York City and the N.O.

G. Delegates' Vote to Accept KERRY's "Organizational Report"

Since KERRY's "Organizational Report" was of a "factual" rather than a "controversial" nature, the Delegates lost no time in voting overwhelmingly to accept as "official" the KERRY-reviewed compilation of SWP "facts" and "figures."

H. Presentation of N.C. and Alternate N.C. Candidates

The Nominations Committee Chairman, ARNE SWABECK, read to the Convention Delegates a list of an estimated 30-35 nominees selected by the Nominations Committee on June 1, 1957, to fill the 27 N.C. members' posts, and the names of the 22-25 candidates selected to fill the 20 Alternate N.C. posts. (Informant noted that he left this Convention session following the reading of the above names by SWABECK and that he was not present during the actual election of N.C. and Alternate N.C. members. To the best of Informant's recollection, the following were included among those named as candidates for the N.C. or Alternate N.C. posts.)

1. N.C. Candidates

1. MILTON ALVIN - Los Angeles Branch
2. GEORGE BREITMAN - Detroit Branch
3. JAMES P. CANNON - SWP's National Chairman - Los Angeles
4. FARRELL DOBBS - SWP's National Secretary - N.O., NYC
5. ROBERT CHESTER - N.O., NYC
6. FRANK LOVELL - Detroit Branch
7. LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR - Boston Branch
8. THOMAS KERRY - SWP's National Organizational Secretary,
N.O.
9. JOSEPH HANSEN - Los Angeles Branch (Temporary)

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10. ARNE SWABECK - Los Angeles Branch
11. RAY V. DUNNE - Twin Cities Branch
12. HENRY SCHULTZ - " " "
13. DOROTHY SCHULTZ - " " "
14. HOWARD MAYHEW - Chicago Branch
15. WILLIAM F. WARDE - Los Angeles Branch
16. ARTHUR PREIS - NYC Local
17. THEODORE DOSTEL - Youngstown Branch
18. MURRY WEISS - N.O., NYC
19. MYRA TANNER (WEISS) - N.O., NYC
20. ARTHUR SHARON - N.O., NYC
21. THEODORE SEALANDER - Cleveland Branch
22. SAMUEL MARCY - Buffalo Branch
23. DANIEL ROBERTS - Newark Branch, N.O.
24. GEORGE WEISSMAN, Jr. - N.O.; NYC
25. MORRIS STEIN - N.O., NYC
26. RICHARD FRAZER - Seattle Branch
27. JEAN SIMON - Cleveland Branch

2. Alternate N.C. Candidates

1. CARL FEINBERG - Los Angeles Branch
2. FRANK BARBARIA - San Francisco Branch
3. FRANCES JAMES - N.O., NYC
4. ALAN HANSEN - N.O., NYC (Mountain Spring Camp)
5. MORRIS SHURTOFF - Philadelphia Branch
6. DAVID WEISS - Philadelphia Branch
7. VINCENT COPELAND - Buffalo Branch
8. HARRY RING - N.O., NYC
9. CLARA KAYE - Seattle Branch
10. BERT DECK - N.O., NYC
11. ARTHUR FOX - Detroit Branch
12. HAROLD ROBBINS - NYC Local
13. JAMES BOLTEN - Milwaukee Branch
14. JOYCE COWLEY - NYC Local
15. RITA SHAW - Detroit Branch
16. CONSTANCE FARR - N.O., NYC
17. TOM MORGAN - San Francisco Branch
18. FRED HALSTEAD - N.O., NYC
19. ANNE CHESTER - N.O., NYC
20. SYLVIA STEIN - N.O., NYC

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Prior to the reading of the names of the Alternate N.C. candidates, TOM KERRY proposed that the number of N.C. Alternates be increased from 15 to 20 names. This motion, opposed by Delegate AL, -----, New York City Local, (W.; M.; [redacted]) and favored by JAMES P. CANNON, was overwhelmingly approved by the Delegates present.

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(Agent's Note: If the above is the only reference in this letter to those named as N.C. or Alternate N.C. candidates, in view of the length of this Informant's report, specific copies are not being directed to the respective files of those individuals but the information is being directed by separate letter.)

VIII. SESSION #9

This session, chaired by TOM KERRY, was held at Wortermann's Hall (same location as Session #8) from 3:00 - 5:30 P.M., on Sunday, 6/2/57, and was attended by approximately 125-150.

(Agent's Note: Informant noted that the Arrangements Committee and Credentials Committee reports were presented during this session but that as he was not in the Convention room at that time, he was unaware of the contents.)

A. Report on Trotskyist International by DAN ROBERTS

This writer's synopsis of ROBERTS' 6/2/57 Report follows: -

According to DAN ROBERTS:

Trotskyist International's "Campaign Against Stalinism"

Switzerland

Swiss Trotskyists report effective campaign against Swiss Stalinists with much success anticipated in recruiting rank and file Stalinists into Trotskyist Section during coming period.

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Swiss CP deteriorating rapidly, both organizationally and numerically, as a result of 20th Congress "revelations" by KHRUSHCHEV and Swiss Trotskyist propaganda attack against Bureaucracy, leading to the optimistic prediction that Swiss Trotskyist Section will recruit thousands of rank and file Swiss Stalinists during coming period.

England

British Trotskyists, under the leadership of TED HEALY, report optimistic outlook for an early end to the British CP.

British Stalinists have quit CP in droves, many of whom have joined Trotskyist Section with future recruitment of Stalinists expected to exceed number already converted.

British Trotskyists' propaganda barrage against Stalinist Bureaucracy extremely effective in the overall strategy of smashing British CP's organizational apparatus.

British and Swiss Sections, both of which are associated with the "orthodox" Trotskyist International (pro-CANNON) are the only two Trotskyist Sections reporting impressive victories in the International's "Campaign Against Stalinism."

France

The orthodox Trotskyist French Section (PCI) reportedly has taken a sectarian attitude towards the "Campaign Against Stalinism," therefore, contributing little or nothing to the Trotskyists' global struggle against Stalinism.

The pro-PABLO French Section, under the leadership of MESTRE, reportedly dissolved itself when it interpreted PABLO's 1953 pro-Stalinist orientation to require extreme action. As a result, the Mestretites dissolved their own organization and became members of the French CP.

PABLO, on the other hand, has retreated from his pro-Stalinist orientation and gradually is coming back to the program of orthodox Trotskyism.

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PABLO already has made at least one attempt to reunite the two international factions of the 4th International, admitting, at least in part, that his pro-Stalinist approach was not correct.

A reunion or a reuniting of the pro-CANNON and pro-PABLO factions within the framework of the 4th International, is a future potential but it is not expected to occur during 1957.

This concludes this writer's summary of ROBERTS' "International Report" at this 17th Convention.

B. 17th Convention Summary Report by JAMES P. CANNON

CANNON gave a well-organized, colorful and compact account of the highlights of this 3-day 17th SWP National Convention.

Although CANNON described the features of the Convention very colorfully and dramatically, he did not add anything of significance from the point of view of supplementary information.

Therefore, this writer merely will list the topics described in this final 17th Convention speech by the SWP's National Chairman.

1. The Marcyites and their political differences
2. The Negro Question and the two views on it
3. The SWP and Socialist Regroupment
4. The SWP and its all-out fight against Stalinism
5. The SWP, organizationally and financially
6. The SWP, PABLO and the future 4th International
7. Convention Farewell

C. Announcements

1. "Newly Elected" N.C. Meeting

Post-convention meeting at SWP's National Hqs. tonight, 6/2/57.

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2. Post-Convention Cocktail Party (Session #10)

At SWP National Hqs. after Convention adjourns.

F. Adjournment - 5:30 P.M., 6/2/57, Close of Convention

* * * *

For the information of offices receiving this letter, it is noted that "w/" is Informant's abbreviation for the word "with."

As it is felt that the New York Division will receive additional information concerning the above International Report by ROBERTS, further dissemination of this information is being left to the discretion of the New York Division.

In the event further information comes to the attention of this Informant concerning any of the above, New York and interested offices will be advised.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013) DATE: JUL 25 1957

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

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SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

The following is for the information of New York and Louisville.

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity must be protected, on June 27, 1957, furnished a report, the original of which is located [redacted], concerning a meeting of the Boston Branch, SWP, held June 20, 1957. Included in this report of informants was information that LAWRENCE TRAINOR, Organizer of the Boston Branch, SWP, during the June 20, 1957, meeting read a letter from the National Office, SWP, to all National Committee and Alternate National Committee Members concerning the American Forum for Socialist Education. According to TRAINOR, two of the seven SP-SDF members on the National Committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education, McREYNOLDS and STRYKER, resigned from the National Committee posts as a result of "recent reactionary pressures brought to bear against the American Forum for Socialist Education on the basis that it is alleged to be a Communist Party front organization." The five remaining SP-SDF members serving on the American Forum for Socialist Education's National Committee, including CARL BRADEN, have refused to resign from their posts.

Since McREYNOLDS reportedly represents the SP's left-wing, it was concluded that the SP-SDF elements still associated with the American Forum for Socialist Education will be ordered out of the latter organization to prevent its own recently merged organization from receiving allegedly similar treatment via the "guilt by association" theme.

6 - New York (100-4013)(RM)
(1 - 100-131940)(AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)

(1 - 100-) (FNU - [redacted])
(1 - 100-) (FNU - [redacted])
(1 - 100-) (SP-SDF)

2 - Louisville (100-) (AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)(RM)

5 - Boston (100-442)

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7697 (L. TRAINOR)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100-31994 (AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)

100-49738-152

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BS 100-442

With regard to the relative value of the American Forum for Socialist Education to the SWP, LAWRENCE TRAINOR expressed the personal view that the American Forum for Socialist Education is of little or no value to the SWP and that the SWP's leadership at the National Office should print all data on American Forum for Socialist Education groups in "The Militant", rather than to make them appear more important than they are by making them the subject of confidential National Committee communications. He added that the American Forum for Socialist Education developments are not worth the effort required of the National Office personnel to compose and mimeograph copies of reports on the American Forum for Socialist Education.

With regard to RUSSELL JOHNSON, Chairman of the Local Chapter of the American Friends Service Committee, the only known Bostonian listed on the American Forum for Socialist Education's National Committee, TRAINOR stated that since the American Friends Service Committee is a pacifist not a Socialist organization, he did not consider JOHNSON a potential founder of a Boston Chapter of the American Forum for Socialist Education.

TRAINOR further stated that the SWP's Boston Branch will ignore the question of the establishment of a Boston Chapter of the American Forum for Socialist Education with the hope that such a possibility will not become a reality.

He stated that if the American Forum for Socialist Education does establish a chapter in Boston then and only then will this subject be discussed again.

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[Redacted]

- 100-16923 (B.J. WIDICK)
- 100-19042 [Redacted]
- 100-16984 [Redacted]
- 100-22339 [Redacted]
- 122-128 [Redacted]
- 100-19532 [Redacted]
- 100-19519 [Redacted]
- 100-23219 [Redacted]
- 100-13066 [Redacted]
- 100-17246 [Redacted]
- 100-23900 [Redacted]

- ⑩ - New York REGISTERED
- (1 - 100-6680 ISL)
- (1 - 100- [Redacted])
- (1 - 100- SOCIALIST PARTY)
- (1 - 100- SUA)
- (1 - 100- MAX SHACHTMAN)
- (1 - 100- [Redacted])
- (1 - 100- SWP)
- (1 - 100- "DISSENT")
- (1 - 100- A. J. MUSTE)
- (1 - 100- AMERICAN SOCIALIST GROUP)

100-21059

Not at Meeting - Information Only

- 100-5930 [Redacted]
- 100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
- 100-25840 (DISSENT GROUP)
- 100-12314 [Redacted]
- 100-14770 [Redacted]
- 122-49 [Redacted]
- 100-6075 (COMINFIL UAW)
- 105-261 (WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY)
- 100-22601 [Redacted]

- 1 - Chicago REGISTERED
- (100- SIDNEY LENS)

Indexed: [Redacted] (LNU)
SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

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TO: SAC, DETROIT (100-9025)

DATE: July 11, 1957

FROM: SA [Redacted]

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

Informant: [Redacted], who has furnished reliable information
in the past (protect identity)

100-49738-152A

Activity: 5/26/57

Received: 5/29/57

Received By: SA [Redacted]

Location: [Redacted]

SEARCHED <i>dear</i>	INDEXED <i>dear</i>
SERIALIZED <i>dear</i>	FILED <i>dear</i>
JUL 11 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
7/11/57	
FBI - DETROIT	

The Informant advised that a meeting of the members of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], Detroit, on Sunday, May 26, 1957. Informant advised that those individuals were present at this meeting for whom a copy of this memo is designated unless otherwise indicated in the dissemination portion thereof.

Informant advised that [redacted] said he had talked to [redacted] by long distance telephone to New York City and [redacted] wanted to know how soon [redacted] could get the money pledged for the print shop. [redacted] said that during the conversation, he had talked about unity with the Socialist Party and [redacted] said that during one of the meetings of the SP the members were ordered to cut their association with the American Socialist Group or drop out of the SP. [redacted] said that [redacted] could not give him any information on the debate on regroupment between MAX SHACHTMAN and MURRY WEISS of the SWP on May 24, 1957, because he had not attended.

Informant advised that after [redacted] was through talking, [redacted] gave [redacted] a check for the print shop. [redacted] said that he would send it off Monday, and that a promissory note would be returned from New York for the amount of the check. The Informant advised that no amounts were mentioned.

B. J. WIDICK said that he had tried to get in touch with [redacted] of the Save Our Schools movement to talk over the unity question with him and try to arrange some sort of a meeting with the SP here in Detroit and have a discussion on the question. WIDICK said that it seems that he just cannot get hold of [redacted]. WIDICK asked [redacted] if she could see [redacted] after any of the Save Our Schools meetings and have a talk with him.

[redacted] said that [redacted] always left the meetings as soon as they were ended and did not give anybody a chance to talk to him. B. J. WIDICK called [redacted] a worse pro-Stalinist than [redacted] ever was, and he also denounced all of the Dissent Group in Detroit, including [redacted], for avoiding talks on unity.

WIDICK said that he had attended a meeting on Friday night, May 24, 1957, and he was asked to make some comments on some of the discussions and he refused to do so because he felt that no matter what he would have said, it would have been twisted, so he decided the best way was to remain silent. WIDICK said that it was hard to do but he had remained silent. [redacted] said that the Local 400 former president, MUCILLI, is now no longer at the plant but is working for the International UAW. Informant said that [redacted] mentioned the name of the new president of Local 400, and his name sounded like an Italian name.

[redacted] also said that [redacted] no longer works at the Ford Highland Park Plant but that [redacted] was moved out to the [redacted] with the [redacted] job and is [redacted] of the [redacted] Local.

B. J. WIDICK said that MURASCO of Chrysler Local 7 was defeated for the presidency by a man named CUNNINGHAM. WIDICK said that he had worked for MURASCO's re-election, but that he was glad that MURASCO had been defeated. WIDICK said that MURASCO could see the way the election was going and called the UAW Headquarters for some help to "fix" the election. WIDICK said that headquarters DID send out some men, and he advised them that the opposition was wise to them and that they should keep their hands off and not try any funny stuff. WIDICK said that they DID, and MURASCO was beaten badly.

[redacted] stated that he was elected without opposition as [redacted] of the [redacted] Local.

[redacted] said that people at the Dodge Plant are not very interested in the union because [redacted] had tried to organize a class on unionism last November and has tried since then but the most that ever showed up for the class were three people, so it is not worth the effort. [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] also told him that the Dissent Group wanted to drop A. J. MUSTE and SIDNEY LENS as editors. Informant advised that no reason was given but everyone felt that it was due to their activities toward regroupment.

[redacted] asked B. J. WIDICK if it would not be asking too much of some Socialists to change their

principles. WIDICK replied that principles always will change, and that they are not made to be kept forever. He said that for example the ISL first broke away from the SWP because it had a principle that it was a workers' party. WIDICK said that principle had to change because we were only a propaganda group and we realized it. He said principles change all the time.

During a discussion about unity, WIDICK said that pre-convention discussions would be held on regroupment and if worse came to worse and there was no hope of being accepted into the SP as a whole, the most likely thing that would have to be done is to have everybody resign from the ISL and join the SP as individuals. WIDICK said that with the print shop already ours, we have no fear of losing our press because we have people that can operate it very well.

Informant advised that discussion was held on the meeting date for the coming week and it was decided to hold an outing at the [redacted] home in [redacted], Michigan, on May 30, 1957. [redacted] asked if he could invite a student that leaned toward the SP to the outing and [redacted] was turned down.

Informant said that [redacted], B. J. WIDICK, [redacted] and [redacted] kidded [redacted] about his association with girls in both the SP and the World Socialist Party and especially one named [redacted]. [redacted] said that she was not [redacted] but [redacted], and that she was pretty nice. WIDICK said that [redacted] is like a [redacted], and that she will keep after you until you join her party.

The Informant advised that [redacted] will be invited to attend the outing and so will [redacted] (LNU) but that is all that will be invited.

Informant advised that [redacted] would be out of town for the long weekend and would not attend the May 30, 1957, outing.

The Informant advised that B. J. WIDICK is not working at the Chrysler Plant right now but is working on the

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book project. Informant said that WIDICK told [redacted] that the two of them would have to spend the morning of May 30, 1957, at his desk working on the project, and when they are done, they will go to the outing and the next day they will [redacted].

On May 20, 1957, the Informant personally furnished to SA [redacted], two copies of "Labor Action" dated April 29, 1957, and May 6, 1957. This literature is located in [redacted].

The April 29, 1957, issue of "Labor Action" contains an article concerning the ISL fund drive by ALBERT GATES, the fund drive director, entitled "We Need the Final Spurt To Win." This article indicates that Detroit has paid a total of \$358.00 or 89.5 percent of its \$400.00 quota.

The May 6, 1957, issue of "Labor Action" contains an article entitled "Racketeering Problems Before Labor" by JACK WILSON. [redacted] has previously advised that B. J. WIDICK uses the alias JACK WILSON when writing for "Labor Action."

The Informant furnished personally to SA [redacted], on May 29, 1957, two copies of "Labor Action" dated May 13, 1957, and May 20, 1957. This literature is located in [redacted].

The May 20, 1957, issue of "Labor Action" contains an article entitled "Changes Brewing in AFL-CIO's Top Circles" by JACK WILSON. This issue also contains an article entitled "Chrysler Wildcats Putting New Pressure on the UAW" by JACK WILSON.

There are no further items of pertinent interest to the Detroit ISL contained in this literature.

8/1/57
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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC (100-7121)
FROM: SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr.

DATE: 7/31/57

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

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On 7/15/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr., with a five page proposal for discussion at the National Convention of the ISL in New York City 7/5-7/57. The proposal was prepared by the Educational Director of the Philadelphia Branch of the ISL, JOHN MC BRIDE, with the assistance of FRANCIS CARNER, the ISL Organizer in Philadelphia.

The proposal furnished by the informant is located in [redacted] and is set forth herewith:

"I would appreciate it if you will have this published for discussion at the convention.

J. Mc.B.

- 5 - NEW YORK (RM)
 - 1 - 100-130507 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
 - 1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
 - 1 - 100-4013 (SWP)
 - 1 - 100- (SP)
 - 1 - 100- (ALBERT GATES)
 - 1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
- 2 - NEWARK (RM)
 - 1 - 100-18417 (ISL)
 - 1 - 100-32088 ([redacted])
- 8 - PHILADELPHIA
 - 1 - 100-7121
 - 1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
 - 1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
 - 1 - 100-15348 (SP)
 - 1 - 100-38581 ([redacted])
 - 1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
 - 1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
 - 1 - [redacted]

100-49738-153
SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]
AUG 7 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
JULY 31, 1957	
FBI, PHILADELPHIA	

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" A POINT OF VIEW

"I suppose, now that the issue of unity with the S.P. S.D.F. as a prerequisite to Socialist Unity in the U.S., has reached the point where delegates to the convention have been elected and the various branches of the league have taken their stand, either for or against the resolution of the P.C.s majority, it is too late to do much more than express a point of view on the subject, with the hope that your opinion will be made known to the rest of the members of the league.

"I am in favor of Socialist Regroupement for I realize that the divisions that exist in the movement today make it practically impossible for the movement to achieve any measure of political success in the U.S.

"Despite this fact, I do not believe the majorities resolution will accomplish this aim for a variety of reasons.

"I would like to point out that first of all since the S.P. - S.D.F. has not issued an invitation to the I.S.L. to unite with them as an organization, either through its press or its national committee, a vote on our part to take such action is comparabale to an over anxious maid buying her wedding trousseau before she has even met a suitor.

"The next point I would like to bring to the attention of our comrades is the fact that, to date I have neither read of nor heard of just what the S.P. - S.D.F. as an organization, thinks of the proposition of the need for a Socialist Regroupement.

"Of course I can recall, and so, probably can some of the other comrades of the League, what the S.P. - S.D.F. had to say, regarding the acceptance into their party as members, people who had been followers of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. They were opposed to accepting such persons.

"Now if the majority of the P.C. of the I.S.L. really believes that unity between the I.S.L. and the S.P. - S.D.F. will attract such vast hordes of former C.P. members and supporters into seeking membership in the new united groupe, how do they propose to over come the aversion of their S.P. - S.D.F. comrades to such persons as members without causing a major split in the proposed newly united groupe?

"On the question of the advisability of seeking unity with the S.P. - S.D.F. without any previous discussion between them and the League regarding the many points where both groups differ, I cannot buy SCHACTMANN'S opinion that these differences don't really matter to-day.

"For the life of me, I cannot see how we, of the League, can exist in any group, without trying to establish our ideas on how a political party should function. Or on the kind of a program such a party should have, or the kind of press it should have. It seems to me that unless we can reach a working agreement with the S.P. - S.D.F. in advance of unity, an agreement where by we can at any time oppose any thing that we feel is unacceptable to our concepts of a socialist political party, without being branded as being either disloyal to the S.P. - S.D.F. or disrupters of party harmony.

"SCHACTMANN says first of all, there is no time for such a preliminary discussion, secondly there is no need for such an preunity understanding.

"In the first instance he claims that there are thousands upon thousands of socialist minded people in the U.S. who have become disorganized by the role of the C.P. in Hungary.

"He says if we wait too long these people will drift away into political oblivion or worse still, into one of the capitalist political parties. Or even more horrifying, will form many more smaller sects.

"Actually what SCHACTMANN is referring to as Socially minded people are in fact the former C.P. members and party liners. Who, by his own statement, have had no time for the S.P. - the S.W.P. - the I.S.L. or any other socialist sect in the U.S.

"Let me say at this point, that to me, these people were never socially minded people. In their youth, perhaps, they were Marxist and over the years they became hypnotized by Stalin's successes to such a point that they had lost all concepts of the real aims of Socialism.

PH 100-7121

"I cannot see where the outrages perpetrated by the C.P. directed Russian Army upon the Hungarian people were any more shamefull than the former actions of the Russian C.P. in East Germany, Poland, Czech-O-Slovakia and even in Russia itself.

"Is it not more logical to conclude that in the U.S. the action of the Eisenhower Administration, through Brownells vigourus enforcement of the Smith Act, has much more to do with the desertation of these thousands upon thousands of former C.P. members and followers than any act of the C.P. Russian controlled Red Army?

"If this evaluation of these thousands and thousands of former CPers is true and if these people are, as some of our leading comrads have contended, a well trained revolutionary Socialist cadre, then to my mind, the possibility of these people drifting into political oblivion or any other direction is nil.

"But rather, if this is a true evaluation of these people, and supposing that the proposed unity program is consumated and we succeed in changing the attitude of the original S.P. - S.D.F. comrads toward the former C.P. members can you not visualize with what alacrity they will embrace the idea of Socialist Regroupment.

"What a haven this would furnish them, and how long would it take them to pervert the new Socialist Party into an insturment of Communism, ala Russian?

"SCHACTMANN says there is no need for preunity discussion with the S.P. - S.D.F. on any point of policy as the S.P. - S.D.F. has no real policy or program.

"SCHACTMANN also says we ask for no concessions or conditions, only the right to all the duties and responsibilities of any other member.

"SCHACTMANN also says all we ask for is democratic socialism both within the proposed united parties and that all who desire to unite in the new regroupement will be only required

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"to support democratic socialism both here and in Russia and China.

"Again SCHACTMANN says, we propose to put into the deep freeze all political differences among all sects that join the new groupe. 'We are not purist', he says, 'We are practical politicians.' 'We are not interested in purity.' 'We are interested in building a new socialist political party.'

"In fact, SCHACTMANN, as usual, says many things, and usually, in a very convincing manner. But, if one stops to think about the things SCHACTMANNs says, one can't help but conclude that what SCHACTMANN says so earnestly and convincingly is not always necessarily so.

"When the question was put to SCHACTMANN that after unity had been achieved, how would it be possible for us to function within the new groupe without causing the former S.P. - S.D.F. to resent our opinions and our pressures to make the new groupe to in the direction we wanted it to go.

"He reminded us that we are a young, dynamic well trained political groupe, who, by our attendance at every meeting and willingness to work to build the party, will act upon the older more passive S.P. - S.D.F. comrades more or less as an opportunity to relax and spend more time on their personal life, with the feeling that the work of the party is in good hands.

"While I agree with MAX, that this is a true picture, but just picture how much more active and aggressive the former C.P. recruits will be. Remember the fable of the Arab and the camel.

"What do I mean by this outline of my opinion of the supposed former C.P. members and their cohorts?

"No doubt SCHACTMANN, and some of our other league comrades may feel that I am unduly suspicious, and perhaps I am, but my suspicions is not only well grounded, but has been fostered both by the history of the C.P. internationally and the attitude of SCHACTMANN and other leading comrades in the past.

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"I can recall, only too well, SCHACTMANN'S report on how the C.P. with its various front organizations engineered the capture of the Labor Farmer movement in the middle west.

"Then again FENWICK'S statement in Phila. on June the 1st. when he told of talking to former leading C.P. members both in France and in the U.S. he stated that those who he had talked to had broken with the party in some instances, but had no political concepts of their own possessing bureaucratic minds that could only function when directed by some central authority or who broke with the party only on the surface, to protect their jobs or academic standing.

"Again I can recall back in 44 or 45 when JERRY KOTZ advocated a united front with the C.P. in the shipyard workers union, SCHACTMANN and other leading comrades at that time, pointed out that the C.P. could not be trusted.

"This present split, that is supposed to exist in the C.P., could not this too, be just another maneuver on the part of the C.P.? A maneuver to lull the American Worker into the belief that the OLD C.P. is dead?

"As part of the maneuver, would it not be wise for them to try to create the impression, by seeking every opportunity to appear before the public as friendly opponents of the other socialist sects, that there is no real difference between them and the average democratic socialist?

"Does it not seem odd to you comrades, that if such a violent three way split exist in the C.P. it was still possible for the C.P. to set up a National Com. composed of leading comrades of the three warring factions?

"I would like to raise one more point that it seems to me might have a great deal to do with the success or failure of any Socialist Regroupement move. That is the two recent decisions by the Supreme Court.

"What effect will they have on the thinking of the members of the various sects we are seeking to unite?

"I realize of course, that properly handled, they could be used to great advantage in recruiting new members to a revitalizes socialist movement.

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"On the other hand, is it impossible for us to conceive, that all the other parties or sects, as you prefer, may feel that this action gives them a new lease on life, and thereby eliminates the need for Socialist Regroupement?"

"Now, I'll try to boil all this down to a few words of summation as to why I am opposed to the majority res. on unity.

"Without a clear understanding between us and the S.P. - S.D.F. arrived at before hand, on just how far we can go in opposing their concepts on Party Program, which includes every thing from the question of War to Socialist Regroupement I believe unity wont last.

"Until the S.P. - S.D.F. raise the question of unity with us, I believe we should hold off making it a part of our official program.

"In the event of such unity I think we should go mighty slow in trying to recruit either former C.P. members or accepting any faction of the present C.P.

"And last but not least, I think we should hold in abayence, all moves toward Socialist Regroupement until what the reaction is among the Radical Sects including the C.P. to the recent Supreme Court decisions."

The above proposal was sent to ALBERT GATES, 114 West 14th Street, third floor, New York City, upon the directions of ALEX WOLLOD, of the Philadelphia ISL.

orally advised on 7/15/57 that the above proposal was never brought up on the convention floor but he heard it discussed in private by MAX SHACHTMAN.

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Copies of this memo have been furnished to New York and Newark for information.

mlk
7/29/57

CFB

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013) DATE: 7-23-57

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (65-645)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

On June 26, 1957, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA RALPH D. HARMON a typewritten mimeographed letter dated June 18, 1957, at New York City, captioned "For National Committee Members: To Be Transmitted Verbally" and signed "TOM KERRY", Organization Secretary.

- 8- New York, (Encl. 6) (REGISTERED)
 - 2- 100-4013 (SWP)
 - 1- 100- [redacted]
 - 1- 100- (AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)
 - 1- 100- (A. J. MUSTE)
 - 1- 100- [redacted]
 - 1- 100- (TYRELL WILSON)
 - 1- 100- (SP/SDF)
- 3- Chicago
 - 1- [redacted]
 - 1- 100-33670 (AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION)

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RDH:CPS
(11)

100-49738-153A

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 25 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

CG 65-645

Attached to this letter is copies of two statements by "SP-SDF Members", (Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation), who were identified as GEORGE STRYKER and TYRELL WILSON, concerning the SP-SDF attack on the American Forum for Socialist Education (AFSE), whose Chairman is A. J. MUSTE.

The original copy of these documents is being retained in Chicago file 65-645-1B12 (1269).

The photostatic copies of these documents are being furnished the New York Division for their information and whatever action that is deemed advisable.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-3476) DATE: 7/31/57
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-6680)
 SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
 IS-ISL

Source [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past.
 Date of Activity 7/5/57, ISL Convention
 Date Received 7/8/57
 Received by SA [redacted]
 Location [redacted]

- 5 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3476) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-34189) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-5273) ([redacted] (LA))
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 2 - Seattle (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted]) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 3 - San Francisco (RM)
 - (1 - 100-2397) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-28699) [redacted]
- 3 - Newark (RM)
 - (1 - 100-18417) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-98449) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 3 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1 - 100-1840) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-20609) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-27272) [redacted]
- 3 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1 - 100-9025) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-16923) (B. J. WIDICK)
 - (1 - 100-16984) [redacted]

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1 - New York (100-6680) (ISL) (#7-3)

RMJ:RCM
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yes

100-49735-154

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NY 100-6680

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- 2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
 - (1 - 100-5567) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-5713) ([REDACTED])
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-) (JOE DAVIDSON)
- 39 - New York
 - (1 - 100-97470) (ISL, NYD) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-79760) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-50910) (AL GATES) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-98858) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-132961) ([REDACTED] LNU) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-54584) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-25903) (MAX SHACHTMAN) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-79797) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-122015) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-110186) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-93573) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-96862) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-118883) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-92717) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-132963) ([REDACTED] LNU) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-97958) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-117896) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-127451) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-124239) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-86184) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-108167) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-129416) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-128588) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-90937) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-81901) ([REDACTED]) (#7-3)

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- 39 - New York
- (1 - 100-132960) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-131812) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-111937) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-122545) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-126717) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-132962) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-128317) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-120240) ([redacted] LNU) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-130894) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-127453) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-131970) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-49738) (SOCIALIST PARTY, USA) (#7-3)

NY 100-6680

The source furnished, as indicated above, a 14 page handwritten report concerning the 7/5/57, session of the ISL National Convention held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC. This report reads as follows:

ISL - Convention July 5th 1957

Arrived 11.10 AM "Adelphi Hall" 72-5th Ave. Left: 11.00 PM

International Question: Speaker. Hal Draper.

The question of arms to Hungary - The amendment states that we do not call on the United States to send arms - we do not denounce on anyone wanting arms - the Irish revolution not only asked the Czar for arms, but took them and used them - If the U.S. placed an embargo on arms we are against the government for preventing other governments from sending arms - We are against any cause that obligates us - In the case of Hungary their was more sympathy than Spain, and in turn their was no one demanding arms to be sent to Hungary - If it were asked through the United Nations they in turn have no arms to send - According to our "Marxist theory" we do not seek help from the Capitalist governments - .

International Resolution: Speaker: Al Gates.

We will not denounce the sending of arms to Hungary under the conditions the people have found themselves. In the Spanish Regime the Roosevelt Administration raised an embargo preventing the Spanish Govt. from purchasing arms. As far as we are concerned the International situation is new - Socialism is divided into two sides today - Democratic Socialism and Totalitarian Socialism - The amendment - speaks of the complete degeneration of the leadership - From the point of view of Socialism it is inaccurate - in turn, it affects the Democratic Socialist movement - We cannot have Socialist unity and talk of new

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ideas and perspectives - It does not help anyone to understand - are you hiding your own views - The Draper amendment is not real today - Its ritualistic - We now propose to the convention to adopt the International Resolution as it is without any amendments.

Discussions: Max Martin: Is the leadership of the British and German Socialist Party degenerated? If the Hungarian revolution lasted longer and the Hungarian people asked for arms we should support them.

Jake: The question of Socialist-Democracy is a basic one. If certain concessions are made for the Stalinist the same must be made for the Soc. Democrats - The Soc. Dem. represents the working class - If the working class moves further forward they will remove the leadership.

Dan Leeds: California - yrs. .

This is not a basic difference. The ideas are the same - The British Labor Party as said by Max Shachtman two years ago as being petty-bourgeois is a fact and they knew it - I would not contest that the leadership is somewhat degenerate - it is - If the German left had requested arms for the Irish I would have supported it.

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Arlin (Tussin): (Seattle) yrs. hair.

Draper wants our European comrades to transform the complete leadership - But its contents does not tell us of the militant revolutionary movement,

Charlie. (San Francisco.)

If we allow the Hungarian revolution to be "muddy" that is, supplying arms, it would have been suicidal - It is a political revolution and I am against the sending of arms.

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H. Bensen (Ben Hall)

The question comes up in all the groups today - we have to be careful as to how we act - The Hungarian Revolution is against the Stalinist and could quite likely lead to an Imperialist War - We do not want to risk the possibility of an Imperialist War.

Max Shachtman:

In 1936 we were against calling for arms - Hal Draper says, I said so. But I did not: It was the isolationist who wanted the embargo so as not to get involved in a world war - The SP was "nutty" not to demand that arms be sent to Spain.

Archie Winters: (New Jersey) [] yrs. [] hair.

The question of not demanding arms from a Bourgeois Govt. is "nutty" and if we are not careful we will again be "nutty" - What consequence could a bourgeois govt. have in shipping arms to Hungary - If we give up this basic concept we will be giving up what we have fought for for years - The Imperialist Govt. will eventually take control.

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Ann Draper:

Are we responsible because we did not request that arms be sent to Hungary and that later it caused the defeat of the Hungarian revolution - When we request help from the Imperialist Govt. we are leading towards the Right-wing movement and not the Left.

Max: (Chicago) [] . [] . [] hair.

To-day it is important for us to be careful and not to be found in the middle of an Imperialist War - We must be a Left-wing in the Social Democracy.

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Owen:

The question now you are being asked to vote is on arms aid to Hungary - The idea of American Imperialism intervening and not the people demanding arms to be sent to Hungary is wrong.

Sam Taylor:

If you adopt the policy for arms to be sent to Hungary to-day, to-morrow will you also be willing to send arms elsewhere. Are you willing to take that responsibility.

Julie Falk:

Hal Draper may not know it but he is against American arms being sent to Hungary. Socialist calling for Military assistance from a Bourgeois Govt. is not wrong - It has been done in the past and at times have even called on armies.

Ted: (California) [redacted] hair, [redacted]
[redacted]

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To-day we have got to see the reality of the transformation of Capitalism into Socialism.

American Question - Speakers: Max Shachtman
Gordon Haskell

"Unity and Regroupment."

The most important concrete Political problems we are now going to discuss - We are a "sec", but we must be on the alert to give up that "sec" to join with other forces for the good of the working class - We must get rid of all residues of secretarianism within our midst - We must shred them without regrets - The domination of the radical movement by the Stalinist is at an end. We must find a political force to run all those who are willing to go along with us as Socialist - We focus on the Socialist Party as the movement for the radic. groups - It is interdirected by everyone - Let the S.P open its doors and let us go in - We have no demands to make

NY 100-6680

on the SP - only equality of rights - The SP has big possibilities in the country - it can open the way for a mass movement.

Gordon Haskell :

The break of the Communist Party has given the SP an opportunity to really present its ideas to the radical groups in this country - Until the SP-SDF demonstrates that they are willing to accept us on an agreement of a definite program it is difficult for us to see our entry - Max Shachtman thinks it is not necessary for they already have a program, but that will not do - Let us get the SP-SDF to agree on a platform which we are in agreement with and also let them endorse it at their next convention and that will suit us - Max Shachtman is proposing to liquidate us into the SP-SDF as quickly as he can do it, but on what grounds - Their is no broad arena open to the working class to-day - If it proves impossible, what then - The Stalinist power is shaking, be patience - Our opportunity may be nearer than you imagine - Are you willing to give up the ISL and enter the SP-SDF through the back door.

Discussions: P.J. Wittock (Partly bald, glasses, 50 yrs.)

We live under special circumstances - the radical movement is dead. To-day we have got to get into the Labor movement - If the SP gives us our rights I am for unity - All we want is "live and let live." What is necessary in America is a new concept of the Socialist Party.

Jake: The SP. is not ready for a Political Unity.

Mike Harrington:

Gordon Haskell is afraid the SP will not move - But if they say OK to us I consider that a move. On program they are suspicious, but when they let us in they will permit our program and be willing for a political debate.

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Ann Draper:

We look at the SP as it is to-day, but their are changes and it must affect them - The day we enter the SP the SP has changed and we will be there to stay - We will contribute to the SP and certainly will increase its membership - We cannot settle everything before our entry, after we are in lots will be possible.

Max Martin.

Comrades, Haskell and Hal Draper have got to make up their minds - Is the program possible? If it does not succeed what will happen? We would have still gained - we will be the one tendency trying to make a movement for the working class - We will not convert the SP into the ISL, but to build the movement.

Jerry McDermitt: , , hair.

The turn to the right - which we are making is overdue - It will be for our own good to join the Socialist Party.

Al Gates:

Unity with the SP though means discontinuation of the ISL will in turn be for a better SP and a better movement for the American Working class.

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Arlin: (Seattle).

To think we have to have conditions before our entry is all wrong - We have to convince them that we have a place in the SP and so desire to unite with them.

Debbie (Chicago) Woman, Hair, yrs. .

The fact that they are reluctant is a sign that when they do make up their minds that as well as other things will have changed - I am for unity and its the only road to the American worker.

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Hal Draper:

The SP are aware of allowing the ISL to enter on their terms would mean a complete take over of the SP- The SP as it is to-day does not want a transformation of its program - They do not want the type of organization we are talking about - They are not ready for a unity on Comrade Shachtman terms (not ours) they want their SP to stay as it is to-day - They are not ready - It is a longer term program then you imagine - If you are against it you have got to speak up - the SP is a small "sec" and is not ready - How long can you keep an organization in this way of trying to crash into the Socialist Party.

Arnold- (Barney) [redacted] hair-[redacted].

What happens to the ISL if their is no unity? I am for unity - But the SP may stall around for such a long time that unity may then be not possible.

Sam Taylor.

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If we believe in unity it will be our duty to recruit all into the SP. - Unity is possible and it will be for the good of all.

Mead ([redacted] hair, [redacted].)

It is certainly necessary for all in the ISL to be ready for possible unity - We will do better and in turn should all work for it rather than continue as we are doing in disagreement.

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Those present: Hal Draper; Max Shachtman; Yetta;
H. Bensen; Al Gates; Cris; Owen;
Ann Draper; Stanley; Bogdan;
Archie Winters; Mike (youth) George;
Max Martin; Phyllis; Lucille ([redacted])
Paul Germaine; Ester; Jerry McDermitt, Pittsburgh;
Joe Dane; Jake; Gordon Haskell;
Al Finley; Arnold (Heavy, glasses, 45 B. Hair)
Murray; Lucille ([redacted]) Priscilla;
Mike Harrington; Ruth Martin; Mel;
Joe ([redacted] Hair) Ted; Julie Falk;
Dan Leeds; Arlin; Charlie; Max (Chicago)
Debbie (woman, [redacted] Hair) Leonard Walker;
Marty; West; Pete; Oscar (Detroit)
Bob ([redacted]) Elsie, Jim (LA). Don Harris.
Ben. ([redacted])

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On 7/10/57, the source orally advised SAS A. LEWIS BARNETT and [redacted] the following information which was reduced to written form and signed by source on 7/19/57 attesting to its accuracy. It is located in [redacted].

Photographs of the following individuals are identical to those individuals in attendance at the 7/5/57 session of the ISL National Convention:

ARLON TUSSING	--	ARLIN (Seattle)
CHARLES SHAIN	--	CHARLIE (San Francisco)
TED YUDKOFF	--	TED (California)
B. J. WIDICK	--	P. J. WITTLOCK
DEBBIE MEIER	--	DEBBIE MAYER (Chicago)
BARNEY ARNOLD	--	ARNOLD (BARNEY)
DON THOMAS	--	MEAD
JOE DAVIDSON	--	ARNOLD (heavy, glasses, 45, B. hair)

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That the source had only heard the names MARTY, WEST, PETE and JIM (LA) as being present at the above session and could not furnish a physical description concerning them.

That the ELSIE who has been previously reported as ELSIE LNU. thin build, [redacted] hair, is the wife of [redacted] and is [redacted].

Individuals whose full name appears following dissemination have been identified through photographs or detailed description furnished by the source. Dissemination is being made to [redacted] and [redacted] as they may be identical to STANELY and LUCILLE LNU.

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Source advised that he later ascertained that the WALKER listed as being present was actually the last name of CHARLIE (San Francisco).

100-30693
8/5

SAC, CHICAGO (100-10099)

8/2/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80693)

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

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Source
Reliability

[Redacted]
Who has furnished
reliable informa-
tion in the past.
Letters dated 5/16/57
and 5/22/57.
7/3/57
SAC [Redacted]
and A. LEWIS BARNETT
100-80693-11372

Date of Activity

Date Received
Received By

Location

The source furnished two mimeographed letters which are set forth below. The letters were photographed in the NYO and returned to the informant.

(Text of AYS Letter)

May 10, 1957

Dear Comrades,

At a recent debate in New York City with the Young Socialist League we made the following proposals; (1) That the YSL maintain itself as an independent, unaffiliated youth organization programatically based on a socialist opposition to capitalism and Stalinism, (2) That it invite all radical youth to join the YSL as the first step in a regroupment of revolutionary socialist youth, (3) That under these conditions

2 - Chicago (100-10099)(RM)

- (1 - [Redacted])
- 1 - New York (100-131197) (AYS) (27-3)
- ① - New York (100-45728) (SP-207)
- 1 - New York (100-95240) (LNL) (12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-4013) (CJ2) (27-3)
- 1 - New York (100-80315) ([Redacted]) (27-3)
- 1 - New York (100-8000) (LNL) (27-3)
- 1 - New York (100-80693)

100-4473-155
[Handwritten notes and signatures]

ALL:RCH
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NY 100-80693

the members of the American Youth for Socialism would be prepared to join the YSL and recognize it as the nucleus of a united socialist youth movement in America.

YSL Discussion

To date we have received no reply to this proposal. We note, also, that the report of the debate which appeared in The Young Socialist Challenge did not mention the proposal we set forth at that time.

We have been following with great interest the discussion in your ranks on the perspectives for socialist youth in America as reported in the publicly distributed Young Socialist Review and the Bulletin of the Left-Wing Caucus.

The majority of the National Executive Committee of the YSL is proposing that the members join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and constitute its youth affiliate. It proposes to do this on the basis of the present political program of the SP-SDF.

The Left-Wing Caucus of the YSL, on the other hand, in opposing this course states, "We consider that the basic question posed by the proposal for unity with the SP-SDF is; either to build the YSL on a socialist political basis or to liquidate the YSL in its present form on the basis of the anti-socialist politics of the SP-SDF."

We believe that the YSL now has before it a unique opportunity and responsibility. With the dissolution of the Labor Youth League, the YSL today constitutes the only national youth organization putting forward the ideas of socialism. As an independent organization, with a militant tradition, it has the potential of attracting a significant number of radical youth from many quarters.

SP Record

This perspective would be excluded for a youth organization affiliated with and dominated by the SP-SDF. The Socialist Party has a forty year record of incompatibility with any youth movement which even begins to display signs of militancy. The statements and actions of the present leadership of the SP-SDF demonstrates that the forty year record is not about to be broken.

NY 100-80693

The experience is extensive and conclusive. Social-democratic politics inevitably comes into opposition to the militant aspirations of radical youth. Social-democracy, expresses the interests of the most conservative and bureaucratized layers of the labor movement. It must periodically either tame or drive out those youth who wish to build on the best traditions of the revolutionary workers movement.

Ex-LYL'ers

We believe that the most pressing task of young revolutionary socialists today is to engage the thousands of former members of the Labor Youth League, who are recoiling from Stalinism, in fruitful political discussion and collaboration looking forward to the establishment of a unified socialist youth movement.

Is it not obvious that affiliation to the SP-SDF would make impossible an effective approach to the former members of the LYL. How can radical youth who are breaking with the bureaucratic monstrosity of Stalinism be attracted to a clique of State-Department "socialists" who display contempt for elementary democracy and who prohibit free discussion among socialists?

Is it not obvious that the independent perspective which we propose offers the best possibility for the construction of a much larger and more effective youth movement than anything that now exists, and would greatly facilitate our common task of spreading socialist ideas among young workers and students?

Left-Wing Stand Offers Basis

In our opinion the position put forward by the YSL Left-Wing Caucus provides the basis for beginning the long and necessary work of constructing a united revolutionary youth movement in this country.

The AYJ proposed that we begin the process of youth regroupment by affiliation of the young members and sympathizers

NY 100-30693

of the Socialist Workers Party to the YSL. This would immediately establish the YSL on a considerably larger basis than at any time in its history.

There are important political differences among us. However, we wish to emphasize our conviction that these differences can be discussed in a fraternal fashion within the confines of an organization that stands on a revolutionary socialist opposition to capitalism and opposes both Stalinism and social-democracy.

We ask you to seriously consider our proposals. We suggest the fullest discussion of them, not only internally within the YSL, but jointly with the AYSS membership and the young members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party in the various localities throughout the country.

We also suggest that during such a period of discussion we examine to the fullest extent all possibilities for joint activities and fruitful collaboration.

Fraternally,

Lert Deelt, Chairman

American Youth for Socialism

NY 100-80593

(Text of YSL Reply)

May 22, 1957

Lert Deck, Chairman
American Youth for Socialism
116 University Place
New York, New York

Dear Comrade Deck:

We have received your letter of May 16. While it does not indicate the YSL body to which it is addressed, we presume that it is intended for the Young Socialist League National Action Committee.

We note your statement that your proposals in regard to "unity" between the AYS and the YSL, made during the course of a debate between yourself and a spokesman for the YSL on the "Nature of the Russian State", were not replied to by us and were not mentioned in the report of this debate which appeared in the Young Socialist Challenge. In explanation, we wish to advise you that we are not in the habit of considering as formal proposals a few remarks thrown out verbally during a debate on another question. And as for the Challenge's report of this debate, the reporter included in his account those statements by the debaters which he felt represented the central arguments of the two sides on the question under consideration.

We note with interest that your letter has already been made public by you - in the Militant of May 20 - before we have had the opportunity to consider it and reply to it. While such a procedure is more usually associated with a propaganda move than with a serious proposal, we do not base our objections to your proposal on this fact.

We note also that you "have been following with great interest the discussion in (our) ranks on the perspectives for

NY 100-3023

socialist youth in America as reported in the publicly distributed Young Socialist Review and the Bulletin of the Left-Wing Caucus." And that in your opinion "the position put forward by the YSL Left-Wing Caucus provides the basis for beginning the long and necessary work of constructing a united revolutionary youth movement in this country." While it might be felt by some that this constitutes interference into the affairs of the Young Socialist League by your organization, and does not comprise the type of procedure that can result in the kind of honest, fraternal socialist regroupment that we all claim to stand for, and which is required for a fruitful socialist unification, we doubt less our response to your proposal on this basis.

Our attitude toward your proposal is determined by the official policy of the YSL, as adopted by our National Executive Committee. We stand for the creation of a broad, Deklan-type party of socialism in the United States, and wish to participate in the creation of its youth affiliate. We look to the unification of the ILL, the SP-LDY, the YSL and the YFSL as the first step along the road to this goal.

For us the decisive question is a regroupment of the socialist movement in America which will begin to restore the influence of socialism within the American working class, which will work towards the creation of a labor party and for other socialist and progressive policies. All democratic socialists in the United States, of whatever tendency, are agreed upon this fundamental task. We believe, therefore, that there should be a single, all-inclusive organization of democratic socialists to work together toward this end.

All socialist tendencies should have a place in such a regrouped socialist movement, regardless of their theories on Russia and other questions, provided that they stand for the fullest democracy all over the world, on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Your organization should have a place in the youth affiliate of such a reunited socialist party, provided of course, that it adopted a perspective favoring the creation of such a

NY 100-88693

new socialist movement, and genuinely aimed at loyally working for its creation and loyally building it after it comes into existence, as opposed to any possible policy of "raiding", "disrupting" or "splitting" it, or any of the present-day groups which will constitute it. In this way, the AYB could also make a contribution to the regroupment of socialist forces in the United States and the creation of a socialist movement.

For a variety of reasons, the SP-CDF is best suited to become the framework for this regroupment. It is identified with the historic tradition of socialism in the United States, it is associated with the name of Debs. It is not a discredited organization, unlike others, and is historically known for its broad character. We have, of course, many differences with the present policies of the SP-CDF, but we believe that these can be freely and openly debated within a single party whose program is determined, not by the slogans of the past, but the necessities of the present: by the need for all democratic socialists to work together to build a socialist movement in this country, to work for a labor party, etc.

We do not wish to go into your characterization of "social democracy" in this letter, but we do want to point out that we consider it the expression of an unhistorical, rigid and dogmatic approach. For example, you say that "social democracy expressed the interests of the most conservative and bureaucratized layers of the labor movement." (Our emphasis). In the United States today, the left wing of the labor movement stands for a program of liberal reform through the Democratic Party, that is, it stands to the right of the "social democracy" on the crucial question of a labor party. Do you seriously argue that the American "social democracy" expressed the interests of the "most conservative and bureaucratized layers of the labor movement," that is, of the old AFL craft unionist officialdom?

To us, this is only one example of the fact that you are not approaching the problems of today in the social context of today, that you are repeating phrases from another time and place. We repeat: in our view, the SP-CDF stands to the left both of the official labor movement and

NY 100-26073

the overwhelming majority of the rank and file, on the decisive question of a labor party, not to speak of its general opposition to capitalism and advocacy of socialism.

With regard to the former members of the LYL, we believe that a democratic socialist youth organization, affiliated to a broad, Debsian-type party would offer the greatest attraction to those currently breaking with Stalinism. We do not believe that the crucial differences between us and Stalinists is one of revolutionary socialism as opposed to reformism; rather, it is the question of democracy. We believe that the first and immediate task of the socialist movement today is to help those breaking with Stalinism to give up every vestige of their former support to totalitarianism. Only then can we debate with them within the confines of a single movement and seek to win them to our political program. And here again, we are confident that our perspective offers the way to the creation of a real democratic socialist alternative capable of attracting the former members of the LYL.

Furthermore, we believe that the notion of "an independent, unaffiliated youth organization" is not viable in America today. In the practical sphere, any socialist youth organization in this country today must rely upon the material and political aid of an adult organization. The YSL is, of course, unaffiliated; but it considers itself to be a part of the independent socialist tendency; it has consistently proclaimed its warm fraternal ties and general political solidarity with the Independent Socialist League. At the time we decided to be unaffiliated, we noted that this was due to a particular set of circumstances, and recorded our opposition to any idea of a youth party. We regard young workers and students as the main arena of our activity, and youth work as our main concern, but at the same time, find it inconceivable to think in terms of regroupment, as divorced from the regroupment of the general, adult socialist movement. To mention one, but by no means the most important consideration, and "independent" youth organization, under present circumstances, would, we feel, become a center for raids on the part of various adult tendencies.

In this connection, there is one aspect of your proposals with is unclear to us. In view of the fact that the AYS is the "youth group" of the SWP, or at least is

NY 100-30693

fraternally related to it, and since the YSL is fraternally related to the ISL, we do not understand why your proposals to us were not preceded or accompanied by the same or similar proposals of the SWP to the ISL. If there exists enough of a political basis for "unity" between the AYB and YSL, and for the "affiliation of the young members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party to the YSL", it would appear, given the general political agreement between the AYB and SWP on the one hand, and the general political agreement of the YSL and ISL on the other, that a similar basis exists for such proposals from the SWP to the ISL. The absence of such SWP proposals to the ISL is especially unclear because we fail to see how one can be concerned with "youth" alone, and not with the movement in general, and because such SWP proposals to the ISL would - if made - help to dispel any ideas that might arise to the effect that your proposals to the YSL are a rancour. Such ideas might occur to some in view of the fact that your proposals come at this time and under conditions currently existing.

The question of socialist regroupment shall be reviewed and decided at our forthcoming national convention. Should the convention adopt a radically different perspective from the one outlined above, the question of your proposals would of course be subject to reopening. Should the convention adopt the policy laid down by our National Executive Committee, as we believe it will, the rejection of your proposals would be indicated. In the interim, the position of the YSL is the position set forth by our NEC. In accordance with this position, we wish to inform you that we do not feel that your proposals constitute a fruitful basis for performing the vital task now posed for socialists - the reconstitution of the socialist movement. Hence we are forced to reject them.

Fraternally,
Young Socialist League
National Action Committee

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Handwritten initials 'JH MC' over the typed name.

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[Redacted]

- 100-16923 (B. J. WIDICK)
- 100-16984 [Redacted]
- 100-22339 [Redacted]
- 100-17856 [Redacted]
- 100-17246 [Redacted]
- 100-19519 [Redacted]
- 100-14770 [Redacted]
- 122-49 [Redacted]
- 100-23900 [Redacted]
- 100-26036 [Redacted]
- 100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
- 100-19042 [Redacted]
- 100-23236 [Redacted]
- 100-5930 [Redacted]
- 100-12314 [Redacted]
- 100-26406 [Redacted]
- 100-25722 [Redacted]

9 - New York (REGISTERED)

- 1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- (SP)
- 1 - 100- (ISL)
- 1 - 100- [Redacted]

1 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
(100-23847 [Redacted])

INDEXED: [Redacted]

TO: SAC, Detroit (100-9025)

DATE: September 13, 1957

FROM: SA [Redacted]

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

100-49738-156

SEARCHED <i>ll</i>	INDEXED <i>ll</i>
SERIALIZED <i>ll</i>	FILED <i>ll</i>
SEP 13 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
9/13/57	
FBI, Detroit	

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INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past (protect identity)

ACTIVITY: 8/2/57

DATE RECEIVED: 8/5/57

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted]

Informant advised that a meeting of the members of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted] Detroit, Michigan, on August 2, 1957. Informant advised that those present were:

B. J. WIDICK
[redacted] [redacted]

B. J. WIDICK suggested that each person that had attended the ISL Convention comment on their observations while there.

[redacted] outlined the convention discussions and the actions taken by the delegation. He emphasized the fact that resistance to the "unity and regroupment resolution" broke down completely when the delegation voted unanimously to accept the resolution. [redacted] said that there was some resistance to the "press resolution" but it was decided that there would have to be a retreat at once to a bimonthly "Labor Action."

[redacted] said that he thought it was the best convention he had ever attended, and that there had been less bickering and more harmony than most other affairs. He said that the press problem was a big one, and that GORDON HASKALL worked hard to get out the issues each week and most of the time, HASKALL did the biggest part of the job himself.

[redacted] said that he also thought it was a very good convention and he felt that HAL DRAPER, in opposing regroupment, had done the ISL a favor by sharpening the point, rather than shadowing it.

B. J. WIDICK said that he felt the open policy adopted at the convention had impressed both members and visitors that the ISL was sincere and was not asking any favors or privileges of any group. WIDICK also said that MAX SHACHTMAN has learned a lot since the last time the Trotskyites united with the SP. WIDICK said that, at that time, SHACHTMAN, SIDNEY HOOK, BURNHAM, and CANNON had turned over the group to the SP without consulting any of the membership or the National Committee. WIDICK said that SHACHTMAN was questioned by the National Committee at that time and spoke for more than an hour on why he would not join the SP, while at the same time he denied he was part of any such deal. WIDICK said that it was done, however, because of a directive of TROTSKY himself.

WIDICK commented on the YSL and said that the youth convention was terrific, and that the SWP had tried to make a split but could not, and they were ordered by the SWP to remain in the YSL. WIDICK also said that the YSL will issue four new charters to various groups of youths on campuses in the fall. WIDICK said that MICHAEL HARRINGTON, YSL Chairman, has complete control of the membership, is a wonderful leader, and realizes the need for young blood in the socialist movement.

Informant advised that discussion then drifted to the Detroit SP and its actions on the proposition of joining on an individual basis. WIDICK said that the SP is still not sure whether it wants MAX SHACHTMAN as a member or not, and that is the reason the SP is suggesting that the back door be opened. WIDICK said that not one of the members of the SP in Detroit will get up at any of their branch meetings and speak for the ISL membership.

[redacted]'s name was mentioned and WIDICK said that [redacted] was a smuck, and it was too bad that he had to tolerate the [redacted] for the past ten years, but [redacted] has a following and it has to be done."

[redacted] stated that he had talked to [redacted] and [redacted] at various times but whenever he mentioned politics to [redacted], [redacted] would turn away and leave. [redacted] said that [redacted] was more tolerant but he got no satisfaction from him either. [redacted] said that [redacted] would not know how to go about it even if he wanted to say anything favoring the ISL. He said that [redacted] is rather confused and besides that, other members of the SP are afraid that [redacted] might get to take the branch over. [redacted] thought it would be a good idea if [redacted] would approach him some time and perhaps he would listen to her.

[redacted] thought that the SP members are just feeling around and trying to find out more about aims and purposes of the ISL and also their intentions after they are united.

[redacted] suggested that members of the ISL get active in other activities. She said that for twelve years, she has been hearing the same thing over and over but nothing is being done about it. She felt that each member should be active in other organizations with the thought of recruiting others for the ISL and build it up into a larger organization. She said it could be done and said that the Detroit group is inactive and should not be.

B. J. WIDICK said that the position of the Detroit ISL members is unique because during the days of the Un-American Activities Committee, members of the various groups whose organizations were listed on the subversive list were ejected from the auto plants bodily. He said that some were waylaid and beaten, and that resentment here was great against any radical or radical organization. WIDICK said the ISL was demoralized but very fortunately, it survived and since that time has gained some prestige in the union movement. He said that as long as influence is gained there, we will be better off than trying to do too much at once and take chances on losing what has already been gained. He said it would not be worth taking the chance.

DE 100-9025

[redacted] said that he could not go out and join other activities at the present time because of his position in the union. He also said that consideration must be given to the fact that most of the Detroit members have families, and that in itself is enough to curb activities. [redacted] said that it is impossible these days to donate seven days a week to political activities. He said ten years ago, this was easy to do but with families and age, it cannot be done.

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WIDICK agreed with [redacted] and further stated that the ISL is still on the subversive list, and only through unity with the SP can the ISL rid itself of the black list. WIDICK said this is also the big reason the SP is reluctant to accept the ISL as a whole.

Discussion was held on the meeting for the following week and it was decided to have an outing near the boat concession on Belle Isle, Detroit, on August 9, 1957.

Informant advised that [redacted]

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[redacted] said that his wife, [redacted], was willing to become active in another group and had already been approached to join a woman's group that other known socialists are members of.

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B. J. WIDICK said that [redacted] had gone to the hospital on [redacted], 1957, for [redacted]. He said that it was not healing as fast as expected.

DE 100-9025

[redacted] said that "Labor Action" is no longer a weekly newspaper.

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[redacted] had a clipping of the Canadian newspaper of the UAW, "The Guardian," which had an article in it which praised JACK WILSON and the article that WILSON wrote in an issue of "Labor Action."

Informant has previously advised that B. J. WIDICK uses the alias, JACK WILSON, when writing for "Labor Action."

Informant also furnished on August 5, 1957, two copies of "Labor Action" dated July 8, 1957, and July 15, 1957. This literature is located in [redacted]. This literature contains no items of pertinent interest to the Detroit Branch of the ISL.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-3476) DATE: *8/8/57*
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-6680)
SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

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Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Activity 7/6/57, ISL Convention
Date Received 7/10/57
Received by SAS A. LEWIS BARNETT,
[redacted]
Location [redacted]

The source furnished, as indicated above, a 14 page handwritten report concerning the 7/6/57 session of the ISL National Convention held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC. This report reads as follows:

- 4 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3476) (ISL) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-34189) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 3 - San Francisco (RM)
 - (1 - 100-2397) (ISL) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-28699) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 2 - Newark (RM)
 - (1 - 100-18417) (ISL) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-98449) [redacted]

COPIES CONTINUED PAGE TWO

- 1 - New York (100-6680) (#7-3)

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True

100-49738-157

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
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AUG 5 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

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COPIES CONTINUED

- 4 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1 - 100-1840) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-20609) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100-27272) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- 2 - Seattle (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (JOE DAVIDSON)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1 - 100-9025) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-16923) (B.J. WIDICK)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
 - (1 - 100-5567) (ISL)
 - (1 - 100-5713) [REDACTED]
- 35- New York
 - (1 - 100-97470) (ISL, NYD) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-80693) (YSL) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-96862) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-25903) (MAX SHACHTMAN) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-81901) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-122015) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-79797) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-110186) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-50910) (AL GATES) (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-54584) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-79760) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-98858) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-121808) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-118883) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-125221) [REDACTED] (#7-3)
 - (1 - 100-128601) [REDACTED] (#7-3)

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COPIES CONTINUED

35 - New York

- (1 - 100-132960) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-90937) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-111937) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-97958) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-74587) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-128317) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-123044) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-132961) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)

- (1 - 100-86184) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-131812) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-92717) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-93573) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-122545) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-108167) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-128588) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-131970) ([redacted] LNU) ([redacted]) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-49738) (SOCIALIST PARTY, USA) (#7-3)
- (1 - 100-131910) (AFSE) (#7-3)
- (1 - [redacted]) (#7-3)

NY 100-6680

July 6th 1957

ISL - Convention

Arrived 11.00 AM. "Adelphi Hall," 72-5th Ave. Left. 10.55 PM

Gordon Haskell:

In the event that the National Committee succeeds in negotiating terms with the SP-SDF on unity it will take no measures until it consults its members.

Max Shachtman:

The discussions on unity was done openly - nothing secretly, all done bureaucratically. The moral in our organization has never been as high as it is now for the past ten years - we have gained tremendously - we have already got unity between the SP youth and the YSL. We are binded to the SP and we have no alternative but to be with them. They are not hostile to us. All the interlectuals otherwise are with us and will join the SP no sooner we enter. The Stalinist are also with us and strange enough, have become very friendly. We have made enormous progress with this line. - We have not made enemies - this is the road now and if that fails we just have to look for another - their is no idea of a crash program - we belong there and should be there. I want equal rights for all members and that is all - we did not get that in 1936. When we are in we will make a drive for all others. Gordon Haskell has put down an ultimatum to the SP and that is unless they agree to our program we do not want unity - but that is wrong. You make it difficult for them to even consider. Do not give our opponents unnecessary weapons - Do not be an obstacle in our way. The majority of our members want unity.

Discussions re-our position with the American Forum.

Arnold: hair.

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I introduced this motion in the National Committee - When it was first put to the SP they were so interested they immediately conveyed it to all its branches.

NY 100-6680

Charles Walker. [] . [] . [] yrs. [] hair.

Let us know what is going on between the ISL and the American Forum. You have got to keep us advised.

Archie Winters: (New Jersey)

We must be in a position to discuss our point of view with all - no matter whom they are.

Ted: LA. [] yrs. [] hair. [] . [] .

So far as I am concerned the American Forum is a front organization and if we bind ourself with them it would not be for our good.

Al Finley:

It would do us no good - I am against the motion for participating with the American Forum.

Owen:

Whatever we decide let us keep it on friendly terms.

Ann Draper.

We must remember Max Shachtman refused to be on its committee - we have got to decide our attitude here now in the convention as to what our position will be with the American Forum.

Arlin: Seattle. [] [] hair. [] .

As far as I know the members of the ISL know very little as to what our position is with the American Forum. At times we have attacked the American Forum and at other times we think of wanting to participate with them. We have got to develop a definite line.

NY 100-6680

Sam Taylor:

I cannot recall in our paper where we have attacked them as Arlin states - I agree that we have to decide our position one way or the other. So far they are fighting injustices and I think that's OK. We can support them in these things, but nothing on a political line.

Al Gates:

The American Forum is an organization - Do not fool yourselves. At the moment it is taking up the points that will appeal to the masses. We were wise from the beginning for not getting involved. It may turn out to be anything.

Voted: We just remain on friendly terms, but no participation.

Ben Hall (H. Benson)

All groups are discussing the new situation for the American Socialist. If we are united we will still be small unless we are linked with the working class - we must be in a position to show others what should be done for the new Socialist movement and in turn put our position to the working class - we do not propose to support bourgeois candidates neither do we propose to oppose them. The policy of Socialism must be based on the working class - we must come forward as a loyal left wing movement in the labor movement. When there is Socialist unity it opens the way for us to appoint Socialist candidates. If the right wing supports bourgeois candidates it is OK - but we will not support them. We will not support candidates that will bring us in a position which will be opposed to the labor movement. Their are of course certain bourgeois candidates that we could support (Douglas, Layman, etc.) but we must not lay our position with the SP that we are not voting for any bourgeois candidates - we cannot make it a policy - we must have a neutral policy to satisfy everyone.

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Hal Draper:

The idea of Socialist candidates is what we want. Do we enter the SP with what we want or what we must be willing to accept as what they want. Our special role in the labor movement consists of not undermining the leaders, but to uplift the working class and propose a program for them. The ISL has never proposed any candidate for election because it is not worth it politically and organizationally - though we could do it, as I said, it is not worth it. We are separated from the working class now - If we run a candidate will it bring us closer to them. If we run a candidate we must talk to them, make them realize our candidate is for their own good and not against them. The SP was never separated from the workers because they ran candidates. The only ones they were separated from were those who voted for the Democrats whom their leaders instructed them to vote for. We have got to build a broad Socialist movement. A movement that can satisfy all - a Socialist Party that does not believe in itself cannot expect anyone to believe in it. If the SP ran a candidate and we disagreed, we must have an alternative and be in a position to come out and say so - we must have our own ideas before we enter any movement - also, be in a position to state what we disagree on.

Organization: Press

Al Gates:

In 1951 we finally made some headway with our case - the reply we received from a hearings officer was that he was ill. The case is still at a standstill - we hope to have more to tell soon. That's all I can say - we must be patient. The staff of the National Committee to-day is at a minimum - as you know in the past we were twice the number as we are to-day. The staff now will consist of: - Max Shachtman will be in charge of the politics; Al Gates will continue with the case and see it through; Gordon Haskell will be editor of Labor Action; Julie Falk will be editor of New International; Mel

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will be business manager of Labor Action; Morris will be in charge of Finances.

Ted:

Though the press is costly it is important that we maintain it. It is our only medium to get to the workers.

Arlin:

The failure of the Committee not to inform the branches of what is happening is wrong - we should be informed of all that is happening - Very often we hear of things that are happening from other sources. I support the idea of a news letter to all the branches as to what is happening.

Arnold:

The comrades in New York are at times so depressed by our difficulties that they forget the popularity the ISL has to-day - we all waited to see what the ISL would do on the American Forum position, in turn, it was a long time after we got news as to our position. Such matters should be sent out to the branches immediately.

Gordon Haskell:

The feeling of the Committee is not to tell the branches anything until they have decided on a decision - I think they could be informed up to a point.

Mead:

I think when the field has asked a question it is your duty to inform them. I would like the convention to go on record that we are all informed as to step by step on the progress of the unity question.

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Charles Walker:

Without the youth we would not have known what was happening.

Max Martin:

Why we have not functioned well in the past has been mainly due to lack of personnel. However, with the changes and re-organization we do hope to do better. The complaints are all justified.

(Arnold)? 45-50. glasses heavy (NAACP) Philla.

In Philadelphia we have done much work on the Negro. It is very important to inform people of our position. Their should be more concentration on recruiting.

Joan:

I think it is very important that we inform the branches as to what is going on in the form of discussions in New York. Both the unity and American Forum discussions they have lacked the knowledge of our discussions.

Al Gates:

It surprises me that the complaints I have heard never were brought to the National Committee before the convention. Though they are justified, I still think they should have been brought to our attention earlier. We were in no position to increase the staff as the increasing amount of problems came up. On the question of unity, it began a year ago. Another failure, the National Committee has not held a meeting since the last convention. The question of communication to the branches were such that it was difficult to convey our findings in the discussions as they were very often far from a decision on the subject that was being discussed. Now with the proposed

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re-organization we do hope to fill that gap. But still, I do not want you to expect at the beginning very much - our facilities are poor - equipment limited. But we will try to do the best.

Greetings from YSL:

Mike Harrington:

As National Chairman of the YSL I extend my greetings. Our major political question was on the unity question. I am pleased to say their will be no split in the YSL. Our main problem is our leadership is not as young as they should be - Despite of our small size we are the only National organization that functions on a youth basis. We plan to send as many out on tour as possible. We have begun a recruitment drive. We are about to start a branch in New Mexico. In the field of civil rights we have been extremely active. On the "Prayer Pilgrimage" to Washington D.C. we were very active. We now have plans on banning all nuclear test - we feel confident that we can grow - Largely on your aid we were able to build the YSL - its only there because you were able to make it possible - I now appeal to you to step up more aid and wherever you start a new ISL branch I expect you to start a YSL branch.

Request of Leave of Absence by Hal Draper.

Max Shachtman:

Many of you knew that Hal Draper has requested a leave of absence. (Proposed trip to Europe) I want now to say that inspite of our political differences we owe him alot. No one deserves this vacation more than him. I have been in the movement for many years and cannot say that their has been one paper that can step up to "Labor Action."

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Those present:

Paul Germaine; Vi; H. Benson; Max Martin;
Archie Winters; Gordon Haskell; Ann Draper;
Jake; Phyllis; Joan; Max Shachtman;
Sam Taylor; Ted; Lucille ()
Yetta; Julie Falk; Ruth Martin; Lucille ()
Ester; Al Finley; Max (Chicago) Dan Leeds;
Jerry McDermitt; Debbie Mayer; Owen;
Murray; Al Gates; P. J. Whittlock; Joe Dane;
Priscilla; Arlin; Mead; Arnold; Stanley;
Don Harris; Leonard; Jim ()
Ben () Ray ()
() Hal Draper;

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On 7/10/57, the source orally advised SAS A. LEWIS BARNETT and () the following information which was reduced to written form and signed by the source on 7/19/57 attesting to its accuracy. It is located in ()
()

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Photographs of the following individuals are identical to those individuals in attendance at the 7/6/57 session of the ISL National Convention.

BARNEY ARNOLD

ARNOLD ()
() hair)

CHARLES SHAIN
TED YUDKOFF

CHARLES WALKER
TED (LA, () yrs. ()
hair, ()

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b7C

ARLON TUSSING
DON THOMAS
JOE DAVIDSON

ARLIN (Seattle)
MEAD

DEBBIE MEIER

ARNOLD (45-50, glasses, heavy,
NAACP, Phila.)
DEBBIE MAYER

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B. J. WIDICK
RAY AHEARN

PAUL WALLER

P. J. WITTLOCK

RAY ([REDACTED]
[REDACTED] hair)

PAUL GERMAINE

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b7c

Individuals whose full names appear following dissemination have been identified through photograph or detailed description furnished by the source. Dissemination is being made to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as they may be identical to STANLEY and LUCILLE LNU.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-344527) DATE: 8/8/57
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18099)
SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

Re New York airtel to Director, July 19, 1957, which enclosed for Chicago photographs of the rough draft minutes of the July 1-2, 1957, sessions of the Young Socialist League (YSL) Convention held July 1 through 3, 1957, at 114 West 14th Street, New York City. The original material was furnished to SAs [redacted] and A. LEWIS

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Albuquerque (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL) 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 3 - Buffalo (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL) 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 5 - Cincinnati (RM) (Encl. 8)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 3 - Denver (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL) 1-100- (NAACP)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 6 - Los Angeles (RM) (Encl. 1)
 - 1-100- (YSL) 1-100- (ISL)
 - 1-100- [redacted] 1-100- (LYL)
 - 1-100- [redacted] 1-100- (YPSL)
- 2 - New Haven (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL) 1-100- (SWP)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 50 - New York (Encl. 30) (RM)
 - 1-100-8069 (YSL)
 - 1-100-6680 (ISL)
 - 1-100- (American Forum for Socialist Education)
 - 1-100- (Socialist Party)

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100-49738-158

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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AUG 12 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature]

(See 1a and 1b pages for additional copies)

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- 2 - Philadelphia (Encl. 1) (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 5 - Pittsburgh (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted] LNU) 1-100- ([redacted] LNU)
 - 1-100- [redacted] LNU)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 7 - San Francisco (Encl. 2) (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted] 1-100- (SWP)
 - 1-100- [redacted] 1-100- (ISL)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- [redacted] LNU)
- 2 - Seattle (Encl. 4) (RM)
 - 1-100- (YSL)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
- 15 - Chicago
 - 1-A) 134-397-306A
 - 1-100-1840 (ISL)
 - 1-100-30817 [redacted]
 - 1-100-29680 [redacted]
 - 1-100-24290 [redacted]
 - 1-100-33670 (American Forum for Socialist Education)
 - 1-100-6512 (Socialist Party)
 - 1-65-645 (SWP)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100-30508 [redacted]
 - 1-100-27272 [redacted]
 - 1-100-31861 [redacted]
 - 1-100-33108 [redacted]
 - 1-100-8261 (NAACP)
 - 1- [redacted]

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BARNETT of the New York Office on July 3, 1957, by [redacted],
photographed in the New York Office, and returned to the
informant, which original material the informant was obliged
to return to the YSL. The photographs of these minutes are
being retained in Chicago files since the New York Office
did not request that they be returned. Location: 100-18099-1B1(307).

On July 8, 1957, [redacted], (protect identity), who
has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to
SA [redacted] a handwritten report concerning the
above convention. This report is retained in Chicago file
[redacted].

This report states that the Third National Convention
of the YSL was held July 1 through 3, 1957 at Labor Action Hall,
114 West 14th Street, New York City, New York.

The delegates to this convention were:

From New York City:

NAOMI FRIEDMAN

SY LANDY

FRANK MC GOWAN

RUTH MARTIN

LENNY (LNU), male, [redacted], [redacted] pounds, light hair,
approximately [redacted] years of age.

TOM (LNU), from Brooklyn, male, [redacted] [redacted] pounds,
dark hair, approximately [redacted] years of age.

BOGDAN-DENITCH

FAITH (LNU), female, [redacted], [redacted] hair, [redacted] pounds,
approximately [redacted] years of age.

MARTHA WOHLFORTH (representing the "Left Wing Caucus").

From Chicago:

NANCY AHEARN

ED CALNEK (representing the "Left Wing Caucus")

From Berkeley, California:

JIM ROBERTSON (representing the "Left Wing Caucus")

STAN (LNU) (representing the "Left Wing Caucus"),

[redacted], [redacted] pounds, light hair, approximately [redacted]
years of age.

CHARLES WALKER

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From Los Angeles:

JIM BURNETT
DON THOMAS (resident of San Francisco,
representing Los Angeles by proxy)

From Dayton Area:

HERSHELL COMINSKY (representing the
"Left Wing Caucus")

From Pittsburgh:

BERNIE (LNU), male, [] [] pounds, []
[] hair, approximately [] years of age.
BEN (LNU), male, [] [] pounds, dark hair,
approximately [] years of age.

Members at Large

DICK HUNT (New Haven, Connecticut)
ARLON TUSSING (Seattle)
MARTY OPPENHEIMER (Philadelphia)
BOB BERK (Denver) ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote)
HAROLD BRAMN (Albuquerque, New Mexico) ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote)

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Alternates

From New York City:

EUGENE (LNU), male, [] [] pounds, dark hair,
approximately [] years of age.
SAM (LNU), male, [] [] pounds, dark hair,
approximately [] years of age.
ANNE LOWE
MIKE SHOOT
RESHELL (LNU), female, [] [] pounds, dark
hair, approximately [] years of age.

From Chicago:

JACK COLLINS
PAT MORROW ARDEN (representing "Left Wing Caucus")

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From Berkeley, California:

ROGER PLUMB
JERRY (LNU)) were not observed in
MEL (LNU)) attendance by informant

From Dayton Area:

MIKE BROOKS
JUDY HOLLANDER MAGE

Fraternal Delegates (Voice,
no vote), members and alternates
of National Executive Committee
that served until this convention

MIKE HARRINGTON
MAX MARTIN
GEORGE RAWLINGS
ART LOWE
TIM WOHLFORTH
SHANE MAGE
OWEN FREIDMAN
SAM TAYLOR
RAY AHEARN
SCOTT ARDEN

Fraternal Delegates (Voice rights)

MEL BECKER (New York)
DICK WILSON (Buffalo)
MIKE SPENSER (Cleveland)

Fraternal Delegates from
Independent Socialist League (ISL)

MAX SHACHTMAN
GORDON HASKELL

Others recognized by the informant
as attending the various sessions
of the convention were:

SHERRY GELDMAN (New York)
MURRAY WEISS (SWP member)

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BARBARA HOZINSKY (Chicago)
JERRY MC DERMIT (Pittsburgh)
Mrs. SHACHTMAN
DON HARRIS and wife
DAVE MC REYNOLDS (SP member)

SESSION A.

The Rules of the convention were adopted. The Credentials Committee and the Presiding Committee were formed by the adoption of the rules. The following additional committees for the convention were then formed:

Resolutions Committee, the function of which was to arrange the discussion of "other" resolutions, that is, resolutions not listed in the agenda:

ART LOWE, Chairman
MIKE HARRINGTON
TIM WOHLFORTH
CHARLES WALKER
BERNIE (LNU) (Pittsburgh)

Finance Committee, the function of which was to distribute financial aid to out-of-town delegates:

SCOTT ARDEN
DEBBIE MEIER
MAX MARTIN

Technical Aid Committee, whose function it was to secure office machines for the printing of motions and resolutions:

ART LOWE
OWEN FLEISCHMAN

Secretarial Committee, to keep a record of the convention:

RUTH MARTIN
JOAN MORRIS
GEORGE RAWLINGS
JACK COLLINS

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The proposed agenda was accepted but it was later changed as the convention did not hold to the original schedule.

The delegates were then seated.

SESSION B.

This session was concerned with the topic "Socialist Regroupment".

MIKE HARRINGTON then spoke for one hour in favor of the majority position. The following is a summary of his presentation:

The basis of the majority position is an effort to reach more people with our politics. We propose unity between the ISL and the SP-SDF with the YSL participating with the YPSL. We wish to do this so that Socialism can have an "influence in the working class" of America and "lead them to independent class action." "Until this (independent class action) happens, no truly basic change in society can take place." Today we have opportunities to reach both old and new people and build a Socialist movement that can influence the working class, the lib-labs (liberal labor supporters and leaders), Negroes, ex-Socialists, ex-Stalinists, and people who have not yet heard of Socialism. The minority favors an isolated propaganda group and therefore thinks that the movement's program is important. We of the majority say that we are not interested in saying what sounds nice and revolutionary but rather that which will reach a broad audience. Reformists (SP) and revolutionaries (ISL-YSL) must want to work together. We intend to go to the working class with a proposal for a broad Debsian Party, not a Trotskyist, Marxist or Leninist one.

Our program proposes support for two things:
democracy everywhere and independent class action.

For these reasons the Socialist Party is known to the public as the American Party of Socialism. In the public mind the SP has no connection with Stalinism.

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We do not demand a change of program or party structure as a condition of unity, but we realize that accepting us would be a change in the outlook of the SP.

After unity, we intend to be a tendency in the party and fight for our third camp revolutionary politics. We are not fighting for our complete program because with our program we could not reach new people. We will fight to express our politics on day-to-day issues as they arise.

TIM WOHLFORTH spoke for the minority document. The following is a summary of his presentation:

The first part of his speech was a criticism of the SP-SDF. He noted DAVE MC REYNOLDS, a SP-SDF member, who had stated that the SP represented the "worst and shameful politics of Dulles." The SP stands for democracy everywhere but they confuse it with the western military agencies (such as NATO). The SP has 1,000 book members but only 200 people who are so active as to attend two meetings a year. If the SP is so attractive to workers with its rotten politics, why aren't they in it now? They choose rather a larger and a more influential party that has almost the same politics, the Democratic Party.

The leaders of the SP consider the ISL a Communist group. They do not even consider the American Forum for Socialist Education (AFSE) Socialists. Before unity can take place you will have to convince the SP that you are not Communists. Now the AFSE is open to all, even the CP. Its purpose is to spread the discussion of regroupment.

This is the Left Wing's proposal:

Participate with the rest of the radical movement and send a representative to the national board of the AFSE.

Oppose Stalinism and support such revolutionaries

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as those in Poland and Hungary.
Oppose American capitalism and imperialistic politics.
Oppose the democratically established military agencies.

We feel that there is no one group with which we can unite. Unity on the youth level would be an impetus to unity on the adult level. For a while, unified youth must be independent.

SESSION C.

The following are summaries of short speeches made by various delegates:

LÉNNY (LNU) (In favor of majority document):

We do not propose unity with the SP because we like its politics, but rather because it is nationally and internationally known. SHANE (MAGE) is a "defendant of Russia" and, therefore, to him a third world war would be an international class struggle.

BOB BERK (for majority):

We have had enough of Leninism. The minority wants to set up a recruiting ground for the adult groups. A Leninist would be allowed in a broad Debsian Party.

BOGDAN DENITCH (for majority):

The SP would have changed if it allows us in. That would mean that it is ready to live with revolutionary Socialists in it. "Our aim is to move politically to the left." First move the labor movement into the SP; once they are there, we can discuss the differences between revolutionary Socialism and new reformism. We want a party that can recruit the most advanced sections of the labor movement, the A. Phillip Randolphs.

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STAN (LNU) (for majority):

We cannot appeal to the working class as a whole through the SP-SDF. To illustrate how leftist the working class was, he told of the Oakland general strike.

RUTH M. (for majority):

"I am glad to hear that the workers are going into the streets. Obviously, we are on the verge of a new October." The majority really represents a raid by the SWP on the YSL.

MARTHA W. (for minority):

We wish to appeal to the new radical youth who will not accept the program of any one group.

OWEN F. (for majority):

"TIM is a revolutionary Socialist. He only considers revolutionaries to be Socialists." He does not realize that reformists are Socialists too, the majority does.

DICK HUNT (for majority):

A unified SP would mean a revitalization of Socialism in purpose. The workers are not revolutionaries, but they could be Socialists.

DON HARRIS (for majority):

The minority proposes an alternative to unity with the SP, the building of the AFSE. Either the AFSE will be a talking shop and not take any action or it will be a cover for Stalinists.

MEL BECKER (for majority):

Strikes, (example: strike of Perfect Circle Company) are class struggles on a class basis but they

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are not political struggles. The idea is to bring the labor movement to minimal Socialist politics and this could be done by a unified SP.

GEORGE R. (for majority):

"Who are the radical youth that TIM wants to appeal to? He means the SWP youth." GEORGE read a statement by MURRAY WEISS calling for the destruction of the YSL.

JOAN (for majority):

The program of the minority is really that of the YSL. If that is going to attract youth, why hasn't it?

SAM T. (for majority):

We do not want to be in the AFSE because we do not wish to take political responsibility for it. The AFSE refuses to condemn Stalinism.

DICK HUNT (for majority):

He favored the creation of a broad Debsian Party that had a minimal Socialist program. He presented an amendment setting up conditions for unity:

That the new party have a minimal program, that there be P.R. (Proportional representation) and that a minority have access to the press.

DON HARRIS (for majority):

"I am not for recreating the SP in the image of the YSL, a third camp, revolutionary, Marxist, Socialist group."

SCOTT A. (for minority):

"If the implementation motions are passed, the YSL will be a hard core having the politics of the ISL with no opportunity for disagreement."

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MURRAY WEISS of the SWP was granted permission to speak in defense of his statement about the YSL. "The task of revolutionary Socialists is to remove social democracy and Stalinism from influence over the working class."

MAX SHAGHTMAN (for majority):

Real Marxists are always ready to break out of isolation whenever they have the chance. The SP is the only organization that has the possibilities for recruiting today.

MIKE H.:

The best way to build our revolutionary would be to get into the SP and build a broad Debsian Party.

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SESSION D.

HERSHEL presented a motion stating that the YSL should have a representative on the AFSE National Committee. It failed.

JIM B. presented a motion stating that unity with the S.P. be the YSL's Central Orientation. (Passed).

SAM T. presented a motion stating that the YSL did not wish to take responsibility for the politics of the AFSE and that the YSL not have a representative on the National Committee, but that the YSL would take part in all regroupment discussion. It passed.

TIM presented a motion stating that the YSL should never support Democratic Party candidates. It failed.

RAY presented a motion stating that the YSL's only condition for unity with the S.P. be that of full democratic rights. It passed.

BOB BERK presented a motion which was defeated.

The majority resolution as amended was passed.

The motion on implementation submitted by DENITCH, HARRIS and MEIER was passed.

MIKE HARRINGTON presented a motion stating that those who are excluded from unity are those who refuse to agree to abide by the decisions of the united organizations. It passed.

The motion was presented by TIM that the YSL Unity Negotiating Committee fight for the inclusion of all YSL members in the S.P., even those who may not favor the affiliation of the youth to the S.P. It failed.

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A motion by SHACHTMAN and DENITCH that the Negotiating Committee shall not demand that SWP members be allowed into the S.P. It passed.

ARLON TUSSING presented a motion of implementation stating that no member of the YSL may join the SWP or the AYS and that no member of the AYS or SWP may join the YSL. Any SWP member in the YSL may retain his membership. It passed.

It is noted that Sessions A through D of the Convention were all held on July 1, 1957.

On July 8, 1957, the informant also furnished to SA [redacted] through a blind Post Office box mimeographed copies of some of the above mentioned resolutions and motions which are described below and which are retained in Chicago files as indicated:

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1. "Proposed Resolution By M. Harrington" on the prospectives of the YSL on the question of Socialist Recruitment. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (278). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

2. "Suggested Motion of Implementation of Convention Unity Resolution" by BOGDAN DENITCH, DON HARRIS, and DEBBIE MEIER. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (276). One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith for New York.

3. "Motion on Electoral Action" by TIM WOHLFORTH. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (277). One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith for New York.

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4. "Draft Special Resolution: Unity and Relations with other Socialist Groups" proposed by ARLON TUSSING. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099 - 1B1 (275). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for New York and Seattle.

5. "Rules of Young Socialist League Convention, July 1 - 3, 1957". These rules provide for the setting up of a Credentials Committee which includes MEIER, MAGE, MAL, Delegate, and MARTIN, Committee Chairman. These rules also provide for the setting up of the Convention Presiding Committee which includes TUSSING, MEIER, ROBERTSON, MARTIN, THOMAS and HARRINGTON, Committee Chairman. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (274). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for New York, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle.

On July 16, 1957, [redacted] furnished to SA RICHARD M. KIRBY in person a handwritten report concerning the sessions of the YSL Convention which took place at Labor Action Hall on July 2 and July 3, 1957. This report is retained in Chicago file [redacted].

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This report states that on Tuesday, July 2, 1957, the YSL National Convention reconvened.

The first order of business was a discussion of youth in campus prospectives.

Next, MIKE HARRINGTON gave a National report. The following are the main points which he made:

"We are the strongest Nation-Wide Youth Political Organization, mostly because we are the only one." The faction fight has clearly increased the communication between the National Office and the units. This is a good thing and should be continued in the future, even if the faction fight decreases. On his tour, BOGDAN has visited places where the YSL has never before sent a representative of the National Office (such as Denver). For the next period, the YSL will

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RMK:jfm

start living recklessly, financially, for tours because of the great opportunities for growth. "Within a few weeks, we will have a unit in Albuquerque, N. M., thanks to PAULA and HAROLD BRAUMN."

ARLON is in Seattle on the University of Washington Campus and he should be able to form a unit there. He has toured to Potland and there are possibilities for a unit there. There are also possibilities for units in Philadelphia and Cleveland. In Denver, the YSL has two members on campus and two friends of the YSL. There will probably be a unit in New Haven, Connecticut, in the fall.

Presently there are two main arenas for YSLers to work in. One is the Negro struggle for Civil Rights. The New York Unit has a reputation of being reliable and responsible members of the Negro Left around A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH. The New York Unit was especially active in the Prayer Pilgrimage, along with other units throughout the country.

The other arena is the Liberal Student Forces. The New York YSL led a mass student protest on the barring of GATES from the New York City College Campuses.

GEORGE RAWLINGS gave a short report on "Anvil". He said that a new issue would be out by September 15.

BOGDAN DENITCH gave a short report on his tour. He said that they are easier to arrange now because it is easier to get audiences.

In answer to a question, MIKE HARRINGTON said that the YSL had about 140 - 150 members.

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TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The sense of the NAC Draft Document on Youth and Campus Prospectives was passed.

A discussion on United Fronts was held. There were three main ideas put forth by TIM WOHLFORTH, MAX MARTIN, ARLON TUSSING.

The motion by TIM stressed the change in attitude on the part of the majority. He favored United Fronts with Stalinists.

The motion by ARLON favored United Fronts if the participants had moved away from Stalinist Politics.

The motion by MAX favored United Fronts only if the participants had organically left the CP.

The following are some comments made concerning the above motions from the floor by some of those present:

ARLON TUSSING stated: "We don't exclude cooperation with ex - LYL Clubs even if they haven't formerly broken with the CP." But it is necessary that our joint work has to be in support of a Democratic ideal and not in conflict with YSL policy.

FRANK MC GOWAN spoke in favor of MAX' motion. He said that the criteria for forming a United Front should be whether or not the group has broken with Stalinist Politics.

NANCY AHEARN stated that we can cooperate with ex-LYL Clubs if the joint group makes clear that we favor democracy everywhere.

JIM ROBERTSON spoke in favor of TIM's motion stating that you should be able to operate in a United Front with anyone, so long as you can work together on one specific action.

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BOGDAN DENITCH stated that the critical idea is, have these clubs 'organically' left the CP? That the joint group says it is for democracy everywhere is not important since CP members can and do say this.

TIM WOHLFORTH stated that the motions by MAX and ARLON try to realize that the Stalinists are in a crisis and that we can recruit here without embarrassment with the Social Democracy.

TIM's motion was defeated, but neither ARLON's nor MAX's motions passed because there were two tie votes.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION

MAX MARTIN gave a presentation of the NAC Draft Document on the Crisis of World Stalinism. SHANE MAGE presented his document. Following this, he spoke for the adoption of his amendments. A discussion was held, and the convention passed the NAC Document.

It is noted that the photographic minutes of the Convention which were supplied by the informant indicates that the following amendment to the NAC Draft Document was passed by the Convention:

"Par. 42 - sent. 2: Strike 'might' and replace with 'would'".

A Mimeographed copy of "NAC Draft Resolution on the Crisis of World Stalinism" (with amendments attached submitted by TIM WOHLFORTH) was furnished by the informant to SA RICHARD M. KIRBY on July 16, 1957. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (299). One photostat copy of this document is enclosed herewith for New York.

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RMK:jfm

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Unit Reports:

ART LOWE reported on the New York YSL. He said that the New York Unit has fifty members, has clubs on two campuses, Columbia and Brooklyn, and members at City College. The YSL has been functioning in the Randolph Section of the NAACP.

MIKE BROOKS reported on the Dayton area. He said that the YSLers are in control of the Socialist District Club at Antioch and are active in the NSA (National Student Association), and the NAACP. Unit meetings are usually held Sundays at [redacted] house where books and topics of current interest are discussed.

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NANCY AHEARN reported on the Chicago Unit. She said that the main activity was the Campus NAACP which the YSL helped to revive and strengthen. She also mentioned that the YSL was participating in a Campus Committee to stop the H and A Bomb testing. She said that this Committee contained leading Stalinoid members of the Student Representative Party (a University of Chicago Student Organization) and that this is giving her a chance to meet and work with these people.

JIM ROBERTSON reported on the Bay Area Unit. He said that there was a hostile ISL fraction in this unit doing opponents' work. The main arena is the Stalinoids. In the fall there will be fractions at the State and City Colleges and at the University of California at Berkeley.

CHARLES WALKER gave a minority report on this unit. He said that the fractional conflicts are carried on in outside arenas. The majority of the unit has relations with the SWP instead of the ISL. He said that the debate between TIM and BOGDAN was held in front of the best arena for recruitment, The Independent Socialist Forum.

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ARLON TUSSING reported on Seattle and Portland. He said that there were four YSL members on three campuses in Portland. He said that there was a good possibility of a unit there. On the Reed College Campus YSLers participate in a broad socialist club. There are two members in Seattle. ARLON is at the [redacted]. He said that some ISLers may join the YSL. BOB BERK reported on Denver. He said that there has been a lack of radical activity in this area since the depression. BOGDAN spoke and recruited an ex-SLPer the same evening. He said that he was going to set up a Labor Forum. In Boulder, Colorado, the YSL has two close contacts. He said that he had started a NAACP Club.

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DICK WILSON reported on the Buffalo area. He said that there were two YSL members there who are not presently on any campus. He said that he has hopes of starting a NAACP Club and a Political Issues Discussion Group. The group would be broad in membership and would possibly work with the Liberal Party in the Mayoralty Campaign. He said that his wife intends to be active on the [redacted] Campus.

HAROLD BRAMN reported on the Albuquerque, New Mexico Unit. He said that there will be a unit there almost as soon as he gets back. He said that there was a need for National Speakers. He said that he was in favor of setting up a Regional Rocky Mountain Conference.

MARTY OPPENHEIMER reported on the Philadelphia area. He said that there were two YSL members there. He is chairman of the Third Camp Contact Committee.

JIM BURNETT reported on the Los Angeles Unit. He first listed the problems of the unit. The membership is spread all over the city and are not concentrated in any one area. There has been a loss of leadership. They have set up a regular schedule of educational in combination with the YPSL. They have recruited six new members. The Socialist Contact Group, made up of the ISL, the LYL, the YPSL, the YSL and the SWP, plans to hold public forums.

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BEN (LNU) reported on the Pittsburgh unit. He attacked the National Office for not having any literature suitable for contacts. He said that for contacts, Labor Action stinks.

Next, the amendments to the YSL Constitution were taken up. MAX MARTIN spoke in favor of them. The following is a general account of arguments put forth by some of those present for or against these amendments:

MAX MARTIN: "The minority is contesting amendments number 2, 3, 5, 6 and 22. We are not changing any practices, but since certain practices have been challenged which we thought were understood, we are asking to clarify and legalize that which we thought was originally agreed to. The minorities' concept is that anyone can do anything so long as he states that he is acting as an individual. When you join a political group you agree not to act in contradiction to its policies. It is wrong that a person have influence on the organization (that is the other members), but the organization have no influence over the individual."

JIM ROBERTSON: "The principles have been changed. Now you have to agree to do what the leadership thinks will lead to the goals."

SONNY TAYLOR: "JIM (ROBERTSON) says it (the constitution, as proposed), is Lenninist, Bolshevick, and combat-party, but he never says it is undemocratic." "When the NAC wrote these amendments we decided not to suggest that which we would not want a united YPSL to have."

At this point, an amendment was read that allowed for setting up of a West Coast and other regional committees to hold conferences and issue regional bulletins.

GORDON HASKELL: "We're all Marxist and Materialist. Open public attacks on an organization by a member should not be tolerated."

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JIM ROBERTSON: "An act is hostile when it asks the public not to join the YSL. They (the majority) seek to build a rigid, centralized ISL youth". Only a Lenninist type party can overthrow capitalism.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

BEN HALL delivered greetings from the ISL to the Convention. He pointed out that the hold of Stalinism over the radical public has been broken by the uprising of the third camp workers movements in the heart of Stalinism. The ISL and the YSL see eye and eye together on most important points.

The next point brought up was a discussion of the Meier Amendment on discipline.

DEBBIE MEIER: "This motion clearly spells out what acts are in violation of the constitution. When appropriate, local units, the NAC, the NEC, or a convention shall take action to enforce the constitution."

MIKE HARRINGTON: "None of these past acts should be used as a basis for disciplinary action. This is to serve for future actions."

Next came the election of the NEC. The Left Wing Caucus asked for proportional representation on the basis of their document on unity. The vote was five to eighteen, entitling them to three members and three alternates.

A group consisting of DICK HUNT, MARTY OPPENHEIMER, BEN (LNU), LENNY (LNU), HAROLD BRAMN and BOB BERK, (a total of five votes) (also MIKE SHOOT and SAM P., alternates from New York) asked for representation on the basis of setting up certain conditions on the unity and general opposition to the "old, N.Y., Bureau cratic leadership". This group was also entitled to three members and three alternates.

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The new NEC as elected is as follows:

Members of the Majority

MEMBERS

MAX MARTIN (National
Secretary) (NAC)

MIKE HARRINGTON
(National Chairman)
(NAC)

MEL BECKER
(NAC)

SY LANDY (NAC)

BOGDAN DENITCH (NAC)

DEBBIE MEIER

ARLON TUSSING

DON THOMAS

JIM BURNETT

ALTERNATES

JOAN MORRIS

NANCY AHEARN

ART LOWE

FAITH (LNU)

RAY AHEARN

TOM (LNU)

DICK WILSON

GEORGE RAWLINGS

ELLA (LNU) (From Pittsburgh)

A Faction in the Majority

MEMBERS

DICK HUNT

MARTY OPPENHEIMER

HAROLD BRAMN

ALTERNATES

LENNY (LNU)

BOB BERK

MIKE SHOOT

Left Wing Caucus

MEMBERS

TIM WOHLFORTH (NAC)

SCOTT ARDEN

JIM ROBERTSON

ALTERNATES

SHANE MAGE

ED CALNEK

HERSHEL COMINSKY

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MIKE HARRINGTON was elected YSL Fraternal Representative to the ISL N.C. and P.C.

On July 16, 1957, [redacted] also furnished to SA RICHARD M. KIRBY in person the following described items, some of which are referred to above, which are retained in Chicago files as indicated, and photostat copies of which are enclosed where indicated for interested offices:

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1. Two mimeographed copies of "Implementation Motion" on regroupment issue submitted by MARTHA WOHLFORTH. One mimeographed copy of this item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (300). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

2. A mimeographed copy of the NAC Draft Document entitled "Youth and Campus and the YSL Prospective", dated March 30, 1957. Among the topics covered in this document are the role played by JOHN GATES, Editor of the "Daily Worker", on the campuses of the city colleges, the YSLs relationship with other youth groups such as the LYL, the SDA, the SLID, YPSL, the AYS, Independent Socialist Clubs, and the ACLU. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (280). One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith for New York.

3. One mimeographed copy of agenda for YSL Convention, July 1, through July 3, 1957, as amended. Among the events scheduled on this agenda are presentations to be made by HARRINGTON, WOHLFORTH and MAGE. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (279). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and New York.

4. Two mimeographed copies of "Left Wing Caucus Amendments to Amendment by ARLON FUSSING to Draft Document: 'Youth and Campus and the YSL'". This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (290). One mimeographed copy of this item is enclosed herewith for Seattle and one photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

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5. One mimeographed copy of "Special Convention Resolution - presented by D. MEIER". This resolution criticizes the action of TIM WOHLFORTH concerning the American Forum. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (281). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

6. One mimeographed copy of "Wohlforth Amendments". This item indicates that it consists of amendments submitted by TIM WOHLFORTH to the Draft Resolution on "Prospectives for American Socialism, I, II, and III" submitted to the Left Wing Caucus, YSL, by SHANE MAGE. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (282). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and New York.

7. A mimeographed copy of "Amendment to the Youth and Campus Resolution by OWEN F." This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (293). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

8. A mimeographed copy of "Amendments to the Resolution on Youth and Campus" by DEBBIE MEIER. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099 - 1B1 (292). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

9. One mimeographed copy of "Amendment to Draft Resolution: 'Youth and Campus and the YSL' submitted by ARLON TUSSING". In this item the YSL is discussed along the lines of its relationship to the LYL and the "Daily Worker" Group in the CP. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (291). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for New York and Seattle.

10. One mimeographed copy of "Amendments Proposed by MIKE HARRINGTON" to the YSL Constitution. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (284). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

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11. Two mimeographed copies of "I.: Draft Resolution on 'Prospectives for American Socialism,' Proposed by SHANE MAGE." This item indicates that it is part one of the minority resolution. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (295). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and one photostat copy is enclosed for New York.

12. Two mimeographed copies of "Draft Resolution on 'Prospectives for American Socialism' submitted by SHANE MAGE." This item indicates that it is part two of the minority resolution. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (296). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and one photostat copy for New York.

13. Two mimeographed copies of "Draft Resolution on 'Prospectives for American Socialism' by SHANE MAGE". This item indicates that it is part three of the minority resolution. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (298). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and one photostat copy for New York.

14. Two mimeographed copies of "Draft Resolution of the YSL on Prospectives for American Socialism. This item indicates that it is the majority resolution. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (303). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

15. Two mimeographed copies of "Constitution of the Young Socialist League (as amended by the 1955 YSL Convention)". This item is retained in Chicago 100-18099-1B1 (304). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

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16. Two mimeographed copies of "Proposed Amendments to the YSL Constitution". This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (305). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

17. One mimeographed copy of "Amendment Draft Resolution on 'Prospectives for American Socialism'". This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (297).

18. One mimeographed copy of "MICHAEL BROOKS: Statement on Joining the Left Wing Caucus, YSL". This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (287). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati.

19. One mimeographed "Statement of the Left Wing Caucus on the Participation of WOHLFORTH and MAGE on the American Forum National Committee. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (283). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for Cincinnati and New York.

20. One mimeographed letter "To all Members of the YSL" dated May 27, 1957, from TIM WOHLFORTH. This letter indicates that it is concerning a National Communication of May 23, 1957, on the Muste Affair. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (285). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

21. A one page mimeographed statement by MARTY OPPENHEIMER and SAM TAYLOR on : "A. The Egyptian Crisis" and "B. Labor Probe". This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (289). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for New York and Philadelphia.

22. One mimeographed copy of YSL National Communication dated June 13, 1957, from MAX MARTIN. This communication discusses TIM WOHLFORTH's conduct with the American Forum for Socialist Education. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (294). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

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23. A three page mimeographed statement by TIM WOHLFORTH entitled: "For YSL Members Only Let's Be Reasonable!" -- an appeal to the Credentials Committee." Page two of this statement refers to PETER C., BILL H., CHARLEY R., CAROL R. and FAITH, all of whom are apparently members of the YSL in the New York area. On page 3, this statement discusses the matter of proxies and makes reference to PRISCILLA (LNU) and PAUL G., who are also apparently YSL members in the New York area. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (288). One photostat copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

24. A mimeographed letter to Bay Area Youth Socialist Clubs, YSL, from JIM ROBERTSON, YSC Chairman. This letter discusses the tours by TIM WOHLFORTH and BOGDAN DENITCH and the AFSE. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (286). One photostat copy each is enclosed herewith for New York and San Francisco.

25. Two mimeographed copies of the minutes of the YSL NAC meeting of June 26, 1957. These minutes contain a copy of a letter written to the Editor of the "Daily Worker" by TIM WOHLFORTH concerning the AFSE. These minutes also contain information concerning GEORGE RAWLINGS, OWEN F. (FLEISCHMAN), M. H. (MIKE HARRINGTON), and M.M. (MAX MARTIN). This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (302). One mimeographed copy is enclosed herewith for New York.

26. One mimeographed copy of YSL NAC meeting of June 12, 1957, with attached report on the West Coast Tour by BOGDAN DENITCH. This item is retained in Chicago file 100-18099-1B1 (301). A copy of this item is not being furnished to New York since relet of July 19, 1957, advises that New York is already in possession of this information.

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> [redacted] advised that he obtained all of the
above described items while at the YSL Convention.

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It is noted that the informant furnished, on
July 16, 1957, to SA RICHARD M. KIRBY in person the
original notes which he took while at the Convention and
from which he composed the above report of the proceedings
at the Convention. These notes are being maintained as an
exhibit in Chicago file 100-1840-1B6 (40).

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18099)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80693)
SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

DATE: AUG 8 1957

Source: [redacted]
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Activity: NAC meeting 6/19/57
Date Received: 7/3/57
Received by: SAS [redacted] and A. LEWIS BARNETT
Location: 100-80693-1B372

Source furnished the minutes of the YSL National Action Committee meeting of 6/19/57, which are set forth below for information of appropriate files. The original minutes were photographed in the NYO and returned to the informant.

- 3 - Chicago (100-18099) (RM)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-27272) ([redacted])
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-12285) ([redacted]) (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (100-[redacted]) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-[redacted]) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-[redacted])
- 1 - NY 100-118883 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-125826 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-98858 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-110186 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-127167 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-4013 (SWP) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-131179 (AYS) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-46729 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-98816 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-6680 (ISL) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-79760 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-96862 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-131940 (AFSE) (7-3)
- ① 1 - NY 100-49738 (SP-SDF) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-50911 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-0-114281 ([redacted]) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-80693

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8/22/57
ALB:SBF
(24)

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100-49738-159

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 12 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-80693

YSL National Action Committee
Minutes of June 19, 1957

Present: M.H., A.L., M.M., S.T., T.W. Absent: G.R.

1. Minutes

The minutes of May 14, May 22, and June 12 were unanimously adopted. The following statement by NEC member Mage on a committee decision of June 12 was submitted for insertion: "There are three points I would like to make in answer to the June 13 communication on the participation of Wholforth and myself in the American Forum: 1. the right wing is forced in order to condemn us to cite a resolution which could have bearing only if the Muste forum is considered "hostile to the politics and organization of the YSL"; 2. While the section of the constitution Wholforth quoted is indeed inaccurate, the revised version has exactly the same content. Gramatically, the parts about "action" and "statements", which are not separated in any way, constitute a single compound phrase, modified by "without making it clear", etc; 3. The right wing describes Wholforth's speaking at the AYS camp as "even more scandalous" etc. This clearly demolishes the unnatural and artificial distinction between statements and actions."

2. Convention Agenda

Motion (M.H.): The following be the NAC proposed agenda:

Session A-Monday, July 1, 9 a.m.; Organization of Convention: Seating of Delegates; Adoption of Rules; Adoption of Agenda; Election of Presiding Committee; 10 a.m. - Socialist Regroupment, Presentations: Harrington and Mage, 1 hr. each;

Session B - Monday Afternoon: Discussion on unity motions, presentation of amendments; summaries (H & M, 15 min each);

Session C Monday Evening: Voting on Unity motions and amendments; Discussion and presentation of motions on implementation;

Session D - Tuesday, July 2, 9 a.m.: Campus perspective presentations, ½ hr. each; Campus perspective discussion and amendments; summaries, voting on campus perspective;

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Session E - Tuesday, mid-morning and early afternoon:
Unit reports, national report, discussion;

Session F - Tues., mid-afternoon: Crisis of World Stalinism,
presentation of NAC draft (Martin 1 hr., presentation of
Wholforth amendments (Wholforth) 45 min, discussion and
amendments, summaries, voting;

Session G- Wed., July 3, morning; Other resolutions

Session H - Wed. afternoon: NEC, NAC, NO report, election
of NEC.

All sessions except E & H to be open to general radical public. The incoming NEC is to meet Wednesday night; it's agenda to consist of: election of NAC, election of officers, other business.

Carried

Unanimous

3. Convention Rules

Motion (M.H.) The following to be proposed convention rules and organization:

I. A Credentials Committee to be set up by NEC composed of Mage, MAL delegate, and Martin. Committee to certify all uncontested delegates to Chairman at opening session. All uncontested delegates to be seated at that time. On any contest: one speaker for each position for five minutes; then a vote.

II. The NEC to recommend to the convention the following Presiding Committee: Tussing; Meier, Harrington; Robertson; Martin; Thomas. Once elected, this committee will, by majority vote, determine who will chair for each session.

III. Time limits on presentations to be proposed in Agenda.

IV. After presentation, the chair will take a speakers list. The chair will then propose a time limit for the total discussion. 2/3 of the time will be allotted to speakers on the list. After the first round, the chair will take a speakers list of those who have not spoken. If giving them the approximate amount of time enjoyed by first round speakers will exhaust the time, this shall be done. If time remains, it shall be divided equally among second speakers.

V. Seated Delegates, Fraternal Delegates, and members of the outgoing committee shall have the right to voice.

VI. The chair shall stringently enforce the rule that

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interruptions of a speaker are only justified for privileged motions which cannot wait. Any member of the Convention who indulges in frivolous interruptions shall be declared out of order and be refused recognition while another is speaking.

VII. All political sessions shall be open to the general radical public. Sessions E & H to be in executive session open only to YSL members and fraternal delegates.

Carried

Unanimous

4. Convention Invitations;

Motion (M.M) While the Convention is open to the radical public generally, there are certain specific individuals who we should wish to especially invite because of our relations with them. We therefore send specific invitations to: McReynolds, Suall (SP), Lusk, and Thygeson (YPSL), Gyarmatti and Munot (SLID), Geltman (Dissent), Ristin (Liberation). These invitations to go to them as individuals, not as representatives of groups, and are for observer status at the Convention.

Amendment: (TW) Add Bert Deck (AYS) to the list.

Amendment defeated.

For: TW, Opposed: All Else

Motion (MM) carried.

For: All, except TW:
abstained

Motion: (MM) The YSL send three fraternal delegates to the ISL Convention; to be chosen by the incoming NEC.

Amendment: (TW) Add "and that they should include at least one 'minority'

Amendment defeated

For: TW, Opposed: All Else

Counter motion: (TW) We send only one fraternal delegate to the ISL Convention.

Counter motion defeated

For: TW, Opposed: All Else

Motion (MM) Carried

For: All, except TW:
Opposed

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Motion: (MH) Invite the ISL and three fraternal delegates to our convention.

Amendment: (TW) Substitute "one" for "three".

Amendment (TW) defeated For: TW, Opposed: All Else

Motion (MH) Carried For: All except TW:
Abstained

Motion: (TW) The NAC send an invitation to Draper and Haskell for one of them to speak at the YSL Convention for twenty minutes.

Motion defeated For TW, Opposed: All
Else Consultative vote:
For: OF, Opposed: JM

The following statement by OF was inserted into the minutes: "The NAC was informed that the ISL had requested 3 fraternal delegates, and that they had twice nominated Haskell who had twice declined, due to press of time. (Draper will be editing LA the 3 days of the Convention.) While nobody in the YSL has put forward the position of Draper or Haskell, and those who have heard their position on unity in NY have rejected it, it is still true that no delegates from outside NY have heard them, or had a chance to question them in person, on unity or any other disputed question. I believe that most of the non-NY delegates will want to have a chance to do so in a session on our convention floor, and that we should therefore make a special request to Draper and Haskell to make one session of the convention even if they don't have time to attend all sessions as fraternal delegates."

5. Constitution

The NAC began its discussion of proposed changes in the Constitution, with Martin proposing amendments to the committee.

1) To change the name of Article 2 from "Purpose" to "Aims and Principles."

Carried Unanimous

2) To add a new article (to be article 3) entitled "Purpose", as follows: The purpose of the YSL shall be to carry out its aims and principles and such policies as its

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authorized bodies may adopt in pursuit of these aims and principles.

Carried Unanimous

3) In article 3, section 1 (the numbering here refers to the numbering in the Constitution as it currently exists, even though the adoption of the previous amendments would, of course, involve renumbering the entire Constitution) add: "and participate in the work of the organization under its direction" at the end of the section.

Carried For: All, except TWO: opposed
Consultative vote: For: JM

TW inserted the following statement to explain his vote on this amendment: "I object to the inclusion of this statement as in reality 'responsibilities' of membership are spelled out throughout the Constitution and especially under 'Democracy and Discipline.'"

4) Article 3, section 2: Transfer last sentence of section, "exception to this policy may be made by the NAC" to after first sentence, In what is now the second sentence, add "a member-at-large," after "he shall be."

Carried Unanimous

5) Article 3, Section 3: Add "subject to review by higher bodies of the YSL" to end of first sentence.

Carried Unanimous

6) Article 4, Section 1: Add "Units have the right and duty to perform all YSL activities in that locality." To end of section

Carried Unanimous

7) Add a third section to article 4 to read as follows: "In localities where more than one, but fewer than five members reside, the NAC may charter an Organizing Committee, which shall have the same rights and duties as a unit, except for the right to pass on membership applications in its area and the right to elect delegates to conventions. In regard to such matters, members of an organizing committee shall be regarded as members-at-large."

Carried Unanimous

8) Add a fourth section to article 4 as follows: "Units and Organizing Committees shall be responsible to the NAC for the conduct of their work."

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Carried

For: All, but TW: not voting

The NAC agreed to continue its consideration of amendments to the Constitution at its next meeting.

6. Wohlforth

Motion (MH):

- a) At its last meeting, the NAC discussed with comrade Wohlforth the question of discipline. We stated the position of the YSL on this question.
- b) At the time of that meeting, comrade Wohlforth was aware that he was going to appear on the platform at a large public meeting in direct contradiction to the policy of the NAC. He did not inform the committee of this fact.
- c) At the meeting of the AFSE that night, comrade Wohlforth was introduced as a member of the YSL. He answered a question from the audience, and thus had the floor. At no time did he or anyone else dissociate himself from the YSL, or make it clear he was speaking as an individual. Assuming that Wohlforth had no control over the introduction, he had the duty and opportunity from his own point of view to state that he was speaking as an individual. As a result of this action, a story appeared in the Daily Worker, identifying Tim Wohlforth "of the YSL" and giving the impression that the YSL supported the AFSE. An article in the Militant could well have had the same effect.
- 3) This action of Wohlforth is a gross violation of the discipline of the YSL. Even within the terms of the false position on YSL discipline put forth by comrade Wohlforth - i.e. that a member or subdivision of the League may act in public against YSL policy, so long as they differentiate themselves from the organization - this is a severe, premediated and undemocratic act.
- f) The NAC instructs the National Secretary to send copies of this motion to all units.
- g) The NAC instructs the National Secretary to send a copy of this motion to the Secretary of the Left Wing Caucus, requesting the Steering Committee of the LWC to state a position on it.
- h) The NAC notes that comrade Wohlforth admits the fact that he spoke without differentiating his position from that of the YSL.

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Carried

All For, except TW; Abstain.
Consultative Vote: JM For

Wohlforth inserted the following statement in the minutes: "It was not my intention last Wednesday night to give the impression that I represented the YSL as I have made clear on numerous occasions both publicly and privately many fundamental differences with the YSL's 'official' position. I hold no responsibility for Muste's introduction (who was informed in writing of my differences with the YSL majority.

If a false impression was given that I represented the YSL and in that way the YSL received better publicity than it deserved before an audience of 600 then I will be glad to correct the impression by writing both the Militant and the DW if requested. I only spoke briefly in answer to a question on a general topic and tried to steer clear of any factionalism.

Taylor introduced the following statement into the minutes on Wohlforth's participation in the American Forum meeting: "At the meeting of the AFSE-which I attended-Comrade Wohlforth in no way attempted to differentiate himself from appearing to be a spokesman for the YSL. This differentiation should have been made because of what happened at the meeting: 1. A.J. Muste stated that one category of membership on the National Committee of the AFSE was that of 'non-delegated spokesmen of various radical tendencies' 2. Tim Wohlforth was introduced by Muste as 'Tim Wohlforth of the YSL' 3. He was asked a question about his recently concluded 'national tour'. The impression therefore, left with the audience, was that Wohlforth, a spokesman of the YSL, had recently concluded a national tour for the YSL and that he was commenting on his tour. In no way did he attempt to give the contrary impression to that of being a YSL spokesman although he could have done so both when introduced and when he answered the question."

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Motion: (Martin): At an AYS camp on June 16 during the course of a talk given there, Wohlforth read from the letter of an SP-SDF member referred to in the NAC motion of June 12, despite the position adopted by the NAC in that motion. Moreover, during the discussion preceding the introduction of this motion, today, Wohlforth indicated that he will continue to act as he pleases on this matter. This now creates a possible situation of public embarrassment for the YSL in that Wohlforth's reprehensible action may be associated with the YSL. The YSL therefore, must publicly dissociate itself from his action. The NAC instructs the editors of CHALLENGE to publish the following statement in an early issue of CHALLENGE:

'NAC STATEMENT

The YSL National Action Committee has had its attention called to the fact that at several recent public meetings Comrade Wohlforth read from a private political letter, illicitly obtained, written by a member of the SP-SDF and that he did so without the permission or authorization of its author. The NAC regards this action as reprehensible, and in contradiction to socialist morality, and wishes it noted that Wohlforth's action is without the authorization of the NAC and in contradiction to the position of the YSL on such actions. The NAC therefore repudiates this action."

Motion carried All for, except Wohlforth opposed.

Wohlforth introduced the following statement: 'The Martin motion gives the impression that my action which I defend, was in some way connected with the 'official' position of the YSL. On all occasions I have differentiated myself from the YSL "officially". However, the important question is not my quoting from McReynolds but what McReynolds said. On this the Right Wing is silent.'

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Motion (Martin): "It had been reported to several members of the NAC that Wohlforth attended the recently held convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Further, that he attended the Youth session of that convention at which there took place in his presence a discussion of SWP-AYS work in the YSL. Wohlforth had not reported to the committee that he had intended to attend the SWP convention, nor had he subsequently reported his attendance at it. It was obvious to the NAC that he had no intention of so reporting. At today's meeting therefore, various NAC members questioned him about the facts reported to them. He was asked if it was true that he had attended the SWP convention. Taken aback by the question which he did not expect, he replied affirmatively. He was asked if he was a member of the SWP. He said, "No". Asked in what capacity he attended the convention he replied, "As an invited visitor." He was then asked what sessions of the convention he had attended. Answer: The youth panel, the election of the national committee, and parts of other sessions. It was requested that he give a detailed report of the discussions at the Youth Panel, and replied that he declined to do so. Further that he refused to answer any further questions on the SWP convention. Still further, that he regretted having truthfully replied to the question about his attendance at the convention in the first place. In this connection he also stated that he felt that our questions were like those of the inquisitions of Congressional Investigating Committees.

'Subsequently, he stated that he had reconsidered and would answer all questions put to him. However, he proceeded to reply to all questions about the Youth Panel of the convention in such a fashion as to provide the committee with no more information than can be learned from the Militant and from Berk Deck's letter to the YSL. He specifically during this period declined to answer

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two concrete questions put to him. 1. on the identity of other visitors to the convention and 2. on the identity of other YSLers who were visitors to the convention.

It is clear from this incident that Comrade Wohlforth feels that other obligation he may have supercede his obligation to supply the NAC with information essential to it for its pursuit of its proper activities. There can be no doubt that the information requested on the SWP Youth Perspectives and activities, was of legitimate and necessary concern to the NAC and that NAC members are obligated to provide such information to the committee. The NAC notes its view that Wohlforth's behavior is incompatible with membership on the YSL NAC but that in line with its general attitude, on similar indiscipline by Wohlforth it takes no action on the matter at this time.

The NAC calls the foregoing facts and views of the committee to the attention of the entire membership of the YSL.

Motion carried All for, except TW opposed.

Wohlforth inserted the following statement into the minutes: "I attended the SWP convention because of my conviction of the vital role of SWP youth in a regrouped youth movement in this country. I was pleased to be able to do so and consider the SWP's invitation to me as a symbol of the open and above-board approach of the SWP to youth regroupment. The Right Wing by its inquisitorial methods is attempting to sidetrack the real discussion. This discussion involves the failure of the right wing to open up the YSL to other youth such as the SWP and to participate fully in the regroupment discussion by joining the AFSE. It is this attitude which is destroying the reputation of the YSL in the radical public."

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7 MAL Application Wohlforth supplied the NAC with an application for membership from an individual in the Phila, area.

Motion (M. H.): Table application until we have talked with Phila. comrades.

Motion carried All for except Wohlforth opposed.

8. Electoral Action. Wohlforth informed the committee that he wished to propose for consideration by the NAC an ammendment on electoral action to be considered at the convention. The NAC agreed to table. Wohlforth then inserted the following statement into the minutes:

"It has just come to my attention that the draft resolution of "Perspectives for American Socialism" of the ISL-PC as published in the June 1 Forum contains within it a basic revision of the socialist approach to the electoral question. Its position which is fundamentally that of the former SDF and of the CP amounts to little more than a slightly guised support of the Democratic party and is therefore a program of crossing class lines at election time.

"Due to the close relations existing between the ISL and YSL it is incumbent upon the coming convention of the YSL to state clearly the YSL's reputication of such a class collaborationist position as formulated by the ISL PC. I am therefore offering to the NAC now the substitute motion of Comrade Draper (with slight changes to make it fit the needs of the youth organization) as an ammendment to whichever resolution on American Perspectives and Unity passes. The motion follows:

"The YSL as an educational youth organization does not of course run candidates in its own name during elections.

"We reject, however, the conception that a Socialist Party should refrain from opposing capitalist candidates because the latter are supported by a majority of the organized working class. The duty of a socialist party is to be a vanguard of the class, not its tail. By running its own candidates if and where such campaigns are organizationally practicable and bid fair to be politically

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fruitful, a socialist party can bring its message to the workers, including the message of independent political action, and offer a progressive alternative to those more conscious workers who already understand the anti-labor nature of the old parties. This is not to be derogated as "propaganda" versus "real participation in politics," but is itself one basic mode, among others of socialist participation in politics."

9. Financial Aid to Delegates Tabled.

10. Anti-H-bombtesting campaign Tabled.

Meeting adjourned.

Martin, Recording and Transcribing
Secretary

It is noted that names mentioned in the above for which a copy of this memorandum was not designated are being indexed.

C/S

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, BOSTON (100-442) Date: 8/15/57

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP-3 11/15/80
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FOIA b 7C 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 11/15/90~~

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

Source NY 2039-S*
Reliability Who was in a position to furnish this information.
Date of Activity 6/2/57, SWP National Convention

The source furnished information concerning the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held 5/31-6/2/57, at Werdermann's Hall, 160 3rd Avenue, NYC. This memorandum contains information furnished by the informant on 6/2/57.

It is noted that in many cases the informant could not furnish the identity of the speaker nor the complete text of each speech. In the latter case 3 dots were used to show omission of a word or groups of words. Where the names of individuals are followed by a question mark, these names were added to identify unknown individuals through information furnished by other informants (S)

A copy of this memorandum is being designated for each office having an active SWP branch for the purpose of information.

A copy is also being designated for files containing individuals mentioned; however, it should be noted that these names were furnished phonetically by the informants (S)

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MORRIS STEIN (?) : "Some of the delegates have presented us with the fact that they must leave this afternoon and desire to advance the election of the National Committee..... therefore,.....first, report of the Credentials Committee, second, the organization report, then the Nominating Committee report and the election of the National Committee. The discussion on the Political Committee report will take place after the election of the National Committee, that is, sometime this afternoon, and then we will have, of course, an international report."

A motion was made to accept the above proposal. It was seconded and passed.

OSCAR GLENIN (?) : "I am very pleased to present the Credentials Committee report. We have of fraternal delegates, 37. The average age is 45 and the average years in the movement is 23. Of delegates, we have 62. Average is 37 and the years in the movement 13. The alternates, we have 30. 31 is the average age, and they have 11 years in the movement. The average age of all fraternal, delegates, and alternates is 39. Thank you."

MORRIS STEIN (?) : "You have heard the comrades.....do I hear a move to accept it?"

A motion was made to accept the report and in a voice vote, the motion on the report was carried.

MORRIS STEIN (?: "Now Mr. Kerry the organization report."

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THOMAS KERRY: "The organization report. The resultant confusion from the.....
.....in the CPSU.....this year....."

"The eruption of the Stalin crisis signaled by the Khrushchev revelations and the revolutionnary upheaval in Eastern Europe precipitated a Communist debacle....."

KERRY went on to say that the result of the above described crisis led to the following:

1. An increase of waste in the Soviet economy.
2. The advance of the colonial revolution.
3. The eruption of a mass movement in this country against JIM CROW.
4. The unification of American trade unions with union movements throughout the world.

KERRY continued, "The events of the past few years attest to the fact that we are today living in one of the greatest transition periods in world history." He said that all political movements were being tested in this crucial period and went on as follows:

"How has the Party met this test? To begin with, it should be noted that the primary impulse of the regroupment discussions during the crisis derived from the accelerated crisis of world Stalinism. The further.....is largely concerned with the ideological decisions that brings us the test of mass working class action..... Lacking.....essential and effective.....the radicalization of the American

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"working class. Within this framework that the....
achievements of the past year. The most
 significant and immediate.....of the Khrushchev
 revelations, was to destroy almost at; one blow,
 that whole body of Stalinist historiography and theory,
 and accumulation of over 30 years rendered it null
 and void, rejected by Stalinist quote.....
 The floundering of the Stalinist movement in this
 country and throughout the world today are the most
 important questions confronting the radical movement.
 The two.....lacking any consistent adequate, and
 now of the....., and their explanations have by and
 largely been rejected not only by the radical movement,
 but by a very large section of the CP membership
 itself.

"The Trotskyist tendency is the only tendency
 in the world today with a body of literature that has
 met the test of historical experience and has analyzed
 this generation from.....

"Unfortunately, most of the old man's basic
 writings are out of print. And so we set ourselves,
 that is,.....of supplying the demand for the
 works of Leon Trotsky and making available this great
 material that constitutes a veritable arsenal of Marxist
 thought. We consider that one of the most primary
 obligations in the entire discussion that is taking
 place.....

".....are some of the things we
 have already done, and some that we propose to do
 and some that we hope to do. In preparation now,
 we have the following items: 'The Revolution Betrayed'
 by New Park Publications in England will be available
 sometime next month. In this country, we.....
 all the time and have already completed.....to begin
 the republication and should be available within the
 next immediate period. You are all aware that the

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"University of Michigan has announced that it is re-publishing 'The History of the Russian Revolution.' We have tried to acquire the rights of this publication. The university seemed to have an inside track, but I think in.....Pioneer will have the privilege of publishing.....but we must realize... the University of Michigan."

(Inaudible statement).

"There is in preparation in addition, 'Trotsky's Diary.' In this connection, we understand that S hachtman has received permission from Natalia to edit the diary. Now, projected for the next period, 1. The Stalinist.....all these publications are very important to us. 'In Defonso of Marxism' is almost out of print. I think we have some 40 cr 50 copies left and we are already beginning to make the necessary arrangements to see that this book is available. 3. 'Trotsky's Work on Germany,' a very important body of writing, a theoretical analysis of the.....of the role of Stalin and the great betrayal which brought about.....for the same period. And we are considering trying to get the rights here on Trotsky's biography, 'My Life' and hence be able to bring that book out. In addition, already in the process of being printed is the book by Comrade Cannon, his compilation of articles, 'Notebook of an Agitator' which we have promised will be delivered in July. And we can be sure we will get some work in that period, July or August.

"Now, published since the last plenum, in December, are the following pamphlets: 'Khrushchev Revelations' (arranged by our comrades in Great Britain and brought out by Now Park Publications),

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"the pamphlet on regroupment, on revolution in Hungary, on the Santana Case and on the Chinese CP and the developing revolution.

"Projected is a revised edition of the very important pamphlet 'Socialist Workers Party -- What It Is and What It Stands For.' This was one of our main pieces of literature during the entire election campaign.

"Inquiries coming into the office..... and from our mailing and television broadcasts asked what the Party is and what it stands for. Unfortunately,had been written during the long period... ..At the beginning of electoral activities, the Party generally began getting more inquiries about what the Party stands for so that Comrade Hansen has undertaken the chore of revising the edition which we hope to get out as soon as possible.

"Now the.....of demand for Trotsky's literature is a part of the.....financial condition of the.....Party. For the first four months of 1957, Pioneer Publishers sold approximately twice as much literature as in the first quarter of 1956 or first quarter of 1955, which shows there is an increasing demand..... not available.....cannot be supplied. The inventory on hand amounts to some 6,000 worth of books and pamphlets. Now one thing we can do, if the entire publication effort is to advance, has been a promotion a comrade makes.....a little surprised to learn what our total effort.....has been in Pioneer. In 1956, Pioneer spent \$98,000.00. In 1957, it went down \$27,000.00. We feel that if you.....recognize its aim that promotion will become an integral part of our publications and planning program and that a budget for advertising is doubtlessly too big.....for distribution of our literature. And a consistent advertising campaign in the important.....should be.....carried out.

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"Now the outstanding debt from the branches to Pioneer amounts to some \$1,345.48, enough to pay for the publication of another book if the comrades would remit promptly their....."

KERRY went on to say that the comrades had in their convention folders, a report on the SWP print shop. This included its minimum cost, the fact that it is now just sustaining, its limitations, its problems in regard to personnel, training program, etc. KERRY praised the two comrades who had taken the obligation of running the print shop, Comrade CHESTER and Comrade HAYDEN. KERRY said, "both of them, along with those who have actively helped these comrades in their spare time, or taken off whatever time they could afford from work, were able to turn out a substantial mass of Party propaganda at a very limited cost."

KERRY went on to say that the great advantage of the print shop was that it was able to print in limited quantities at a lower unit cost than obtained from commercial printers. He said that formerly many thousands of pamphlets had to be thrown away because large amounts had been printed to reduce the unit cost. Now, according to KERRY, the print shop could print 500 or 1,000 pamphlets, keep the plates, and if needed, run off another 500 or 1,000 without any difficulty.

In discussing the importance of the distribution of SWP propaganda, KERRY said, "Let us point out some statistics in connection with the regroupment campaign that we have been carrying on since.....In 1956, there were free distributions to Stalinist meetings and gatherings amounting to 40,000 copies of 'The Militant.' We tried to cover as many meetings of the CP members with the paper in the early period.

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"And it undoubtedly led, we are convinced, to helping to break down the barriers.....groping for a solution and answer to their problems in the SWP. In the great mass demonstrations around the TILL case, the Montgomery Case and the.....'The Militant' played an outstanding role."

KERRY went on to say that "The Militant" was a spearhead in getting the Party's message across to the labor movement in support of the Negro protest demonstration against JIM CROW. As an example, he said that at Washington, there were 1,500 copies of "The Militant" sold and it was the only paper being distributed. KERRY asked, "I don't know whether you appreciate what effect that has upon members of the CP and other radical tendencies who were present there."

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KERRY continuing. The speaker discussed the Schachtmanites and of the approach to them.They approached the committee and asked for permission to distribute "labor action" and the answer was.....(no?). We support a movement defending our right to distribute literature.....hotel.....member of the committee.....approach one of our distributors and.....

Now, in addition, the "Militant" sends out every week over 1,000 copies of the paper to our free.....list ex-members, supporters of the CP..... and I want to urge all the comrades very important that what everything we did from that to.....at what stage thewill occur. First quarter of 1957..... Same period, 1956, I didn't.....very reliable comparison. We got 290 subscriptions..... 1952 so you can say that our entire activity in the distribution and sale of the paper is engendering.....or the period when many..... changed attitude in New York.

.....pick the paper up on the newsstand in this connection. We want to give again the practice of lifting the branch into favor. Both branches want to be lifted..... a very good one.....we did not have.....

We felt this material is very important. Both from the fact it supplies information to those who want to reach the Party in that particular area and.....unnecessary..... We think we can get.....in addition to its role hereThe "Militant" plays a very significant

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(2)

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.....political blow throughout the entire world. The "Militant" goes to 36 countries in the world and.....including one subscriber; the Kremlin in Moscow.

(Laughter followed by the applause of many people).

Now we would like to see more, much more in the paper than we did, but we are confronted.....in increased cost. cost of certain distribution.....an indication of what.....and in the past year the issue of the paper increased from 196 published per month to \$1,043.00 per month, equal to a \$3,000.00 per year increase in and the other costs of putting the paper out. Now theof the "Militant" denotes \$1,106.00and liquidate. Now on the "International Socialist Review," the magazinestepchild of the party for sometime does not publish.....and it is a in that respect in view of the increased..... We propose that the magazine be shifted to Los Angeles because of the over burden of staff.....number of qualified literary.....

We feel we can put out a better magazine.....and to aid.....establishments of a monthly magazine and which we enter into

TIB:vc

(3)

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direct competition with all of the national magazines now available and to establish a trend (?) of the "International Socialist Review" as theoutstanding theoretical magazine of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country. Now, in addition, to "ISR"..... we have in recent.....labor youth..... magazine. Very good voluntary.....both in content and material. the comrades (?) in England have won over a record of very outstanding intellectuals who.....knew order.....self development.....magazine as the outstanding Russian expert for the British.club translator..... Russian worker which appeared in England.....

I insist we'll make that magazine one of the outstanding productions in the field in the entire world and will.....criteria and standard for competition which I am surecampaign and increase tempo of party activity in all fields for discussionand in both formal and informaljoint activity in penetrationsuch areas as the civil liberties struggle around.....the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.....comrades are becoming more alert.....possibility of penetrating all.....of organizations which afford for us an opportunity of further breaking downthe barrier that exists between the SWP and the members (of the CP?).....and

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is
this/one of the most effective ways of doing it
not only by condemnation (?) of our point of
view and argument, but by actual participation
of our comrades in this activity.....
creates a great impression upon the members
.....and possibly.....tend to
re-establish the character of the CP and the
.....barriers that we attribute to the
.....there is one development.....

.....have occupied a large part
of the franchise system and that this very close
up other parts of the country although we
have tried because of local circumstances have
been very.....one thing that.....
of the MUSTE form his.....functions
.....construction on a national scale
I remember A. J. MUSTE in one of his presentations
stated that the object of.....is to
consider first the exemption of the.....
discussion that had been in any area of the
country known as.....which I am sure that
as a necessary function of the American form
for socialism education would be to intervene
in those places where obstacles and difficulties
have been presented up to now.....influence
on labor.....given this very important
part and at the last permanent part we took
measures to strengthen.....we have our set

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.....where we felt the burden of work on the member with our limited forces.....very important.....in some measure.

.....We were able to establish and maintain a.....out of our re-enforcements we were able to organize.....the American Youth for Socialism which has become one of the outstanding youth organizations whichactions enterprise energetic..... of the comrades who.....San Francisco, Los Angeles, from other parts of the country.....

Now we have.....breaking point and always seen new opportunities which arise out of this fact and that.....possibilities of.....and where we stand we see no possibility of.....substantial aid..... solve these problems growing.....best we might, under good circumstances, I would like to have you an answer that would be more activealso call on those.....to participate in.....a little more active in Party work.....such re-enforcements become available I am sure that they will take into consideration.....of those comradesreiterate again our 1956 campaign

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in.....all due respects. Revolutionary
propaganda gives a very potentweapon
in the entire regroupment structure.....
local election campaign.....Detroit,
San Francisco and New York, and where.....
unable to accurately concentrate.....
and they are very successful. Comrade.....
(Here the names of several comrades were
enumerated all of which were unintelligible).

.....discussion yesterday.
I am happy to report that within the last
year the Party has grown (applause) and
it is weak in this respect I can say.....
of all the items membership (?). Now we
still have..... in previous years,
the budget maintained.....more strength
.....recruiting and.....balance
each other. In the past year we have gained
two recruits.....and I want to say that at
this convention we accepted another application
for membership in the Party from a very fine
active woman who has been working for the Party
.....contributing to the Party, and
finally decided to (laughter and
applause).

Even more important in my opinion
.....number of friends, sympathizers,

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supporters around the Party developing a new
.....from which we can expect a constant
spark on new recruits to the Party. We have
broken out of our.....and by evidence
that the evidence of the Party has on
external.....extend our influence
to new supporters and members to the Party.....
.....isolationism in a period of prosperity
action.....where we have not yet.....
.....

The most.....of this convention
.....positive translation not of the Party
work.....for the future.....youth
of being attracted to the most revolutionary
Party.....American.....
unfortunately.....foregoing this
session.....lack of finance and personal
.....intensified activities of the
Party generally.....in which it
would be a hardship on the.....

.....memoranda of comrade
HANSON.....discussion next year.....
increased financial demand put on the Party but
we have got to be absolutely truthful about it
.....problems.....outstanding
.....of financial.....outstanding

TIB:vc
(C)

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pledge (?) is \$1,007.00, but the pledge sustaining is at \$800.00, \$200.00 under what is pledged and.....as it is now \$2,200.00and then again.....we know increased.....(laughter) cannot extend, cannot increase on the number.....expense of the national office or organization.

.....we will make adjustments and we haveelectorally have made the decision to refuse them.....may be necessary but don't do it electorally.....the national office.....(laughter).....deficit and I want to say this, I am convinced a member of.....appreciable and substantial increase their sustaining fundthis will help.....New York.....they cannot.....discrimination.....

Increase as much as you can your regular sustaining fund to the national office.....part of financial structureour regular monthly deficit is \$2,913.00 almost.....it seems we are running a deficit of almost \$3,600.00 per year. Now what is all.....

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Unintelligible ... THOMAS KERRY (?) One alternative is drastic, cuts all around ... but as of now we don't know how we are going to be able to avoid another fund drive in the fall. That's about the temper of ... just about broke and there will be no way that we know of other than another fund drive in ..." unintelligible "the record of our ... achievement in the past year is but the forerunner of things to come. In the (ideological) sphere the events of the past period provide brilliant confirmation of the line of development ... and continuing of a permanent revolution ... revolutionary Marxism ... great optimism for peace and an optimism firmly founded on political conviction, historical events, test of theory ... There is probably nothing more ... than some of our worthy protagonists in the current regroupment discussion then our attitude of tremendous conviction in the presentation of our views and it characterizes ... to treat political ideas seriously to clarify these ideas in the form of a revolutionary program and ... to advocate the building of a combat party, to carry that program into action, and is viewed in some quarters as the quintessence of ... in a ... form against those who took a (like minded) attitude toward building a revolutionary Socialist Party. The great arch-revolutionist JIM COWLEY wrote in the "Glasgow Socialist" July, 1949, - he said quote the Socialist Party that does not believe in themselves, which does not cherish as its dearest belief the doctrine that it and it alone is destined to carry the banner of Socialism to a triumphant issue is bound sooner or later to die of dry rot of become prey to the machinations of intrigues or the doubts of weakness. What holds true of the individual holds true of the Party. The individual only succeeds to the degree in which he believes in himself and similarly the Party whose members have the moral fibre to act up to that belief will win in adverse storms that threaten that determination and stiffen its resolve ... unquote."

"At the ... those pretentious pundits who never tire of regaling ... whose ... and lugubrious lamentations ... state of the American Socialist Movement and the futility of doing anything about it. We hold with JIM COWLEY. Now let's understand we're not just that kind of party - we are not a Liberal Party in the sense

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of being intimately linked with and leading the vanguard of the class but we just aspire to be that kind of a party. We aspire to build that kind of a party and we act in the knowledge that only that kind of a party can lift the revolution in this against the American Capitalist class.

"Our aim ... is to join those individuals and groups who are groping their way toward a revolutionary program to aid them in creating that kind of a Socialist Party that will cherish and dearly believe the doctrine that it and it alone is destined to carry the banner of Socialism to a triumphant issue and when the American workers begin to move, and move they must, I don't think they'll settle for less" applause, crowd noise, crowd noise, crowd noise, unknown male: "Take your seats please, take your seats please ... comrades we are now ready to proceed to the next point on the agenda... the report of the nominations committee will be given by comrade (HANS SLAUGHTER (PH) it is noted that this man has an accent). Comrades, if you will all be seated ... the Nominating Commission wants first to present a definite program for your consideration. Our constitution now provides you 27 regular members of the National Committee and 15 alternates. The Nominating Commission proposed that the number of alternates be increased from 15 to 20, so the constitution as amended will read "The National Committee shall be composed of 27 regular members and 20 alternates." We submit this for your consideration. We will now proceed with the report." Unknown male: "Alright comrades you have heard the proposal of the Nominating Committee. Is there any discussion? Yes, chairman, I will urge the comrades to limit themselves in their discussion ..." unknown male: "I am speaking against the motion as I understand 27 and 20 ... Alright I'll try to be brief but I would like to raise the theory to support the political question to the discussion ... Now I have noticed that we have in the party over the last few years, the last few conventions particularly this problem of sort of ... between the number of comrades in the party and the number of comrades on the National Committee. Now I am ... primarily

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concerned with no specific" - an unintelligible interruption and a voice from the crowd shouting Okay Al. ALVIN BERMAN (-?) continues: "I am not primarily concerned with how many should be dropped or raised although I am speaking against this right now, this specific motion. But I am concerned about what the concept of leadership is in the party and my prime target is here. It is my hope and my desire that the party think about this specific problem. Now we come to the point of our ... we at the last convention, for instance, we were faced with a great problem of replacing alternates and delegates, making additions of 20 or so people. Now we have the problem again and we come to the same solution of not only making replacement but expanding the committee. Now I feel that this poses two specific problems in our immediate past and that is why I rise at this convention. I know that people have to make claims and so forth but I rise at this convention to point out that the period ahead of us calls for and needs the highest degree of confidence in the leadership and the highest degree of inspiration from the leadership and I say that we have a tendency here due to the whole number of objective conditions and the form that they take here organizationally. We have the tendency here, and it has been my experience to dissolve the leadership in the sense - in the sense that I remember I came into the Party when I saw a National Committee member I knew, not because he was elected ... but because of the nature of the Party and our attitude toward leadership we thought of members of the National Committee as leaders of our Party. Now I speak from experience insofar as I discussed with the comrades and being the organizer of a branch and seeing the attitude of comrades and I say we have had this problem in the Party particularly in the last few years with the comrades not looking to the National Committee members any more as their leaders. And I say this is a very important problem for the party and specifically, as I said before because of the tasks we have been turning outward ... so I am sorry why I possibly may be even ... by feeling that

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this is out of order but I feel strongly on it and as I say it is not so much a question of whether we have one out of four on the National Committee of one out of five we can't ...

"The basic thing I want to see get attention from the party is, is our National leadership a training ground or is it a leadership to inspire and to lead and gain the confidence of the ranks. I'd like the party to consider that and for that reason I am opposed to the motion." JAMES CANNON(?) "When I came to New York I did not come to ... I am not going to make any speech at this time that's what I promised. Like many other promises I can't keep it in a vacuum now is ... said it is a problem of leadership. The way he put it in my opinion is false. The leadership of the party as we see is not any sole individual which we see here and there but the institution the committee itself. Our conception of the committee as we have evolved through the years by trial and error is of the leadership that actually represents the Party. It's not one individual here and there. It's not the national secretary, or chairman, it's not the plenum and the plenum is such a broad representative body that when it gathers to meet to discuss the question to make the decision it is really a small convention. Now the test of the institution is this: Has there ever been a time in recent years when the Plenum assembled a full plenum and discussed questions and made the decisions that anybody in the Party ever challenged the authority of that decision. I say there has never been a party anywhere I believe even LENIN's party where the decision of the leadership has been more effective and universal in its influence on the ranks than it is in our party. And one of the basic meanings of that is it's broadly representative character. Now if it is working out alright what do you want to change it for? Just because you see someone here and there whom you do not think is of absolutely leadership character then the committee itself is deemed... you mustn't look at the individual you must look at the institution.

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That's one point. Now the second point is that we are recognizing that in the development of our party we have certain cadre of experienced people who have been a long time in the movement and who have great prestige and authority and they alone have to be renewed and we have looked around and seen developing in the party a number of young activists who have in our opinion not today the mature leadership qualities but the potentialities of it. How are we going to develop that best?"

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JAMES CANNON (2): - - - And we've looked around and seen developing in the Party, those who don't have the capability to be leaders but have the potentiality. How are we best going to develop it? The best way is to heed the advice the "old man" once gave; bring the younger people in as alternates to participate in the discussions and listen and learn from older members. It is a part of Party training that we are always trying to bring new people into the Party . . . The committee broadens out. Maybe later we'll treat it downward.

For the present we are drawing in new people who have shown the capacity for learning . . . bring them into this high school of Party training known as the National Committee. The Committee is very strongly in favor of Comrade SWABECK'S idea . . . of the Nominating Commission's idea of broadening the alternate list in the hope that these new members will ultimately replace those of us who have been around a long time and we will have less responsibility. To give them that opportunity, we would like you to accept the proposals of the Nominating Committee.

MORRIS STEIN (2): - - - We are ready for a vote . . . all those in favor of the recommendations of the Nominating Committee please raise your cards. All those in favor . . . 18, 25 . . . all those against, one against. Voting will take place by roll call. We will take the regular members first then the alternates. I will read the nominees . . . You are asked to write out the names, but only the voted delegates should write the name as Comrade SWABECK reads them . . . only voted delegates write down the names . . . nobody else write down the names. You can understand it is for obvious security reasons we don't want any widespread publication of ballots of the composition of the National Executive Committee. I will read the names of the nominees in alphabetical order.

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MILT ALVIN
JEAN SIMON
GEORGE BREITMAN
ARTHUR BURCH
JAMES P. CANON
BOB CHESTER
FARRELL DOBBS
V. R. DUNN
FRANK GRAHAM
VINCENT GREY
JOE HANSEN
TOM KERRY
FRANK LOVELL

SAM MARCY
HOWAR MAYHEW
ART PREIS
DAN ROBERTS
HENRY SCHULTZ
DOROTHY SCHULTZ
ART SHARON
MORRIS STEIN
ARNE SWABECK
MYRA TANNER
LARRY TRAINOR
WILLIAM F. WARDE
MURRAY WEISS

TED DOSTAL

MORRIS STEIN(?) : - - -We will have the roll
call of delegates

Allentown

R. FRENCH

Boston

GUSTIE DANTE
JIM JARVIS

Buffalo

CHARLES SEAMAN
MERLIN WESLEY

LOU MASON
KITTY FISHER
ROSEMARY VARDEN

Chicago

F. FRENCH (Ph.)
STEVE BIDLEY (Ph.)
J. TRAVIS
JAMES L. (ph.)

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Cleveland

BOB KINGSLEY (Ph.)
ANNA KURTZ

Detroit

ED HAMILTON
BOB COHEN
SARAH LOVELL

Los Angeles

MAE MADDING
CLYDE TURNER
PETER ALLEN
CARL FEINGOLD
THEODORE EDWARDS
TYBIE MARTIN
EVELYN REED
MILTON ALVIN
STEVE R.
MILTON SNIPPER

Milwaukee

JAMES BOULTON
AL STERGAR

Newark

S. SHAW
J. HARRIS

Manhattan Number One

ALVIN ROYCE
BERTA Z.
BOB D. HAYDEN
JOYCE COWLEY
NICK JAMES
NAT

Manhattan Number Two

DICK
PETE

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Manhattan Number Two Cont'd.

HAROLD
JOHN TABOR
KAROLYN
ANN MANN
MURRAY FORBES

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Oakland

BILL MORGAN

Philadelphia

MORRIS
ETHEL SWANSON
HOWARD

Pittsburgh

BETTY

St. Louis

OSCAR CLENIN

San Francisco

RALPH MARTIN
JOAN GORDON

Seattle

FRANK POWERS
JOHN D.
ANN DORSEY
L. MC GREW (Ph.)

Twin Cities

JEAN BRUST
HENRY SCHULTZ
DOROTHY SCHULTZ
CHARLES SCHEER
HELEN SCHEER
BILL BRUST
PAUL CHELSTROM

There are no delegates from Akron and Youngstown.

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ARNE SWABECK (?) : - - I will read the list of the nominees. This list is of all the alternates. The first name is entered as alternate number one; the second name for alternate number two and so on down the line. I will read slowly:

1. ASHER
2. GEORGE WEISSMAN
3. HARRY RING
4. FRANCIS JAMES
5. MAX GELDMAN
6. DAVE WEISS
7. DOROTHY BREITMAN
8. DICK FRASER
9. ALLEN HANSEN
10. DOROTHY MARCY
11. JOYCE COWLEY
12. FRANK BARBARIA
13. CARL FEINGOLD
14. ART FOX
15. EDDY SHAW
16. CLARA KAYE
17. CLAUDE DE BRUCE
18. RONNIE JONES
19. DICK LOPEZ
20. BOB KINGSLEY

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Are there any additional nominees, Mr. Chairman?

THOMAS KERRY (?) : - - - I know it is an unusual procedure and generally incorrect but when a committee . . . I don't like to take the floor on an organizational question but one of these things becomes more or less vital. I would like to add one name in nominations made by the NY Comrades. The name of the leader of youth, BERT DECK, rather than have a dispute over whom

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he should replace, I ask he be added to the list of nominees as a representative of youth.

MORRIS STEIN (?): - - - Do I hear any further nominations? All right candidates, you have 21 nominees and you have 20 to be elected. I'm informed by the National Committee that if you want . . . to changed the order of the . . . alternates as presented by them, all you have to do is write right by the nominee . . . Are you ready to vote?

At this point an unsub female and then an unsub male asked unintelligible questions regarding how the nominees were selected by the National Commission.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Well, it is up to the chairman of the Nominating Committee to answer and I think he has the right to speak.

ARNE SWABECK (?): - - - I can't give any reason, I'm just going to inform you that Comrade DECK'S name was placed in nomination like other names of those who were not selected. There were more names placed in nomination than there were alternate posts to be filled. Comrade DECK'S name was placed in nomination.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - One more question. Now I think I should have an answer in this respect whether a representative of youth is considered as a delegate to the . . .

ARNE SWABECK (?): - - - No we don't. No such proposal was placed before the commission. Nobody suggested to have a special post for the youth, and when the proposal was made to include the alternate list of 15 to 20, there were no specifications

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(Unsub male speaking) - - - You want to talk?
Yes. Go ahead.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Comrades, I just want to speak on behalf of the comrade that was just nominated, Comrade BERT DECK, I say this because the other 20 nominated came in with the weight of the committee in their behalf. In Comrade DECK'S behalf I want to say this in case other comrades are not aware of Comrade DECK, in his participation in the Party in Los Angeles, Chicago, and here in New York. This comrade has been a consistent comrade both organizationally and on theoretical level as far as I'm concerned . . . DECK'S work in Chicago demands that he be seriously considered for one of the alternate posts on the list for the National Committee.

An unsub woman makes point of procedure and a lengthy unintelligible conversation ensues.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - I hope the nominations are not closed. I had my hand up while THOMAS KERRY was speaking. My nomination is Comrade MARGE. We have in Chicago, a special problem, the problem of a leadership . . . Chicago has made contributions from its leadership to build other centers. Members of the National Committee, WALTER (ph.) GELDMAN, and others, Comrade BERT himself. But this does not help Chicago. We have had in the past period only one person on the National Committee, myself, as alternate. We have now, one additional comrade, Comrade D. We have need for people on the National Committee in Chicago who will have the opportunity to consult, to consult and grow together and this will only partially solve our problem. It is important that the comrades take into consideration the needs of Chicago and accept the nomination of Comrade MARGE. She is qualified and will move along with BERT and others.

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Unsub male makes an unintelligible speech praising the work of FRANK BARBARIA of San Francisco and requests the nomination of Comrade BARBARIA be accepted.

Unsub male says that these additional nominations are praiseworthy but eliminates the work of the National Committee.

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Unknown Male Speaking:

"...for a vote against the proposal brought in by Comrade Kerry, even though I feel that the person he recommends is perfectly qualified to be on the National Committee but I didn't want to violate the idea to do away with the idea of the Nominating Committee having a...a...has been presented, and the idea decided first..."

At this point, an unknown male interrupted by saying:

"I'd like to say just four words. The Nominating Committee is not elected to the National Committee ... (unintelligible) due to the fact there are now 22 nominations."

At this point, the Chairman's voice interrupts:

"Any further leads (phonetic). Clara Kaye."

Clara Kaye's statements follow:

"Comrade..., I'd like to place in nomination the name of Comrade Frank Fowler (phonetic) in from Seattle. Comrade Frank has been in the Party for over 12 years and has been functioning in a leadership capacity in the Seattle branch for all of that time. He has succeeded in strengthening ... (unintelligible) ... an organizer, a teacher ... in the anti-Sullivan (phonetic) campaigns ... in a completely new way. Comrade Fowler ... in working out the new ... with new strategy that was necessary in this situation. I think in view of the role he has played and his important work in the Party today, through this campaign, his understanding of it, his intimate knowledge of all problems that arise in the contact of work in the campaign which will be the main concern of the National Committee in all parts of the period that could

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take advantage of Comrade Fowler's knowledge, understanding of the material in this field and add him to the National Committee."

At this point, the Chairman called upon an unknown female, whose name was unintelligible. The unknown female stated:

"Well, I would first like to speak to the... as representative...without any committee. (Unintelligible). There are many new comrades present in this convention who may not be fully aware of the problems that are faced by...who try to sift (phonetic) and collect from among the many non-entities (or non-entries) that are... We are doing a task which the high caliber in our Party that the problem work themselves out not to pick, not to vie (phonetic) for our Party people but...and who can mention to our comrades...a relatively limited number in the past of leadership...and this is a tremendous problem for those delegates who sit on Nominating Committees and great many hours were put into it a specially...to all of the reports made from delegations for the nominees and every nominee who has been added to the slate (phonetic) was proposed to the commission and those were...and...not included in no way meant that the commission was not considered (?) on it, very highly qualified and material for the National Committee. But what it did mean was that of those recommended for all the various reasons, qualifications being...., representation of various kinds including other branches and so on, all of these things were very, very carefully taken into consideration and someone has...the committee.

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Now, in addition to this; it is a tremendous problem of order, of the alternates, which the commission spent a great deal of time in utilizing the fairest method possible, which involves adding, actually, several hours to the thing and ...to dispense with the very source and...And it is to this that I would like to urge the progress (phonetic) to accept the proposal for the Nominating Commission as being a recommendation on very high serious judgment (?) injurious (?) to the Party."

There followed an unintelligible sentence by the Chairman, subsequent to which an unknown female voice spoke as follows:

"I'd like to speak for Dick Lopez now that additional nominees have been...Comrade Lopez has been in our group since he was a very young man who was recruited through the youth movement - I think 15 years ago. Twelve years ago he was a member of the Maritime...when that a functioning part of the pardon (?). Since that time, he has been at the focal (?) in one way or another to the Party. I believe that Comrade Lopez is definitely the type of individual that we want on the National Committee, to begin to prepare for fuller and better leadership and I would like to urge, of course, that the nominating slate be adopted as it was recommended but I want to urge the Comrades now that additional nominations have been made that Comrade Lopez should be included in the alternates."

At this point, an unknown male stated:

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"Comrades, I have found a note here from the St. Louis delegation delegate. I'm sure it will be a great honor to the members which includes a member of the Party in that Local was elected and to serve as an alternate on the National Committee, and the name of Oscar Clinin is submitted, therefore the nomination."

At this point, an unknown male requested:

"What is the name?"

He was answered by another unknown male who stated:

"Oscar Clinin, in other words we now have 24 nominees."

There followed some general talking after which an unknown male was called by name which was unintelligible. The unknown male, speaking in a foreign voice, spoke unintelligibly for several minutes and his words started a general discussion regarding the method of voting for alternates. There followed some disagreement between the Chairman and this unknown, foreign voiced, male, at the conclusion of which the Chairman stated:

"Are there any further nominations or discussion and if not is there a motion to close nomination?"

An unknown male stated:

"I'd like to speak in favor of Ronald Jones."

The Chairman stated:

"Go ahead."

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The unknown male stated:

"He is a serious young comrade, who has made every possible and conceivable sacrifice in the interest of the Party and in the interest of Trotskyism, since he has been in the Party. He is now in the process of bringing Trotskyism into the South where he is serving in the interest of the Party and building a nucleus in his area of the country that is bursting with opposition to capitalism and in every way he has been able to find down there. I urge you, comrades, to consider Ronald Jones very seriously, in relation to this most important struggle."

There followed the words of an unknown female:

"Comrade speaker, it seems to me that the way a voting of the people has been added, that its possibly now clear, order it, and then...It seems to me the only way we can do it is the way Comrade Dobbs says it. The method by dropping out the names that you wish to replace and adding the name on the bottom in the order determined by the number of votes and...(unintelligible)."

There followed an unintelligible discussion by the Chairman, subsequent to which, a vote was taken on an unknown topic and from the words of the Chairman, the vote was all ayes, and no nays.

TJB: cxd

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According to the informant, a male speaker whom he could not identify announced that the convention had unanimously agreed to proceed with the vote on the National Committee ...

MARCE DALL, Chicago
FRANK POWERS, Seattle - Accepted
OSCAR CLENIN, St. Louis - Accepted

According to the informant, a female speaker then announced the results of the vote for the National Committee. FARRELL DOBBS instructed only the delegates to take down the names of those elected to the National Committee.

ALVIN (Phonetic)	61 votes
SIMON	64 votes
BREITMAN	64 votes
BURCH	61 votes
CANNON	64 votes
CHESTER	61 votes
DOBBS	64 votes
DUNNE	64 votes
GRAHAM	63 votes
GRAY	63 votes
HANSEN	64 votes
KERRY	64 votes
LOVELL	64 votes
MARCY	63 votes
MAYHEW	62 votes
PREIS	64 votes
ROBERTS	63 votes
HENRY SCHULTZ	63 votes
DOROTHY SCHULTZ	64 votes
SHARON	63 votes
STEIN	64 votes
SWABECK	64 votes
TANNER	63 votes
TRAINOR	63 votes

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WARDE	64 votes
WEISS	64 votes
DOSTAL	63 votes

According to the informant, this constituted the committee with one vote cast for DAVID WEISS.

There was a great deal of confusion in the auditorium and according to the informant the speaker was heard to say "You have 24 names on your list. You have to cross out four names." According to the informant, the delegates were then apparently voting their ballots. The informant stated that a female whom he could not identify then announced the following names. According to the informant, the speaker was then polling the delegates:

Allentown	R. FRENCH
Boston	GUSTY DANZE (Phonetic)
	JIM JARVIS
Buffalo	CHARLES SEAMAN
	MERLIN WESLEY
	KITTY FISHER
	ROSEMARY VARDEN (Phonetic)
Chicago	F. FRENCH
	STEVE BIRDEY
	J. TRAVIS
	J. GERALD
Cleveland	BOB KINGSLEY
	ANNA KURTZ
Detroit	ED HAMILTON
	BOB COHEN
	SARAH LOVELL
Los Angeles	MAY MADDING
	CLYDE TURNER
	PETER ALLEN
	CARL FEINGOLD
	THEODORE EDWARDS
	TYBIE MARTIN

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Milwaukee

Newark

EVELYN REED
MILTON ALVIN
STEVE R.
MILTY SNIPPER
JAMES J. BOULTON
AL. STERGAR
S. SHAW
J. HARRIS

Manhattan Branch #1

ALVIN ROYCE
BERTA Z.
BOB D.
HAYDEN?
JOYCE COWLEY
NICK JAMES
NAT

Manhattan Branch #2

DICK
PETE
HAROLD
JOHN T.
MURRAY FORBES
KAROLYN
ANNA M.

Oakland
Philadelphia

Pittsburgh
St. Louis
San Francisco

Seattle

BILL MORGAN
MORRIS
ETHEL SWANSON
HOWARD
BETTY
OSCAR CLENIN
RALPH MARTIN
JOAN JORDAN
FRANK POWERS

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Twin Cities

JOHN D.
ANN DORSEY
L. MC GREW
JEAN BRUST
HENRY SCHULTZ
DOROTHY SCHULTZ
CHARLES SCHEER
HELEN SCHEER
EILL BRUST
PAUL CHELSTROM

According to the informant, a speaker announced that the next election would be that of the Control Commission. Mr. STEIN spoke and said the following names were placed in nomination for the Control Commission:

REBA AUBREY
ANNE CHESTER
DUNCAN FERGUSON
ROSE KARSNER

According to the informant, a woman whom he could not identify then repeated a poll of the delegation previously mentioned. There was a great deal of noise and confusion on the floor and the comrades were told by the chairman to have a rest while the votes were counted.

According to the informant, after an hour and a half of rest the convention was called to order by a male speaker. The speaker announced the schedule for that afternoon and stated that the convention would resume discussion on the organization report, have an information report on the world movement and then a speech by Comrade CANNON.

The informant stated that the speaker

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announced the following four individuals were elected to the Control Commission:

REBA AUBREY	64 votes
CHESTER	63 votes
FERGUSON	62 votes
KARSNER	62 votes

The informant then stated that the following was a result of a vote on the alternate members of the National Committee in order of the strongest vote:

ART FOX	64 votes
ASHER	62 votes
GEORGE WEISSMAN	62 votes
JOYCE COWLEY	62 votes
BARBARIA	62 votes
HARRY RING	60 votes
JANE	60 votes
DOROTHY MARCY	60 votes
ED SHAW/CARL FEINGOLD	59 votes
DOROTHY BREITMAN	58 votes
MAX GELDMAN	57 votes
DAVE WEISS	56 votes
DICK FRASER	55 votes
FRANCIS JAMES	55 votes
BRUCE	54 votes
HANSON	53 votes
LOPEZ	52 votes
CLARA KAYE	48 votes
BOB KINGSLEY	48 votes

According to the informant, the above individuals were those elected. The informant stated that the below listed individuals failed to be elected:

BERT DECK	32 votes
MARGE BALL	19 votes
CLENIN	12 votes
POWERS	9 votes

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The informant stated that the speaker announced that there were a number of tie votes, four names had 62 votes, three names sixty votes and two names 59 votes.

The informant related that MORRIS STEIN made a motion from the floor to the effect where there are ties the National Committee be guided by the vote of the Nominating Commission for vacancies as they occurred on the National Committee. This motion was passed. The speaker then announced that TOM KERRY would make announcements.

The informant related that KERRY read a greeting to the delegates of the 17th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to NATALIA TROTSKY. KERRY also mentioned MORTON SOBELL who was arrested during the witchhunt and pledged to aid SOBELL's case in the future. According to the informant, this resolution was favored by the comrades.

KERRY also spoke on JAMES KUTCHERS' victory and his eight year struggle against the Government. The informant related that a tremendous burst of applause emanated from the delegates at this time.

According to the informant, the next speaker was a female, he could not identify, from Seattle. The gist of her speech, according to the informant, was to perfect and alter old SWP techniques with regard to contact work with Communist workers. The speaker urged comrades to go out and recruit CP members whom she considered to be the strongest type professional revolutionaries and good for the SWP.

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Unidentified female ended her talk:
Unintelligible.

Unidentified male discussed education and training of young comrades and told of the difficulties encountered in the Trotsky School. He mentioned three specific difficulties facing the comrades today. They were one, intensified activity of the comrades of this party---regroupment problems, two, finances, three, problem of instruction.

He spoke concerning the need for party people to actively participate in party activity.

Unidentified male speaker spoke concerning the importance of "The Militant" and with the work that has been done with respect to the CP. This individual told of the efforts being made to sell "The Militant" and told of how comrades would ring doorbells, and try to get people interested in the Militant; that they would follow these visits up with telephone calls or with more visits and would make every effort to interest people in the program of the SWP. He stated that the party attempted to contact CP members and CP sympathizers in connection with this drive.

Unidentified female speaker spoke of arranging to have "The Militant" and other publications sent directly to news stands from New York. She stated that Pioneer Publishers are putting out a new catalog of all books published by them and all books available on revolutionary Socialism that were put out by their publishers.

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Unidentified male speaker spoke on recruitment in the Los Angeles area. He stated that Los Angeles during the past year recruited 15 individuals into the SWP, divided in the following manner:

- Eight from the CP
- Two from the State Committee of Young Democrats
- One from the SP
- One steel worker
- One pile driver
- One communications worker
- One Unitarian Church

Unidentified male voice made reference to page 30 of the resolution on the Negro question. He stated that there was a paragraph that "a specific recommendation that a planned program of the history of the Negro struggle and the working class as a----inaudible--laughter.

Unidentified male speaker spoke very briefly.
Inaudible.

Unidentified male speaker presented the international report. He told of the history of the Trotsky movement and told of SWP gains made since the 20th Congress. This individual spoke very rapidly and had a British or Canadian accent. He said that since the 20th Congress the PABLOITES have turned toward the SWP and away from the Stalinists. The Political Committee believes that the regroupment of international socialism may make alliance with the PABLOITES possible. This can come about only if it appears such a united movement is the best way to fight Stalinism. The PABLOITES have said they are willing to make big concessions prior to the holding of any united World Congress (of the Fourth International).

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Address by Comrade CANNON:

I can't make an address because I promised there would be no speeches from me at the convention. (laughter) I've taken the floor during the discussion on the Negro question-----no speech; I've "taken" the floor briefly here today and answered Comrade ALVIN(Phonetic)-----no speech---laughter.

I've seen many conventions in my time, as a matter of fact the only convention of our movement since 1919 that I've ever missed, once while I was in Moscow - during CP days and once while I was (unintelligible) prison in 1944.

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...express a judgement. A convention has to be led by how it feels with the task of the hour. Whether it misses concentration on the important task, wears itself out with discussion of secondary or remote questions, whether it gets down to business and deals with the problems before it. I think this convention just by this criterium can pass favorable comparison with any in the history of our movement.

The task of this convention obviously was set by the conditions of the times. The problem of analysing the process of regroupment which we have been engaged in. Deciding if we have come to the end or are only at the beginning. That's one point -- point two is the elaboration of a positive program for the next stage of our struggle in the regroupment of the revolutionary forces in a new revolutionary party. We are doing better in the regroupment movement than anybody else, than any other tendency, there is no question about that -- that no other tendency is doing any good for itself at all. That we are doing better because we know what we are about and we understand why we are talking about regroupment. It is not a new question. Every new beginning, out of every crisis that arises from the bankruptcy of new movements, every new beginning that's taken the form of a regroupment of old forces, we know that from the past. And we thought that it would be the same this time and that is why in the very beginning of this discussion we formulated our command not from the simple slogan "Join the Socialist Workers Party" and end everything quickly with the regroupment of revolutionary forces from all organizations and all sources. We didn't say merely a regroupment of revolutionary workers out of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, we put it very broadly as I did in my speech on the Khrushchev revolutions in Los Angeles. There was a varied audience there and I called for discussion and establishment of fraternal relations between all radical workers, the reestablishment of old fashioned open forums where we could discuss freely and fraternally and where we can work towards regroupment of forces in a new organization.

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There were a couple of young girls there from the Socialist Party and one of them in the question period asked, "Can you spell out what you mean by regroupment -- regroupment of who, of what?". I said, "No, at this time that's an algebraic formula. A little later we'll write the arithmetic when we see what happens as a result of the discussions." I tell you -- little did I know then when I formulated it algebraically and I said we'll look around and see where we're going to get people for the new regroupment, little did I dream that some of the most important forces were going to come from the most unlikely source of all this -- miserable little Socialist democratic bum clique of SHACHMAN and (inaudible), but that is what has really happened in the course of the discussion, the turmoil and the crushes (phonetic). I said regroupment is not new -- you know the Socialist Party itself which took shape in 1901 did not arise full blown from an old ... (party?) and it did not arise as such people as COCHRAN and others prophesize now -- STAROBIN, is that the name? -- and the others are all saying, the people who are going to make the new movement are the people who have quit all the old organizations. That is ^{not} the way it happened in 1901. In 1901 there was a regroupment of parties and organizations in the groups consisting of a former faction of the Socialist Labor Party... (inaudible).

There was the Socialist Democratic Party of DEBS and BERGER in Chicago. There were all kinds of local groups calling themselves Socialists and readers of the ".... Reader" and when the convention was called together it represented a real regroupment and it didn't take place all at once. There were several years of discussions, open forums, controversies, arguments, fraternizations, quarreling, reuniting and negotiating until 19-- (inaudible). They formed the Socialist Party of America, the party which they say was the party of DEBS, but which was also the party of NEWCRID and BURKE (phonetic). Now this party suffered shipwreck in 1917, because it was not sufficiently equipped in matters of programs and tradition and (inaudible).

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Ridiculous! Wasn't equipped to face the problems of war and revolution! And what in the hell is the Socialist Party good for if it can't face the problems of war and revolution. That's the road to Socialism! It suffered shipwreck and a new party emerged beginning in 1917 with a Russian revolution and culminating in 1919 with the formation of the CP. That was a new organization formed.

That wasn't a pure, simple, one-party proposition -- in this party was such elements as the new Left-Wing in the Socialist Party which had responded to the Russian revolution and the war. There was a considerable section of pride (inaudible) and yet you may think a considerable section of the cadres came out of the Socialist Labor Party the ossified sectarian Socialist Labor Party of the people. As a matter of fact, the young man who played the biggest role in shaping the ideology of the Young Communist movement in this country, LOUIS FRAINA, (phonetic) was a former member of the SLP. There were people being from the IWW went in against political action and political parties prior to the Russian revolution and there were now the party trade unions and these coming together made a regroupment in 1917 to form the CP. So when we talk about a regroupment it is not as superficial/^{as} people might say. A diplomatic formula that all we want is a cover to get a holt of two or three recruits here and there, grab them and run with them. No! That is not our idea. Our idea is a real regroupment of many people in a party the name or form of which we will leave for future determination.

Now I said this convention had to consider the question of whether we have finished our campaign on regroupment or only decided to really begin it and the decision has been made that it is really going to begin now and be carried out in full scale. Full scale campaign for the regroupment of all the revolutionary forces of this country in whatever organization they may be at present,

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or wherever they may develop in the next few years into one single department. Regroupment is a process. It doesn't simply mean a few organizations or individuals getting together and making a formal agreement -- that's not possible now! It's a process that includes a struggle of tendencies, because as we see it, the party we are aiming to create out of this process is not going to be a hodgepodge, but a party with a program, and that'll take time. It includes a struggle of tendencies and on the whole the unification includes splits. I'm sorry or glad whichever way you want to take the thing, that in one of the casualties of this inexorable process of regrouping the revolutionary forces apparently is going to be a split in the SHACHTMANITE control -- not because we asked for it, no -- but because they insist on it, -- they're forcing it! I know that the left wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization insists with good faith that "we want unity of the ISL, we want unity and we mean it, but we don't want you to deprive us of our Democratic rights to denounce ..." (speaker dropped something) "that's what comes from getting too lame and old" (laughter) (speaker continues) "and it appears that the right wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization is going to force them to a split, and, that will not be a calamity if it happens, although as I say, neither we advocate it or do they, nor does the left wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization, because it will be a split on only one side of the question. The other side will be a unification with the youth supporting the SWP, and nowhere and never in the history of the workers movement since the time of MARX and ENGELS has the development of the revolutionary political party taken place in any other way except by unifications and splits and it's absolutely ridiculous to have a sentimental attitude on one side or the other.

Boldness... (inaudible) TROTSKY once said are parts of the process of building the revolutionary party. Out of the regroupment, as part of the regroupment process, we include a struggle of tendencies as I said against

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STALINISTS. Every time we deal another blow of polemics in our paper against him the intents of the CP, we're dealing a blow to the unity of the revolutionary world and similarly the ~~SHACHTMANITES~~ the Social Democrats, the Labor papers and others. Now I think we are justified in saying, on the basis of our survey of the situation, in which we try to see things as they are, and not as we would like them to be, that the first results of the year's discussion and controversy that has followed the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, has been a shift in relations within these general radical movements in favor of the tendency we represent, --- in favor of the SWP. And its taking place in two ways: one, by an enormous weakening of the CP, which is the crookedest and the most treacherous party this country has ever known, --- and every weakening that it suffers is a gain for the revolutionary labor movement and for the future of Socialism in this country. But we didn't gain only negatively we gained positively!

As you've heard the reports that we've recruited friends and sympathizers whom we've not asked to join the SWP and leave the CP, but whom we have urged to struggle within the CP for a Leninist program and prepare a broader basis of elements for future regroupment with us. The Social Democrat, as such, I can't say much about. Not only because I don't know much about them, but because nobody else does, and the reason nobody else knows much about this Spsdf is that a diligent search of the country from coast to coast has not uncovered any real trace of their actual existence (laughter). I have begun to think that they are a figment of ~~SHACHTMAN'S~~ imagination -- except possibly in some backroom somewhere where some antediluvian ~~Q. o. c. i. a. l.~~ democrats sit waiting and wondering when the (inaudible) Gonna forgive them for their sins and take them back into the real Social Democratic fold -- so, they don't count! ~~SHACHTMANITES~~ counted a little bit, but they're trying their very best to obliterate that. I have never seen a politician in all my life try to bargain more frantically

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and with greater whisk (phonetic) (sic) with more twitch (great laughter) to hasten his own ugliness (?).

SHACHTMAN has got his own people all worked up in a lather about joining this mythical SPSDF before he got permission from the SPSDF to enter and, just the other day, they had a meeting of the national executive committee of the so called SPSDF, or whatever it is, and while they had one motion ordering their own so called left wing to quit the MUSTE forum for free speech (sic) or stand expelled, they have had another motion forbidding any of their members to have any kind of joint political actions with the SHACHTMANITE organizations. Not only did they fail to vote to admit them into the sacred portals of the dying Social Democracy, they refused to have anything to do with them. And SHACHTMAN in the meantime got his people all worked up into a sweat and fever of enthusiasm to jump into a place, a door, that isn't open (laughter).

And I thought from talking from some Comrades (sic) there has been created a new personification of a type politics -- there is the politics of MARX, principles of politics, there is the politics of BERNSTEIN (phonetic), opportunists politics, there is the politics of maneuverism, that's the Zenobian politics, then there is the politics of the blank alley and that's SHACHTMAN politics! Now, one minor subsection of a subdivision, of the radical movement consists of people who belong neither to the Socialist Party, nor the CP, nor the SWP, nor the SHACHTMANITES nor the SLP nor nothin' (laughter) and they publish a little magazine that (inaudible) and they have propounded the remarkable theory that the way to build socialism in this country is to begin with all those people, not as we are with people who are active in various organizations and thereby testifying as to their seriousness, but recruit everybody who has quit any organization that exists. A unification of deserters, they say, will build an army of marchers (or Marxists) with which to storm American capitalism. I never heard of that happening before!

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I don't think quitters can reach anything and as a matter of practical text I have served in the past under the impact of the Palmer raids and the moral persecutions following 1917, when thousands of Communists and Socialist party members and IWW's were up against the gun, or imprisoned or were being deported and were standing ... (inaudible) a half to two thirds of the Socialist party disappeared.

And, after we came out of that ordeal, and by 1923, had reestablished an illegal CP and begun to wonder where we were going to get our recruits from to build new forces, we all had the illusion ^{we had} of the 60,000, my goodness maybe we ought to recruit 30,000 of them back. I was a particular advocate of that idea, and I wrote enthusiastic articles about it in the "Daily Worker," no, the "Weekly Worker" that proceeded it, that we had collapsed. Then, when we all got the illusion again, we went on a campaign scouring the highways, beating the bushes, to bring back in force those who had deserted. Of course not even we, in our young folly, ever thought they were going to come in to lead the movement. They might join and pay their dues -- throw a dollar in the hat -- what we got out of those who had deserted was negligible. The people who built the young Communist party, were first those who had remained and stood by the organization, and they, the new recruits, were mostly the young, the undefeated, the untired, the undisillusioned -- that's what's going to happen in the future too, and we haven't the slightest reason to think seriously that so-called half tendency or no organization, no banner, no program, nothing but an imagination. I don't think that we have to fear them as a serious ideological opponent. Now our policy is to build a party. We make no secret about it. When we say regroupment we don't mean to gather everybody together... (inaudible) gather them together in party! That's what we say! But we say, at the same time, it does not necessarily have to be the SWP. And that's not a diplomatic formula.

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We have no fetish of names of organizations. As Comrade DOBBS pointed out in his report, twice before in our history we've given up the name we were operating under -- made a fusion with the American Workers' Party and formed a new party. Again, later, when things opened on a different front and the left wing showed up in the Socialist party we disbanded our party and went in and joined them in order to establish contact with the left wing in the SP, and together with them, a year or so later, we formed the present SWP. We say we have no fetishism whatever and we're deceiving no one. But, we also say no liquidationism, nobody's going to get us to disband our party, waiting for somebody else to create a party, later on, that we may join under the leadership of somebody who has not yet made his appearance or has not yet been discovered like Moses in the bullrushes. (Laughter) We want to know where we're going and with whom! And, by the way, when it comes to getting together with certain people with pretensions for the leadership we're certainly willing to say we'll share leadership or we'll even surrender leadership to superior forces than ours in capacities, but all we want to know is who is this, where have you been, what are your credentials? -- And, if all you've got to show is a withdrawal ticket from something or other -- that's not good enough, that's not enough! (Laughter) I'm afraid that's all we're going to find from these credentials. We're for fusion, but I don't think that's any reason why people should demand that in the course of the fusion if somebody knocks on our door three times and says let me in -- we should refuse him and tell him to stand on the doorstep until we've met enough people to form a new party for you? No! We are recruiting as we go along. The funny part of it is while we've advocated fusion and regroupment in good faith, we've recruited more people than for a long, long time and that's a great source of satisfaction to us too. Recruiting many activists, many sincere and devoted people who are finding in our party the best expression for their Socialist aspirations. And the years result has been one of expanding influence as well as membership and as well as (inaudible).

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Now the next stage. (addresses attendant)
Can I have some water? As I get to this point I get
too warmed up. I didn't mean by that that I'm getting
ready to go into an extended speech -- just some more
remarks and I'll be done.

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JAMES CANNON (?)

The next case for our leaders as we discussed it in the National Committee is we are going to sharpen our particular political line as our contribution to the recruitment plan, not that we are trying to find means of splitting things up but to sharpen our . . . and political line in order to make the program clear. We are going to begin to dig in enough in the next period . . . Daily Worker the development in this newspaper of the capitulation of the "Gatesites"; the manifest slipping of the Communist Party back into the monolithic mood of Stalinism and to give it a drumfire criticism that will shake loose a great many more workers in the Communist Party legions.

But criticism and . . . are not the only thing. Supplementing that, is our positive program of workers democracy. That is the second big congregation (phonetic) of our convention that it has endorsed the program of mind and Comrade DOBBS (phonetic) report that we should develop extensive progaganda and agitation for workers democracy and aim it against not only Stalinists but also the social democrats, the labor fakers and the ruling class of this country, and to counterpose to everyone the real program of workers democracy to their false and hypocritical and deceptive definition. Positive program of workers democracy with us begins in the party itself, workers democracy as we are going to lay it down in the . . ., in the . . . of the organization, in the state that will be established under the workers rule. Democracy is a very easy word to say and a very hard thing to implement, and it is

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very easy to give formal democracy as a suppressive in practice. You haven't seen any trace of that here. In this convention I believe we can all take satisfaction that not only have we had the form of democracy in our extended three day discussions but we have had the very essence of it. How you can recall especially bureaucrats know, all the social democrats know, the Stalinists know, that you can grant formal democratic rights to the delegates in the convention as in the membership branch and yet at the same time when the rank and file delegate gets up and makes a criticism you can throw at him the ridicule and the slander and the innuendos of the top brass and make a monkey out of him and afraid to raise his voice a second time. That's the way they do it. Here I would say that in this convention if there has been a single violation of the formalities of correct social deportment to date not one of them came from the leaders of the party. Not a single one who spoke at this convention was given any reason to feel whatever that he would be ridiculed or denounced or misrepresented or slandered, and I say it should be a great pride to us. Naturally, the way this convention has been conducted should be the model for the party life all the way down through the branches every time and should be taken as an example to the local leaders as to how they shall deal with their own affairs with the rank and file members of the party who might get up and without sufficient experience and while speaking on the floor, might make some criticisms which are unwelcomed and which could be easily reputed and twisted and ridiculed until there is nothing left of the poor devil who ventured to open his mouth.

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It can be done but I believe the example here is that contrary to that the leaders of our local organizations everywhere will create such an atmosphere of free and unhampered democracy that every rank and file member will feel that it is his own party where he can express himself freely without any fear whatsoever.

That isn't the way they do it in other parties. At least talk to some of these left wing youth how they get treated in the Schactmanite organization when they stand up to say they're opposed to liquidating their organization into the Social Democratic Federation and they want to maintain it as a revolutionary independent youth organization. Do they get a ... and friendly and competent answer - No. They are ridiculed. They get denunciation and they're splintered and slandered - "Your nothing but a bunch of" they get all kinds of accusations hurled against them to prevent them from getting a hearing for their political positions, and all this comes under the heading of democracy, social democratic model. Now, how do they do things in the trade unions? A big trade union favors and makes a big show in public of being against the Soviet Union for one particular reason, - it is not democratic and therefore all the way from BECK to REUTHER it's democracy against dictatorship. But in the essence of the matter there is not one per cent of democracy in the trade union movement of the United States, as you know. And that is one reason why the slogan of the workers democracy has got to be carried into the trade unions and made the spearhead of the campaign to overthrow it.

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In BECK's union, of course, they don't make any pretense at all, why should a guy open his mouth, a couple of goons take care of him. A local out in Oakland, California is running around getting radical, making better contracts with the bosses than they want them to, put them under receivership.

Do you know one third of the locals in the Teamsters Union don't even have the right to elect their own local officials. They're under receivership and the officials can't even hold meetings until the receiverships are dismissed. That's the kind of democracy in BECK's union.

Now from BECK's Union to . . . but there is a tie between them. They're both purists (phonetic) and both servants in the labor movement in the interest of American imperialists but REUTHER makes a great show of formal democracy. He's a former social democrat himself and they have conventions and you have a right to speak at the convention but what happened at the last convention? At the last convention of the UAW the brass sat on the platform; behind the walls of misery (phonetic) of dollars in the treasury and all the supporters above against the rank and file and behind that the support of the government if necessary. Some comrade got up to protest against the speedup, a woman, got up to protest against the speedup and to demand that the officials do more to discourage the murderous speedup - a girl from Local Three, the Dodge local - what did they do? With all that amassed power of the bureaucracy on the platform REUTHER takes the floor for a blast in which he denounced by name this girl who had stood up and

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spoken so respectfully. And with that a lynch (phonetic) spirit which would make a delegate afraid to open his mouth. We ought to consider it as a symbol of the beginning of the struggle for workers democracy in this country. A symbol and a prophesy of what is to come. The girl who stood up and challenged that bureaucratic machine at the UAW convention was our girl EDIE FOX (phonetic). I say that was a symbol and a prophesy and the time will come when there will be tens and hundreds and thousands of them and out of their efforts and out of the help that the party will give them in direction we will change things. You can't overthrow this capitalist society in the United States until you first knock out its principle prop and the principle prop of capitalism in this country is the trade union bureaucracy. And when they say to us you we say yes, we want democracy but we want democracy all the way from Moscow to the because that is where the danger lies. And out of the fight to overthrow this bureaucracy with the power to workers democracy which will be the battering ram of our fight in the coming days, the overthrow of capitalism will be an easy thing after that because the capitalist class itself is very small and very weak and without its labor lieutenants will never be able to stand very much and will not long survive after we win the battle of workers democracy. In the great movement we will not settle up merely for that, we'll not settle merely for better conditions or for more wages, we the members of the Socialist Workers Party and the thousands and the millions that will come with us later will settle for nothing less than socialism, that is the goal and the vision of the party that

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is represented in this hall in this historic convention. This is the vision that gave us strength in adversity and gives us inspiration and strength again now in a new period of expanding opportunity. In one of the greatest books ever written JACK LONDON's "Iron Hero" (phonetic) he described the terrible things that happened in the future that he had . . . and the revolution had been defeated and the hero of the novel who apparently had been killed just before he hid the manuscript, the great novel ends with an un-completed sentence which reads as follows:

The magnitude of the task, . . .
and there it ends. I say it is for us to take that and recognize there is a magnitude of the task and we must not deceive ourselves colleagues but let us complete the sentence of the hero of JACK LONDON's novel and say the magnitude of the task and the grandeur of the future. End of speech - long applause.

Unsub male speaks:

Comrades there is now a special announcement from the presiding committee.

Unsub male speaks:

Comrades since the last convention we record with sorrow the names of the following fallen comrades :

JOHN G. WRIGHT

CALVIN DE CRESCENZO

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JACK BRUCE

SAMMY KLOTSKY (Phonetic)

CHESTER K. JOHNSON (Phonetic)

LEWIS BORDEN (Phonetic)

RAYMOND SHEPPARD

JOHN KATSIKAS.

These are heavy losses, comrades who have fallen who were dear to us and were valiant fighters in our ranks. Let us salute their memory with a moment of brief silence. Will the convention stand - (Silence) Same unsub male - We will now sing "The Internationale"
"The Internationale" sang by bulk of convention.

Unsub male - The convention stands adjourned.

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[redacted]
100-22976 (YSL)
100-16984 ([redacted])
100-22339 ([redacted])
100-19532 ([redacted])
122-128 ([redacted])
100-14770 ([redacted])
122-49 ([redacted])
100-19519 ([redacted])
100-16923 (B.J. WIDICK)
100-3348 (NAACP)
100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-19042 ([redacted])
100-17246 ([redacted])
100-26036 ([redacted])

7 - Los Angeles (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

2 - Albuquerque (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)

6 - Newark (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

4 - Buffalo (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

43 - New York (RM)
(100-6680 ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- MAX SHACHTMAN)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

7 - Chicago (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- AL GATES)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- A. J. MUSTE)
(100- AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALISM)
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])
(100- [redacted])

3 - Cleveland (RM) / 100-49738-161
(100- ISL)
(100- YSL)
(100- [redacted])

SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]
FBI - [redacted]

RECEIVED
BY [initials]

New York

Searched _____ Indexed _____
Serialized _____ Filed _____
8/16/57
FBI - Detroit

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COPIES (Cont.)

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New York (Cont.)

(100- MAX MARTIN)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- SOCIALIST PARTY)

(100- SDF)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- ALP)

(100- SWP)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- FNU [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- DEBS CLUB AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

(100- DEBS CLUBS AT MANHATTAN COLLEGE)

(100- DEBS CLUB AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE)

(100- [REDACTED])

3 - San Diego (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF
ISL IN SAN DIEGO)

4 - San Francisco (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

4 - Philadelphia (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- NAACP)

5 - Seattle (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

(100- [REDACTED])

3 - Phoenix (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- [REDACTED])

3 - Pittsburgh (RM)

(100- ISL)

(100- YSL)

(100- [REDACTED])

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TO : SAC, DETROIT (100-9025) DATE: August 15, 1957

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: ISL
IS - ISL

INFORMANT: [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information
in the past - protect

ACTIVITY: ISL Convention, New York City, July 5, 6, and 7, 1957

RECEIVED: 7/26/57

RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

Set out below is the Informant's report of the ISL National Convention held in New York City July 5-7, 1957. [REDACTED] dictated this report on a dictaphone machine and the dictabelts were transcribed by the following typists in the Detroit Office:

[REDACTED]

The memo belts containing the Informant's report are located in Detroit file [REDACTED]. After the Informant's report was transcribed, [REDACTED] proofread his report and made necessary corrections to it and placed his code number on the report to attest to its accuracy. The Informant then furnished the report to SA [REDACTED] on 7/26/57, and the report is located in [REDACTED], which may be considered the original location of the Informant's report for documentation purposes.

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[redacted] advised that when he arrived in New York City on 7/4/57, he called [redacted]'s telephone number, [redacted], and talked to [redacted].

[redacted] advised the Informant that [redacted] was not at home and that he was attending a meeting and was expected home at any minute. She told the Informant that a party was being held at ISL Headquarters that evening, 7/4/57, and told him that the convention would be held at Adelphia Hall, 74 5th Avenue, New York, and that the first session would not start until 10 or 10:30 a.m., 7/5/57.

[redacted] also told the Informant that [redacted] and [redacted] were staying with [redacted].

The Informant advised that he attended the social and party which was given by the YSL and the ISL at ISL Headquarters, 114 West 14th Street, New York, on 7/4/57, and that he arrived at the party about 11 p.m. The Informant advised that when he got there the party was in full swing and that at least 75 people were there. The Informant advised that those present included LUCILLE ALTMAN, T. J. MULLINS, SAM FISHMAN, and BONNIE MULLINS. The Informant advised that MAX SHACHTMAN came in with [redacted] and MAX shook hands and talked to as many people as he could. MAX greeted LUCILLE ALTMAN's [redacted] and [redacted], who was [redacted]. SHACHTMAN seemed to impress [redacted] with his greeting.

The Informant advised that he talked a while with SAM FISHMAN and FISHMAN said that he was on his vacation in New York and that he was going to stay a few days and he might attend some of the sessions of the ISL Convention. The Informant advised that FISHMAN did subsequently attend all of the sessions of the convention, although he did not stay for all of the sessions. The Informant also advised that T. J. MULLINS told him the next day that the party lasted until 2 a.m., 7/5/57, when all of the liquor ran out.

[redacted] advised that MAX SHACHTMAN opened the 1957 convention of the ISL at Adelphia Hall, 74 5th Avenue, at 11 a.m., 7/5/57, with greetings to the delegates.

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and all others present. SHACHTMAN stressed the importance of time and made a brief speech as to the purpose of the convention. SHACHTMAN said that he would not dwell on any of the resolutions because he felt that all members of the ISL had read and discussed the resolutions before coming to the convention and it would be a waste of time to even outline them. SHACHTMAN emphasized the importance of the resolutions and said he hoped the delegates would carefully consider each one on its merits and vote accordingly. As temporary chairman, SHACHTMAN presided until all the rules were laid down and the convention committees were elected.

The Informant advised that the convention schedule was to be as follows:

(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished to SA [redacted] on 7/26/57, a copy of the convention schedule which he had received. This schedule is located in [redacted]. This convention schedule indicates that the first item on the convention schedule was the opening by SHACHTMAN, National Chairman, and the election of committees and rules.)

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The Informant advised that the rest of the convention schedule was as follows:

2. International Question:

A. Resolution: The Revolution Against Stalinism.

Draper, Reporter
Report 20 minutes
Discussion one hour
Summary 20 minutes

(The Informant advised that this was a change from the original schedule in that DRAPER's report was cut from 40 minutes to 20 minutes and the discussion was cut from 1½ to 1 hour.)

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- B. International Resolutions:
 - Report: 35 minutes. GATES of the National Committee, Reporter
 - On amendments: DRAPER, Reporter, 20 minutes
 - Discussion: 2 hrs.
 - Summaries: Reporter: 20 minutes
 - Amendment: Reporter: 10 minutes

3. American Question:

- A. Unity and Regroupment
 - PC Reporter 45 minutes. SHACHTMAN
 - Minority 45 minutes. HASKELL
 - Discussion 2 hours
- B. Resolution on the American Forum for Social Education under A. J. MUSTE.

(The Informant advised that the addition of this topic in the convention schedule was a change from the original convention schedule.)

- C. Socialists and Labor Movement
 - PC Reporter 45 minutes. BEN HALL
 - Minority Reporter 45 minutes. DRAPER
 - Discussion 2½ hours
 - Summaries: Minority 25 minutes
 - Majority 25 minutes

(The Informant advised that this was a change from the original convention schedule in that both BEN HALL, the Majority Reporter, and HAL DRAPER, the Minority Reporter, were granted 45 minutes instead of 35 minutes to present their reports.)

4. ISL

- A. Organization: GATES, Reporter
- B. Organization of future conventions
- C. Press: PC Report by SHACHTMAN
- Minority Report by HASKELL

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(The Informant advised that discussion on organization of future conventions was a change from the original schedule and this item had not been included in the original schedule.)

5. Greetings from the YSE
6. Election of National Committee

JERRY MC DERMOTT was elected chairman for the first session. The 5 members of the presiding committee elected were:

ARNOLD of San Francisco
BEN HALL of New York
ANN DRAPER of New York
JERRY MC DERMOTT of Pittsburgh
JOE ROANE of New York

The 3 members of the Credentials Committee elected were:

YETTA BARSH of New York
DAN LEEDS of Los Angeles
BETTY of Cleveland

The 3 members of the Resolutions Committee elected were:

ARNOLD of Philadelphia
TED ENRIGHT of Los Angeles
DEBBIE MIERS of Chicago

The 2 secretaries for the convention were TAYLOR and JACK.

The delegates from New York were YETTA BARSH, ANN DRAPER, LUCILLE ALTMAN, ESTER, JULIE FAULK and his wife PHYLLIS FAULK, BEN HALL, MAX MARTIN, and JOE ROANE. The Brooklyn delegation consisted of one person, FINDLY. BURTON answered the call for Buffalo. The Chicago delegation consisted of MAX, DEBBIE MIERS, CHARLES, and JAKE.

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There were 2 representatives from the Newark Branch, ARCHIE LIEBERMAN, and SONNY. Los Angeles delegates were DAN LEEDS, TED ENRIGHT, and CHARLIE. The San Francisco delegate was BARNEY ARNOLD. The Seattle delegate was ARNOLD. The Philadelphia delegate was ARNOLD. The Detroit delegates were WIDICK and MORGAN (T.J. MULLINS). The Cleveland delegate was BETTY. The Informant advised that there were 26 delegates and 20 alternates. He said the fraternal delegates were not called and the youth had a representation of 3 or 4 persons with a voice but no vote. The Informant advised that ARCHIE LIEBERMAN of Newark, New Jersey, uses the name ARCHIE WINTERS and ANN DRAPER of New York also uses the name ANN RUSSELL. The secretaries of the convention, TAYLOR and JACK, were both representatives of the youth and they had voice but no vote.

A ruling made by the Resolutions Committee stated that all amendments to any of the resolutions would have to be written and presented to the Resolutions Committee before it actually would be acted upon by the delegation. It was also decided that the member that wrote the amendment would have 10 minutes to present it to the delegation and 10 minutes for summary.

The presiding committee ruled that 5 minutes would be the limit on any resolution by the membership and the delegation could decide on either 10 minute or 20 minute presentations and 3 minutes would be allowed for discussion.

HAL DRAPER was then called upon to make his presentation of the resolution "The Revolution Against Stalinism." DRAPER had 20 minutes for this report.

DRAPER opened his presentation with the remark that world-shaking news was recently published in the papers of the Kremlin change in leadership. DRAPER said that he did not have anything to say on this news and, therefore, he felt that the resolution on the "Revolution Against Stalinism" should remain the same and he would present the resolution just as it was written.

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The Informant advised that DRAPER read the "Revolution Against Stalinism" as it was published in the 6/1/57, issue of "Forum," page 21. DRAPER read the first and 3rd paragraphs on page 21. He read point 2 of the resolution on page 21 and read all of pages 22 and 23, skipped part of page 24, started on the 3rd paragraph of page 25, and read the rest of page 25 and all of pages 26 and 27. DRAPER was then reminded of the time so he turned to page 31 and skipped over part of page 31 and page 35.

(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished on 7/26/57, a copy of the 6/1/57, issue of "Forum" which contains the resolution on "The Revolution Against Stalinism." This literature is located in [redacted].)

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Discussion was then held on this resolution, "The Revolution Against Stalinism" and was not very interesting. There were not many that wanted to talk on the subject and the resolution was discussed for about one hour, with various persons expressing their opinions. The Informant advised that there was no uprising over any part of this resolution and it was decided to have a break for lunch and then return for HAL DRAPER's summary on this resolution.

The Informant advised that during the lunch break he talked with STANLEY GRAY, who formerly belonged to the Detroit Branch. He also talked with BEN HALL and JULIE FAULK. The Informant advised he also talked with MANNIE GANNICK of the Buffalo Branch, who is now a representative in the International UAW. The Informant advised that he also talked a few minutes during the lunch break to MAX SHACHTMAN, GORDON HASKELL, ARCHIE LIEBERMAN, ED FINDLY of Brooklyn, and ARNOLD of San Francisco. The Informant advised that before he went out to lunch he also had a talk with AL FINDLY, who had attended the morning session, and FINDLY inquired of DONALDSON of Seattle and whether DONALDSON was at the convention. FINDLY said that DONALDSON had probably stayed home to go salmon fishing. The Informant advised that neither B.J. WIDICK or OSCAR PASKAL attended the morning session of the convention and the Informant and T.J. MULLEINS were the Detroit delegates at that session.

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The Informant advised that as he came down in the elevator to go to lunch he saw BONNIE MULLINS, who was looking for her husband T.J. MULLINS, and she had a package and said she would wait around and see T.J. when he came back. The Informant advised that when he returned to the afternoon session on 7/5/57, the delegation was already seated and special privileges had been granted to a youth named JEARMAN, who has written a few articles in "Labor Action." JEARMAN said that HAL DRAPER was not giving him a break by not publishing JEARMAN's answer to HAL DRAPER's articles on Poland and GOMULKA of Poland. JEARMAN said that Poland had a unique form of Communist government and he would like to discuss it further with HAL DRAPER if it was possible. The Informant advised that JEARMAN had been granted 3 minutes and, of course, could not say much in that time and he was not granted an extension. DRAPER, in his summary, did say he would like to talk to JEARMAN whenever the opportunity would present itself.

After HAL DRAPER had made his summary on the resolution "The Revolution Against Stalinism", ARNOED of Philadelphia proposed to make a change in paragraph C, page 28, of the 6/1/57, issue of "Forum." ARNOED wanted the line which read "This revolutionary movement bases itself in the mass on the maintenance of social or collective ownership of the basic means of production,..." changed to read "This revolutionary movement bases itself in the mass on the maintenance of the nationalized economy and against any restoration of capitalism or the old regime." After some discussion, it was finally decided to refer this to the incoming National Committee.

MAX SHACHTMAN wanted to change number (18) on page 29 of the 6/1/57, issue of "Forum." SHACHTMAN wanted the first sentence, which reads "The political tendencies which are adopting ...etc." deleted. On page 30 of the 6/1/57, issue of "Forum" SHACHTMAN wanted the first sentence which begins "This bourgeois-imperialist form ...etc." deleted.

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These changes requested by SHACHTMAN were accepted by the delegates and the resolution on "The Revolution Against Stalinism" was carried.

AL GATES then presented the International Resolution, as printed in the 6/24/57, issue of "Labor Action." GATES was allowed 35 minutes to report on the International Resolution and he read the Resolution from "Labor Action."

The Informant advised that the following amendments to the international resolution were then submitted by HAL DRAPER. DRAPER proposed that in Part II, second paragraph (page 6 of 6/24/57, issue of "Labor Action") replace the sentence beginning "We do not advocate..." with "We do not call for such actions as would turn an anti-Stalinist revolution into an anti-imperialist war. With this in mind, we do not call on any of the imperialist powers, including the United States, or on the UN to intervene in this battle, militarily or by sending arms." DRAPER also proposed that Part II, section 3, last paragraph of the international resolution (page 7, column 3, 6/24/57 "Labor Action") be replaced with the following paragraph:

"In the most concrete way, not in theory but in demonstrated life, the lack of a revolutionary policy to the west of the iron curtain was one of the factors which blocked the extension and victory of the eastern European revolution in 1956. It is, therefore, the continuing responsibility of the socialist left in the west (something we can do) to transform this factor, namely the complete degeneration and theoretical bankruptcy of the official social democratic leadership in Europe, who represent nothing more than petty bourgeois socialism in the working class movement. That is, that the policy of reforms within the framework of maintaining capitalism at its best and social imperialism, at its worst. Nevertheless, despite the political character of its leadership, we note our continuing view that the place of revolutionary socialists is within these mass social democratic parties in Europe and not in sects outside them."

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(Agent's note: DRAPER's amendments to the "International Resolution" appeared on page 7, column 4 of 6/24/57 "Labor Action.")

The Informant advised that in his report on the amendments, DRAPER felt that without the amendments in the resolution the ISL would call upon any government, the United States or even any portion of the UN, to send arms to any anti-Stalinist revolutionists.

At the completion of DRAPER's report, discussion began for a 2 hour period and was limited to 5 minutes for each speaker. Most of those who took the floor were against DRAPER's amendment and these included TED ENRIGHT of Los Angeles, MAX MARTIN of New York, JAKE of Chicago, and LEEDS of Los Angeles. ARNOLD of Seattle said that he was for DRAPER's first amendment and against the second amendment. CHARLIE from San Francisco was against the amendments in their entirety. MAX SHACHTMAN was against the amendment and he quoted the Spanish war and said that LENIN had said that all kinds of transformations are possible under given circumstances and certain concepts stay with us in spite of changes and we have no confidence in any bourgeois government.

The Informant advised that the discussion actually boiled down to whether the convention was willing to ask for arms for any anti-Stalinist revolution and whether they would be for or against such a proposition. ANN DRAPER A.V.V. said that no one would be against sending arms to such a country as Hungary.

MAX of Chicago said that the international resolution did not in any way support arms by America to anyone and he said we have to deal with the modern concepts.

The Informant advised that some of the delegates lamented the fact that they did not have the information on the amendments or even on the resolution with enough time for discussion within the branches and they were taking on the matter rather cold and were not in a position to know what they were talking about.

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BEN HALL was for the first portion of DRAPER's amendment and said that there was some good things in it that could be revised to where it could possibly all be used. A number of amendments were turned over to the Resolutions Committee, including LEEDS' amendment, TED ENRIGHT's amendment, and DEBBIE MIERS' amendment. The Informant advised that all these amendments were actually turned down with the exception of DEBBIE MIERS' amendment, which was more or less accepted by DRAPER, the Resolutions Committee, and the delegation, and the whole matter was to be turned over to the incoming National Committee. The Informant said that when DAN LEEDS of Los Angeles spoke he said there was no use trying to kid ourselves and in any revolution arms are needed and regardless of what you might say, there is still the need for arms even if the original resolution did not state that exactly.

DRAPER said in his summary, "All action on my amendments are all deferred to the NC. We want all members to participate in all political questions. We do not want to smear the Hungarian revolution. The old sole question is do we or do we not send arms to revolutionists."

AL GATES, in his summary, said, "You cannot be serious in your political point of view as a social democrat, ARCHIE, are you referring to the fact that we may support our own American government in war? Do we advocate sending arms to anyone? It is not in the resolution. There is no such slogan. There is no slogan to advocate the issue. The issue is simple and the only difference is to those who think the ISL is becoming degenerate. The question is how to react in the Stalinist countries that have revolutions. We do not advocate the United States or UN to send arms to the countries. There is no change in the attitude and it is correct. We endeavor to unify with the democrat-socialist." The Informant advised that in the international resolution portions of DRAPER's amendments, were to be incorporated into the resolution itself by the National Committee and the resolution was passed in its entirety by the delegation.

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The Informant advised that 21 votes were cast against the DRAPER amendment and 26 votes were cast in favor of the "International Resolution."

The next subject on the convention agenda was the American question: "Unity and Regroupment."

It was decided, however, to take up the resolution on "The American Forum For Social Education" so that discussion on this resolution would be over with before the delegates went to supper.

The Informant advised that on this subject a lot of discussion took place and some of the speakers tried to intimidate SHACHTMAN for appearing with the American Forum and taking a lot on his own shoulders in regard to appearing without permission from the National Committee. They wanted to know how SHACHTMAN could remain within the movement by appearing with them and still not officially sponsoring.

The resolution was against the American Forum and against any acknowledgement of belonging to the American Forum or supporting it in any of its activity. The Informant advised that the resolution was put to a vote and 26 voted for the resolution, which was not to have any official connection with the American Forum. The Informant advised that inasmuch as SHACHTMAN had already associated with the American Forum and would more than likely appear again on the same platform with other assembled through the American Forum and A.J. MUSTE, it would be all right for him to do this and it would also prove to be an advantage to other members of the ISL who sometime may be approached on different subjects by the American Forum. The Informant advised that recess was then called for supper. The Informant said that he went to supper with ARNOLD of Philadelphia and while eating he sat with BEN HALL, MANNIE GANNICK, and ED FINDLY. There was discussion on the various topics of the convention during supper but everybody seemed to feel that unity was just a question of time and everyone would actually vote for it.

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ARNOLD of Philadelphia said that he had been to Detroit to attend the NAACP Convention as a delegate from Philadelphia. ARNOLD said that he had called B. J. WIDICK while here and said that he had been treated like a king and had a very good time while in Detroit. ARNOLD also suggested that probably the ISL should have some members in the NAACP in Detroit and become active in the organization. ARNOLD was told that probably WIDICK and OSCAR PASKAL belonged to the NAACP in Detroit and ARNOLD said that he felt that WIDICK and PASKAL should become more active in the work.

After the convention re-convened, the next subject on the agenda was to be "The American Question: Unity and Regroupment." A motion was passed to eliminate Section 2 and Section 3 of the "Draft Resolution on the United States." Part 2 of this resolution is the Negro movement and Part 3 is on the decline of McCarthyism. It was voted to displace this order and if time was found on Saturday, these sections would be brought under discussion.

MAX SHACHTMAN was the Political Committee Reporter on "Unity and Regroupment." SHACHTMAN took portions of the first section of the Resolution on the United States adopted by the Political Committee and said, "Prospects for the socialist movement in the United States are linked closely to the fate of socialism throughout the world. Because it has been relatively weak here, socialists and radicals have been especially sensitive to the course of different tendencies in countries where the movement was a mass force. If socialism was without mass influence or only in the first stages of real influence, it was possible to point to Europe where the working class was solidly socialist as a model for future America, and if Stalinism finally triumphed over socialism among the radicals in the United States, it was not due primarily to any peculiar American condition or events but to the victories of Stalinism internationally.

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"On a world scale, the socialist movements appears already to have entered a new historic period. Its resurgence is unmistakably illuminated by the appearance of anti-Stalinist socialist revolutionary movement in the nations under Stalinist tyranny culminating in the Hungarian revolution. Here, at last, it was revealed, is the mass popular force capable, under favorable conditions, of ending totalitarianism; an event equal in historical significance, to the rise of the modern working class movement and its early struggles more than 100 years ago in Europe and 60 years ago in Russia."

(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished to SA [redacted] on 7/26/57; a copy of the first section of the Resolution on the United States which SHACHTMAN quoted above and which the Informant received at the convention. This literature is located in Detroit file [redacted].)

The Informant advised that SHACHTMAN then spoke on portions of part 4 of the draft resolution on the United States, which is titled, "The Collapse of the Communist Party."

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(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished to SA [redacted] on 7/26/57, a copy of the draft resolution on the United States, parts 2-5, which contained the following remarks of SHACHTMAN. This literature is located in [redacted].)

The Informant advised that SHACHTMAN said, "Stalinism was thrown into a world-wide crisis by the 20th Congress and the Hungarian revolution. Nowhere was the crisis as deep-going as in the United States, where the CP is smashed, isolated, split from within, and reduced to a large but dwindling sect. For some time the Party had been plagued by its isolation from the mass movement. Up to the Congress, it was easily possible to attribute the decline of its influence to this or that tactical error, rightist or leftist, but now the source of demise is revealed to all as Stalinism itself. In the United States the CP, as an organization, seems doomed beyond hope for redemption. The rapidity of its disintegration is the product of many causes but the most crucial is the unrelenting hostility of the powerful labor movement."

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"The most militant and progressive elements in the working class who once looked upon it with tolerance, even with sympathy, and who have often followed its leadership, have now become its most determined opponents. Thus, the working class movement in the United States finally triumphed over Stalinism. The collapse of the CP clears the way for the reconstruction of the socialist movement in the United States. For it was Stalinism, through the CP, that dominated the radical movement for more than 20 years.

"The CP is not only drastically reduced in numbers, isolated and distrusted, reduced to little more than a big sect, but significantly it divided into at least 3 different opposing tendencies. The conflict between them has led to a debate and a faction fight unlike any in the Party's recent history; for it was genuine political struggle which has not been resolved which can never be resolved within the framework of a single organization. The situation inside the CP requires the closest attention of all the socialists and, where possible, participation by them in debates, especially on the question of new broad socialist movement and related questions of democracy.

"The 3 tendencies could be roughly characterized as follows:

"The FOSTER wing represents the Russian-Stalinist wing which would maintain the CP as an unchanged instrument of world Stalinist policy. The DENNIS wing, basically Stalinist in outlook, would attempt to adapt a party to the American scene in a maneuverist manner, while retaining a basic loyalty to the Russian bureaucratic class and its social system. The GATES wing alone has taken significant steps away from Stalinism. Above all, its position on the Hungarian events in its attitude toward a broad socialist movement and its strivings toward what it calls democratic socialism. Its theoretical and political positions are far from adequate. Its tactics are weak and compromising. It continues to vacillate between Stalinism and democratic socialism. At the bottom it is torn between the Russian ruling class and the American working class. But the important political fact is that it has already moved a distance away from one end toward

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"the other. It is true that the CP is now relatively small and the GATES group even smaller. But it is not a question of GATES as an individual nor even merely of the hundreds of CP members who look toward him for leadership and a way out of their dilemma. The GATES wing inside the CP represents, in a concentrated form, the problem and the opportunities for democratic socialism among thousands of others outside of the CP who once were under its influence. The fate of the GATES tendency will help determine the political course of many others outside the CP.

"No one can propose to prescribe its precise tactical course inside the CP for it will undoubtedly be necessary for it and its followers to go through a whole evolution and a new internal struggle before it can find its place in a renewed socialist movement.

"While the disintegration of the Stalinist movement makes possible the reconstruction of a socialist movement, this possibility cannot be realized, so to speak, automatically. All the groups and publications, socialist, near-socialist, and pseudo-socialist, are intensely interested in the question of socialist regroupment and re unification. None of them, as they are, in natural course of their normal activity and development is able to serve as a vehicle for rallying thousands for a new beginning. Each of the groups too is weak. It compares itself, not only with the others, but with the big mass movements and seeks an effective means of bringing socialism to them. All the discussions finally hit against the key problem, how, from the respective standpoint of each of the tendencies, to achieve or restore the union of socialist ideas within the labor movement. This, too, is the case of the ISL. Our decisions must facilitate not in some unrealizable ideal or abstract sense, but in the sense of maximum possibility under the concrete circumstances the advancement of the ideas of democratic socialism in the ranks of labor and the Negro movements and the corresponding growth of the socialist movement based upon these broad mass movements and exercising an increasing influence among them. Any decision taken

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"in the matter of socialist unity or in relation with other groups must serve this objective. Any decision, no matter what source it seems to yield of a temporary or isolated nature, but which conflicts with this objective, which does not serve it, or which is not conceived and carried on in a way which is consciously subordinated to the attainment of this objective is wrong. Since no single force as it is now constituted is in a position to accomplish this task, a tendency arises to unite forces. But it is not a simple matter and not every projected form of regroupment is equally effective or correct."

SHACHTMAN continued, "Pro-Soviet regroupment: One complicating factor is this: Stalinism, as an organized party and leadership, is practically dead but the ideological influence it once wielded has not yet been completely eliminated. In one form or another, it remains as an influence among several tendencies. To the extent they are able to shake off the residue of the ideology of Stalinism, it will be possible for them to make positive contributions to an effective socialist regroupment. But if regroupment took place essentially through the unification of these groups into a new united movement excluding only the outright Stalinist leadership it would, of necessity, repel those who are committed to democratic socialism. Such democratic socialists, without accepting all the policies identified with the ISL, oppose Stalinism and are hostile to those who give it critical support in the name of socialism. While we seek friendly contact and discussions, free from violent polemics with such groups and individuals, we must decline sponsorship and responsibility for any organization or semi-organization that has not declared primarily whatever its estimate of social nature or course of development of the Stalinist countries, that it is hostile to, and independent of, the totalitarian regimes that rule them; and supports all genuinely democratic movements and supports them against these regimes. Inasmuch as all the groups involved in any possible unification have, to one degree or another, condemned the attack of Stalinism upon the Hungarian people and expressed support for the democratic and socialist struggle of these

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"people against the Hungarian and Russian Stalinist regimes, our proposal for such a general declaration on their part cannot reasonably be objected to as an attempt by us to propose an ultimatum on them. Further, it is not me who proposed that any new organization center around such elements. If these groups for whatever motive of principle or techniques are not ready to base their mutual collaboration among other things upon a clear public commitment to support democracy and democratic struggles everywhere, then it is clear that any regroupment, any organization, or semi-organization formed by them would be, at the very least, premature. What is required is a clearly democratic socialist pole of attraction as an alternative to Stalinism. If it can be created and built, it will speed up the process of rooting out the last vestiges of Stalinist influence and induce all other groups to shake off the remnants of its ideology."

SHACHTMAN continued, "The first elements of such a center exists among those already committed like the ISL to democratic socialism; the groups and tendencies that clearly oppose Stalinism; whose socialism is no-wise identified with it; who declared that socialism and democracy are inseparable and who maintain that socialism cannot be imposed by dictators but must come from the democratic decision of the people. There are many differences among all these tendencies; in origin, in theory, in historical analysis, and political line on current news; differences which will undoubtedly persist for some time. We do not propose that they renounce their views on disputed questions. We do not propose to renounce ours. But it is wholly possible and necessary to discuss all views in such a fraternal atmosphere that makes it possible to collaborate in achieving the key political objective of our time: the reconstruction of the united democratic socialist movement."

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"Of all the groups, one stands out uniquely; the Socialist Party-SDF. In size it is not larger than others. It, however, is already broad enough in character to serve as an inclusive movement embracing a wide range of socialist tendencies. It represents to the interested public socialism in general; unlike the SLP, it is not hostile to the labor movement. It is small but it is not discredited and enjoyed respect even the support of many militants in the labor movement. It can play a special role in unifying and rebuilding the movement.

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"The ISL has neither the intention nor the desire to unite with the SP in order to capture it, for even if this were possible such a victory would not only be meaningless but what is worse, it would defeat the very objective of converting the SP from its present position of isolation and weakness to an effective influential and broad democratic socialist movement in the best tradition of the Debs period. In the same spirit we are ready to make concrete proposals on specific immediate issues facing socialists in the fields of both domestic and foreign policy with the objective of strengthening the united organization and increasing its effectiveness. Our fundamental theoretical approach to problems of both immediate and long range importance can possibly be explained and presented in such vehicles of expressions as are available under the rules of the united organization. Individual radicals formerly under the influence of Stalinism may be recruited to a revolutionary sect. but the bulk of those still ready to work for socialism can be attracted only to an organization which is a serious political movement or which has the possibility of being developed into such a movement. From this point of view, too, the ISL favors unity with the SP as the organization which it is possible to build up as a serious pole of attraction to all the radicals of yesterday, today and tomorrow, which offered significant alternative to Stalinism and the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. If the SP takes any advantage of the real possibilities that are rising before our eyes, they will be able to become such a pole of attraction. In discussions with the various so called pro-Soviet elements in and outside the CP, we emphasize above all our minimum political platform for democratic socialist regroupment and present and defend the ISL's proposals that it unite with the SP. We strongly urge that the SP enter into all the current debates and discussions on regroupment. Just as the movement must provide democracy and autonomy, all its branches and tendencies should be expected to utilize and exercise these rights in the responsible fashion, carrying on all activity in the spirit of loyalty to common organization and conducting all discussions and debates in a fraternal atmosphere without bitter internecine

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LMC:JLK - 2

"factional warfare and without the threat of splits. There must be a realization by all that cementing of a new movement out of the diverse elements requires good will and cooperation on all sides."

The Informant advised that GORDON HASKELL then took the minority position on the topic of "Unity and Regroupment." Informant advised that HASKELL read as the minority stand "A Point of View" by J. MC BRIDE.

(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished to SA [redacted] on July 26, 1957, a copy of "A Point Of View" by J. MC BRIDE from which HASKELL presented the minority viewpoint on the topic of "Unity and Regroupment." This literature is located in [redacted].)

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HASKELL said: "I suppose, now that the issue of unity with the S.P.-S.D.F. as a prerequisite to Socialist Unity in the U.S., has reached the point where delegates to the convention have been elected and the various branches of the league have taken their stand, either for or against the resolution of the P.C. majority, it is too late to do much more than express a point of view on the subject, with the hope that your opinion will be made known to the rest of the members of the league.

"I am in favor of Socialist Regroupment for I realize that the divisions that exist in the movement today make it practically impossible for the movement to achieve any measure of political success in the U.S.

"Despite this fact, I do not believe the majority's resolution will accomplish this aim for a variety of reasons.

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LMC:JLK - 3

"I would like to point out that first of all since the S.P.-S.D.F. has not issued an invitation to the ISL to unite with them as an organization, either through its press or its national committee, a vote on our part to take such action is comparable to an overanxious maid buying her wedding trousseau before she has even met a suitor.

"The next point I would like to bring to the attention of our comrades is the fact that, to date, I have neither read of nor heard of just what the S.P.-S.D.F. as an organization, thinks of the proposition of the need for a Socialist Regroupment.

"Of course I can recall, and so probably can some of the other comrades of the League, what the S.P.-S.D.F. had to say, regarding the acceptance into their party as members, people who had been followers of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. They were opposed to accepting such persons.

"Now if the majority of the PC of the ISL really believes that unity between the ISL and the S.P.-S.D.F. will attract such vast hordes of former C.P. members and supporters into seeking membership in the new united group, how do they propose to overcome the aversion of their S.P.-SDF comrades to such persons as members without causing a major split in the proposed newly united group?

"On the question of the advisability of seeking unity with the S.P.-S.D.F. without any previous discussion between them and the League regarding the many points where both groups differ, I cannot buy SHACHTMAN's opinion that these differences don't really matter today.

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LMC:JLK - 4

"For the life of me, I cannot see how we, of the League, can exist in any group, without trying to establish our ideas on how a political party should function. Or on the kind of a program such a party should have, or the kind of press it should have. It seems to me that unless we can reach a working agreement with the S.P.-S.D.F. in advance of unity, an agreement whereby we can at any time oppose anything that we feel is unacceptable to our concepts of a socialist political party, without being branded as being either disloyal to the S.P.-S.D.F. or disrupters of party harmony.

"SHACHTMAN says first of all, there is no time for such a preliminary discussion, secondly there is no need for such a preunity understanding.

"In the first instance he claims that there are thousands upon thousands of socialist minded people in the U.S. who have become disorganized by the role of the C.P. in Hungary.

"He says if we wait too long these people will drift away into political oblivion or worse still, into one of the capitalist political parties. Or even more horrifying, will form many more smaller sects.

"Actually what SHACHTMAN is referring to as socially minded people are in fact, the former C.P. members and party-liners. Who, by his own statement, have had no time for the SP, the SWP, the ISL or any other socialist sect in the U.S.

"Let me say at this point, that to me, these people were never socially minded people. In their youth, perhaps, they were Marxist and over the years they became hypnotized by Stalin's successes to such a point that they had lost all concepts of the real aims of Socialism.

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"I cannot see where the outrages perpetrated by the C.P. directed Russian Army upon the Hungarian people were any more shameful than the former actions of the Russian C.P. in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and even in Russia itself.

"Is it not more logical to conclude that in the U.S. the action of the Eisenhower Administration, through BROWNELL's vigorous enforcement of the Smith Act, has much more to do with the desertation of these thousands upon thousands of former C.P. members and followers than any act of the C.P. Russian controlled Red Army?

"If this evaluation of these thousands and thousands of former C.P.ers is true and if these people are, as some of our leading comrades have contended, a well trained revolutionary Socialist cadre then to my mind, the possibility of these people drifting into political oblivion or any other direction is nil.

"But rather, if this is a true evaluation of these people, and supposing that the proposed unity program is consummated and we succeed in changing the attitude of the original S.P.-S.D.F. comrades toward the former C.P. members can you not visualize with what alacrity they will embrace the idea of Socialist Regroupment.

"What a haven this would furnish them, and how long would it take them to pervert the new Socialist Party into an instrument of Communism, a la Russian?

"SHACHTMAN says there is no need for preunity discussion with the S.P.-S.D.F. on any point of policy as the S.P.-S.D.F. has no real policy or program.

"SHACHTMAN also says we ask for no concessions or conditions, only the light to all the duties and responsibilities of any other member.

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LMC:JLK - 6

"SHACHTMAN also says all we ask for is democratic socialism both within the proposed united parties and that all who desire to unite in the new regroupment will be only required to support democratic socialism both here and in Russia and China.

"Again SHACHTMAN says, we propose to put into the deep freeze all political differences among all sects that join the new group. 'We are not purist,' he says, 'we are practical politicians.' 'We are not interested in purity. We are interested in building a new socialist political party.'

"In fact, SHACHTMAN, as usual, says many things, and usually, in a very convincing manner. But, if one stops to think about the things SHACHTMAN says, one can't help but conclude that what SHACHTMAN says so earnestly and convincingly is not always necessarily so.

"When the question was put to SHACHTMAN that after unity had been achieved, how would it be possible for us to function within the new group without causing the former S.P.-S.D.F. to resent our opinions and our pressures to make the new group go in the direction we wanted it to go.

"He reminded us that we are a young, dynamic, well trained political group who, by our attendance at every meeting and willingness to work to build the party, will act upon the older more passive S.P.-S.D.F. comrades more or less as an opportunity to relax and spend more time on their personal life, with the feeling that the work of the party is in good hands.

"While I agree with MAX, that this is a true picture, but just picture how much more active and aggressive the former C.P. recruits will be. Remember the fable of the Arab and the camel.

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LMC:JLK - 7

"What do I mean by this outline of my opinion of the supposed former C.P. members and their cohorts?

"No doubt SHACHTMAN, and some of our other league comrades may feel that I am unduly suspicious, and perhaps I am, but my suspicions are not only well grounded, but have been fostered both by the history of the C.P. internationally and the attitude of SHACHTMAN and other leading comrades in the past.

"I can recall, only too well, SHACHTMAN's report on how the C.P. with its various front organizations engineered the capture of the Labor-Farmer movement in the middle west.

"Again I can recall back in '44 or '45 when a comrade advocated a united front with the C.P. in the shipyard workers union, SHACHTMAN and other leading comrades at that time, pointed out that the C.P. could not be trusted.

"This present split, that is supposed to exist in the C.P., could not this too, be just another maneuver on the part of the C.P.? A maneuver to lull the American Worker into the belief that the old C.P. is dead?

"As part of the maneuver, would it not be wise for them to try to create the impression, by seeking every opportunity to appear before the public as friendly opponents of the other socialist sects, that there is no real difference between them and the average democratic socialist?

"Does it not seem odd to you comrades, that if such a violent three-way split exists in the C.P. it was still possible for the C.P. to set up a National Committee composed of leading comrades of the three warring factions?

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LMC:JLK - 8

"I would like to raise one more point that it seems to me might have a great deal to do with the success or failure of any Socialist Regroupment move. That is the two recent decisions by the Supreme Court. What effect will they have on the thinking of the members of the various sects we are seeking to unite?

"I realize of course, that properly handled, they could be used to great advantage in recruiting new members to a revitalized socialist movement.

"On the other hand, is it impossible for us to conceive, that all the other parties or sects, as you prefer, may feel that this action gives them a new lease on life, and thereby eliminates the need for Socialist Regroupment?

"Now, I'll try to boil all this down to a few words of summation as to why I am opposed to the majority resolution on unity. Without a clear understanding between us and the S.P.-S.D.F. arrived at beforehand, on just how far we can go in opposing their concepts on Party Program, which includes everything from the question of War to Socialist Regroupment, I believe unity won't last.

"Until the S.P.-S.D.F. raises the question of unity with us, I believe we should hold off making it a part of our official program. In the event of such unity I think we should go mighty slow in trying to recruit either former C.P. members or accepting any faction of the present C.P.

"And last but not least, I think we should hold in abeyance, all moves toward Socialist Regroupment until what the reaction is among the Radical Sects including the C.P. to the recent Supreme Court decisions."

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LMC:JLK - 9

B.J. WIDICK was the first from Detroit to get up and speak for the resolution on Unity and Regroupment. WIDICK said that it was a new kind of socialist movement. He said he felt that GORDON HASKELL wanted to reform the SP. WIDICK said all we want for the SP is to live and let live, not to transfer the SP to a larger ISL.

JAKE of Chicago said that the SP here is more to the right than the SP in Europe. What are the concrete problems?

MICHAEL HARRINGTON of the Youth said that GORDON HASKELL is afraid that the SP will not move. He said "If they let us in, that means they are willing to listen to our side of the political question. They made it possible for the ISL to exist."

ANN DRAPER of New York said, "SP will change to our benefit by allowing us to join. We can influence hundreds within the Party."

MAX MARTIN of New York said we have gained more since we have proposed unity. What will we gain if we stay as we are? We will attract all of the elements old and new. It will be us that will draw them in.

JERRY MC DERMITT of Pittsburgh said a fine example of what we could do for the SP is to just put your hand on the next man, whoever is at your side, and you will find that there are nine chances out of ten he is a former SPer.

GORDON HASKELL, MAX SHACHTMAN and others said if there isn't an SP, then we will invent one and build it up unconditionally.

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LMC:JLK - 10

ALBERT GATES of New York said unity with the ISL means dissolving the ISL - we could not get in on any condition. Would it be easier if we went into the SP with your conditions? We didn't recruit in the last ten years and further the SP is afraid of all organizations.

HAL DRAPER said, "Why did the SP kick us in the teeth the other day? If they allow us in, there is no SP. They like the SP like it is and they don't want it changed by the other elements. They are not ready for this unity on our terms. The SP is not ready for this unity at all. One half of the ISL are now living in the SP, especially the New York Branch."

BARNEY ARNOLD of Los Angeles asked what will happen if there is no unity. He said we should consider this. He said the SP perhaps are not as smart as we thought and might reject us.

SONNY of Newark said that DRAPER thinks it will be a miracle if unity is going to actually happen. He further said you must work to get anything and SHACHTMAN works hard on unity. He said if you believe, you must do.

MEAD said, "ISL members must think of the possibility of unity and disunity."

DEBBIE MIER said, "Single track mind of unity at all costs - Let us not do it - Let's not take the risk."

The Informant advised that during the period of the last few speakers, the janitor or caretaker of the building had requested all matters to cease before 11:00 o'clock so that the convention hall and building could be cleared by that time. Informant advised that previous to that time they were making a collection to give the janitors and the caretaker an extra tip to let them remain and finish at least a question or stay at least until midnight, but after the payment was made, sometime around 10:00 o'clock, the caretaker allowed them to continue only until a quarter of 11.

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LMC:JLK - 11

The Informant advised that right after the convention got under way, there was a very neat colored man who came to the convention with a briefcase, and he took shorthand notes during the convention. He described this individual as about 5'10" or 5'11", slender, and very clean looking. Informant said this individual was present at the sessions on both Friday and Saturday, July 5, and 6, 1957. He said whenever anyone got curious about this individual, he would just move a little way or change his position in the hall and then would continue taking his notes.

Informant advised that after the end of the session on Friday evening, July 5, 1957, the Informant talked with AL NASH, a former resident of Detroit and a former member of the ISL who is now living in New York. NASH said he was just attending the session to see and here what was going on and said he was quite interested. Informant also advised that at the end of the session on Friday evening,

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Informant advised that down on the street after sessions on July 5, 1957, everybody was talking about the convention and they all thought that it was a well conducted convention without too many battles on the floor and they all seemed to be quite satisfied with the day's proceedings.

Informant advised that concerning the resolution on the American Forum under A.J. MUSTE, which was passed on the first day of the convention, there were to be no restrictions on any of the branch members or on anybody in the organization participating in any of the forums. That was the extent of the resolution, but they are barred from sanctioning any of the programs.

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Informant advised that throughout the day and evening of July 5, 1957, there were about 100 people present in the hall at all times with 26 delegates, and 20 alternates and their friends and others that came in. Informant advised that SHACHTMAN had invited members of the SP and other elements or whoever wanted to appear to take in any of the sessions. Informant advised all visitors were quite welcome and nobody asked any questions as far as the visitors were concerned.

Informant advised that GERMAINE had spoken during the first day. He had been given special privileges to speak and was given a three minute extension even though he wasn't a delegate or an alternate or even a special representative of the Youth. Informant also advised that OWENS was not a member of the delegation in any way and was just present as a member of the Youth. OWENS had voice but no vote and when he was given special privileges to speak, DEBBIE MIER and JAKE had raised objections to him talking when they found out he was not a delegate or an alternate, and he sometimes took the opposite point of view. Informant advised this did not rest very well with the majority of SHACHTMAN's supporters.

Informant advised that the convention got under way Saturday morning, July 6, 1957, about 11:00 a.m. with MAX of Chicago presiding for the session. LEEDS was the first one to take the floor on discussion. He said he was glad to see people participate in our activities. He said nobody wants to get in through the back door into the SP. He said this is the best step forward so far and the best line involved in the organization. FINDLEY said "DRAPER is against unity no matter what he says. HASKELL says we are in mid-air. Unity gives us a real line to advocate. We must be careful not to put all of our eggs in one basket. We do not have to look to the American Forum for unity, only through the SP can we get unity."

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LMC:JLK - 13

ARNOLD of Philadelphia said that SP members minds are being changed. There is no crash program and opportunities must be taken when they appear. He disagreed with MAX that the CP is dead.

OWEN said we must utilize this period and take advantage of the correct line.

CHARLIE from Los Angeles said, "We have a good line. We are beginning to come alive. I don't think the American Forum will last. Don't neglect the left to go to the right."

BEN HALL said we must consolidate the left and the right. GORDON HASKELL in his summary said that he had made a mistake in some of the information that he had gathered and was misinformed and an apology was due to MAX SHACHTMAN from him and he wished to apologize. HASKELL then said "WILSON's (Agent's note: B.J. WIDICK.) mind is set and will not investigate any other side of the question. There are MAX and his followers avoiding the concrete facts. This is a crash program. There is no great gain for us. CP has a way to break away from their isolation. We have much in common with the SP-SDF. We are all social Democrats. Some comrades believe the minority is against unity, but we must discuss all angles and points of view. The minority asks questions and discussion. Is the question of unity for the best advantage and welfare of the organization? We are small and compact. We can live our own life and not go into a common-law marriage with another organization. We are asking you for your vote for a policy, not a speech or a resolution. We should reconsider before we get into another organization. We'll be too late after we join. We must live friendly together."

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LMC:JLK - 14

Informant advised that HALL took 30 minutes for his summary and then MAX SHACHTMAN gave his summary and he was allowed an additional five minutes.

SHACHTMAN said in his summary that we as Trotskyites led our entire delegation into the SP in 1936. He said that at that time we did not consult the membership or anybody else, we just turned over lock, stock and barrel everything into the SP and told the membership later.

SHACHTMAN said we crawled back without any concessions. He said everybody knows what is going on now and the SP knows and GORDON knows. He said we needed friendliness and for the first time we have contact with the CP, the first time in history. He said MAC AVOY from the ALP, who would not be accepted into the SWP, would be willing enough to go along. Is the SWP for the third camp? No, they are not. Do any of you know any other road? No, not even I know any other road. If this fails the ISL movement will be set back 20 years. Equal rights for all members is all I ask. SHACHTMAN said he was a factional fighter and said it was nothing more than a faction fight. He said that God endowed you with brains to think; use them. It is just the same as with an engine. You can build an engine right to the closest tolerance, but you need oil to run that engine. He said that is just what the socialist needs, more political personality. Somebody that knows politics better to act as oil. SHACHTMAN recommended they accept his resolution..

The Informant advised that when the "American Question: Unity and Regroupment" was brought up for vote it received 26 votes for Unity and Regroupment. Informant advised someone called for a roll call vote of the National Committee present. Eleven voted for the Unity and Regroupment resolution and one abstained.

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Informant advised that the next question brought up at the convention was the Resolution on Future Conventions and discussion of the ISL by the NC. It was decided that nothing would be done until the membership was notified. It was also decided that in the event the ISL succeeds in making terms with the SP-SDF, the NC would not take final action on the matter until it obtained the approval of the membership. There was not too much discussion on this particular part and practically the entire delegation was in favor. The vote for the Resolution on Future Conventions was 21 in favor, two opposed and one abstention. Informant advised that included in the Resolution for Future Conventions was a recommendation to the National Committee to keep the convention open and allow the press and others in on the sessions. The executive sessions would still be restricted, of course, but this would not be told to the public.

Informant advised that after the vote on this resolution, it was decided to have lunch. [redacted]

[redacted] asked a few questions about B.J. WIDICK and his activity in the UAW, and the extent of WIDICK's connections at the UAW International Headquarters. Informant told [redacted] that WIDICK was in good standing with the membership of his own local as well as at the headquarters of UAW. Informant also told [redacted] that WIDICK had just finished some sort of a project that the UAW had him write, some sort of a book on the UAW. [redacted] knew about the book, but he was rather skeptical about WIDICK denying that he was actually a Reutherite and yet he supported REUTHER's program on a number of occasions. [redacted] wanted to know what the difference actually was and he couldn't deny that WIDICK always did say he was a critical supporter of REUTHER and couldn't actually be called an out and out Reutherite.

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[redacted] wanted to know how we could benefit by having WIDICK and people like WIDICK in the UAW or in the union labor movement.

Informant advised that [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]. Informant advised that [redacted]
[redacted] and there was quite a crowd there discussing everything under the sun.

[redacted]

Informant advised that JOE ROANE of New York was the chairman of the afternoon session on July 6, 1957.

BEN HALL took the stand for the majority of the National Committee or the Political Committee on the "Socialist Perspectives in the United States."

(Agent's note: Informant furnished on July 26, 1957, to SA [redacted], a copy of the "Socialist Perspectives in the U.S." which was furnished to the Informant at the ISL National Convention and from which BEN HALL presented the National Committee majority viewpoint. This literature is located in [redacted].)

The Informant advised BEN HALL said in part:

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"The period of setbacks, defeats, disintegration appears to be coming to an end. The resurgence of world socialism is visible. It is not necessarily the moment when a single giant stride forward will quickly change everything at once; but we have reached the dividing line between the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. The collapse of the 2nd International in the first world war; the defeat of revolutionary working class movements in the post-war era; everywhere but in Russia; the crushing of the German workers by HITLER, the Austrians by DOLFUSS; the Spanish by FRANCO; the Italians by MUSSOLINI; the victory of Stalinism over the Russian working class; and finally the second world war followed by the spread of Stalinism which wiped out every independent socialist, democratic and popular right where it triumphed--this was the grim course that led almost everywhere to demoralization and decline of socialism. In the U.S., it was this that facilitated the rise of Stalinism and reduced the democratic socialist movement to a group of small, fragmented sects. It is this period that is at last, coming to an end as Stalinism is struck by revolutionary, democratic socialist risings and is forced into decline as a world movement.

"What does this signify for the socialist movement in the U.S.? We have reached a turning point in events which demands a turn in the outlook of all socialists and all socialist groups. New opportunities arise; it is possible now to rebuild the democratic socialist movement. All groups, tendencies, sects and individuals that turn their attention to this task can make a lasting contribution to American socialism; those that turn their backs upon it, or who stand in the way, risk political obliteration and decline.

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"The new possibilities do not arise directly within the United States, out of big events in its domestic politics or out of the native class struggle. But they do arise in the United States. The task could be summed up as follows: 1. to rebuild the democratic socialist movement in the U.S. in the light of the new world situation and, 2. to win a place for it on the American political scene. These twin tasks: to reconstruct the movement and to bring socialism to the American people are of course intimately related; in fact, inseparable. It would be impossible to rebuild the movement unless it could hope for a new hearing before a new audience in the working class. And it would be impossible to win a new hearing unless the adherents of socialism can be reoriented and reassembled into an effective force.

"Socialist perspectives in the United States are dominated and determined by the following key facts:

1. The organization of the majority of the industrial working class into unions. The American workers are an organized class.
2. The fight of Negroes for full equality; above all, the struggles for democracy in the South.
3. The decline of McCarthyism.
4. The disintegration of the Communist Party and the collapse of Stalinism in the U.S.
5. The search for a road to Socialist regroupment and reunification.

"The organized working class number 18 million, a cohesive class force of unprecedented power. It is this class to which socialism must look if it is to become a real political force. Yet, this giant class, organized, remains non-socialist, even anti-socialist, tolerating capitalism as a social system.

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"The permanent organization of a majority of the industrial working class, an event consummated only ten years ago in the great post-war strike wave, is an historical achievement of exceptional importance. It influences the political development of the nation; it creates the basic preconditions for the rise of socialism and determines its course.

"A generation ago, the militant minority of the working class, strongly influenced by radicals and socialists, opened up the way to organization in the mass production industries and now the whole working class has poured through. There have been times when the organized labor movement was more democratic, more militant, more interested in independent political action, more receptive to socialist ideas than today. But the militant organized sector lived and fought surrounded by a vast unorganized, sometimes backward, and always helpless unorganized majority.

"The new fact of decisive significance is that these millions, this majority, in the course of decades of struggles in politics and in industry have raised themselves out of amorphous disorganization to conscious organized class power. What has been accomplished cannot be wiped out; it is the base upon which all future development begins. If the militant victory has stagnated, even moved backward, the majority, the whole class has advanced.

"The AFL-CIO merger was not the cause of this great advance; it resulted from it and climaxed the period. It represented, too, another step forward. All the gains of the past were preserved; all the rights and potentialities of industrial unionism were enforced. But more. The influence of the most conservative sections of the labor movement was instantly reduced to a minor position; corrupt elements were thrown on the defensive; the opponents of racism were encouraged. For decades progressives had

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"denounced racketeering in the unions and called for a fight against it. But the relationship of forces was such, that the CIO could do little outside of its own ranks and the AFL was paralyzed from within. Unity made it possible to begin what had been impossible in practice before. Above all, unity increases the political power, the self-confidence and class feeling of the workers, factors which, in the long run, enhance the possibilities of socialist consciousness.

"The trade unions, which are nothing less than the class movement of the American workers, will undoubtedly be staffed and led by officers who accept capitalism and carry on the trade union struggle within that framework; just as the vast majority of American workers, organized and unorganized, are pro-capitalist in their outlook and will remain so for some time.

"The interests of labor and of the nation imperatively require the formation of a new political party initiated by the unions, a Labor Party. This is the central issue of domestic politics. The founding of a new party would advance democracy and open up new possibilities for the rise of socialist influence. Wherever a strong working class possesses democratic rights, it organizes its own party--except in the U.S. The fact that this perspective is more than a remote abstraction but a realistic possibility here too is indicated at every critical point in the nation's politics. In 1948, to mention only one notable example, the UAW called for a 'political realignment' in the U.S. through a formation of a new peoples party, a proposal which could lead in essence only to a Labor Party. Since then the idea has remained on the shelf, inert, but in a somewhat attenuated form it comes up again and again, kept alive and available for use when necessary. Socialists in the unions propose that it be taken off the shelf and made a living proposal in the ranks of organized labor.

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"In the context of American politics, such groups represent not barriers to socialist ideas and politics but vehicles for the promulgation of democratic ideals and demands. As such, socialists, in good conscience, are able to participate as members and supports in the common cause of democracy. A revived socialist movement would properly urge its own followers to become active participants in such movements and by its structure and rules make it possible for them to do so.

"The labor movement plays an active role as a left-wing in bourgeois politics. It seeks political advantage and progress by supporting bourgeois candidates in one of the two old parties, generally in the Democratic Party. A correct socialist policy rejects the line of supporting bourgeois candidates as disorienting and self-defeating and stresses the alternative of a Labor Party.

"When the labor movement supports bourgeois candidates, despite the urgings of socialists, it campaigns among its membership for support in the elections. The more active, the more militant, the more union-conscious members, precisely those most likely to be interested in socialism and to look with sympathy upon it, are the first to follow the union's leadership in this respect. They do so not because they are eager to support capitalism or capitalist candidates but because they support their union out of feelings of class solidarity.

"If the union, for example, says: Vote for Mr. Democrat, Socialists should not reply by saying, 'Do not vote for Mr. Democrat.' Rather we point out in an educational manner that the policy of supporting those like him leads up a blind alley.

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"We do not, as a rule, favor that socialists run candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the labor movement even when it endorses bourgeois candidates. To repeat, we oppose the policy of supporting bourgeois candidates; if we do not favor running socialist candidates it is not to facilitate support to bourgeois candidates but solely to ensure that the small socialist movement does not pit itself against the class movement of labor. Any minor propaganda advantage offered by running candidates would be more than cancelled out by the antagonisms and difficulties created among labor militants loyal to the union and to its official policy.

"However, despite our own views, other groups may propose to run socialist candidates. From the standpoint of the long range question of the relationship between the socialist and labor movements in the U.S., it may be unwise, as we see it, to take such a step. But this is a period of discussion of socialist regroupment in which the shape and nature of a reunified socialist movement may be determined in a comparatively short time. Under such conditions, the attitude of the ISL toward socialist candidates in the elections will be determined not by the objective of making general socialist propaganda, or even propaganda for independent labor politics, but by the more immediate aim of furthering the most effective and desirable socialist regroupment."

Informant advised that HAL DRAPER was the next speaker and presented the Substitute Resolution which was co-authorized by DRAPER and ARCHIE WINTERS.

(Agent's note: The Informant furnished to SA [redacted], on July 26, 1957, a copy of the "Substitute Resolution for Part I - Socialism And The Labor Movement" by HAL DRAPER and ARCHIE WINTERS. This was furnished to the Informant at the ISL Convention and is located in [redacted].)

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The Informant advised that DRAPER said in part:

"In the past period the American working class has taken another great step in the march of class organization. In the '30s the great step was the industrial organization of the mass-production fields through the CIO upsurge; a decade later, it was the permanent organization of a majority of the industrial working class which was consummated in the great post-war strike wave; and a decade after that--in the couple of years just past--it has been the AFL-CIO merger, which once again united the by-now tremendously bigger labor federations, into the most powerful labor organization the country has known.

"The new fact of decisive significance is that these millions, this majority, in the course of decades of struggles in politics and in industry, have raised themselves out of amorphous disorganization to conscious organized class power. What has been accomplished cannot be wiped out; it is the base upon which all future development begins. If the militant minority has stagnated, even moved backward, the majority, the whole class, has advanced.

"In face of this giant organized labor movement, the socialist movement remains tiny. Its fundamental problem is still that of achieving ties to and roots in the big labor movement, as a part of it-- as that part of the labor movement which proposes a wider perspective, a more militant policy, a more independent and class struggle line.

"There are important tendencies making for new ferment and progressive discontent in the trade-union movement. In the shops, speedup, layoffs, decentralization, automation, and other issues remain problems that threaten the security of the workers. The more progressive union leaders, like

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"WALTER REUTHER, have failed to solve these problems no less than others. In more than one union, unexpected outbreaks of rebellion and discontent among the ranks against the top bureaucracy, have occurred to cast sudden light on the danger of ever assuming that the bureaucracy adequately reflects or represents the feelings or aspirations of the ranks. The Steel Workers Union, one of the more heavily bureaucratized of the big industrial unions, saw indeed one of the most dramatic evidence of this in its last union election. In the UAW too there is clearly evidence of sources of seething discontent underneath. These important movements of discontent reflect important unsolved problems of labor about which socialists have to have their say.

"Socialists aim to build a progressive, democratic, militant wing of the labor movement. They will work with all those who help to further the progress of such a wing. They are distinguished from all other unionists by their consistent struggle for democracy in the unions, for a militant fight for better working conditions, for a Labor Party and no reliance on capitalist politicians; in general, by the integration of their day-to-day struggles with their longer range views and solutions.

"We want to see a loyal opposition in the labor movement: loyal precisely in the sense that the Stalinist factions in the trade unions are not loyal oppositions, though unfortunately it is the Stalinists whose heinous record colors the attitude of many good workers, a fact we therefore take into account; but while loyal, an opposition on behalf of progressive policies as distinct from the official leaderships.

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"As a loyal left wing - loyal to the labor movement, not to the officialdom - we socialists have never demanded that unions accept any of our socialist ideas before we deign to support their real struggles; nor do we automatically attack everything done by the official leaders as 'betrayals.' The official labor movement, especially under pressure from the ranks, has made notable gains, and when this happens, socialists openly say so; we are not 'professional oppositionists.' However, our loyalty is first and foremost to the struggles of the workers against all of their enemies.

"We must show not the slightest sympathy for the trend of thought which says or implies: 'We've been through this old stuff about getting into the labor movement; it hasn't gotten us anywhere and it can't get anywhere. Let's not talk about it any more... Besides, there really isn't much that we can do in the labor movement nowadays anyway...' We reject any tendencies in this direction because this line of thought guarantees the isolation and stultification of the Independent Socialist movement.

"The central issue for labor, and the central issue of democratic politics, is still this: that the interests of labor and of the nation imperatively require the formation of a new political party based on the unions, a labor party. The founding of a new party would advance democracy and open up new possibilities for the rise of socialist influence. The fact that this perspective is more than a remote abstraction but a realistic possibility in this country is indicated in every critical point in the nation's politics. Although--since 1948 when the UAW was calling for a 'political realignment' through a new peoples party--the idea of a labor party has remained on the shelf, it comes up again and again, kept alive by the disappointments and disillusionments that result when labor's support to bourgeois candidates shows its unfruitfulness. Socialists in the unions have as one of their main tasks to propose that it be taken off the shelf and made a living proposal in the ranks of organized labor.

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"As far as the majority are concerned, socialists have the obligation to explain at all times, including during elections, in a patient and friendly manner that so long as labor continues to support bourgeois candidates, it will nullify its own power and find it impossible to win its most important political demands; that it is a mistake to support such bourgeois candidates; that nothing important can be gained by voting for them as the lesser evil; and thus seek to use the issue of the day and the lessons of the election to turn the workers and the labor movement as a whole against the present official line and in favor of a labor party.

"In general, the ISL since its inception has refrained from running election campaigns. It is even possible that at least at first even a new and broader socialist movement would have to do likewise, pending acquirement of more strength. The consideration in these cases is the degree to which the movement in any given case estimates the tactical advantages to be gained or lost from such a campaign, politically or organizationally; whether the campaign efforts are organizationally practicable and bid fair to be politically fruitful; and considerations of this order.

"But where these considerations are taken care of, socialists should and must seek the advantages and the gains that become possible with the running of a socialist campaign and socialist candidates counterposed to the old parties. This is one of the most important party-building means available to strengthen the new, broader socialist movement toward which we look. Far from considering that such a socialist campaign is a bad thing because it counterposes socialists to the official labor bureaucracy, or to bourgeois candidates supported by the official labor movement, we would urge it as a good thing, one of the best things the movement can do, to bring socialist ideas before the people precisely when political interest is at a maximum, and before the workers while they are faced with the disillusioning results of the 'lesser evil' line. Thus a socialist campaign could be of great value in helping and supplementing also progressive aims in the trade unions, particularly in educating for independent political action and a labor party."

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Informant advised that ARCHIE WINTERS as co-author of the amendment was allowed to speak for ten minutes.

JULIE FAULK then asked for permission to insert some changes in the resolution itself and wanted to amend certain paragraphs. FAULK was allowed to read off each paragraph and the change that he wanted to make and this took quite some time to do because the Rules Committee had mentioned the fact that anyone who wanted to make an amendment could speak ten minutes on each amendment. FAULK had four paragraphs that he wanted amended. FAULK said that you might as well take them all, and not one at a time which would prolong the session.

Informant advised that after JULIE finished fooling around with the amendments, a vote was taken on them and it was decided to refer them back to the incoming national committee. The Informant advised that during the course of both the report by HALL and the report by DRAPER, they each called the other various names and each said the other did not understand the labor movement to any extent and the issue got quite hot between them.

During the discussion period most of the people that got up spoke on whether you could work within the UAW and not consider yourself a Reutherite. Informant advised there was a lot of dissent against WIDICK's attitude in the UAW which was to remain as a critical Reutherite.

During the discussion others brought up the subject of running candidates and MAX SHACHTMAN had quite a talk on that subject.

MANNIE GANNICK mentioned the Abner case.

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Informant advised discussions were then halted for the supper period. Informant advised that during the supper period he talked with a woman that was with ANN RUSSELL who said that she was an old friend of B.J. WIDICK. She said she had known WIDICK a long time ago and hadn't seen him in about 18 years. She also said she presently lives in Tucson, Arizona, and that she occasionally comes back to New York, and this time she was back to look about either selling or renting a home that she has in New York. This woman asked if WIDICK was at the meeting and the Informant told her that WIDICK had been there.

Informant said that after the supper period he introduced this woman to WIDICK and WIDICK recognized her immediately. WIDICK called her ALICE, but never did say what her last name was.

Informant described ALICE as about 47, about 5'1 or 5'2, with a medium build and graying hair which was originally dark brown. Informant advised that WIDICK did not talk to ALICE very long because JACKIE WIDICK (his wife) was close by with JACKIE's sister.

The Informant advised that later in the convention ALICE came over and talked to him and he told her that he was the official branch reporter and had to make some notes to report to the members who were at home. Informant said ALICE also asked him who the colored person who had been taking notes throughout the convention was.

The Informant advised that the convention reconvened after supper and the discussion continued quite some time on the topic of socialists in the labor movement. Informant said this issue got real hot and individuals were calling each other names and some of the opposition was from the Newark Branch and were with ARCHIE WINTERS.

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Informant advised that WINTERS had a rather large delegation of 5 or 6 people around him and although they were not delegates, they were nevertheless close by him and were probably members of the Newark Branch.

Informant advised that during this session B.J. WIDICK had a chance to defend himself and he said that most of them forgot about the past performances and support of various candidates and that there was no likelihood of the ISL supporting anybody other than the Labor Party candidate.

The Informant advised that the issue got quite hot and WIDICK and some of the others left the room and it seemed like there was a big fight going on out in the hallway. Informant said that it was kept rather quiet and nobody seemed to know who the fighters were although two people did come back in that looked rather beaten up. Informant advised he could see through a side door that was open and somebody had a sport shirt that was almost completely torn off. Informant said he did not see WIDICK anymore that night but when he did see him the next day he did not appear to be bruised or to have been in the fight. Informant advised that WIDICK might have been in a heated argument or someone else may have been doing the fighting for WIDICK.

Later that evening when MICHAEL HARRINGTON made a speech his shirt sleeve was torn, but he didn't look as though he was in a fight.

DRAPER then presented his summary and said that we are not Stalinists and the affair as presented by the majority of the committee is only a one sided affair. He said it was a long time since the world liked our dogmas and we have a third camp dogma which up to now the world does not like. DRAPER said which one of the old dogmas will be thrown out. What are you voting for, SHACHTMAN or DEBBIE.

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BEN HALL in his summary said nothing on the socialist movement. He said do we come forward as an opposition? You must regulate yourself in the union movement. We must wait for an opportune moment. For those in the factory today, we must reach the workers with a political line.

Informant advised that on the resolution "Socialist And The Labor Movement" there was some opposition and the delegation voted 19 for the resolution and four against. All amendments and wording were to be referred to the incoming national committee. Informant advised that the next item on the agenda was "The Organization. GATES, Reporter." Discussion was limited to five minutes.

AL GATES said that it would not be necessary to give the numbers of members from the various branches because each branch knew exactly how many members there were and he said that there was no single branch that made any reports and he felt that perhaps the center was at fault too for not demanding the reports. GATES said he had sent out a questionnaire and he inquired of each branch of the number of members that were paid up to date. Otherwise, the members could not become delegates unless their dues were paid. GATES said he did not receive one reply from any branch at all.

GATES gave a report on the hearings in Washington last Summer and he said that they made inquiries about when they were going to get an answer and they found out that all of the data is to be turned over to some attorney in the Attorney General's Office and he was to study them and make a decision. GATES said JOSEPH RAUH told him that he had contacted this attorney and found out the attorney had been hospitalized for four months and there was a delay and that probably they should be hearing sometime this year what the answer will be from the Attorney General's Office on their Washington hearings. GATES said that most of the cost of the hearing was raised by the ISL and some of it by the Civil Liberties.

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GATES stated that the center would be re-organized and that TAYLOR would be a part-time man who spends some time composing the paper. FAULK would be a part-time man, and HAL DRAPER was to be an editor at least in a consultant form. GATES said that YETTA BARSH is to become the finance officer. All of these positions are part time.

GATES said that with the prospect of money coming in and having so many people working part time, someone had to be the finance officer and hold the purse strings and YETTA BARSH was picked to do that. GATES said that he was going on vacation and that GORDON HASKELL would still be the editor and HERMAN BENSON would become the editor of "Labor Action." GATES said that L.G. SMITH would still be the business manager. Informant advised that L.G. SMITH is GORDON HASKELL.

GATES said that with the new set up there would be more correspondence between the branches and the center. After GATES presented his report, discussion started on the report on the organization. TED ENRIGHT from Los Angeles said that present correspondence must be maintained.

ARNOLD of Seattle felt that a weekly bulletin was needed. BARNEY ARNOLD of San Francisco said the lack of correspondence with the coast is incredible. He said they were so far behind that they wouldn't know anything unless SHACHTMAN was on the tour. He said that fortunately SHACHTMAN was on the tour and they found out various things that went on in the east during that period.

BARNEY ARNOLD said that the A.J. MUSTE forums were not published and no information was obtained by the west coast. He felt that it was the center's responsibility to send correspondence at least on the MUSTE forums.

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LMC:JLK - 32

GORDON HASKELL said that any one branch was important as any other branch and he would certainly like to see the people get information on all of the forums and the activities in the center and elsewhere. But, HASKELL said, there was no way for them to be able to do this with the help they had in the center.

LEEDS of Los Angeles felt that if there was a question on Poland or any European countries they could wait for an answer, but on the American forums and questions concerning ourselves, we should know as soon as possible.

WALKER said that without the youth organization, they would never know what was going on anywhere.

MAX MARTIN said that all complaints could be multiplied, remultiplied and remultiplied and they would be justified. He said that he thought we could function better in the next period and said that the branches were also to blame for lack of information to the center.

ARNOLD of Philadelphia asked MAX SHACHTMAN if the National Committee had met since the last convention. SHACHTMAN said there had not been a committee meeting since the last convention and the only thing that has been held was the plenum a few days before the present convention.

ARNOLD of Philadelphia continued and said that he and his branch are very interested in the work with the colored people and he said they are members of the NAACP and said they are also engaged in a lot of third camp work.

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STANLEY GRAY of New York said we can increase recruitment and get more help but we cannot with an administrative tightening up.

An unknown girl who was present at practically all of the sessions but who was never mentioned by name said the problem of getting information from the center was a two-way proposition and it was the branch's and the center's problem.

JERRY MC DERMITT of Pittsburgh said that due to the lack of correspondence the youth did not know what was going on and he said the youth don't know that they can't recruit and so they do. MC DERMITT said that the ISL should find out that it can't be done too and then do it.

AL GATES summarized and said that he admitted that the west coast was not getting as much information as some of the eastern branches or branches that contacted the center occasionally, and he proposed a new set up for the west coast. GATES said there were a lot of decisions that could be made by the west coast and he felt that since it was so far from New York that they should have some sort of a conference set up and to take immediate action or almost immediate action on their own.

The Informant advised that all recommendations were accepted and agreed upon and turned over to the incoming national committee for further development and following through.

The Informant advised that time was running rather short and it was proposed that the schedule be changed and that the greetings from the YSL be received on Saturday night instead of Sunday, and it was so agreed.

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LMC:JLK - 34

Informant advised that MICHAEL HARRINGTON spoke and extended the greetings from the YSL. HARRINGTON said that speaking of correspondence the youth really were not short of correspondence or printing or writing of any kind. He said the all inclusive social group passed 460 pages of pre-convention discussion and they just got through the day before the ISL convention started. He said that harsh words were spoken but that as of now there would be no split in the YSL.

HARRINGTON said the YSL has a serious internal problem and we still remain a small organization. He said compared with other youth organizations, we are the only one that has representation from coast to coast and border to border. He said that although we are small, we are actually the largest youth organization in the country and are very active. He said the YSL have done some recruiting and two or three have defected, but it really doesn't mean anything.

HARRINGTON said that the YSL has maintained Deb's Clubs at Columbia, Manhattan and Brooklyn. He said this coming Fall four new charters for YSL branches will be issued. One of them is in Texas and one in Nex Mexico, and he didn't say where the other two were. HARRINGTON said that it was time they were starting to recruit on a larger scale due to the fact that some of the youth have to begin dyeing their gray hair and it was time that they step down and really let the youth surge forward.

HARRINGTON also suggested that wherever possible the branches should help establish various clubs on campuses and start organizations for the youth in various cities and that they should work in harmony and very close together. He said they feel that in this way they get the best results for both the YSL and the ISL. HARRINGTON also said that this Fall there would be tours established from one end of the country to the other and speeches would be made at campuses or wherever they would be invited.

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LMC:JLK - 35

Informant advised that the session broke up on Saturday evening after 11:00 p.m., and he said that ANN RUSSELL was the Chairman of the session on Saturday night.

DE 100-9025
LMC/lh - 1

Informant advised that during the Saturday session, he had talked with STANLEY GRAY and his wife, LOUISE. He talked with LEEDS of Los Angeles and ARCHIE LEIBERMAN of Newark. Informant advised that LEIBERMAN was upset over WIDICK's attitude and felt that the ISL should have campaigns, support various candidates and what not. LEIBERMAN could not understand how WIDICK could manage to work within the UAW and remain a critic of REUTHER and work with REUTHER, and not call himself a Reutherite.

Informant advised that he also talked with REVELLA BENSON and HERMAN BENSON and HERMAN BENSON was quite interested in the fact that the U. S. Rubber Company in Detroit had been shut down over the past four weeks by a strike. BENSON wanted to know what the trouble was and the Informant told BENSON that it was not a matter of wages, but was more or less internal grievances. REVELLA BENSON talked about the weather and said that this was the first time she had a baby sitter for the children, and she was also going to arrange to be present for the Sunday session of the convention. REVELLA said she wanted to hear the closing remarks of SHACHTMAN and the others, and she said she thought it was a pretty good convention with not too many disturbances. She said the only thing she could complain about was that there were too many people smoking and occasionally making noise. REVELLA said that this was no place for children, but what could you do if you want to attend the session. She said you cannot get a baby sitter and the only thing left to do is bring the children to the convention. Informant advised that the BENSONS have trouble getting baby sitters and have to pay high wages for them, and they, therefore, usually take turns staying at home.

Informant advised that before the convention disbanded before supper on Saturday, B. J. WIDICK suggested that OSCAR PASKAL would like to sit at the Sunday morning session. WIDICK also said that he would appear at the Sunday morning session, but that he would not stay very long.

DE 100-9025
LMC/lh - 2

WIDICK told the Informant that if WIDICK did not seat himself at the convention Sunday morning, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. WIDICK said that if he did attend the session, he could not stay very long, but that if any votes were taken before noon WIDICK would vote. WIDICK said that he had to leave at noon on Sunday because he was taking KUPPY SCOTT and the children home with himself and JACKIE WIDICK.

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Informant advised that he talked with T. J. MULLINS during Saturday evening and MULLINS said that AL NASH was around asking various persons to come and visit him, and that NASH was giving a little party for some of the delegates at his house. MULLINS said that AL NASH was living somewhere around 70th Street which was close to where MULLINS was staying with his wife's brother.

Informant advised that T. J. MULLINS did not mention the name of his wife's brother, but MULLINS' wife's maiden name was BLAIR and her brother apparently lives in New York City, and T. J. and BONNIE MULLINS stayed with him during the convention.

The Informant advised that just prior to closing the Saturday night session of the convention, BARNEY ARNOLD of San Francisco made a motion to start the Sunday session at 9 a.m. and give everyone a chance to leave that had to make any plane or train connections. Informant advised that this measure was voted on and 19 voted to start the convention at 9 o'clock Sunday morning.

Informant advised that the Sunday morning session, July 7, 1957, did not actually get under way until about 11 o'clock. He advised that BARNEY ARNOLD himself did not arrive at the convention hall until about 9:45 a.m. Informant advised that when ARNOLD arrived he tried to get enough delegates together to have a quorum, but that it took ARNOLD about an hour to get the necessary quorum. ARNOLD was peeved about the matter and he felt that he was being delayed without any justifiable reason.

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Informant advised that the session got under way on July 7, 1957, with ANN RUSSELL as Chairman. Informant advised that GORDON HASKELL made the report on the press. Informant advised that HASKELL read practically every word of the "Changes in Our Press" that had been issued some time ago to refresh the memory of the delegates. Informant advised that the parts that HASKELL read off were as follows:

(Agent's note: [redacted] furnished to SA [redacted] on July 26, 1957, a copy of "On Changes in Our Press" from which HASKELL read his report. This literature is located in [redacted].)

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"Proposals for changes in our publication set-up have been discussed by every recent convention of the ISL. As we approach this convention, there is at least one significant difference in the discussion. In contrast to the past, this time every functionary and member of the PC agrees that some change is inevitable.

"It is not necessary for us to go into the reason for this in detail. For years the ISL has performed an incredible feat in getting out a weekly tabloid and a quarterly magazine with the financial resources at its disposal. Now everyone recognizes that it is impossible to continue to do this. Although I venture to say that no organization with similar resources in America has succeeded in maintaining such a press schedule over a sustained period, it is clear to all that we can continue to do so no longer.

"Before we discuss the alternatives open to us, it is desirable to say a few words about what our press has cost us. Since there is only a certain amount of money available to us, our decision to pour every available penny into the press has meant that all other aspects of our functioning as a national organization have had to be restricted accordingly. In the first instance, this has cost us a functioning national office which corresponds to the needs of the organization. Unless one has ample, competent unpaid labor with which to staff a national office, one has to pay to staff it. Since we were not lucky enough to have such labor, our national office has had to limp along with what spare time efforts various comrades in New York could devote to it. The results are too well known to every branch in the country to require elaboration here.

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"But now, even if the membership were to decide that we could continue to get along with the kind of national office we have had, or lacked, in the interest of maintaining our press at its present level, this cannot be done.

"So we all have to face it. Some degree of retrenchment is necessary. This is especially hard to take today, when we all feel that opportunities will open for us in the period ahead which we have lacked for some time. But when an organization has over-extended itself too long, it cannot always choose the most appropriate moment at which to reduce its functioning to levels more in keeping with its actual resources.

"It is quite understandable that when comrades are faced with the need to retrench, they try to find a way to make as little of a change as possible. Instead of taking the opportunity to assess the real position, needs and capabilities of the organization afresh, such comrades approach the problem from the point of view of 'rocking the boat' as little as possible. It is from this approach, in my opinion, which the idea stems that if we have to cut back, we simply get out the present LABOR ACTION every other week, instead of weekly, and continue with the quaterly NEW INTERNATIONAL.

"I do not deny that such a set-up is possible for us. I do not deny that with such a set-up, it is even conceivable that we could strengthen considerably the functioning of the national office, though its maintenance over a period of time would be questionable. What I wish to strongly urge, however, is that such a set-up would not be the most desirable for the ISL at the present time.

"In my opinion, our press needs at the present time would best be served by concentrating all our financial and journalistic resources on a monthly magazine of roughly the size and format of the American Socialist, but with at least 32 pages per issue.

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"Now, it is clear that in and of itself, a monthly magazine as the sole publication of an organization such as ours presents certain problems. It cannot at all fulfill the 'house organ' functions mentioned above. It would have to be supplemented by a regular weekly or bi-weekly organizational-political newsletter which would serve those and other functions. With a monthly magazine, such a newsletter would be entirely feasible, within our means, and is a necessary part of the proposal. Further, such a newsletter would not simply stand by itself, but would be a product of a functioning national office which would also be guaranteed by the release of money and manpower involved in retrenching to a monthly publication.

"This needs to be stressed, once again, because it is, or should be, a vital consideration in the minds of all of us who are thinking about how best to carry on the work of the ISL in the period ahead. In reaching their conclusions about the whole problem of our press and our future functioning, the comrades in the branches should consider this also: how much would a really efficiently functioning national office mean to you? How much would it mean to you to get prompt replies to communications and questions from New York; to be informed promptly and fully of all important developments and decisions there?

"Now, I would not seek to prove that it is impossible that this can be done with a bi-weekly LA plus NI. We will do everything possible to improve the situation, and concrete proposals and steps are being taken to seek to improve it in any event. But all I can confidently assert is this: The bi-weekly plus quarterly means that we will continue to be straining and over-straining just to get out our press. In the past this has meant that in such circumstances whenever anything had to be let go, it was some function or functionary of the national office which went down the drain under the implied slogan 'the press at any cost.' If we decide to continue with a press which will be over-inflated for our circumstances, I see no reason to really expect different results in the future.

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"There are at least two other aspects of our work in the past which have been sacrificed to our over-extended press. This is the possibility of getting out pamphlets, and our international relations. Both have gone by the board for one essential reason: since every nerve and brain-cell at the center had to be strained to get out our press, there was nothing left over for pamphlets and the systematic development of contacts and propagation of our views abroad.

"Here again, comrades must weigh and decide. There is really no reason why, given a concentration of our publication on a monthly magazine, we could not get out a limited number of absolutely essential pamphlets in the next period. I would not be so foolhardy as to promise that they would actually be gotten out. But one thing is certain, the chief obstacle to their coming out in the past would be greatly reduced.

"Since a retrenchment to a single monthly publication is more drastic than retrenchment to a bi-weekly plus quarterly, there is an understandable feeling that it might give such an impression of weakness on our part that unity with us would seem less desirable to some elements in the SP-SDF, who now incline toward it.

"I would not pretend to be privy to the thought-processes of the membership or leadership of the SP-SDF on this question.

"Since the proposal for a single monthly publication would make possible, in my opinion, the solid functioning of our national office, the regular issuance of an organizational-political newsletter, the appearance of pamphlets, I am confident that it will improve the external appearance of our organization just as it will improve its internal functioning. This will be so for anyone but the most casual observer immediately, and SP-SDFers seriously concerned with unity with us would not be casual observers."

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MAX SHACHTMAN then reported for the majority of the Political Committee. He said that the Political Committee had agreed to make "Labor Action" a biweekly publication instead of a weekly, and have "New International" as a quarterly publication. MAX said probably we could even find time to get some pamphlets and possibly a newsletter in between. SHACHTMAN made quite a speech about the importance of the ISL press. He said that the press was actually the life of the Party, and that sacrifices had to be made but he did not think we were in such a dire position that everybody and everything would collapse just because we retrench to a biweekly. Informant said that SHACHTMAN spoke for about 20 minutes on the press.

GORDON HASKELL felt insulted when SHACHTMAN made the statements that the Political Committee had agreed to make the changes with the newspaper without even asking him or mentioning the fact to him. HASKELL said that as far as he knew, there was no meeting on the matter and nobody knew anything about it. Informant advised that this caused an uproar among the delegation and a 10-minute recess was declared. During the recess, SHACHTMAN gathered together a few of his helpers and henchmen, BENSON and GATES, and they went out into the hallway. JULIE FAULK, HASKELL and DRAPER joined them and they were out in the hall about 20 minutes trying to reach a compromise. Informant advised that during the time SHACHTMAN and this group were out in the hall, there were all kinds of remarks among the delegation and they did not like SHACHTMAN's attitude. Informant advised that some of the delegates really gave SHACHTMAN a going-over because of SHACHTMAN's attitude at the convention. Informant advised that SHACHTMAN was rather surprised and shocked at the reaction of the delegation and had to do something in a hurry to quell the tide against him. He said that after order was more or less restored and everybody had talked and cooled themselves off a bit, the session was continued.

HASKELL took the floor and said that things seemed to be smoothed out, and that they were in agreement on the status of the press and they would continue for at least 90 days to publish "Labor Action" on a weekly basis and then if retrenchment was required, "Labor Action" would be published biweekly and "New International" published

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quarterly. If further retrenchment was necessary, the two would be combined into a monthly magazine. Informant advised that this problem was to be decided by the incoming National Committee.

HASKELL said that the whole thing principally depended on money. He said that money was not coming in from the branches and if they could be guaranteed at least \$200 a week, in addition to what was already coming in, they could get necessary help to put out "Labor Action" every week. HASKELL said that everybody around the National Center had to have part-time work or starve. He said that the functionaries of the national office were not getting paid. HASKELL said that, for instance, HAL DRAPER is supposed to get a salary of \$24 a week, and at this rate it would take a long time to run up a bill of more than \$2,400, which is what the Center owes HAL DRAPER right now. HASKELL tried to point out and bring home the fact that no one in the Center actually gets paid on time because the branches do not send in money and the branches cannot send money in because the members do not pay the branch. HASKELL said there is absolutely no reason why money should not be coming in better than it was.

Informant advised that SHACHTMAN agreed with all this and was rather quiet and subdued about the whole thing, but it was still nevertheless SHACHTMAN's victory. SHACHTMAN got exactly what he wanted. He advised that when the question was voted on, the membership voted for the recommendation that "Labor Action" would be continued as a weekly publication for 90 days, then retrench to biweekly if necessary, and if further retrenchment was necessary, a monthly combination of "Labor Action" and "New International" would be published.

Informant advised that the convention hall was then cleared of all visitors with a few exceptions. He said that SAM FISHMAN was supposed to be a visitor to the convention, but he was allowed to remain. ALBERT GATES then got up and proposed that the nominees for the National Committee would be given. GATES proposed the following people be the nominees for the National Committee: MAX SHACHTMAN, BEN HALL, ALBERT GATES, ANN RUSSELL, GORDON HASKELL, who is also known as L. G. SMITH and LARRY O'CONNOR, MAX MARTIN, AL FINDLY,

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JULIE FAULK, and MICHAEL HARRINGTON, who, according to the Informant, is Chairman of the YSL.

Informant advised that all of the above 10 persons were from New York or Brooklyn. GATES also read off the following names: BARNEY ARNOLD of San Francisco, DAN LEEDS of Los Angeles, JERRY MC DERMOTT from Pittsburgh, WILSON from Detroit, and DON MURAIN from Detroit.

Informant advised that the next name mentioned was SAM and there was no city given. Informant said that he believed that SAM may be from Detroit.

The next name mentioned was MANNY GANNICK from Buffalo, ARNOLD from Philadelphia, and MC DONALD from Seattle.

Informant advised that GATES then mentioned the names of the alternates to the National Committee who were JOE ROANE of New York, DEBBIE MIERS of Chicago, MAX of Chicago, FENWICK of Newark, TED ENRIGHT of Los Angeles, ARNOLD of Seattle, BETTY of Cleveland, JUSTIN, FERGUSON from Chicago, and HAL DRAPER.

Informant advised that these were the only names that he could remember as being mentioned by GATES for alternates to the National Committee, and it was possible that there were some more alternates mentioned.

Informant advised that after the names were submitted to the delegation by GATES, noon hour was taken for lunch.

Informant advised that [redacted] and [redacted] said that he had to pick up something out of somebody's car from Newark. Informant advised that [redacted] then went across the street with this man and picked up a piece of paper from the car, and [redacted] and the man went into a shop down the street. Informant advised that, although no names were mentioned, this individual was possibly [redacted]. Informant advised that [redacted].

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Informant advised that SHACHTMAN and SAM FISHMAN hung back from the others for awhile, and that SAM FISHMAN came on to lunch before MAX actually did. Informant advised that [redacted] and during lunch there was a man sitting at one of the tables and was talking with BEN HALL. Informant advised that they were later told that this man was an SPer and was questioning BEN HALL on some matters: How long HALL had been in the Party, what he had done in the Party, and when he first joined, where he went to school, etc. BEN told the man that he went to Washington School and BEN said that he was an instructor, and here HALL mentioned the name of something which was more or less a portion of the Workers Party. HALL later explained that he was training the youth in machine shop work and they had an old lathe and some equipment. HALL gave the man he was talking to the impression that he was an instructor for the Workers Party instructing members to learn trades to get into the union movement. Informant said this man seemed quite satisfied, and that after MAX SHACHTMAN came to where they were eating, SHACHTMAN and the SPer went to a vacant table and held a conference. Informant advised that while they were still at the table, SAM FISHMAN and BEN HALL were talking and BEN said to SAM, "Well, what do you think of the list?" Informant advised that he believed that HALL was referring to the National Committee list and SAM FISHMAN then said, "Well, about that subject we were talking about, I'll kick it around a bit and let you know later."

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Informant advised that on the way back to Adelpia Hall, BEN HALL stopped to talk to someone in a car that drove up. HALL knew this man and talked with him for awhile and asked him where he had been keeping himself and why he had not shown himself for quite some time. This man told HALL that he was quite busy at home, and that he did expect to come around again very soon. Informant advised that this man asked about BEN's family, and that he was driving a 1954 model Buick.

Informant advised that during the discussion at lunch hour, [redacted]

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Informant advised that the afternoon session, July 7, 1957, then got under way in Adelphia Hall. ALBERT GATES asked everyone present to tear up the slips of names of the National Committee, and the Informant advised that OSCAR PASKAL had copied down the names of the National Committee nominees and he tore up the slip. Informant advised that all of the nominees were then acclaimed into office.

Discussion was then held on the conference that was to be set up on the west coast and the following plan was arrived at. The National Committee member from each branch, one from Seattle, one from San Francisco and one from Los Angeles, would select or have elected a member from the Youth Organization from each city to represent the youth on a more or less equal basis. The National Committee members and the youth members would make up the conference. These people would then hold the conferences and make reports on the conferences to the individual branches. The west coast would thus have a more or less free hand and would not have to wait for approval on certain matters from the national office.

Informant advised that the convention did not actually decide what the west coast conference could or could not do, and this was to be worked out by the incoming National Committee who would notify the conference and the conference members exactly what their limitations would be.

Informant advised that some of the west coast members commented that they were finally getting recognition from the national office and the national office

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was beginning to realize that San Francisco, Los Angeles and Washington were not just a stone's throw from New York City, and that a good means of communication between the west coast and the national office was needed for them to function properly.

DAN LEEDS then mentioned the name of someone who is presently located in San Diego and said that this person was doing a good job for the ISL. Informant advised he did not hear the name that LEEDS mentioned but that this person was evidently a member of the ISL. LEEDS said that he was willing to step down as a National Committee member and have this man take LEEDS' place. This request was turned down and it was decided that something could be worked out later on concerning this man.

There was also some difficulty concerning ARNOLD of Seattle who is a youth member. ARNOLD said he had no idea of being appointed to the National Committee but he felt that being an alternate was not quite right and if they wanted to make him anything at all, he should be a member of the National Committee and not an alternate. AL GATES explained to ARNOLD that an alternate had just as much to say at any of the meetings as a National Committee member and, therefore, ARNOLD should not worry about that or feel that he is degraded in any way. GATES said they feel that as long as ARNOLD is still in the youth they would rather have him as an alternate and let him continue his youth work there on the west coast and it would help the organization much better than if he had to leave the youth altogether. The request was that ARNOLD remain in the Youth Organization as an alternate on the National Committee and ARNOLD agreed to that.

Informant described ARNOLD as about six feet tall, with a close-cropped haircut, blue eyes, with a very nice build and very quiet spoken. Informant advised that ARNOLD was mild-mannered and an excellent speaker. Informant advised that some of the delegates felt that ARNOLD should have been made a National Committee member and expressed their views on that, but the matter stood just as AL GATES presented it.

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The question was also brought up that some of the names mentioned for the National Committee were not even present at the convention and GATES explained this. He said it would not make any difference whether they were present or not in that they were members of the National Committee. GATES said it was more or less of a duty that they felt would be accepted by all and, if not, any member could later resign from the National Committee. Informant advised that there was no vote actually taken on the people that were appointed to the National Committee.

MAX SHACHTMAN then gave the farewell speech. He said he thought that the 1957 convention of the ISL was the best convention ever held. MAX felt that a lot would come out of this convention. He said the organization is trying to better itself by unity with the Socialist Party and unity under no terms as far as the ISL was concerned. Informant advised that SHACHTMAN said in one portion of his speech that regardless of the opposition of some people to get into the Socialist Party, don't spit in the well that you expect to drink from later on. MAX said they all seemed to be in accord as far as unity was concerned and if it was possible to unite with the Socialist Party, the ISL itself would be willing enough to get in the Socialist Party and the only condition that SHACHTMAN wanted was equal rights for all members of the ISL when they get into the Socialist Party. SHACHTMAN said he invited a few from other parties to attend this convention at various times and they did attend. He said there was not anything to hide or that we wanted hidden. He said by this, we can always have an open convention. He said this would give them something to think about because it is something they themselves do not do. SHACHTMAN said we are not afraid of any of our questions and any of our discussions could be public.

SHACHTMAN said that as far as security was concerned, he felt that anybody that wanted to know anything certainly knew where to find it, and they probably had any information they wanted to get. Concerning unity and regroupment, SHACHTMAN said he felt that the ISL stood a very good chance of becoming a part of the Socialist Party. He said as things stand now, it looks very good. He could not

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promise whether it would take one month, two months, three months, or a year or two years, but said that did not matter. He said the quicker it would happen, the better, and the first steps had been taken. He said the other organizations may have everything or anything, but we have one thing that they do not have, and that is our Third Camp. He said whether they believe in it or whether they do not, does not matter, first we want unity.

SHACHTMAN also promised the delegation that no action would actually be taken in joining the Socialist Party until either the branches would vote or some sort of a vote would be taken. He said all the details would be worked out in the National Committee. He said the incoming National Committee would decide whether they would have a referendum and, although some of the delegates preferred a referendum, MAX said it was quite impossible to have a referendum. He said under the circumstances, they would have to move quickly and some provision would have to be made and the National Committee would work out the details in the event anything had to be done in a hurry. SHACHTMAN promised the branches that they would be notified and the membership would have an opportunity to say one thing and another before they joined with any organization. SHACHTMAN also stressed the importance of contacting the reorganized center. He also impressed the delegation that money was needed to continue operating the center on an efficient basis and if it were possible, full-time help should be hired in matters that were extremely necessary, so that the press could function and all correspondence answered, and all details covering operating the national center could be taken care of promptly. SHACHTMAN wished all present the best of luck in continuing their fight for socialism.

ANN RUSSELL, who was the Chairman of the session, then adjourned the session.

MAX SHACHTMAN then took over the gavel and began pounding on the table and asking all the delegates and alternates and the other guests to leave so the National Committee could assemble in their first meeting after the convention. SHACHTMAN called the names of the committee

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and asked them to come forward to the front of the hall and sit down. The National Committee session was to begin immediately and those who were not attending the National Committee session began to leave the hall.

Informant advised that as the delegates began to leave and the National Committee began to assemble at the front of the hall, he shook hands with SHACHTMAN and bid BEN HALL, MANNY GANNICK and the others that he knew goodbye.

Informant advised that as he was leaving the convention, ANN RUSSELL apologized to him for not having been able to hold any conversation but the Informant told her that she had been very busy because she had been on the Presiding Committee.

Informant's report also contains the following observations concerning the ISL convention:

During one of the breaks for supper, [redacted] told the Informant [redacted]. She said that [redacted] did not want to show herself at any of the sessions for security reasons and on account of [redacted], she did not want to be seen around any of the sessions and was rather careful about her associates. Informant advised that [redacted] never showed herself at any of the sessions.

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KUPPY SCOTT was at the Saturday night session for only a few minutes, and that was the only session she attended.

Informant advised that AL NASH did not show himself at any of the Sunday sessions and MANNY GANNICK said that AL NASH had held a party Saturday night and GANNICK said he thought that all the party was for was to show how well off AL NASH was being outside of the movement. GANNICK said that all NASH wanted to do was to show off his house. GANNICK said it was not any kind of affair that could actually be called a party and he said all that NASH wanted to do was talk and tell about the advantages he had gained since he had left the ISL. GANNICK also said that he thought AL NASH was in favor of unity.

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T. J. MULLINS said that he and his wife, BONNIE, had driven from Detroit to West Virginia and left their children at T. J.'s parents' home in West Virginia. He said they flew to New York from West Virginia and they were going to reverse that procedure when going back. Informant advised that BONNIE MULLINS did not show herself for any length of time at any of the sessions. BONNIE MULLINS did a lot of shopping while in New York and kept herself busy, but did not show too much interest in the convention at all.

Informant advised that the woman named ALICE that said she knew B. J. WIDICK said she had not seen him for eighteen years. This woman said that her husband was a former organizer in the union movement and she said that he was a coal miner at one time in Pennsylvania. She said they were born in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and said that her husband was dead, and that he had been killed. Informant said ALICE did not indicate whether her husband was killed in an accident or some other way.

Informant advised that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] B. J. WIDICK left the
convention just before 12 o'clock and [REDACTED]

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JACKIE WIDICK told the Informant Saturday night that she was fed up with the convention and wished that she was back home in Detroit. She said she was really sick of the affair.

OSCAR PASKAL said that he was not going to leave New York on Sunday or Monday but was going to stay a day or so and get around town and enjoy himself. He said he was on his vacation. He also said that they had flown to New York and were going to fly back to Detroit. Informant advised that the convention was rather smooth and it was a quiet convention compared to other ISL conventions. Informant advised that AL GATES is going to have a leave of absence and B. J. WIDICK mentioned in Detroit a couple of weeks ago that GATES was going to go to Europe. GATES

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mentioned the case of JUSTIN on the west coast taking a leave of absence and JUSTIN was supposed to go away somewhere, but GATES stated he did not go. GATES said that he was not going away either.

The Informant advised that HAL DRAPER is supposed to take a trip and is supposed to go to Europe. Informant advised that DRAPER is going to take a leave of absence from the ISL press and someone said he was going to write a book, others said he was going to take some sort of a job, and others said he was just going to rest. Informant advised there were all kinds of rumors concerning DRAPER but one thing that could really be said was that he and SHACHTMAN have really had a falling out. Informant said he did not believe that SHACHTMAN and DRAPER would be able to patch things up immediately.

Informant advised that GORDON HASKELL will stick with MAX SHACHTMAN and under the circumstances, will stay with the ISL press.

MANNY GANNICK of Buffalo said that he had not said a word all during the convention because he was tired and he would just listen and let it go at that.

Informant advised that DON MURAIN, who was appointed a member of the National Committee, was formerly of Buffalo and this is his Party name. He said his real name is SLAIMAN and he is now in Detroit working for the UAW in some sort of an executive position. Informant advised that MURAIN did not show at the convention but was elected to the National Committee and as far as the Informant knew, MURAIN has always been a member of the National Committee. Informant advised that it was during the past year that MURAIN had come back from Europe where he had stayed for two and one-half years.

Informant advised that LUCILLE ALTMAN, a former Detroit, was a delegate from New York. She said that she may make a visit to Detroit this year if possible. She also said that she felt that Detroiters were much more closely banded together than members of the New York Branch, who were always cutting one another's throats and not at all as friendly as the people in Detroit.

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Informant advised that at the Friday and Saturday sessions of the convention, one GOLDMAN, who tried to unify the SWP and the Workers Party some time ago, was present. GOLDMAN did not speak at any of the sessions, although he talked to MAX SHACHTMAN and ALBERT GATES, and others, at the convention a number of times. Informant advised he did not know whether GOLDMAN was trying to engineer the unity movement or not.

Informant advised that at lunch on Sunday, July 7, 1957, BEN HALL suggested to ARCHIE LEIBERMAN that ARCHIE should accept a boy that BEN was going to send over to Newark and ARCHIE should try to get him enrolled into an apprentice class at the place where ARCHIE works. ARCHIE said there was a program of apprentices on over at their plant and he could get anyone in. BEN said he would send this person over and ARCHIE said if that was the same person that was supposed to come over and see him before, he never showed up when he told him to show up. BEN said he did not think it was the same person but he would send him over anyway. ARCHIE agreed that if this person did come over, he would try to get him in as an apprentice.

On August 2, 1957, [redacted] orally furnished to SA [redacted], descriptions of various individuals who attended the convention and whose first names or last names only were known to the Informant. These descriptions will be forwarded to the appropriate offices by separate letter.

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Dissemination to various offices concerning individuals who attended the ISL convention was determined by the Informant's knowledge or belief of the branch which the various subjects represented. In the event any office is aware of the identity and location of any subject, it is requested that the appropriate copy of this dissemination memorandum be forwarded to the appropriate office.