

MINUTES OF THE 22ND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 26, 27, 28, 29, 1967

First Session, Thursday, October 26, 1967 Convened at 10:13 a.m.

Convened by Dobbs.

Moment of Silence in Tribute to the Memory of Comrades Leo Bernard, John Chelstrom, Michael Geldman, Evelyn DeBoer, Yetta Fine, Emil Hansen, Dorothy Johnson, Ethel Preis, Lillian Roberts, and Steve Roberts.

Recommendation by Dobbs to send the following message to Comandante Fidel Castro, First Secretary, Communist Party of Cuba:

"The delegates to the twenty-second national convention of the Socialist Workers Party wish to extend to the Communist Party of Cuba and to the Cuban people, our heartfelt condolences on the death of Che Guevara. Revolutionaries everywhere mourn his death, as do millions of the oppressed. But we know that for the Cuban people the loss is particularly painful.

"We share your conviction that even in death Che will prove to be a powerful example and that the struggle against capitalism and imperialism will be intensified. As revolutionaries functioning in the heartland of imperialism, we recognize our special responsibility in this regard and pledge a redoubling of our efforts.

"In his magnificent message, published in the Tricontinental magazine, Che declared that revolutionary struggles such as that of the Vietnamese people 'continue to provoke repercussions within the United States; it is going to arouse a factor that was attenuated in the days of the full vigor of imperialism -- the class struggle inside its own territory.'

"The swift growth in both the size and militancy of the movement against the Vietnam war, as well as the rebellions in the black ghettos confirm Che's analysis. For our part we will do everything in our power to accelerate this process.

Yours fraternally,
s/ Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party"

Unanimously approved.

I. ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Motion by Dobbs for the National Committee: That Presiding Committee be composed of members of Political Committee: Dobbs, Kerry, J. Hansen, Novack, DeBerry, Halstead, J. Barnes, Sheppard, Shaw, L. Jones.

Carried.

Motion by Dobbs for Presiding Committee: That B. Hansen chair the opening session of the convention.

Carried.

Following motions by Shaw for the National Committee:

Motion: That the agenda of the convention be as follows:

1. Organization of Convention
2. World Movement Report
3. Independent Black Political Action Report
4. Political Report
5. Presidential Ticket
6. Antiwar Report
7. Youth Report
8. Swabeck Case
9. Organization Report
10. Election of National Committee

Carried.

Motion: That time allotted to Political Committee Reporters be as follows:

1. World Movement: 1½ hours plus ½-hour summary
2. Independent Black Political Action: 1 hour plus ½-hour summary
3. Political Report: 1¼ hours plus ½-hour summary
4. Antiwar Report: 1 hour plus ½-hour summary
5. Presidential Ticket: ½-hour
6. Youth Report: 1 hour plus ½-hour summary
7. Swabeck Case: ½ hour
8. Organization Report: 1 hour plus ¼-hour summary

Carried.

Motion: That there be two panels: 1) Trade Union Work, led by Dobbs and 2) Press and Literature, led by comrades in charge of departments.

Carried.

Motion: To adopt the Convention Schedule (see attached).

Carried.

Motion: That Daniels and White serve as convention secretaries.

Carried.

Motion: To elect a Credentials Committee consisting of three delegates.

Carried.

Nominations: Langston, S. Geldman, J. Johnson.

Motion: To elect the three nominees by acclamation.

Carried.

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

Carried.

Nominations: Massey, Halfhill, Doritty, A. Vinther.

Declinations: Doritty

Motion: To elect the three nominees by acclamation.

Carried.

Motion: To elect a Nominating Commission consisting of 21 delegates as follows: New York, 4; California, 4; Illinois, 2; Minnesota, 2; Massachusetts, 2; Michigan, 2; Ohio, 2; New Jersey, 1; Pennsylvania, 1; Washington, 1.

Carried.

Delegates subsequently elected by delegation to serve on Nominating Commission:

D. Leonard: Washington

Benson: Pennsylvania

D. Styron, Hill: Illinois

K. Shilman, S. Weinstein, Doritty, M. Geldman: California

Dawson, Evans, Buch, Jenness: New York

Dante, L. Goodman: Massachusetts

Marsh, Onash: Minnesota

Sell, J. Belisle: Michigan

D. Sweetenham, Wulp: Ohio

New Jersey: (no delegate chosen.)

Motion: To seat as fraternal delegates the following:

1) National Committee members, 2) members of the National Control Commission, 3) heads of National Office departments, 4) special guests.

Carried.

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

Carried.

Motion: That the following rules govern convention procedure:

1. In cases of procedural disputes, discussion shall be limited to two speakers, one for and one against, and that each speaker be limited to two minutes.
2. Discussion from the floor shall be limited to 10 minutes per speaker.
3. A speaker may have the floor only once in a given discussion until all those who wish the floor have had the opportunity to speak.
4. All voting, except for election of National Committee and National Control Commission, will be done by voice vote unless a division of the house is called for; then the vote will be taken by a show of delegates' cards. Election of National Committee and National Control Commission shall take place by secret ballot.
5. Only delegates shall have voice and vote. Fraternal delegates shall have voice and consultative vote.
6. Alternate delegates have voice and vote only when acting to replace a regularly elected delegate.
7. In all other cases, Roberts Rules of Order shall apply.

Carried.

II. WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT

Reporter: J. Hansen

Motion from Presiding Committee: To suspend convention proceedings and adjourn temporarily.

Carried.

Motion: To reconvene the convention.

Carried.

Recess for lunch 1:45 p.m. -- reconvene 3:21 p.m.

Discussion: Roberts

Motion: To grant Roberts 2 minute time extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Torres, G. Jones, Cumming.

SUMMARY on World Movement: J. Hansen

Motion: To accept the general line of the World Movement Report.

Carried.

Motion by Shaw for the Presiding Committee: To send the following messages:

1) To Mexico: "Through our co-thinker Daniel Camejo Guanche the National Convention of the Socialist Workers party meeting in New York sends expression of its solidarity with all the political prisoners who have been caught with him in the sweeping witchhunt of the Diaz Ordaz government, regardless of their ideological convictions. We pledge support to the activity of the Mexican Political Prisoners Defense Committee in aid of these victims of injustice and propose to intensify our efforts to arouse progressive opinion in the United States about these violations of democracy below the Rio Grande. The struggle for freedom and human rights today is indivisible throughout the Americas."

Carried.

2) To Hugo Blanco: "Your co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers party, meeting in national convention in New York, send warmest fraternal greetings to you and your fellow political prisoners. The confirmation of your 25-year sentence by the Peruvian oligarchy is a signal to redouble our efforts to secure your freedom. Your calm and courage in the face of danger and death has been an inspiration to us all. It is in the finest traditions of the revolutionary Marxist movement. We will not relax our vigilance until you are free to continue your work for the emancipation of the Peruvian people and the Latin American continent."

Carried.

III. INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL ACTION REPORT

Reporter: DeBerry

Discussion: P. Camejo, N. Weinstein, Cumming, Morrison.

Motion: To grant Morrison a five-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Reinthaler, Garrett, G. Jones.

Motion: To grant Jones a five-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Halfhill, Boutelle, M. Goldman.

First Session Adjourned at 7:28 p.m.

Second Session, Friday, October 27 -- Convened at 10:10 a.m.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: That C. Scheer be chairman for the Second Session.

Carried.

Motion: To grant special request of N. Weinstein for 15 minutes to clarify his position

Carried.

Motion: That the Summary on the Independent Black Political Action Report be divided between G. Breitman and DeBerry, with Breitman to report on black fraction meeting.

Carried.

1st SUMMARY: G. Breitman

2nd SUMMARY Independent Black Political Action Report: DeBerry

Motion: a) To approve the general line of the resolution on independent black political action. b) To approve the general line of the report on the resolution. c) To authorize the National Committee to edit the resolution in the light of the report and the discussion. d) To refer to the National Committee the organization of further discussion of developments in the black struggle.

Carried: None against
No abstentions.

IV. POLITICAL REPORT

Reporter: J. Barnes

Discussion: Roberts, S. Weinstein, D. Leonard, Sell, Johnson.

Recess for lunch 1:02 p.m. -- reconvene at 2:36 p.m.

Further Discussion: P. Montauk, Garrett, R. Maisel, Styron, Boutelle, Morrison.

Motion: To grant Morrison a ten-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Boutelle, Cumming, Spangler, Dante, Buch, L. Goodman.

SUMMARY Political Report: J. Barnes

Motion: a) To approve the general line of the Political Committee resolution, "American Politics and the 1968 Elections." b) To approve the general line of the Political Report. c) To change the transitional slogan "For a Workers and Farmers Government" to "For a Workers Government."

Carried: None against
No abstentions.

Motion by Shaw for the Presiding Committee: To send the following message to James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner:

"Dear Jim and Rose, We regret that you could not participate in person at this convention which has made plans for the biggest national election campaign in our history. The size and spirit of our gathering shows the vigor of the party you founded. Both the newest recruits and the oldest veterans are confident in its prospects. This is a tribute to the solidity of your work and the soundness of the direction you have given to our movement."

s/ Delegates and Visitors to 22nd
National Convention Socialist Workers
Party.

Carried.

V. REPORT ON PRESIDENTIAL TICKET

Reporter: DeBerry

Nominations: Halstead for President, Boutelle for Vice-President.

Motion: To accept the nominations of Halstead and Boutelle.

Carried Unanimously.

VI. ANTIWAR REPORT

Reporter: L. Jones

Discussion: Joel Britton, C. Frank.

Motion: To grant C. Frank a 2-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: H. Ring, S. Geldman, Vernon, Buch, Camejo, Halstead, M. Geldman, Filene.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: To limit the remaining speakers to 5 minutes each.

Carried.

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Further Discussion: Boutelle, T. Porter, G. Jones, L. Sheppard.

Second Session Adjourned at 7:45 p.m.

Third Session, Saturday, October 28 -- Convened at 10:35 a.m.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: That Rosenshine chair the third session.

Carried.

SUMMARY Antiwar Report: L. Jones

Motion from the Presiding Committee: To approve the Antiwar Report.

Carried.

VII. YOUTH REPORT

Reporter: Waters

Recess for lunch 12:01 -- reconvene at 1:39 p.m.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: That Sell chair the afternoon session.

Carried.

Discussion: Boutelle, R. Maisel, Simon, P. Vinther, Langston, P. Ring, Halfhill, Wulp, Jenness, Dante, L. Sheppard, Joel Britton, Singler.

SUMMARY Youth Report: Waters

Motion from the Presiding Committee: To approve the report.

Carried.

VIII. SWABECK CASE

Reporter: Dobbs

Motion by the Presiding Committee: Under date of June 2, 1967, Comrade Arne Swabeck addressed a letter to G. Healy expressing fraternal solidarity with the Socialist Labor League and attacking policies of the Socialist Workers Party.

His correspondence with an opponent organization constitutes an indisciplined and disloyal act.

Because of his violation of party principles the National Committee suspended him from membership and referred his case to the party convention for final decision.

Since then he has made further public attacks on the party in letters to Healy that were printed in The Newsletter and in a statement he supplied for publication in the Marcyite Workers World.

In view of his repeated acts of disloyalty the convention hereby expels Comrade Arne Swabeck from the party.

Question Moved: P. Vinther

Carried: None against
No abstentions.

Consultative Vote Requested.

Unanimous for PC notion.

Special Point by Sell: Reading of telegram from Pfc. Petrick to convention.

Third Session Adjourned at 3:48 p.m.

Fourth Session, Sunday, October 29 -- Convened at 10:23 a.m.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: That Alvin chair the fourth session.

Carried.

IX. ORGANIZATION REPORT

Reporter: Shaw

Discussion: Lund, Roberts, Sell, D. Leonard, Wulp, Scott, C. Frank, B. Sheppard.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: To limit the remaining speakers to 5 minutes each and to close the speakers list now.

Carried.

Further Discussion: H. Ring, R. Maisel, Halstead, Dante, B. Hansen.

Motion: To accept the Organization Report.

Carried.

Recess for lunch 12:40 p.m. -- reconvene at 2:10 p.m.

X.. ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Reporter for Nominating Commission: Buch

Motion from Nominating Commission for Amendment to the Constitution: To expand the number of National Committee Alternate positions from 20 to 22.

Carried.

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

Alvin	B. Hansen	Ring
J. Barnes	J. Hansen	Sharon
Breitman	Harris	Simon
Camejo	Himmel	Shaw
Coover	Johnson	Sheppard
DeBerry	L. Jones	Torres
Dobbs	Kerry	Trainor
Halstead	Lavan	Vernon
A. Hansen	F. Lovell	Weinstein
	Novack	

Floor Opened for Further Nominations.

No Further Nominations.

Nominations Closed; No Declinations.

Discussion: M. Geldman, Buch.

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

Carried: None against
No abstentions.

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

1. Spangler	10. S. Lovell	19. Jenness
2. Horowitz	11. Sell	20. Scott
3. Kirsch	12. Boutelle	21. Taplin
4. Henderson	13. P. Montauk	22. Graham
5. Joel Britton	14. Waters	
6. T. Leonard	15. Styron	
7. B. Barnes	16. G. Jones	
8. Edwards	17. Roberts	
9. C. Scheer	18. Porter	

Floor Opened for Further Nominations.

No Further Nominations.

Nominations Closed; No Declinations.

Motion: To hear Credentials Committee Report while votes are being tallied.

Carried.

Reporter: Langston

A. Total attending convention: 367
 Men 239
 Women 128

Age Range: Youngest: 14 yrs., Oldest: 79 yrs.

B. Delegations:

1. There were 13 delegations of the following composition:

	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Los Angeles
Fraternal:	1	2	3	2	6
Regular:	5	4	4	4	7
Alternate:	5	2	4	4	4
Total:	11	8	11	10	17

	Twin Cities	Newark	New York	Oakland/Berkeley
Fraternal:	3	0	26	2
Regular:	5	1	12	4
Alternate:	4	0	4	4
Total:	12	1	42	10

	Philadelphia	San Diego	San Francisco	Seattle
Fraternal:	1	0	1	1
Regular:	2	1	5	1
Alternate:	2	0	4	2
Total:	5	1	10	4

Total number of delegates: 142

2. Selected characteristics of delegations, 1967 and 1965.

a. Fraternal delegates.

	1967	1965
Number	48	45
Men	36	33
Women	12	12
Age		
Average	44.5	46.5
Median	43	
Range		
(youngest & oldest)	25, 79	23, 76

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	1967	1965
Number of Years in Movement:		
Average	21.1	24
Median	25	
Range (least & greatest years)	4, 39	4, 31
Trade Union Affiliation	22	18
Participation in mass organizations	17	5
Prior political affiliation	13	19
Social Democratic	7	
Communist Party	6	
I.W.W. (also in C.P.)	1	
b. Regular delegates.	1967	1965
Number	55	60
Men	40	45
Women	15	15
Age		
Average	29.5	33.5
Median	25	30
Range (youngest & oldest)	20, 62	19, 75
Number of years in movement:		
Average	7.3	10.5
Median	5	5
Range (least & greatest years)	1.25, 37	
Trade union affiliation	17	26
Participation in mass organizations	38	24
Prior political affiliation	15	19
Communist Party	5	
Social Democratic	4	
Conservative	2	
Liberal-Democratic	2	
Freedom Now Party	1	
Socialist-Zionist	1	
c. Alternate delegates.		
Number	39	39
Men	23	
Women	16	
Age		
Average	29.4	27.5
Median	25	
Range (youngest & oldest)	20, 57	19, 52

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Number of years in movement	1967	1965
Average	7.3	5.5
Median	4	
Range (shortest & longest)	1, 30	
Union affiliation	19	13
Participation in mass organizations	22	18
Prior political affiliation	6	18
Liberal	2	
Social Democratic	2	
Stalinist	1	
New Left	1	

3. Occupational profile of delegations.

	Fraternal	Regular	Alternate
SWP-YSA Functionaries	21	10	1
Mass Movement Functionaries		1	1
Production workers	11	9	6
Transport & Warehouse workers	2	5	3
Office & Clerical workers	2	5	8
Professional & Technical workers	4	7	8
Service Workers	1		3
Teachers	2	5	2
Public Employees (excl. teachers)		2	
Students	1	4	2
Housewives		1	
Unemployed, illegible, not indicated	4	6	5

C. Visitors

1. There were 225 registered visitors, of which 138 were men and 87 were women, distributed as follows:

a. Special guests	12	d. SWP-YSA	48
Men	8	Men	32
Women	4	Women	16
b. SWP only	83	e. Other	16
Men	51	Men	11
Women	32	Women	5
c. YSA only	66		
Men	36		
Women	30		

2. Selected characteristics of visitors.

- a. Age
 - Average 27
 - Median 24
 - Range (youngest & oldest) 14, 60
- b. Trade union affiliation 56
- c. Participation in mass organizations 135

3. Occupational profile of visitors.

SWP-YSA Functionaries	10
Mass Movement Functionaries	3
Trade Union Functionaries	2
Production Workers	27
Transport & Warehouse Workers	9
Office & Clerical Workers	27
Professional & Technical Workers	32
Service Workers	10
Public Employees	4
Students	55
Housewives	7
Unemployed, illegible, not indicated	39

Results of voting for Alternate Members of National Committee:

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Spangler | 12. Boutelle |
| 2. Horowitz | 13. P. Montauk |
| 3. Kirsch | 14. Waters |
| 4. Henderson | 15. Styron |
| 5. Joel Britton | 16. G. Jones |
| 6. Leonard | 17. Roberts |
| 7. B. Barnes | 18. Porter |
| 8. Edwards | 19. Jenness |
| 9. C. Scheer | 20. Taplin |
| 10. S. Lovell | 21. Scott |
| 11. Sell | 22. Graham |

Constitution Committee Report

Reporter: A. Vinther

Motion from Constitution Committee: To adopt an amendment raising unemployed dues to \$1.00 per month.

Carried.

Nominating Commission Slate for Advisory Members of the National Committee:

Cannon	Mayhew
Dunne	R. Chester
Liang	Reed

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Floor Opened for Further Nominations.

No Further Nominations.

Nominations Closed; No Declinations.

Motion: To elect the slate of Advisory Members of the National Committee by acclamation.

Carried.

Nominating Commission Slate for Control Commission:

Karsner
A. Chester

Ferguson
Aubrey

Floor Opened for Further Nominations.

No Further Nominations.

Nominations Closed; No Declinations.

Motion: To elect the slate of Control Commission members by acclamation.

Carried.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED: 3:37 p.m.

Proposed Convention Schedule

Thursday, October 26, 1967

10:00 A.M. Organization of Convention
11:00 World Movement Report
12:30 P.M. Discussion
1:00 Lunch
2:30 Continue Discussion
3:30 Summary, World Movement
4:00 Independent Black Political Action Report
5:00 Discussion
7:30 Adjourn

Friday, October 27, 1967

10:00 A.M. Summary, Independent Black Political Action
10:30 Political Report
11:45 Discussion
1:00 P.M. Lunch
2:30 Continue Discussion
3:30 Summary, Political Report
4:00 Presidential Ticket
4:30 Antiwar Report
5:30 Discussion
7:30 Adjourn

Saturday, October 28, 1967

10:00 A.M. Summary, Antiwar Report
10:30 Youth Report
11:30 Discussion
12:30 P.M. Lunch
2:00 Continue Discussion
3:00 Summary, Youth Report
3:30 Swabeck Case
----- Adjourn

Sunday, October 29, 1967

10:00 A.M. Organization Report
11:00 Discussion
12:45 P.M. Summary
1:00 Lunch
2:00 Election of National Committee
----- Adjourn

MINUTES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

October 30, 1967

Convened: 3:42 p.m.

Chairman: Alvin

Roll Call: Regular: Alvin, J. Barnes, Breitman, Camejo,
DeBerry, Dobbs, Halstead, A. Hansen,
B. Hansen, J. Hansen, Johnson, L. Jones,
Kerry, Lavan, F. Lovell, Novack, Ring,
Simon, Shaw, Sheppard, Trainor, Weinstein.

Alternates: Spangler, Horowitz, Britton, Leonard,
B. Barnes, Scheer, Sell, Boutelle,
Montauk, Waters, Styron, Roberts,
Porter, Jenness, Scott, Taplin.

Advisory: Dunne, Reed.

Control Commission: Aubrey.

1. Matters Referred by the Convention

Dobbs reported.

Motion: That editing of convention resolutions and the organization of further discussion of the black freedom struggle be referred to the Political Committee.

Carried.

2. Political Committee

Motion by Dobbs: To retain present Political Committee, Dobbs, Kerry, J. Hansen, Novack, Halstead, Barnes, Sheppard, DeBerry, Shaw, L. Jones.

Carried.

3. National Officers

Motion: To re-elect as National Officers Cannon, National Chairman; Dobbs, National Secretary; Shaw, Organization Secretary.

Carried.

4. Political Committee Minutes

Discussion of comrades' desire to have more information in PC Minutes. General agreement to refer matter to NC for further consideration in light of discussion.

Meeting adjourned: 4:55 p.m.