

for students

Dear Jack,

Here is the rest of the schematic on
party history.

Its completion provides an orientation for
the spare work that remains to be done
before the actual writing begins.

Any suggestions you may have
-- on the concept as a whole, as well
as the particulars -- will be appreciated.

Cordially,

Farrell

SCHEMATIC ON PARTY HISTORY

Method.

sift the empirical data to establish the general categories involved
probe the inner connection between these categories
sort out the main threads of historical development
analyze the sequences through which the different stages of development took place

trace the interplay between the objective and subjective factors
patterns of change in objective trends
lags of consciousness behind the pace of changing reality

present the account through unification of the particular and the general
with the general course of events reflected through the particular concrete developments
and the concrete particulars intertwined harmoniously through their relationship to the general
so as to convey an integrated understanding of the sum total of the events recorded

Sequences.

pre-1938: transition from Teamster series
center on limited categories

1938-1960: deal with broad scope of party developments
use pre-1938 flashbacks as required

after 1960: taper off categories treated
focus on completion of leadership transition

Overview.

central problem facing humanity:

historic crisis of capitalism
repeated openings ^{for} ~~for~~ socialist breakthrough
crisis of revolutionary leadership

obstacles confronting revolutionary movement:

society permeated with capitalist ideology
divisions sown among workers by every conceivable means
economic and social concessions used to ~~perpetuate~~ perpetuate
reformist illusions
trade union bureaucrats and parliamentary reformists coopted
into capitalist service
direct ~~capitalist~~ capitalist repression used to contain rebel forces
the revolutionary party itself is subjected to the pressures of
the capitalist environment
petty bourgeois elements are the primary transmission belt
susceptible to the influence of official social opinion
develop internal groups constituting alien class tendencies
introduce programmatic confusion and political *disorientation*
into the revolutionary movement
if the revisionists gain the upper hand in the movement
it becomes transformed into a de facto tool of the
capitalist class
and an internal struggle must be launched for the
regeneration of orthodox Marxism

schematic -- 3

broad lines of the historic struggle for revolutionary continuity
founders of the Marxist movement

clarified the historic role of the working class
charted the ~~xxx~~ revolutionary course toward socialism
initiated organization of the international forces needed
social-democratic leaders of the second international
undertook to revise Marxist theory
steered the movement into a reformist deadend
betrayed the workers in the first world war
subsequently acted, in effect, as a capitalist agency
within labor's ranks

Russian Bolsheviks

revitalized the Marxist movement in theory and program
showed how to build an effective combat party
led a mass uprising to create the first workers' state
launched the Comintern as a revolutionary world formation
Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union

politically expropriated the Russian workers
turned the Comintern into a ~~political~~ politically-servile
border guard
betrayed the whole working class in the second world war
has since collaborated with imperialism to maintain the
status quo

Trotsky: reasserted the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals

showed how to fight Stalinism without capitulating
to imperialism; and how to fight imperialism without
capitulating to Stalinism

strove to salvage cadres from the Stalinist wreckage
showed the way toward the construction of new
revolutionary parties and a new international

situation of the Trotskyist movement in the United States:

very small in numbers at the start

up against heavily-predominant Stalinist and Social-Democratic opponents

unable to wield any significant influence in the mass movement

but armed with a program capable of reversing the relationship of forces

shown in part by subsequent gains in the mass movement

also demonstrated against the Social Democrats

expulsion of the Socialist Party's left wing in 1937

stripped it of any capacity to become revitalized

speeded the ~~Revolution~~ ^{U.S.} Social-Democratic tendency as a whole on ~~its~~ its rightward course

the Stalinists held decisive predomination until the 1950s

the SWP then began to make relative gains vis-a-vis the CP

not because of SWP growth, since the party found itself isolated from the mass movement

but due to the very heavy losses suffered by the CP

then, with the youth radicalization of the 1960s

the SWP began to forge ahead of the CP in winning over the best militants

once again programmatic superiority was tipping the scales, as in the previous case of the Social Democrats

the CP is still the main rival within the radical movement

but the Stalinists today lack most of their earlier advantages

the contest now comes much closer to hinging decisively on the essence of the confrontation

an ideological contest to win militants who are radicalizing

and to establish political hegemony within the mass movement

key tasks facing the party:

guide the workers onto a class struggle course in the trade union
into solidarity with all movements advancing progressive aims
and toward independent anticapitalist political action
in striving for these objectives

apply the transitional program realistically within the
framework of the ongoing struggles

patiently work to gain widening mass approval of the program
allow time for the test of events to verify its validity
as increasing numbers are drawn toward acceptance of
revolutionary perspectives

expand the scope and step up the tempo of activities in
keeping with unfolding developments

once the party begins to assume sufficient weight

shift from the previous necessity of simply reacting
to situations precipitated by others

toward efforts to directly influence the course of
events and accelerate the building of a mass party

act simultaneously to further the advance from earlier socialist
neglect of special problems facing minority peoples

to full development of coordinated anticapitalist action in
all spheres

and the building of a multi-national revolutionary party

coordinate national activities with objective ~~trends~~
trends on a world scale

help in all possible ways to build the fourth international

promote mass solidarity in this country with revolutionary
struggles abroad

at the same time prepare the party in this country

through its political consciousness, ties with the mass
movement and development as a combat force

to act with the necessary decisiveness and speed when a
revolutionary opening develops here at ~~home~~ home

schematic -- 6

central ~~relationship~~ ^{leadership} functions:

keep track of world and national objective trends as interacting processes

study the impact of new developments on the relationship of force

between the two basic classes

between tendencies within the working class

between tendencies within the capitalist class

and the effect of new trends upon the middle classes possibilities

calculate the ~~possibilities~~ inherent in changing mass consciousness

make tactical shifts accordingly, as needed at new conjunctures

clarify the purpose of these shifts in serving the strategic course toward the revolutionary goal

during the process of tactical turns guard against any tendency toward opportunism or sectarianism

take full responsibility for all phases of party activity

function on a team basis

organize, deputize and supervise

don't pull rank; never maneuver the party membership

exert leadership on the basis of earned authority

as the party gains in strength and influence

pay close attention to the education and assimilation of new members

be alert for possibilities of principled unifications with leftward-moving forces

at all times carefully explain and vigorously enforce

the Leninist principles of organization

and the application of party discipline

leadership transitions:

two aspects: inclusion of new ~~sample~~ components appearing within
an expanding party

relays from one generation to another

in both instances consciously prepare the change

give outstanding militants a ^{ch}ance to prove themselves
before the party

carry out adjustments in leadership personnel through the
process of natural selection by the rank and file

when the leadership is transferred from one generation to another:

the new leaders must have authority commensurate with their
responsibilities

and they are entitled to objective support from the old
leaders in striving to earn that authority

it is the duty of the new and old leaders alike

to carry through transitions in leadership in a most
responsible manner

so that there will be minimal disturbance of the party's
internal equilibrium

Chronology

how the party attracted me as a worker

pre-1934 evolution of my thinking

initiation in class struggle strategy and tactics

political education during class battles

at the trade union level

in the sphere of independent labor political action

grasp of the relationship between international, national and local developments

perception of the vital role played by the revolutionary party

awakening of interest in the party's background

historic current I was entering

European roots of the revolutionary movement in the US

reformist, syndicalist and sectarian deviations from the Marxist course

corrective effects of the post-1917 Bolshevik influence

Stalinist degeneration and rise of the Trotskyist movement

campaign to revitalize the Comintern

1933 turn by Trotskyist movement in the light of the German events

orientation toward the building of new parties and a new international

CLA's aim to advance from the status of a small propaganda group to the creation of a full-scale party of action

response to the developing labor radicalization in the US

trade union policy and recruitment of individuals

flexible tactical approach to leftward-moving tendencies

dual factors which led to establishment of a new, independent party

culmination of cadre-building operation within SP

changing objective situation ended immediate possibilities of negotiations or entries to win leftward-moving forces

launching the Socialist Workers Party

size and composition

party convention as a collective thinking mechanism

basic program and organizational principles

operational structure

leadership formation

youth movement

earlier patterns of activity

acquisitions from SP youth; composition of movement

full turn to mass work under improved central guidance

campaign against imperialist war

collaboration with Trotsky

pre-1938 developments

line for antiwar campaign

tactical shift on the labor party question

presenting the transitional program

founding the Fourth International

informal leadership meeting on New Years day 1939

objectives: Cannon trip to Europe at Trotsky's request

twice-a-week Socialist Appeal for antiwar campaign

intensification of colonization in auto industry

assignments of leadership responsibility

reasons for selective attendance at the session

conclusions reported to the PC for formal decisions

dispute over party policy in the UAW

Stalinophobia in PC led to adoption of wrong line
comrades in the field revolted against the PC decision
correction made at showdown meeting

accelerated tempo of imperialist moves toward war

Munich pact a direct threat to the Soviet Union
followed by Franco victory in Spain
then Hitler grabbed Czechoslovakia

US war budget took precedence over the needs of the jobless
SWP policy in the unemployed movement
national WPA strike and its aftermath

FDR stepped up assault on civil liberties and trade union rights
party line on the defense of democratic rights in general
our policy concerning trade union resistance to the assault

1939 SWP convention

crystallization of a petty bourgeois opposition within the party
sensitive to bourgeois pressures in the developing war climate
uncomfortable with the party line on the Russian question
significance of the dispute over organizational secretary post

advance in party's attention to the Black struggle

background of radical movement's approach to the question
previous discussion in CLA had left the matter in abeyance
Trotsky-Johnson talks
conclusions reached at the 1939 convention

resurgence of neo-fascist activity

earlier outbreak had been scotched by the labor upheaval
changing objective trends emboldened the ultraright
SWP policy on workers self-defense
how our line was applied in action

Stalin-Hitler pact and the outbreak of World War II

frenzied reaction by petty bourgeois opposition within the SWP
Stalin's invasion of Finland played on by bourgeois propagandists
created unbearable pressures on our petty bourgeois cadres
most of them hardened into a tightly-knit faction
manifested a grim resolve to abandon defense of the Soviet
Union

change in my assignment

departure from the Teamsters
talks with Trotsky
situation upon my arrival at the party center

internal SWP polemical struggle

centered on the Russian question and the concept of the party
minority was consumed by an urge to present its own ~~line~~ line
publicly
clash generated momentum toward a split

all-out factional confrontation at April 1940 convention

Trotskyist program upheld by worker majority
emphasis on proletarian orientation
further clarification of party's ~~organizational~~ organizational principles

split became definitive at post-convention PC meeting
deep one in the party; much deeper in the youth
party composition after the split
saved relatively few among the youth

orientation toward intensified party-building activities
administrative methods and apparatus overhauled
colonizations in industry
major attention to trade union work

emergency conference of the Fourth International
cadres had become separated by the battle lines of World War II
provisional character of the gathering in those circumstances
nature of the decisions it reached
how we sought to maintain the widest possible contacts abroad

May 1940 assault on Trotsky
further defense measures
several-sided political discussions with him
coincided with fall of France to the Nazis

Trotsky assassinated
fundamental meaning
immediate consequences

September 1940 plenum-conference
adoption of proletarian military policy
Control Commission established

SWP's disaffiliation from the FI after passage of the Voorhis Act

schematic -- 13

resurgence of mass action in the spring of 1941

new wave of CIO struggles

March on Washington movement

objective factors leading to those developments

party policy in the two spheres

Local 544's clash with Tobin over the war issue

party mobilization in support of the rebel Teamsters

FBI raid and the Minneapolis ~~indicting~~ indictments

Soviet Union invaded by Hitler

CP turn to crass social-patriotism

backed the government against the victimized Trotskyists

October 1941 plenum-conference

exceptional features of the gathering

measures to assure uninterrupted functioning of the party

ad hoc use of a nominating commission in leadership selection

conviction of the 18 and steps to expand their defense

SWP's response to US entry into the war

method of handling antiwar statements at the outset

resort to the necessary caution within the trade unions

~~disciplinary~~ disciplinary action against a comrade who became involved in selling war bonds

continued governmental persecution of the SWP

our main lines of political activity at that stage

opposition to the war and to sacrifices imposed upon the workers

propaganda campaign on the labor party question

Red Army's counteroffensive against the German invaders

showed the inherent potential of the new economic system

marked the turning of the military tide in Europe

Mussolini regime ^{toppled} ~~toppled~~ in Italy

posed anew the question of proletarian revolution

Trotsky's prediction of the war ^{leading} ~~leading~~ to such revolutions

series of factors blocked that development in Italy

outcome foreshadowed coming events in Western Europe

next phase of the world revolution was to develop in the colonial sphere

Italian events gave rise to a new mood of petty bourgeois pessimism within the SWP

Goldman, the principal figure, lost his revolutionary bearings

Morrow sided with him in an attack on the party's program

signs of growing unrest among the US masses by 1943

demands involving women's rights

outburst in Harlem

coal miners strikes against the wage freeze

spread of rebellious mood to other unions

new manifestations of sentiment for a labor party

October 1943 plenum

party's approach to the changing objective situation

session held shortly before the supreme court rejected the appeal of the 18

steps taken to provide a substitute leadership

internal dispute broke out over several political issues

Goldman made a speech denigrating majority comrades

as the 18 headed for prison Morrow tried a disruptive maneuver

problems in adapting to prison life

how we made good use of our time

leadership collaboration by mail

pardon campaign aided by the mass upsurge

Goldman-Morrow break ranks over the nature of the pardon petition

rapidly changing military situation in Europe

Shrinking German perimeter expanded the PI's area of contact

conference of European Trotskyists

November 1944 SWP convention

recorded party gains in the ~~improving~~ ^{improving} objective situation

widening influence in the mass movement

opened the way to extension of activities

and to a rise in recruitment

but lack of fusion prospects like those in 1930s

expansion program mapped out

Militant sub campaign

reinforcement of organizational staff

unprecedented fund raising goal

steps toward rebuilding of the youth movement

clash with the Goldman-Morrow faction

further clarification of the issues in dispute

substitute leadership won a big majority in the ranks

initiation of the Trotsky school

readjustments in the expanded leadership after our release from prison

parallel raising of the party's sights in all spheres

definitive shift from the policy of caution in the trade unions

full application of the transitional program

aimed to build a left wing based on a class struggle line

to press for independent labor political action

and to approach union power struggles on that basis

intensification of Black work

unprecedented response among Black militants

party branch set up in Harlem

development of consistent activity in the electoral sphere

shift toward reestablishment of city-wide locals

leap in party's financial prospects; accompanied by new problems

further gains made in the Trotskyist world movement

regroupment of FI cadres in Europe

plans shaped to shift the center

SWP campaign to give European comrades material aid

German surrender ended the European phase of the war

production cutbacks and mass layoffs in the US

increased ferment among the workers

Hiroshima inaugurated the atomic age

basic implications of the US ~~at~~ atrocity

"There is no peace"

unprecedented strike wave developed

worker ~~solidarity~~ ^{solidarity} at high peak

middle class elements drawn into support of the trade unions

general intensification of party building activity

schematic -- 17

new upsurge of neo-fascists

hoped to snare the war veterans for an assault on labor

SWP fought back on two fronts

counter-demonstrations against GLK Smith

called for trade union organization of the veterans

large-scale troop demonstrations broke out in fight for demobilization

upset the US imperialist plans abroad

returned to solidarize with the strikers at home

postwar revolutionary wave erupted in Europe

Stalinist and Social Democratic treachery

capitalists managed to restore relatively stable rule

colonial revolution mounted in intensity

pre-conference of the FI organized by the European secretariat

center established in Europe

fraternal collaboration from SWP

dispute with Morrow over transitional demands

further advances in party building activity

Militant institute

midwest organizers conference

ambitious recruitment goal set

initiation of cold war against the Soviet Union

Wallace dismissed from the Truman cabinet

imperialist concept of an "American ~~last~~ century"

betrayal by union bureaucracy during the strike upsurge
blocked advance to an independent labor party
political vacuum led to rightward shift in middle class vote
Republicans gained control of Congress in the 1946 elections

1946 SWP convention

registered a new high in the party's growth
key aspects of the political resolution and the American Theses
developments anticipated in the resolution
early labor break with capitalist politics
accelerated growth of the SWP
central ~~aspects~~ ^{aspects} of the Theses
saw prospects of revolution in the coming period
did not deal with the combined character of the revolution
in the US
relationship between the two documents
different as conjunctural and longer-term appraisals
identical in optimistic expectations
convention marked completion of Goldman-Morrow split

Shachtmanites began WP-SWP unity maneuver in 1946

Goldman-Morrow schemed with them from within the SWP
untoward intervention by Pablo and Mandel
events during Pablo's 1947 visit to the US
WP finally backed off from the unity caper
Johnson group left the WP and joined the SWP

SWP leaders reached an understanding with Pablo during his visit
IS to assume central political responsibility

but to act more responsibly in relations with sections
SWP pledged the IS its complete fraternal support
sent Stein to help prepare the second congress

1947 saw a continuing reversal of the overall objective trend
revival of relative economic prosperity
still enough capitalist fat for limited wage concessions
part taken back through price-tax manipulations
introduction of antilabor legislation in Congress
general ebb in social struggles
sporadic outbursts continued
but there was no longer a sustained momentum

1947 plenum and organizers institute
tended to view the ebb in struggle momentum as episodic
main debate was over party policy in the trade unions
centered on line to follow in the UAW
one aspect of the future Cochran faction
Cochran's request for control of the UAW fraction and the
theoretical magazine

considerable attention devoted to organizational matters
problems resulting from party's growth and increased ~~activity~~ ^{activity}
perspectives
~~XXXXXXXX~~ concerning state unit in Ohio

projected agit-prop drive against antilabor ~~XXXXXXXX~~ offensive
launched SWP's first presidential campaign

plenum marked continued delay in recognizing the basic shift in the objective situation

mass upsurge was already receding at the time of the 1946 convention

reversal of the 1944-46 trend had continued since then

but the 1947 party gathering still treated the setbacks as conjunctural

two factors involved

imbued with revolutionary optimism by the scope and tempo of the 1945-46 events

lag in consciousness behind changing reality

took further developments to bring full recognition of the new situation

SWP branded "subversive"

manner of the Attorney-General's action

general line of our defensive struggle

witch hunt inside the unions

how we fought back

unusual features of our role in power struggles at that point

when the whole labor movement was in retreat

and the left wing forces were being whittled down

serious losses in party membership

most of the recent Black recruits dropped out

capillary bleeding among the cadres generally

what it took to hold on

need for organizational readjustments

dispute over the Wallace question at the ~~February~~ February 1948 plenum

Swabeck-Lyons-Bartell had lined up the Chicago branch in advance of the plenum

why their procedure was wrong; the overhead cost

Stalinists took over the Czechoslovak government

reasons for the ~~K~~ Kremlin's change in line

application elsewhere in Eastern Europe

general heating up of the cold war atmosphere

second congress of the FI

nature of the general line adopted

status of organizational relationships

Tito-Stalin break further complicated the international scene

SWP discussion on the class character of the buffer states

minority conducted itself as a model tendency

majority ultimately won over to the minority viewpoint

1948 party convention

adoption of a more rounded resolution on the Black struggle

presidential campaign kicked off with broadcasts from convention

problem of getting the SWP ticket on the ballot

methods used in political electioneering

Kutcher made a witch hunt victim

nature of broad defense movement organized on his behalf

coordination with the party's presidential campaign

December 1948 plenum

balance sheet on the presidential campaign

projection of an ideological offensive

FD named national chairman; Cannon's reaction

Smith Act trial of CP leaders

deepening of anti-red offensive in the ~~trade~~ trade unions

FBI harassment of radicals generally

SWP campaign for a united labor defense of civil liberties

series of new international developments

NATO organized

Soviet Union breaks the US monopoly of atomic weapons

revolutionary victory in China

notion of "centuries of degenerated workers states" advanced by Pablo

not immediately challenged by the SWP leadership

what that implied concerning future developments

FD made organizer of the Chicago branch, while remaining national chairman

unit had been disintegrating since the Wallace fiasco

reasons for my assignment

experiences there with the Weiss group

it had been gestating for some time

essential nature of the formation

its method of operation

rise of McCarthyism

McCarran law enacted

increased victimization ~~radicals~~ ^{PC}

SNP resolution on the witch hunt and how to fight it

US intervention in Korea

PC took wrong line at the start; manner and nature of correction

workers manifested sullen acceptance of the war

ignored union ^{bureaucrat's} ~~promise~~ promise of class peace

went on strike in defiance of the government

acceleration of the rightward swing in the US

other radical groups in the process of full retreat

changing relationship of forces between the SNP, CP and Social Democrats

1950 SNP convention stressed measures to resist the pressure of reaction

strengthen propaganda work

raise the level of educational activity

concentrate on individual recruitment

changes soon developed in the party's internal situation

Karcyites began a differentiation on "global" issues

Vernites adopted a pro-Stalinist line on the buffer states

Johnson group left the SNP

third congress of the FI

IS theses: World War III would soon erupt

would become transformed into global civil war

revolution would right itself through self-reform of
labor bureaucracies

hence the FI needed deep entry tactics on a sui
generis basis

limited nature of amendments proposed by the SWP

still acting on the basis of the 1947 understanding with
Pablo

how the amendments were treated at the congress

Clarke's post-congress tour of the US to push the Pabloite line

my letter on the importance of the 1952 presidential campaign

disagreement voiced in the PC

plans for drive to put SWP ticket on the Illinois ballot

intended to counteract mood developing in Michigan

Cochranites were trying to follow their own line there

Cannon spoke against the Illinois perspective in the PC

didn't bother to consult me in advance

my trip to New York to register a protest

nature of extensive private discussion with Cannon

eruption of Trucks law fight in Michigan

Marvel and I sent there to aid the comrades

two aspects of party's defensive measures

resort to a cell system for the protection of membership

public campaign for support of our legal defense

problem of finding a lawyer

deep fear generated in the witch hunt atmosphere

we persisted and won in the end

May 1952 plenum

political differences were taking form at the leadership level
lines of disagreement not yet fully ~~crystallized~~ ^{crystallized}

decided not to give the branches a report about the
controversial questions for the time being

plenum recommended a presidential campaign focused on opposition
to Korean war

resignation of Grace Carlson from the party

Cannon went to Minneapolis to help the comrades

he and Ray Dunne telephoned me in Detroit

asked me to support the nomination of Myra Weiss to replace
Carlson as the SWP nominee for vice president

why I did not agree

nature of private talks later with Cannon and Dunne on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}

PC nominated Joe Hansen for vice president and the matter seemed
to be settled within the leadership

but a switch took place at the preconvention plenum

Hansen declined in ~~far~~ favor of Myra

his action took me by surprise

contradictory aspects of the 1952 party convention

opposing lines in the political and trade union reports

both reports approved unanimously

and the work of the third congress hailed

Kirk introduced a minority viewpoint on the Black question

presidential campaign launched with broadcasts from the
convention

schematic -- 26

covert factionalism broke out immediately after the convention

an open rift followed in the majority leadership

PC adopted my memo on the internal party situation

before that I had discussed the matter informally with Cannon

and ~~then~~ then with Cochran

Cannon soon moved to California

more or less ignored the presidential campaign

concentrated on the circulation of onionskins

my talk ~~xx~~ with Cannon during the presidential campaign tour

got
Republicans ~~xxxx~~ Eisenhower elected president

gained narrow control of Congress, defeating the labor-Democratic coalition

Eisenhower began moves to end the Korean conflict

at the same time he initiated preparations for US intervention in Indo-China

post-election developments in the SWP internal situation

Cannon-Weiss began an election campaign ~~my~~ maneuver in Los Angeles

not only a ploy against the Cochranites

aimed simultaneously at the majority leaders in the party center

my telephone conversation with Cannon

not only a matter of confronting the Cochranites

question of handling the world movement side of the dispute

Dobbs-Stein-Hansen statement on the internal party situation

Cochranite attempts to obstruct the majority in the PC

Cannon's pre-plenum trip to New York

his debate with the Cochranites; speech on internationalism and the SWP

our personal talk about a switch in national posts

Cannon insisted upon being relieved as national secretary
evidence that it would prove a pseudo-transition in ~~leadership~~ ~~leadership~~

I would carry the central executive responsibility

but could not be sure of getting his objective support

would make it doubly hard to carry out my duties

why I accepted the proposed ~~arrangement~~

May 1953 plenum

sharp factional clashes on all issues

revelation of Pablo-Clarke intrigue behind the backs of the SWP leadership

organizational principles amended to exclude minority veto tried by the Cochranites

negotiation of a joint statement declaring a truce in the faction fight

Cannon elected national chairman; FD national secretary

Cannon's windup speech at the plenum

predicted a long internal peace

said there was now a new regime in the party

Stalin's death the previous March had precipitated a crisis for the Kremlin bureaucracy

June uprising in East Germany

Beria purged

ceasefire in Korea; a defeat for US imperialism

general strike in France

execution of Rosenbergs and intensification of the witch hunt

impact of those events upon the Cochranites

resumption of heated factionalism in New York

conducted a sit-down strike against the party

majority accused of violating democratic-centralism in international relations

Cochranites denounced SWP leadership for "intriguing" against Pablo

IS complained that the SWP was defying the "centralized international leadership"

actions taken by the party majority

all-out fight to defeat the Cochranites in the New York local

preparations for a decisive showdown at the impending plenum

PC memo criticizing the Pabloite document, "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism"

Murry and Myra Weiss transferred from Los Angeles to New York

marked the beginning of a Weissite concentration at the center

at the ^{same} ~~same~~ time Tom Kerry sent to Los Angeles as local organizer

served to promote objective collaboration between the LA unit and the party center

November 1953 plenum

Cochranites expelled; scope of split

adoption of an open letter to the world Trotskyists

called for removal of the Pablo regime in the FI

problems created by inadequate preparation politically

Cannon's speech on leadership; gap between the word and the deed

formation of the International Committee

Cannon agreed to help prepare political material for the international fight

procrastinated to the point of default
whole task assumed by Stein and Wright

SWP campaign against McCarthyism launched
viewed as a fascist menace of serious proportions
campaign tempo stepped up during following months

Indo-Chinese victory at Dien-Bien-Phu
implications for US imperialism
reaction of the Eisenhower administration

army-McCarthy hearings opened
first viewed by us merely as evidence of an intensified power struggle in ruling circles
SWP election platform treated McCarthyism as the main issue
same approach taken in draft political resolution for impending party convention

Democrats regained control of Congress in 1954 ~~national~~ ^{national} elections
majority of electorate had cast an anti-McCarthy vote
motion introduced in the Senate to censure McCarthy

our political resolution redrafted in the light of the election result:
nature of Cannon's intervention in this connection
his collaboration with Weiss; criticism of other party leaders

1954 party convention in Chicago

political conclusions: slowdown of imperialist drive toward war

McCarthyite setback

new tightening of labor-Democratic coalition

analysis of current trade union situation; review of strategy and tactics

Vernite split

informal leadership session at the time of the convention

charge that Murry Weiss was organizing a clique in the party

Cannon's attitude on the matter

question of who was using whom

Stein's post-convention report to the New York membership on the Chicago leadership session

party confronted with a whole series of internal problems

isolated from the working class

in the main could conduct only propaganda work

few opportunities to intervene in the mass movement

subjected to heavy witch hunt pressures and to FBI harassment

suffered steady losses in membership

little recruitment by way of compensation

had to consolidate party branches wherever possible

have maximum number of comrades in each unit

value of national meetings as an aid to party morale

all party work had to be maintained on a financial ~~shoestring~~ shoestring

internal problems (continued)

some blamed the leadership for the party's difficulties
cooked up schemes to overleap objective adversity
angles developed by Boulton, Kirk, Marcy, Weiss
"Bustello" episode

a period of confused and contradictory internal party life
no way to put the various schemes to the test of events
result was an endless process of political discussion
that, in turn, generated factional maneuvering
at the ^{same} ~~same~~ time it had become necessary to ease the party's
disciplinary norms
main concern had to be holding the cadres together so far as
possible

that situation confronted the central leadership with some key
tasks

block moves toward opportunist adaptations to backwardness
guard against lapses into sectarianism
preserve majority support for orthodox Trotskyism
be ready to respond to new developments with a correct line
win new recruits as struggle trends revived later on
resuscitate the party and begin a new forward march

upturn of Black struggle in aftermath of supreme court's 1954 ruling
outbreak of white supremacist terror in the South
triggered mass protests against the terrorist attacks
SWP supported the protests in all possible ways
PC took up question of demand for federal troops to suppress
violations of Black rights

an anti-Stalinist propaganda campaign also launched

aimed directly at the CP and its periphery

geared to the unfolding crisis of world Stalinism

October 1955 plenum debated the character of the Chinese state

Joe Hansen presented a minority viewpoint

majority designate China a deformed workers state

toward the end of 1955 Kerry returned to New York

his response in a discussion I had with him while on tour

a division of labor instituted between us on a team basis

by then the Montgomery bus boycott had started

dramatized the turn among Blacks toward mass action

SWP supported the movement in various ways

and with Tom in the center I was able to help the boycott as a presidential candidate

at the same time Tom could keep an eye on trade union developments among these was the AFL-CIO merger

plainly intended to give the unions more clout with the Democrats

all interuniversity considerations subordinated to that aim

Tom also kept abreast of the McClellan hearings

Teamsters became the immediate target

basically aim to push through further legislative curbs on the unions

Khrushchev's revelations at the 1956 CPSU congress

CP in this country shaken by the disclosures

SWP opened a campaign for socialist regroupment

call for independent labor political action made a key plank in our 1956 election platform

Hallinan and McAvoy of the CP periphery backed the SWP ticket

imperialism was also falling into deeper crisis

changes were occurring in the world relationship of forces manifested by Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal

Britain, France and Israel jointly invaded Egypt

US imperialism felt compelled to pressure them to back off we used the presidential campaign to blast the imperialists on TV

Polish uprising and Hungarian revolution

problem with Cannon in establishing the SWP line on Hungary

Marcy supported the Kremlin's intervention

Kerry designated organizational secretary

Black march on Washington

young Blacks moving to the fore

Monroe case

1957 SWP convention

debate with Marcy and Fox on international issues

resolution on class struggle aspects of the Black movement

firm line set on use of troops slogan

Cannon voted against the troops slogan

Kirk took a ~~and~~ counterposition on the general line of the resolution

schematic -- 34

Sputnik opened the space age

continued progress in the regroupment campaign

shift back to multiple branches and citywide local in New York
we put forward a draft program on workers democracy
united socialist ticket in New York state elections

modifications noted in Pabloite policies

possibility of reunifying world Trotskyism
discussion with Mangan
Marvel and I go to Europe

Marcyite split

dispute over Chinese communes

Cannon opposed the PC line in the name of the "Los Angeles NC Group"

PC asked him to come to New York prior to the ^{pending} convention

understanding reached on the handling of the Commune dispute
showdown between Cannon and me about the dual center problem
change made to a small PC, including Cannon as an ~~absentee~~
absentee member

termination of the regroupment campaign

concentration on the newly radicalizing elements
especially student youth and young Blacks

how the SWP has set up an ad hoc youth group

split in the Shachtmanite youth

interim IBM formation

YSA founded

my first tour in the 1960 presidential campaign

new response among student youth

stimulated by the Cuban revolution and the Black struggle

Hansen and I visited Cuba

our experiences there

division of labor upon our return

Hansen followed Cuban events closely

defense of Cuba made central axis of my second campaign tour

party discussion opened on character of Cuban government and state

Japanese protest against^t projected Eisenhower visit

my trip to Japan

use of this subject in my third campaign tour

SWP work in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee

Bay of Pigs invasion

Cuban missile crisis

further development of radicalization process

continued upsurge in the Black struggle

new stirrings among other minority peoples

inchoate stage of women's liberation movement

first hints of coming gay struggles

unrest mounted within the trade unions

expanded influence and increased growth of the YSA and the SWP

appearance of the New Left

class composition

held "old left" irrelevant; brushed aside the lessons of history
launched do-it-yourself projects that repeated the old mistakes
wound up making opportunist adaptations or in sectarian isolation

different situation concerning youth who embraced Trotskyism

learned revolutionary principles and how to apply them in the
current struggles

found good will among older cadres; ~~no need for young Turks~~ (revolt)

party moved toward conscious transition in leadership, while
maintaining its internal equilibrium

problem of making room for the youth on the NC

discussion of the subject with Cannon

he proposed an advisory council of older NC members

concept involved the creation of a bicameral executive body

would have further aggravated the problems of a dual center
action taken by the June 1962 plenum

volunteer acceptance of advisory membership status by older
NC members

would have individual voice and consultative vote

Cannon declined to accept advisory status on the NC

that caused most of the older comrades to hold back

as a result the problem remained a difficult one

discussion of my replacement as national secretary

Cannon proposed Feingold

first to be designated organizational secretary

in that capacity to receive training as a central leader

I disagreed

an effort to advance someone Cannon thought he could use
wrong to maneuver in Feingold's favor behind the party's
back

on top of that he didn't appear to be a qualified candidate
NC elected Shaw organizational secretary on an interim basis

both facilitated administrative work at the party center
and allowed time for the selection of my replacement in a
wholly objective manner

process that was followed in the leadership transition

young militants given an opportunity to lead party building
actions

party thus enabled to evaluate their leadership potential
way thereby prepared for the membership to select the new
leaders

development of new problems with the Weiss group

Murry tried to put a motion to a vote in the Secretariat of the ^{PC} ~~X~~

why his action was wrong —

what we did about it

around that time Murry suffered a ~~stroke~~ stroke

after that he talked with me about establishing better
leadership relations

how I tried to help him turn around

Myra attempted to take over the leadership of the clique
marked the beginning of the end for the Weissites

schematic -- 38

oppositional

~~oppositionist~~ bloc formed by Wohlforth and Robertson

extended their factionalism into the YSA in rivalry with the Weissites

both groups tried to use the YSA as a weapon against the party majority

led to a definitive clarification of youth-party relations
and the YSA proceeded toward a reorganization of its national leadership

changed situation in the Trotskyist world movement

Mandel's visit to the US

Hansen's trip through Latin America; assignment to Europe

PC statement on reunification

FI reunified at 1963 congress; Healy and Lambert broke ranks

rightest trends in reaction to the developing radicalization in the US

white supremacist links with the ultraright

right wing youth organization

Bloomington case

general heating up of the factionalism inside the party

maneuvers by Weissites, Kirk, Swabeck, Phillips, Boulton

rupture of Wohlforth-Robertson bloc

Wohlforth lined up with Healy

Robertson's anti-party "study group" gimmick

tasks confronting the older central leaders

guide the process of reestablishing a clear political line

then restore the enforcement of firm party discipline

set the party's house in order for the youth

developments on the eve of the 1963 convention

informal session of the majority leaders

demanding that Cannon accept advisory status on the NC

he agreed only when he found himself without enough support

at the preconvention plenum Murry Weiss and Stein were reported to be declining renomination to the NC for personal reasons

1963 party convention

predominance of young people among delegates and visitors

hailed the reunification of the FI

definitively settled all the long-disputed political issues

this action both ^{broke} ~~arose~~ the factional log jam politically

and set the line for the membership as a whole to concentrate on party building activities

Cannon made behind-the-scenes charges against the central leaders

accused us of conducting a vendetta against the Weissites

and of rigging the NY delegation for that purpose

to defuse the stink bomb he had prepared

Herry and I nominated Stevens for regular membership on the NC

but the convention rejected the nomination

after the convention Ray Dunne and I celebrated our reconciliation

Kennedy assassinated; problems caused for the party

Robertsonite leaders expelled

all minority groups protested the disciplinary action

suspension of the Wohlforthites followed

1965 convention codified the party's organizational principles
Cannon tried unsuccessfully to slow down disciplinary action
Kirk and Boulton groups split from the party
Swabeck expelled by the 1967 convention

new Cannon moves to "save the situation" politically

"Triple Revolution" ploy

angle on the trade union question

Vietnam escalation brought a big leap in the antiwar movement
change made in SWP policy

shift from proletarian military policy adopted earlier
to an antiwar line corresponding to the changed situation

further advances in policy on the Black question

clarification of position on Black nationalism

support of independent Black political action

transitional program for Black liberation

combined character of the social revolution in the US and the
building of a multinational party

change in a transitional slogan for the US

from advocacy of a workers and farmers government

to advocacy of a workers government

completion of the leadership transition