

(14)  
Session of June 15, 1935 Present: Cannon, Lewitt, Shachtman, Swabeck, Johnson, West, Gordon, Satir, Glotzer, Selander, Muste, Lore, McKinney, Oehler, Stamm, also Clarke, Weber, Basky. From Spartacus: Gould, Garrett, Craine, Streeter, Bern. Alternating for Ogden, Visconti. Alternate: Drake.

chairman: Shachtman.

ABSENCES: Muste reported inability of Arrington to attend due to distance and expense; Breier owing to certainty of loss of job if absenting himself from same; Truax owing to meeting of Ohio Unemployed Conference which had to be postponed from earlier date for financial reasons; Dunne and Skoglund owing to financial difficulties and also critical situation in Local 574; Allard owing to absence in Idaho on account of illness in family.

ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE Muste called attention to the fact that owing to the resignations of Budenz and Howe there were two vacancies on the National Committee and that according to the 50-50 arrangement, the two alternates receiving the highest number of votes in the convention of the former AWP were to be added to the N.C. Muste moved on this basis that Selander and Breier be elected to the National Committee. Motion carried with Oehler voting against the election of Breier. In answer to Cannon's question as to his motivation Oehler replied that he considered Breier's position as expressed in the Pittsburgh branch as being Budenz's position. Cannon moved that the Plenum takes the position that the seating of an alternate in case of vacancies is an automatic process, determined by convention decision which the plenum has no authority to alter. Carried.

Cannon moved that members of the N.C. who are absent be permitted to record their votes on political resolutions. After brief discussion the motion was withdrawn.

OPEN AND CLOSED SESSIONS Muste reported the recommendation of the Political Committee that sessions of the plenum be closed, that is, confined to members of the National Committee and alternates with the exception that members of the National Youth Committee have a right to participate in the discussions and to cast consultative votes. Motion by Stamm that the sessions of the plenum be open to members of the W.P. Lost. Motion by Shachtman and Swabeck that the plenum adopt the recommendations of the Political Committee. Carried.

AGENDA Muste reported the agenda proposed by the P.C. and previously sent to members of the N.C. as follows:

1. International Relations.
2. Attitude toward S.P., C.P., etc.
3. End of NRA. - perspectives and tasks.
4. Trade Union question.
5. 8 Page New Militant.
6. Unemployed work.
7. Youth.
8. Internal party situation.
9. Party questions and organizations.
10. Labor defense.
11. Russian question.

West moves the adoption of the agenda as a whole with questions to be taken up in the following order: 1. International relations. 2. S.P. and C.P. 3. Trade union question. 4. Internal situation. Lost. substitute carried.

Stamm moves substitute to adopt the agenda as a whole, to take up: 1. International relations; 2. S.P. and C.P. and then to settle the question of procedure. Carried 6-5.

Cannon moves that all the resolutions on International relations and on the S.P.-C.P. question be presented to the plenum. Carried.

Glotzer stated that on the international question he and others would submit a statement but not a resolution. Muste announced that on international relations the following resolutions have been presented: Cannon-Shachtman, Muste, West, and Oehler-Stamm-Basky, and that on the S.P.-C.P. resolutions have been presented as follows: Cannon-Shachtman, Muste and West. Oehler and Glotzer said they would have resolutions also on this point in the agenda.

Muste moved that there be one reporter for each resolution presented and that the reports be followed by discussion. Carried.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Shachtman reported on the Cannon-Shachtman resolution, Muste reported on his resolution. Oehler reported, Glotzer read his statement.

On procedure, Stamm moved adjournment for one hour for supper. Carried.

Session (Second) June 15, 1935 Present, same as at first session. Chairman, Shachtman, West presented his amendments on the question of International relations and spoke for them. In the discussion, Lore, Weber, Basky, Swabeck, Glotzer, Cannon, Stamm, Lewitt, Satir, Clarke, West, McKinney, Gould and Johnson participated. On procedure Shachtman moved that discussion and voting on subject of international relations occur on the question as a whole with the exception of international relations of Spartacus, this subject to be taken up next on the agenda. Carried. Stamm moved that reporters on international relations be given 30 minutes each. Carried. Oehler, Muste and Shachtman made concluding statements on their resolutions.

On procedure it was agreed that all votes be roll call.

VOTE ON WEST AMENDMENT NO. 4. West for, all others against except Lore, abstaining. Consultative votes: none for, all against.

CANNON-SHACHTMAN MOTION WITH OTHER WEST AMENDMENTS (voting on as whole as per agreement) For: Swabeck, Glotzer, Satir, West, Gordon, Lewitt, Shachtman, Cannon. Against: Stamm, Oehler, McKinney, Lore, Johnson, Selander, Muste. Motion carried 8-7.

Consultative votes: For: Clarke, Bern, Gould, Craine, Weber, Visconti, Garrett. Against: Basky, Drake, Streeter. 7 for, 3 against.

VOTE ON MUSTE MOTION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. For: Selander, McKinney, Lore, Johnson, Muste. Against: Swabeck, Glotzer, Satir, Cannon, Stamm, Oehler, West, Gordon, Lewitt, Shachtman. Motion lost 5-10.

Consultative votes: Drake for, all others against.

Vote on Oehler-Stamm-Basky resolution on international relations: For: Stamm and Oehler. All others opposed. Motion lost.

Consultative votes: For: Streeter and Basky. All others against.

Stamm moves that the Political Committee appoint a committee of three to prepare programmatic material on international questions. Lost, substitute motion carried. Cannon moved substitute, that the Political Committee handle the entire matter. Carried. Oehler and Stamm voting against, all others for.

Swabeck moves to elect an editorial committee of three to carry out the decisions in re the Open Letter on the Furth International provided for in the Cannon-Shachtman resolution with West amendments. Motion carried with Stamm and Oehler voting against, all others for. Stamm moves substitute to refer the matter to the Political Committee. Lost, with Stamm and Oehler voting for, all others against. Following nominations for the Editorial Committee were made: Cannon, Muste, Oehler, West, Shachtman; Cannon and Oehler declined, West also declined on the ground that he would be absent and therefore unable to serve. Cannon was renominated and the committee consisting of Cannon, Muste, Shachtman elected.

On procedure Glotzer moved adjournment to 12 noon on the 16th. carried.

Plenum session of June 16, 1935 Present, same as on preceding day with the addition of Ramuglia among N.C. members who had been absent the previous day on unemployed work in Pennsylvania.

QUESTION OF SPARTACUS YOUTH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS The resolutions before the plenum were paragraph 9 of the Cannon-Shachtman resolution on international relations referred to this point on the agenda by decision of the previous day, and the Oehler-Stamm-Basky resolution on the question of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau. (On procedure Muste read a communication from Comrade Larry Cohen, member of the New York District Committee, protesting against the procedure followed by the N.C. in announcing that plenum sessions would be closed and "then permitting members generally to eavesdrop at will and with the full knowledge of the committee." Motion by Cannon to hold an open session at party headquarters. Lost. Motion by West that the Secretary reply to the letter of the District received yesterday questioning the action of the National Committee in voting for closed sessions. Carried.)

Streeter and West spoke in support of the Oehler resolution on Spartacus and International relations, Gould and Gordon for the Cannon-Shachtman, Oehler for the Oehler, Swabeck for the Cannon-Shachtman, Stamm for Oehler, Glotzer for the Cannon-Shachtman. Shachtman summarized for the Cannon-Shachtman resolution.

Voting on the resolutions on Spartacus and International relations.

Muste offered the following amendment on Oehler motion: "That S.Y.L. proposes at the forthcoming meeting of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau the addition of representatives of the French Bolshevik-Leninist Youth section and of the R.S.A.P. youth section to the Bureau; the raising of the question in re the French section, however, to be dependent on ascertainment of facts as to its actual status. Furthermore, that S.Y.L. should propose to the forthcoming plenum of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau that these organizational steps with respect to the additions to the secretariat be considered on the agenda only after attempts to work out a political solution of the crisis in the Bureau and on the basis of the political decisions arrived at."

West moved an amendment to the Muste amendment, that the question be raised merely in connection with the RSAP.

Vote on the West amendment to the Muste amendment to the Oehler motion:  
Yes: Oehler, Johnson, West, Stamm, Muste Lore. (6) No: Ramuglia, Gordon, Satir, Swabeck, Shachtman, Glotzer, Cannon, Shachtman (8). Abstaining: McKinney and Selander (2). West amendment lost, 6-8.

Consultative votes: Yes: Streeter, Drake, Basky. No: Clarke, Visconti, Garrett, Gould, Bern, Weber.

Vote on the Muste amendment: Yes: Johnson, McKinney, Selander, West, Lore, Muste (6). No: Ramuglia, Oehler, Stamm, Gordon, Cannon, Satir, Swabeck, Glotzer, Lewitt, Shachtman (10). Motion lost 6-10.

Consultative votes: Yes: Drake. No: All other consultative votes.

West moves amendment that any organizational question with reference to additions to the Secretariat of the Youth Bureau be placed on the agenda of same only after the political discussion.

Vote: Yes: Johnson, Oehler, Stamm, McKinney, Selander, Lore, West, Muste (8)  
No: Ramuglia, Swabeck, Satir, Cannon, Lewitt, Shachtman, Gordon (7)  
Not voting: Glotzer. Motion carried 8-7.

Consultative votes: Yes: Basky, Streeter. No: Garrett.  
Abstaining: Weber, Drake, Bern, Gould, Visconti, Clark.

Vote on the Oehler motion: Yes: Johnson, Oehler, Stamm, McKinney, Selander, Lore, West, Muste (8). No: Ramuglia, Gordon, Satir, Swabeck, Glotzer, Cannon, Lewitt, Shachtman (8) (Motion not carried, vote 8-8)

Consultative votes: Yes: Basky, Drake, Streeter. (3) No: Weber, Bern, Gould, Garrett, Visconti, Clark (6).

Vote on the Cannon-Shachtman resolution on Spartacus and international relations:

Vote as on Oehler resolution but reversed. Motion not carried, 8-8.

Consultative votes also same as on Oehler resolution except reversed.

Shachtman moves to approve the decision of the Political Committee in permitting fraternal relationships of Spartacus with the I.C.L. such as obtain between the W.P. and the I.C.L. West moves motion be laid on the table until after lunch. Carried.

Evening Session June 16

Stamm moves: 1. The W.P. enter into fraternal relations with the S.A.P. (Germany) on the same basis on which we have entered into fraternal relations with other organizations and on the basis of the constitution of the W.P. Carried unanimously.

2. We inform the SAP that the W.P. cannot affiliate with the IAG (London-Amsterdam Bureau); a) on account of constitutional limitations to which the W.P. is subject and b) for political reasons, the W.P. having entered into the formation of a contact committee for the 4th International and the London-Amsterdam Bureau cannot be that center for which the W.P. is working. Carried unanimously.

Motion by Muste that the Political Committee draft the answer to the political section of the SAP letter with the purpose of seeking to draw the SAP toward the 4th International. Carried unanimously. Muste called attention to the fact that in his report and summary on his resolutions on international relations he had indicated certain changes from the original draft of his resolution but that specific attention was not called to these changes when the voting on the resolutions occurred. Agreed that the changes as stated in the report and summary be included in the resolution.

The question of relations of the W.P. to S.P.-C.P., etc. Muste reported that resolutions had been presented by Cannon-Shachtman, Muste, West, Oehler-Stamm-Basky, Weber. The Weber resolution was read, also the Oehler resolution. Muste called attention to amendments in his resolution. Johnson moved to grant the request of reporters for time not to exceed 1½ hours each. Carried. Muste moved that reports on the resolutions occur in the following order: Stamm, Cannon, West, Weber, Muste. Carried 8-3.

Lewitt moved substitute that Cannon open on the Cannon-Shachtman resolution. Substitute not carried, vote 6-6. Stamm reported on the Stamm-Oehler-Basky resolution. Toward the conclusion of his report Stamm stated: 1) It is rumored in the S.P., by which I mean that the information of the rumor comes to us from that source, that Comrade Cannon was seen in discussion with August Claessens and Louis Waldman of the S.P. 2) from the same source that Comrade Shachtman has assisted in editorial work on the Socialist Call.

At this point Comrade Shachtman interrupted Stamm and demanded a reply as to the exact source of these rumors. Swabeck moved the plenum demands from Stamm all information as to these reports. Stamm moved substitute that the plenum elect a control commission to take up the questions involving Comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Stamm. Substitute carried unanimously. Lewitt moves that Stamm immediately divulge the source of his information and give material bearing upon his charges. (Glotzer raised a point of order on comrades not belonging to the plenum congregating on the stairs and these comrades were asked to leave.)

Vote on the Lewitt motion: Yes: Ramuglia, Lore, Glotzer, Swabeck, Satir, Gordon, Lewitt, Cannon, Shachtman. No: West, Stamm, Johnson, McKinney, Oehler, Sehandler, Muste. Motion carried 9-7.

Stamm stated: "I reply as I did before, I will take up this question with the Control Commission."

West moves the immediate election of a control commission of three and a 20 minute recess after which the control commission is to convene. Glotzer moves an amendment for a control commission of six. Glotzer amendment carried. West motion as amended carried. Following nominations were made for the control commission: Muste, Lewitt, Johnson, Weber, McKinney, Ramuglia, Swabeck, West. Johnson and Weber declined. Cannon moved that the commission of 6 stand. Carried. Stamm moved recess for a maximum of 30 minutes before the commission goes into session. Carried.

#### MINUTES OF CONTROL COMMISSION June 16, 1935

West elected chairman, Muste secretary. Stamm read the following statement: "In the negotiations with the RPPA leadership Cannon told these non-party members the WP was going to expel undesirable elements - the lunatic fringe.

In the PC meeting which elected the WP committee to discuss with the RPPA, Cannon successfully objected to Stamm's inclusion on the ground that Stamm had a different conception of the SP and that he mistrusted Stamm's loyalty to the Party. Cannon invited Ludwig Lore who presents anti-Marxian views in his New York Evening Post column and WP forums and is violating party discipline, to be present and participate in the discussion.

Comrade 'Y' of the RPPA said Cannon gave him the impression he had no faith in the WP.

In reporting on the meetings with the RPPA Cannon reported two meetings. At least three have been held.

Comrade "X", a Socialist, told WP members confidentially, also that he has told others in the SP, that Carter and Cannon met with Claessens and Waldman in a cafeteria.

He also said that Shachtman has been seen frequently in the Socialist Call office, and that he has assisted in editing material for the Call."

West to Stamm: Are you refusing to specify the name of X? Stamm gave the name of X and stated that X had no relation to the W.P. West: where did you meet X? Stamm: I did not meet him. West: who told you about X, who are the party members who told what X saw?

Lewitt moved that each question be answered by Stamm as put. Carried unanimously. Stamm asks to enter into therecord a protest against the characteristic vulgarity of Cannon and Shachtman.

Stamm: Are these questions being asked for information? I do not mean to answer any questions intended to put me on trial.

West: the questions are asked to secure the necessary information and you are required to answer them.

Stamm: The people with whom we are dealing are unscrupulous. I have no objection to giving the names of W.P. members; however, the same information which I have given has also been given to others, for example, in the S.P. X is the person responsible for this. An attempt is being made to twist things around and accuse me of doing it.

Lewitt: Will you mention the party members to whom X gave his alleged information?

Stamm named two, A and B of the Bronx Branch of the W.P. Cannon: Has X any connection with the W.P.? Stamm: Not that I know of. Cannon: Why then did you object to giving his name? Stamm: Because you would have him expelled from the S.P. Cannon: Would you object to that? Stamm: Yes, because he might give more information. Lewitt: How long have you known the facts alleged in your statement? Stamm: About the RPPA leadership, two weeks. About the statement of X - B told me today. A told me the same thing about a week ago. West: Did Y give you his information direct? Stamm: yes. West: Were other party members present when Y gave you this information? Stamm: (after being told by Muste to speak freely) Yes, Oehler, Muste, McKinney. Lewitt: Did you tell this information obtained from X to other party members? Stamm: to Oehler and Basky. Lewitt: Was the story about Y brought before the P.C.? Stamm: No. West: Was the meeting with Y held before the P.C. meeting in which report on negotiations with the S.P. was called for? Stamm: Yes. Ramuglia: Where did you get the information in re Shachtman and the Socialist Call? Stamm: From the same source, that is, X. Shachtman: What connection have A and B with X? Stamm: Only casual connection. Lewitt: How did the matter of Stamm's exclusion from the committee to discuss with Y come up? How did Y know about the exclusion? Stamm: Since I had been in contact with Y at the outset he was naturally suspicious of my exclusion. He was suspicious also of Muste's absence from the committee but it was explained to him that Muste was in Ohio at the time. Lewitt: was no proposal made to elect another sub-committee for contact with Y? Stamm: The subject was not reached on the agenda. Swaback raised a further question about how Y got the information of Stamm's exclusion. Stamm elaborated stating that Y was naturally surprised not to see Stamm who had contacted Y and made the report to the P.C. present when larger discussions were organized. Y surmised that the exclusion was for political reasons and was more certain of it when he heard the Cannon line presented by Cannon himself.

Cannon: Did you undertake to prefer charges on account of these matters?

Stamm: 1. Such incidents as these are entirely possible in view of the political line of the comrades involved and 2) political issues should be decided first before organizational measures are taken. 3) I should like to hear the reply of the two comrades first. Cannon: Do you consider the source, X, A and B responsible enough to prefer charges? Stamm: If they had it lead to rights it would constitute a basis for charges. In any case, however, I prefer to wait until the end of the plenum. Shachtman: Why not bring the matter up in the Political Committee? Stamm: Oehler made a motion that all S.P. contacts be reported on but it was voted down. Shachtman: Why not ask questions at the P.C. meeting? Stamm: I saw the drift of Cannon's replies to questions at the P.C. meeting, saw that he was following a distinct course. You know the situation that has existed in the P.C.

**West:** Is it correct that Cannon reported to the P.C. on RPPA contacts and C?  
**Stamm:** Yes. **Shachtman:** Why not report the meetings of Oehler, Stamm, McKinney, and Muste with Y to the P.C. when reports were being made? **Stamm:** I saw what Cannon was doing and decided to wait for the N.C. plenum. **West:** Did you have any understanding with Muste not to report? **Stamm:** No, there was no discussion or agreement whatever. **Lewitt:** On what basis did Oehler ask questions of Cannon at the P.C. meeting? **Stamm:** You will have to ask Oehler. **Swabeck:** On what authority do you state that more meetings were held with the RPPA than Cannon reported? **Stamm:** On the authority of Y. **Lewitt:** Did you ask A and B who X was? Is he trustworthy? **Stamm:** A stated he had been confidentially told the information. I took it as a complete confirmation of Cannon's S.P. line. I suppose I did not ask all the information I might have. My mind is not running along these lawyer's channels. I said that this rumor "was traveling through the S.P." **McKinney:** Y stated that Cannon gave the impression of no faith in the W.P. Did you say that Muste and McKinney were present when this particular thing was said? **Stamm:** Yes. At this point Muste made an oral statement substantially as follows:

"On returning recently from Ohio to the center I found the party in the turmoil with which all of us are now familiar. I was aware from a letter sent me by Comrade Cannon which I will submit to the plenum when we deal with the internal situation that it was the purpose of himself and others to secure the expulsion of the Oehler-Stamm group at this plenum. I had reason on the basis of this same letter to connect this proposed organizational measure with the policy of Comrade Cannon in re the so-called S.P. orientation with which I differ and which I regard as most injurious to the W.P. at this time. Reports on the one hand of plans to 'take the party into the S.P.' and on the other hand plans of the so-called left wing to disrupt the party were current.

"Stamm reported to me that Y, whom I have known for many years and with whom I have worked on a number of occasions over a period of years wished to see me. According to Stamm, Y had gained the impression from Cannon that the latter lacked faith in the W.P. and on the other hand had an unwarranted optimism about what might be expected from certain elements such as the militants in the S.P.

"I was well aware of the dangers involved and the questions bound to be raised if I were to confer with Y although by action of the P.C. several months ago work in the S.P. was generally under my supervision. I conferred with Comrade McKinney and we decided that under the extraordinary conditions existing in the party we could best discharge our responsibility to the party by obtaining in anticipation of the forthcoming plenum all possible information about the reports and rumors in circulation and checking up so far as possible on these reports and those involved in them. To confer with Y in the presence of Stamm would give an opportunity not only to receive from Y an exact statement of his impressions of the conference held with the W.P. contact but to check on whether Stamm's statements about what Y had said were accurate. It would furnish also an opportunity to discover whether and how rumors circulated thru the party and whether factional use would be made in the brief interval until the plenum of the fact that McKinney and I held this conference. We knew of no other way to accomplish this end. We decided that by withholding the report until the whole situation was discussed by the plenum opportunity for additional information and check-up might be obtained. We were furthermore reasonably confident, on the basis of my own personal acquaintance with Y that no particular danger for the party was involved in conferring with him.

"At the time McKinney and I met Y Stamm, and Oehler and the party contact were also present. We made it clear at the outset that the discussion was entirely personal and informal and that no discussion of internal W.P. matters or personalities would be permitted and that McKinney and I would regard it as our duty to leave immediately if such were to occur. This condition was strictly observed and no attempt was made on the part of anyone in the conference to violate it.

"The discussion dealt for the most part with such questions as the situation in the Soviet union, the way in which the 4th International is to be built, etc., on which Y does not yet have the party position. Y also stated that he had been surprised at the attitude and advice of Cannon in the conferences with Y, Y getting distinctly the impression of lack of faith on Cannon's part in the W.P. and an incorrect estimation as to what was to be expected from certain elements in the S.P. Y further indicated that there were possibilities of collaboration in mass activities between RPPA members and the W.P. and that there should be an intensive discussion of programmatic questions."

McKinney stated that he confirmed Muste's statements as to facts and added that Y had expressed the view that the criticism of the militants in the New Militant was not sharp enough.

West: Do you confirm the answer of Stamm on Y's statements? Muste: Yes.  
West: Did you bring this matter up in the P.C. recently when S.P. work was underdiscussion? Muste: No and for the reasons stated. West: Do you consider that you followed the correct procedure? Muste: In view of all the circumstances, I believe that it was correct and necessary and in line with our responsibility to the party. West: With what comrades did you consult before meeting with Y? Muste: None, except McKinney. West: Did you report the meeting afterward to any leading members of the party? Muste: to K. Lore. West: Did you report your conference with Y to Cannon? Muste: No. M, the contact with Y mentioned to Cannon subsequently the fact of our conference and when this question was brought up at the conference at Cannon's home a few nights ago I reported on it in the same manner that I have now done. West: Is it correct that you believed the meeting necessary in order to gain information freely relative to the internal situation in the party? Muste: yes, emphatically. West: Did you believe that holding a meeting together with Oehler and Stamm served this purpose? Muste: Yes, there was no other way to check up on Oehler and Stamm's statements/in the presence of Y where discrepancies would have been revealed and could have been immediately followed up. Ramuglia: In the course of this conference did the question of Stamm not being put on the contact committee come up? Muste: No, my statement at the outset of the conference to which I have already referred was such that no internal party question could have come up, it being understood that McKinney and I would have walked out if it had.  
McKinney: This question did come up in the first meeting of the P.C. sub-committee of Canon, Swabeck and myself with Y. Y there made a remark about Stamm's absence.

West: Did you regard the conference with Y as having a political significance? Muste: In the sense above indicated. West to McKinney: Do you agree with Muste's statements? McKinney: On matters of fact, yes. Swabeck to McKinney: Was it your impression that in the negotiations with Y Cannon gave incorrect advice from the W.P. point of view? McKinney: Cannon's advice to Y was: "groups should remain and go deeper into the S.P." I hold that was incorrect advice. Shachtman to McKinney: Did you take up this matter with Cannon? McKinney: No. Ramuglia to McKinney: Did you participate in the discussion or did Cannon do all the speaking? McKinney: I said hello, etc., Cannon did most of the speaking in the discussion. Lewitt to Muste: Stamm says three meetings were held between Cannon and Y. Did Y so state in the meeting which you attended? Muste: No such question could have been raised at that meeting in view of the nature of the discussion laid down by us. Lewitt: You cannot verify this statement therefore? Muste: No. Lewitt to Stamm: What was the source of your information on this point? Stamm: Y. Cannon to Stamm: Have you seen Y at any other meetings than the one at which Muste and McKinney were present? Stamm: At Y's invitation I met him in his office and as a result of that conference with Muste, etc. occurred. Lewitt to Muste: Can you confirm the point about Cannon having said in the meeting of the P.C. sub-committee with Y that the W.P. was "going to expel the lunatic fringe?" Muste: No, for reasons already given such a question could not have been asked at the kind of meeting we were having. Lewitt to Stamm: What do you mean by constant discussions among Cannon, Carter and T? Stamm: There was constant talk about it in the office. Shachtman to Muste: Part of your motive was to check up on Oehler and Stamm - had reports reached you that Oehler and Stamm had been having meetings with Y or other S.P. members? Muste: No. Shachtman to McKinney: Was there any talk at the conference of the sub-committee with Y about "getting rid of the lunatic fringe"? McKinney: some such statement was made, I am not entirely clear as to the exact phraseology. I think the reference was to getting rid of "undesirable elements." Shachtman to Stamm: You refrain from using names and employ symbols except in the case of T. Why is this? Stamm: Because T walks up to the W.F. office freely; as to Y symbols are used in P.C. minutes. As to X, comrades stated that his information had been given confidentially.

Shachtman: Did Oehler have other meetings with Y? Stamm: Only the one I had. Shachtman to Muste: What was the purpose in taking Oehler? Muste: I am not even sure I knew Oehler would be there. I don't think I did. Shachtman to Stamm: Did you invite Oehler on your own initiative? Stamm: I recall I did not tell Muste - not for any particular purpose. As to Y, I suppose I took it for granted he would expect Oehler. Shachtman: It was not in your

original plan to have Oehler? Stamm: No.

At this point it was decided to ask A and B into the meeting of the Control Commission. Swabeck to A and B: Have you heard from any S.P. member Cannon conducted negotiations with right-wing leaders in the S.P.? A: An S.P. member told me he saw Cannon in a cafeteria in discussion with Claessens and Waldman. Swabeck: Who is this S.P. member? A: I had to promise not to get him involved. Ramuglia: Did you tell anyone this report? A: Stamm. Swabeck: When did you tell Stamm? A: A few days ago. Question to B: Have you had the same experience, do you know X? B: I know he is a member of the Ypsls, not sure whether he is an S.P. member. He told me there was widespread talk to this effect among party members.

At this point A and B mentioned X and observed that he was a militant. At this point, after A and B stated that X reported that he and others had seen Cannon, Lewitt asked questions and gave the impression tending to indicate that X might be a person known as Fieldite stooge in the S.P. Shachtman to A: Did X mention my name? A: He said that you were working in the office of the Socialist Call. He saw you there and that on other occasions other militants saw you there. Shachtman to B: How long have you known X? B: for some years. Shachtman: Do you know of his having relations with the Field group. B: No. Shachtman: Was he with Jules Bertman at the Detroit S.P. convention? The reply indicated that he was and Cannon said that X was a Fieldite.

Shachtman to B: Did X say that he had seen me at the Socialist Call or that it was common gossip? B: He said he saw you.

At this point the Control Commission decided to call in comrades Dolson and Garrett. Cannon to Garrett: What were you told by B about this rumor? Garrett: B said that he was very positive Cannon did meet with Claessens and Waldman. He told me that this afternoon during the first intermission. He also spoke about Shachtman at the Call office. McKinney: Does Garrett know anything in connection with the statements under discussion? Garrett: Nothing except what I have said. Shachtman to B: Did you tell Garrett that you were certain Cannon had talked with Claessens and Waldman? B: I got excited in the conversation. I said, do you know anything about this meeting of Cannon with Claessens and Waldman? Garrett said something about I must mean Oneal. Later he asked whether I believed this report and I said yes. Ramuglia to B: Up until last night you had not known about this? B: That's right. Ramuglia to Stamm: You said you knew about this about a week ago? Stamm: Yes, from A. Shachtman to B: Did you mention this to any other party members except Stamm and Garrett? B: To A and no others.

Lewitt stated that Dolson could corroborate that X was a Fieldite. Dolson under questioning spoke of a Fieldite Ypsl named - , the name being similar to but not the same as that of X. Shachtman to Dolson: Do you know whether this Fieldite has attended classes of Ypsels at my home? Dolson: I am not sure, I could not say. Statement by Cannon: "As to telling Y anything about ~~xxxxx~~ expulsion of "undesirable elements" I may have made some reference to 'lunatic fringe' in connection with Zack. The position with regard to Zack is a public one and I have taken it publicly. McKinney, Shachtman, Ludwig Lore and later Swabeck were present. As to inviting Lore that is correct. It has nothing to do with violating discipline. I had been told by Karl Lore that his father is a friend of Y, it was simply to facilitate contact with Y that L. Lore was invited and no one raised any objection. As <sup>to the</sup> ~~letter~~ of 'no faith in the W.P.', Y did not express any such idea at the meeting. He said he was glad to get the advice I had given him and wrote a letter expressing satisfaction with the discussion. As to reporting only two meetings, only two have been held that I participated in. Both were with the knowledge and consent of the party. My last meeting with Y previous to these was a long time ago before the Detroit convention of the S.P. As to discussion with T. there has been one at my house which I reported to the P.C. and had no further meetings with him.

"Claessens and Waldman I have never met to talk to in my life. The only time I ever saw Claessens was at a street meeting at a distance and on the platform at the united front May Day meeting a year ago. Waldman I have never talked to. I was together with him on the rostrum in Central Park at the May Day meeting this year."

Statement by Shachtman: I met Y at Cannon's house for the first time in recent months. Prior to that I spoke to him for the first time by telephone in connection with a letter of his which appeared in the New International.



With T I have exchanged about ten words in the party office at 2 W. 15th St. The conference was about the constitutional powers of the Supreme court, I have never been in the Socialist Call office and have never edited any of its material."

Statement by Cannon: I have had no conferences with any leaders of the S.P. not reported to the P.C., no relations of any kind whatever."

Statement by Shachtman: "The same is true for me."

Stamm to Shachtman: Were you elected on the RPPA sub-committee? Shachtman: I do not recall. Cannon: Shachtman was elected to go if Swabeck could not attend. Stamm to Cannon: Is it correct that the RPPA has sent you a series of statements, the first to the effect that they wanted collaboration in practical activities with the W.P. and 2) that they would not collaborate if they saw evidence of "an S.P. orientation" in the W.P. and 3) that their perspective was a split from the S.P. by the April 1936 convention, and 4) that if the "left wing were expelled from the W.P. they would not consider collaboration"? Cannon: I had talked with M a few days ago. He said he had had a brief talk with Y. He told me something to the above effect. Said they had perspective of splitting in connection with 1936 convention at which I expressed satisfaction in general with the idea of taking time between now and then to dramatize the situation, etc.

West to Cannon: Did points stated by M include all those listed by Stamm? Cannon: Those are the two that stick in my mind, a split in 1936 and extension of "left-wing." West: Can you deny that the conference included the other points? Cannon: I cannot say that, I cannot specifically recall. West to Stamm: How do you know that this report had been made? Stamm: M so stated to me. Swabeck to Stamm: Did you give Y the information on the so-called question of the W.P. left wing? Stamm: No. Stamm to Cannon: Why did you not report to Muste on conference with M? Cannon: Muste is just one member of the committee to me and I did not attach any great importance to the matter anyway. Stamm: was it on your initiative that Ludwig Lore was asked to the conference with Y? Cannon: I take the responsibility.

- - - -

#### NIGHT SESSION of June 16-17, 1935 of the Plenum

All present as before with exception of Weber.

West reported for the Control Commission stating that the commission had sought to discover all the evidence bearing upon the factual accuracy of Stamm's statement in re Cannon and Claessens and Waldman and Shachtman and the Socialist call and the meaning of the same. The Commission had not conceived it to be its task to take up the general discussion of the internal situation in the party which was another point on the agenda of the plenum.

Muste read the minutes of the control commission. After one or two minor corrections had been noted, Stamm moved to table the Control Commission report. Motion was lost, Stamm and Oehler voting for, all others opposed. On procedure Muste moved that discussion at this time be confined to motion of the Control Commission. Carried. After brief discussion the voting occurred:

Vote on Control Commission Report: Paragraph 1 carried, Oehler and Stamm voting against, all others for. Consultative votes: Streeter and Basky against, all others for.

Paragraph 2, the same vote as 1. Paragraph 3 carried unanimously. (The motion of the Control Commission has already been sent to branches.)

On procedure West moved to adjourn to 12 noon. Carried.

#### SESSION OF June 17, 1935 Present as before. Shachtman chairman.

On procedure Basky proposed that guards be drafted to serve at the door downstairs in rotation and Cannon to have two comrades called in by name and appointed as sargeant-at-arms. Carried.

CONTINUATION OF S.P.-C.P. RESOLUTIONS Cannon reported on C-Shachtman resolution. Time extended half an hour and then for an additional period. At Stamm's request the following remark in Cannon's speech was placed in the minutes. "I am sorry I am taking in the same room in the plenum with Oehler and Stamm and Basky. Do not ask us to collaborate with blackguards and slanderers." McKinney asked whether the chairman ruled this statement of Cannon's was in order in connection with the discussion of the SP-CP question. Chairman replied yes.

Second Session June 17, 1935 In answer to question from Selander, Cannon stated that the proposal for a public statement in his speech was a public statement to make it clear that the W.P. was "not going into the S.P."

On procedure, agreed to have reports in order: Weber, West, Muste. This procedure was carried out. In the course of the meeting Stamm moved that the chairman take his proper place and conduct the meeting accordingly. Carried.

Night Session of June 17-18, 1935 Oehler moved that question as to the duration of the plenum be taken up at the end of this session. Motion lost.

West moves that we take up general plenum arrangements now. Carried.

Motion withdrawn.

West moves that plenum end with tomorrow's session. / Ramuglia moves that the plenum do not end until the question of the internal situation has been disposed of. Carried. Selander moves to reconsider and take up the question of the length of the plenum tomorrow. Carried. Muste moves that the hour of adjournment be set at 1.00 A.M. Carried. Ramuglia moves that time limit of 20 minutes be set in discussions. Withdrawn. Glotzer moves limit of one-half hour. Carried 9-3.

Request of Gould to excuse the Spartacus N.C. during the discussion in order that they might hold an N.C. meeting. Granted.

In discussion Oehler spoke, time being extended 20 minutes. Shachtman spoke, time being extended half an hour. Following this it was agreed to lay over the rest of the speakers' list to the morning session.

SESSION OF June 18, 1935 All present as before with exception of Weber.

Discussion on the S.P.-C.P. question was continued with Basky (time extended 10 minutes), Satir, Lore, Glotzer and Swabeck participating.

Shachtman moves that party members be allowed to sit in the back of the hall. Carried by vote of 7-6.

Discussion on S.P.-C.P. question was continued. Participants: Ramuglia, McKinney, (time extended 10 minutes). On procedure Stamm moves to reconvene in the evening at party headquarters. Carried.

EVENING SESSION OF June 18, 1935 Kitt appointed sargent-at-arms.

Discussion on S.P.-C.P. question continued. Participants: Johnson, S. Gordon, Streeter.

It was agreed that summaries be given in reverse order to the reports and that there be no time limit. Muste reported, followed by West. After the West presentation Lore requested permission which was granted to enter into the minutes a statement bearing on reference in West's speech. The statement also signed by Johnson, McKinney, Selander and Muste is as follows: "For ourselves, and we are sure for the great mass of our comrades of the former AWP we wish to deny that our attitude toward the CLA was at any time that pictured by Comrade West. Our criticism and attitude have been criminally distorted and falsified. For the essential nature of our criticisms we refer the N.C. to the seven dangers in connection with the merger of statement as a preliminary to West's own resolution on the merger in the AEP. We emphatically condemn Comrade West's attempt to sow distrust and suspicion in the ranks of the W.P."

Muste requested and received permission to enter into the minutes the following statement bearing on West's reference to the fact that in this plenum and in the former AWP he had been referred to as "a Cannon stooge." Muste's statement: "I referred to West as a 'Cannon stooge' in this plenum to describe the role which apparently he is fulfilling. I did not at any time in the AWP speak of West as a Cannon stooge or regard him as such."

West stated that to the best of his knowledge Muste's statement in reference to Muste's attitude in the AWP was correct.

Summaries by Weber and Cannon followed after which plenum adjourned to meet at noon June 19.

SESSION OF JUNE 19, 1935 Present as before. McKinney chairman.  
Session was open session at 19th St. branch headquarters.

Shachtman stated that the Cannon, Shachtman and West resolutions had been consolidated and were to be voted on as one with the understanding that a reformulation of one resolution referred to in the discussion was permitted.

It was agreed that a pro and con vote be taken on each of the resolutions before the plenum separately.

Vote on the Cannon-Shachtman motion on S.P.-C.P. For: Swabeck, Lewitt, Gordon, Shachtman, West, Cannon, Ramuglia (7) Against: Stamm, Oehler, Johnson, Glotzer, Satir, Selander, Lore, McKinney, Muste (9). Motion lost 7-9.

Consultative votes: For: Garrett, Clarke, V. scanti. (3) Against: Basky, Streeter, Gould, Bern, Craine (5).

Vote on Muste resolution: For: Lore, McKinney, Johnson, Muste, Selander (5).  
Against: all others, (11) Motion lost, 5-11.

Consultative votes: None for and all against.

Vote on Oehler-Stamm-Basky resolution: For: Oehler and Stamm. Against: all others. Motion lost.

Consultative votes: For: Streeter and Basky/ All others against.

Vote on Weber resolution: For: Satir and Glotzer. All others against. Lost.  
Consultative votes: For: Gould, Bern. All others against except Craine, who abstained.

SECOND SESSION OF JUNE 19, 1935 McKinney chairman. All present as before except Weber.

On procedure Lore moved: 1) the next order of business be the internal situation. Carried. 2) the session be an executive one. Satir moved that the plenum adjourn tonight after the discussion on the internal situation. Lost. Stamm moved that all proposals in re the internal situation be voted on after the disposal of the present point on the agenda. Carried.

Stamm moved to take up questions on procedure after recess. Lost.

Muste asked permission to insert the following statement which was granted:  
"Comrade West made a remark in his speech last night which might be interpreted as meaning that before the plenum I thought his resolution on the S.P. and C.P. question was acceptable. My attitude to the first West resolution is well known and has never for a moment changed. My opinion of the present West resolution was and is that it is different from the Cannon-Shachtman resolution in some of its argumentation and in tone but not in its essential conclusion.

Lewitt moves evening session be held in party headquarters at 6.30. Carried.

On the Satir motion for adjournment tonight at the discussion of the internal situation Lewitt moved to table. Carried.

During the evening individuals and groups of the N.C. conferred on matters relating to the internal situation. Late in the evening the statement of Cannon, Shachtman, etc. on the internal situation was drafted and presented. In view of the questions raised and the lateness of the hour there was unanimous agreement to adjourn to the next day.

SESSION OF JUNE 20, 1935 Present as before. Chairman Ramuglia.

On procedure Shachtman moved that we take up first the question of international relations of Spartacus which had not been disposed of at preceding session, Carried. Resolution on International youth question as included in plenum resolution was brought forward and carried. (Resolution follows - not included in set of resolutions).

1. The Plenum condemns the action of the representative of the International Youth Bureau at the Paris Conference in February in speaking against the Fourth International and the adopted line of the Bureau; and urges the Spartacus Youth League to continue steps to correct the untenable situation in which such an action is possible.

2. The Plenum proposes to the Spartacus Youth League that it continue steps to strengthen the forces on the International Youth Bureau which are ready to work actively both in word and in deed for the Fourth International; and especially in this connection to press vigorously as amply justified by the actual relationship of forces within the Buro, for the immediate addition to the Secretariat of the Buro of a representative of the RSAP.

3. The Plenum proposes to the Spartacus Youth League that it vigorously press the International Youth Buro to the extension and broadening of its contacts and wherever possible the drawing in of new forces - e.g., the Spanish Socialist Youth and to exert steady pressure upon the centrist leaders of groups in the Buro in the unequivocal direction of the Fourth International."

In the course of the discussion Shachtman was asked whether if the Spartacus proposals with regard to changes in representation on the Secretariat of the youth organizations are not met, this is to be regarded as a breaking point. Shachtman answered that it was impossible to tell under the circumstances under which the refusal occurred were known.

On procedure, Muste moved: 1) first resolutions be presented and then general debate on the internal situation, Carried. 2) to list speakers alternating them so far as possible. 3) then to take action on the various motions with a limit of 10 minutes for summary for and against each motion. Lore moved that motions 2 and 3 by Muste be tabled until after discussion, Carried. Shachtman read Cannon-Shachtman resolution on the internal situation and their statement. Oehler made the following statement with reference to the control commission's report: (To be sent later).

The Oehler resolution on the internal party situation was read. Satir read a statement on the internal situation.

NIGHT SESSION OF JUNE 20, 1935 Muste introduced the statement on the internal situation by Selander, Johnson, McKinney, Lore, Muste, Drake.

Oehler stated that he, Stamm and Streeter wished to be recorded as endorsing and supporting this statement. Shachtman reported on the internal situation, under Cannon-Shachtman resolution.

SESSION OF JUNE 21, 1935 All present as before except Basky. Johnson chairman. Oehler reported at the afternoon session on the internal situation.

Shachtman asked Oehler / whether his statement at the preceding session in re the statement by Muste, etc. on the internal situation signified that he signed it. Oehler stated this was not the case. that he had simply asked that the agreement of himself, Stamm and Streeter with the statement be recorded in the minutes.

EVENING SESSION OF JUNE 21. Muste moved on procedure: 1) that reports on the internal situation be concluded with those of Muste and Glotzer. 2) that the vote be taken after the reports. 3) that the plenum adjourn after the votes.

West spoke on the motions on procedure. Stamm called a point of order, stating that West was going beyond discussion of procedure. The chair sustained Stamm in his point of order. West appealed from the chair's decision. The vote was to sustain the chair 8-7 as follows: For sustaining: Satir, Glotzer, Lore, Stamm, Oehler, Selander, McKinney, Muste. Against: West, Cannon, Swabeck, Shachtman, Lewitt, Gordon, Ramuglia. West desired his protest at the decision to be recorded. Shachtman moved that motions on procedure be laid on the table until after the reports and proceed to discuss the motion. Selander moved that the question be called. Carried 8 to 0, 7 not voting. Motion to table until after reports, carried 8-7. Voting for: West, Cannon, Shachtman, Lewitt, Gordon, Ramuglia, Swabeck, Selander. Voting against: Stamm, Oehler, Satir, McKinney, Lore, Johnson, Muste.

Muste reported.

On request of Lore the following was noted in the minutes: "In the course of the Muste report, when Muste remarked 'you can't expel Oehler, Stamm and Basky, etc. now anyway! Shachtman replied: 'because you won't vote with us.'"

Glotzer reported. Muste's / motions namely, on procedure, that vote on the resolutions on the internal question be now taken and that adjournment follow were taken up and carried, 9 voting for, 7 not voting; the Shachtman substitute, that the discussion continue tonight and that the plenum reconvene tomorrow and conclude the business of the plenum by tomorrow night, 7-8.

A 10 minute recess was asked by Cannon and Shachtman and granted. After the recess in connection with proposal made by Muste and others that Cannon be given an hour and a half to reply and that thereafter the votes be taken, Shachtman moved that the balance of the order of business be: 1) speech by West, one hour, 2) speech by Cannon, an hour and a half, and 3) voting. Motion lost 7-9. Shachtman asked and received permission to enter into the minutes the statement "we protest against the high-handed and arbitrary manner in which an absolutely unwarranted majority of the plenum sought and succeeded to prevent Comrade West from speaking on the subject of the internal situation in the party so that it is impossible for the plenum to have the picture as complete as is necessary on the situation which confronts it."

Muste received permission to enter the following statement: This plenum was called for a three days session, namely, Friday and Saturday of last week and Monday of this. It has now been in session for an entire week. During most of this time the internal situation in the party has been directly or indirectly subject to discussion. Numerous resolutions and statements on the subject have been introduced and read by the members of the plenum. Long reports have been made. Various individuals and groups of the N.C. have led discussions on the problem. At best the present session cannot end until early morning. The Chicago comrades are compelled to leave. All of the members of the plenum are approaching a stage of exhaustion. In order to give abundant opportunity to answer any statements that have been made, particularly in my report on the internal situation, we have proposed that Comrade Cannon be given an hour and a half for a summary. The reporters for other resolutions absolutely forego their right to summarize and in their summary reply to any statements that Comrade Cannon may make. Under the circumstances to suggest that the fate of the party depends on the plenum hearing statement now from Comrade West is patently absurd and attempts at this meeting to incite party members who do not belong to the plenum against alleged trampling on democratic rights on the part of comrades who have listened to hours of oratory from the Cannon-Shachtman group is inexcusable demagogy."

Oehler asked permission to file a statement. Granted.

Satir asked permission to file a statement. Granted.

Cannon thereupon gave a summary of an hour and a half as per agreement.

West entered a statement as follows: (to be sent later)

Vote on Muste's organizational proposals:

Proposal 1. For internal bulletin and discussion, consolidated with Cannon-Shachtman resolution providing for same. Carried unanimously.

Proposal No. 2. On no discrimination in the assignment of party work, Shachtman amends: "as has been the policy pursued by the P.C. heretofore". For the amendment: Satir, Glotzer, Cannon, Shachtman, West, Ramuglia, Gordon, Swabeck, Lewitt. Against the amendment: Johnson, McKinney, Oehler, Stamm, Lore, Muste (6) Selander abstaining. Amendment carried 9-6.

Consultative votes: For the amendment: Garrett, Visconti, Craine, Clark (5) Against: Gould and Streeter (2). Motion as amended was carried 9-4 with Oehler, Muste, Johnson, Stamm voting against and McKinney and Selander abstaining.

The consultative vote on the motion as amended was: For: Garrett, Visconti, Drake, Craine, Against: Streeter. Gould, abstaining.

Proposal No. 3. On no discrimination in constituting important committees. Shachtman made same amendment. Amendment and motion as amended carried, with same votes as under 2 above.

Proposal No. 4, on access of party press regardless of political differences. Shachtman amends "as has been the case heretofore". Amendment in this case was lost 7-9. Voting for: Cannon, Lewitt, Swabeck, Shachtman, Gordon, Ramuglia, West. Voting against: Glotzer, Satir, Oehler, Stamm, Selander, McKinney, Lore, Johnson, Muste.

Consultative votes: For: Garrett, Clark, Visconti. Against: Gould, Drake, Streeter. Shachtman asks of Glotzer and Satir on what basis they voted as they did on this amendment. The reply was that there was at least one case, that of Weber on the Kirov assassination where the press had not been open.

Muste proposal No. 4 then carried 9-7 with the same vote as on the Shachtman amendment but reversed.

Consultative votes on the Muste proposal: For: Drake, Craine, Gould, Streeter, with Garrett, Visconti and Clarke abstaining.

Muste proposal No. 5. For dismissing pending disciplinary action connected with recent controversies and ending all laxity of discipline immediately. Shachtman moves the Cannon-Shachtman resolution for censure of Oehler, Stamm and Basky as a substitute. Substitute lost 7-9 with votes the same as on Muste proposal No. 4. Consultative votes: For: Clarke, Craine, Garrett, Visconti. Against: Gould, Drake, Streeter.

West asked Muste: Do you regard the characterizations of Oehler, Stamm and Basky in the Cannon-Shachtman resolution as false? Muste replied: "My position on the actions of Comrades Oehler, Basky and Stamm has been repeatedly recorded in votes in the Political Committee and I will not further answer the kind of question Comrade West asks at this time." Shachtman asks of Satir: "Why change your attitude in re censure of Oehler, Stamm and Basky? Satir answers: "In view of the interpretation given to the Pittsburgh resolution of censure of Oehler and Stamm which was interpreted as leading to organizational measures as shown in the Cannon letter to Muste, I vote against a similar resolution and procedure now. My position on the general question has been indicated in the statement filed.

Shachtman then asked the same question of Satir as West had asked of Muste. Satir answered: "Our answer is contained in our statement." West then moved the Cannon-Shachtman resolution on party discipline, etc. as an independent motion. The vote on the West substitute was 7 for and 9 against, as above. Consultative votes: For: Garrett, Visconti, Clark. Against: Drake, Gould, Craine, Streeter. West asked of Glotzer: Do you deny the statements of fact in this motion? Glotzer replied: I refer again to my statement to the plenum on the question."

Muste proposal No. 5 was then carried 9-7 with no change in the votes or consultative votes from the above.

Muste proposal No. 6 providing for hearing the Zack and Williamson appeals in due course in regular party channels agreed to.

Cannon moves that political collaboration with expelled members or any collaboration not specifically authorized by the Political Committee be prohibited. Carried unanimously.

Shachtman moves as an independent motion paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Cannon-Shachtman motion on party discipline. Carried unanimously.

Shachtman moved the Cannon-Shachtman motion on statement in re rumors about joining S.P. Motion not carried. Voting for: Cannon, Swabeck, Lewitt, Gordon, West, Ramuglia, Shachtman. Against: Oehler, Stamm, Johnson, McKinney, Selander, Lore, Muste. Glotzer and Satir abstaining. Muste moved his motion on the S.P. statement as a substitute. Carried 9-7 with same vote as above, except reversed, and with Glotzer and Satir voting for the Muste as substitute.

Muste substitute:  
Consultative votes. For: Drake, Gould, Craine, Streeter. Against: Garrett, Visconti, Clarke.

Muste proposal on work in the S.P. Lost 7-9. Voting for: Johnson, McKinney, Lore, Selander, Oehler, Stamm, Muste. Against: Glotzer, Satir, Cannon, Shachtman, Swabeck, Lewitt, Gordon, West, Ramuglia.

Consultative votes: For: Drake and Streeter. Against: Garrett, Visconti, Clarke, Gould, Craine.

Cannon-Shachtman motion on work in S.P. carried 9-7, same as above but reversed.

Oehler motion on S.P. lost. Voting for: Oehler and Stamm, all others against. Consultative votes: For: Streeter. All others against.

Oehler moved for calling a convention of the party in three months in view of the fact that "the plenum has not succeeded in crystallizing a definite political line on the key questions which confront the party." Motion lost. Oehler, Stamm and Johnson voting for, all others against. Consultative votes: For: Streeter and Drake. All others against.

The following statement was presented by Oehler, Stamm and Streeter:  
"The Plenum has not succe

The following statement was presented by Oehler, Stamm and Streeter:  
"The Plenum has not succeeded in crystalizing a definite political line on the key questions which confront the party. The only possible remaining solution within the limits of the party constitution and democratic centralism which the party has at this moment is a convention. If the party is to crystalize a line on the questions involved, translate it into party activity during the fall and winter, realize the possibilities for the WP in the SP and overcome the internal situation which is threatening the very existence of the party, this convention must be held at the earliest possible date consistent with the time necessary to organize a full and democratic pre-convention discussion throughout the Party.

We appeal to the Party membership to demand, in line with the Constitutional provisions governing this point, a convention within three months."

On the question of participation of Spartacus in post-plenum discussions, Shachtman moved that the matter be referred to the Political Committee. Carried unanimously.

Muste moved that the next plenum be held in September, that this plenum prepare resolutions for the convention, the convention to be held in December. Carried, all voting for except Johnson, Oehler and Stamm abstaining. Consultative votes, all for except Streeter abstaining.

Muste called attention to the fact that under the 50-50/arrangement, in view of the resignations of Budenz and Howe from the Political Committee, two additions from the former AWP should be made, and proposed that Lore, who had already been substituting for Budenz, and Johnson <sup>merger</sup> who carried the highest vote in the AWP convention for the N.C. be added to the P.C. Proposal carried unanimously.

Shachtman moved that the Political Committee provide for sending immediately to all the branches proper notification of the findings of the control commission of the plenum and the actions of the plenum on the commission's report. Motion carried with all voting for except Oehler and Stamm abstaining and consultative votes, all for except Streeter and Drake abstaining.

Plenum adjourned.

A. J. Muste, National Secretary