Present: Full: Robertson, Cunningham, Nelson

Alt: Small Other: Reuben S.

Staff: Rogers, Salant, Gordon, Cantor Absent: Full: Henry(exc.)

Alt: Seymour(exc.)

Meeting convened 8:35 p.m.

Agenda: 1. Attendance

2. Minutes

3. General Information and Correspondence

4. Personnel and Organization

5. SDS Work and Panthers

6. Military Question

7. National Conference

8. Press Plans

1. Attendance:

a. This Meeting: Comrade Seymour is on vacation. He has requested that Comrade Reuben S., who shares his views on the military question, be permitted to attend in his stead.

Motion: To permit Reuben S. to attend this meeting through the Military Question point.

b. Staff: Through hard work for the National Office. Comrade Cantor has become de facto a staff member.

Motion: To confirm the appointment of Cantor to staff.

Passed

- 2. Minutes: 5 sets of recent minutes are unproduced. 24 March 1969 minutes have been corrected and await stenciling. Minutes of 9 April, 12 May, 9 June and 30 June remain in draft. All these minutes must be produced prior to the National Conference.
- 3. General Information and Correspondence:
  - a. Cannon Book: Comrade Bill G. informs us that a friend of his is translating Cannon's Struggle for a Proletarian Party into French and has requested we write an introduction.
  - b. Wohlforthites: Dave Van Ronk was badly brutalized by the cops in the course of "Gay Power" riots in Greenwich Villace where he lives and accidentally b became involved. After initial indignation, the WL has evidentally decided not to mention the event.
  - c. Newsletter: Over the Profumo scandal, the Healyites took the position, catering to social backwardness, that what's wrong with capitalism is the decadence of the ruling class. They have repeated substantially the same line with regard to the Ted Kennedy scandal.
  - d. SWP: Latest Wohlforth Bulletin indicates the SWP is at odds with the rest of the Pabloite International from two directions: (1) European sections want to liquidate U.Sec.'s groups in Latin America into the Cuban OLAS; (2) old Chinese Trotskyist Peng has criticized the SWP as part of a student, as opposed to worker, orientation. It is also reported that black YSAers in Chicago have quit YSA to join Panthers. Disc: Nelson
  - e. YSA Class: In connection with rumors in internal SWP unease over Cuba, several SLers attended a NYC YSA class on "Ultra-left Critics of Cuba". Several M.B.#8s were sold, and the speaker was grossly unable to handle our intervention.from the floor.
  - f. E: Communication from Edward Crawford invites an SL observer to the forthcoming Cliffite Conference scheduled for 6-7 Sept. We should contact our close sympathizer Manuela D. and urge her to attend.
  - g. Manuela: Has donated initial \$400 to the SL following inheritance from recent death of her mother.

## Personnel and Organization:

a. Talahassee Trip: Cunningham and Salant to visit there for a week; the estimated cost is \$250-300. The group there is a loose circle of people who sympathize with the SL if with anyone, but none have joined or shown any particular desire to keep in touch with us. Some of the group has scattered over the summer, and a key person was deported to Australia.

b. New England: Of the four close contacts around the Ithaca comrades, 2-3 have expressed interest in joining, 1-2 intend to move to the Boston area. Subs and letters from this area continue to come in. A trip through New

England is strongly suggested. Disc: Salant

c. National Finances: We have just caught up with four months of bookkeeping, which had fallen behind in favor of work on pre-Conference bulletins, SPAR-TACIST, etc. Break-down of income and expenses over the first half of 1969 is appended.

d. Austin: Reuben S. may be able to move there for a stay of up to a year. This could be exceedingly important. Rumor has it that the YSA is coloni-

zing heavily into Austin.

e. N.O.: In preparation for the National Conference, the N.O. has installed a small air conditioner, which should also encourage NYC comrades to drop in for casual labor.

f. "Open Letter to the SWP-YSA": A brilliant polemic protesting recent misleading adishonest and malicious coverage of the SL in the Militant and YS has been written by Cunningham and distributed locally, mailed to locals and to YSA-SWP branches.

#### 5. SDS Work and Panthers:

a. Panther Conference: All locals and OCs have been mailed the two leaflets produced by our comrades on the West Coast. The first, "The Panthers and the Popular Front", was written in preparation for the Conference. It was distributed heavily the first night, finally resulting in the forcible exclusion of our lit table and our comrades and considerable intimidation and harassment of several. The second, "Down With Fascist Tactics!", was distributed the next night in protest against the exclusion of ourselves, PL and others, and resulted in a violent skirmish with white pro-Panthers, probably followers of Avakian. Considerable publicity for us resulted, as follows: i) People's World: 26 July issue of the CP's weekly West Coast organ carried the follwoing on page 5 under the subhead. "2 groups barred": "Some of those present strongly objected to the manner in which the meeting was planned and run. Two groups were barred from the conference. The Progressive Labor party and the Spartacist League, which announced opposition to the conference and the political basis for it beforehand, were refused admission." ii) Newsweek: 4 August issue made no reference to YSA, ISC, WL, etc., but referred to the CP and also mentioned "...while at a nearby table an unsmiling blonde handed out tracts for the Spartacist League." iii) Guardian: 26 July issue page 3: "as the meeting moved into its final day, there was a good deal of grumbling from new left activists about the structure of the conference (all speeches and no floor discussion), the way the women's panel was handled, the politics of the United Front which appeared to be a liberal-oriented, Communist party conception and uneasiness at the way groups like the Independent Socialist Clubs and the Spartacist League were prevented from distributing leaflets mildly critical of the conference but which praised the Panthers. During the first two days, members of PL and SDS fought several minor battles. The Panthers had officially banned PL members from the meeting but some did make it inside...." b. SDS: The split has not gone as well as the National Collective might have

hoped because of democratic prejudices about splitting, exclusions, etc.

For example, the Bay Area RSU (originally formed deliberately to exclude PL), Ithaca SDS (large and mushy-headed, which agrees politically with the splitters), Madison SDS are on the fence, having affiliated with neither national group. Austin SDS voted in successive meetings to join each national. For PL, their Summer Work-In project is a godsend, as it enables them to keep in contact with non-Plers while keeping them away from us and other oppositional groupings by avoiding full meetings where political confrontations might occur, When the fall semester begins, they will have to face debates in the campus chapters against the Klonskyites and will also have to contend with us. The SDS situation is the best practical opportunity to grow that we have had since our inception. PL's Stalinism is paper-thin; their opponents from the right have been adequately documenting how Mac contradicts PL's current thrust. They are moving left objectively and some of their members are even moving towards us subjectively; a close sympathizer of PL, for example, said after the Panther conference "Now I know how it feels to be a Trotskyite." This means that PL, not yet in a position to generally exclude us outright, cannot easily handle our politics before its contacts and sympathizers in WSA-SDS; it also means some of their members may be vulnerable to Trotskyism for the first time. Inside SDS we seek to make our politics known and attractive while seeking to avoid calling down organizational loyalties and hostility upon us. Our people doing sustained SDS work in local SDS groups must become known as active members and as the most effective defenders of the general thrust of the WSA pro-working-class orientation against its critics from the right. We will be most effective if we concentrate on criticism of PL's mistakes in domestic issues (e.g., M2M's "We Won't Go" button, the previous Black Nationalism including the UFT strike-breaking position, the PFP deep entry, our position on the current "Open Admissions" controversy, their puritanical limiting of women's oppression to economic superexploitation and defense of the nuclear family). Our members have very little experience with entry work and working with others. At the same time our propaganda must raise our criticisms of PL fully, clearly and in a comradely way. The SDS opportunity gives us a real possibility of breaking out of our encirclement -- of making Trotskyists of PLers instead of watching them recruit potential SL material. All our comrades under 30 must formally join the Boston SDS, and most of them must enter SDS and work in it as their arens, even though this cannot help but draw forces from other work.

Disc: Nelson, Cunningham, Salant, Gordon, Robertson, Small, Nelson, Cunningham, Salant, Robertson, Salant, Gordon, Robertson, Salant, Robertson, Nelson, Cunningham, Salant, Gordon

c. Regional: At the SDS Regional meeting held here, the Marcusite Labor Committee dominated the second half of the meeting by a pre-planned and aggressive intervention, establishing themselves as "the opposition to PL". We should not demean curselves by overzealous attention to this grouping, but they p pose a threat to us by possibly hardening the organizational lines against non-PL organized groupings. The Labor Committee since its rightward turn, exemplified in the SP accommodation, is qualitatively to the right of PL's current basic thrust, elitist on basic positions and conceptions of operating. The NYC local therefore passed the following motion unanimously: "(1) We oppose the SDS Labor Committee proposals 'Capitalism in Decay...' as anti-Leninist, anti-revolutionary-party and anti-union, and therefore do not support any proposals made by them flowing from that perspective; (2) We support the democratic right of the Labor Committee and others to present their views within SDS."

6. Military Question: There is a basic flat contradiction in military work which exists not in us but in the question itself. Soldiers are young workers and students who are forcibly dragged into the Army, in practice almost entirely separated from their democratic rights, subjected to extreme discomfort, abuse and danger. Clearly the Marxists are aware of their oppression and support them against it. At the same time, the Marxists must also recognize that the state exists and is conducting the Vietnam war with its G. I. s -- a war in which we support the other side as it attempts to kill the aforementioned oppressed soldiers. This is a contradiction. Cops may have their problems but we have no sympathy with them: the workers as a force we identify with totally; the soldiers are analagous to neither and to both. This contradiction is resolved only when the soldiers fight against imperialism instead of for it as its unwilling agents. The military dispute exists within the framework of broad agreement on the military question itself: the Marxists can recruit from among the existing radicals inside the Army partly by raising demands showing they would know how to conduct themselves if they had the forces; the major political demand must be "down with the war". A proposed amendment to the SL draft resolution has been submitted by Cunningham and Seymour (in pre-Conf. bulletin) Disc: Nelson, Small, Cunningham, Reuben, Salant, Gordon, Rogers, Robertson, Nelson, Cunningham, Reuben, Salant, Gordon, Rogers, Robertson, Nelson, Cunningham, Reuben, Salant, Gordon, Rogers

Motion: To table the balance of this point to the next meeting, with the understanding that as a responsible body the PB must have a majority position to take to the National Conference.

Motion: To table the balance of the agenda to the next meeting.

Meeting adjourned 1:55 a.m.

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# Financial Categories

## Income

a - East Coast Sustaining Pledge

b - Midwest Sustaining Pledge

c - South Sustaining Pledge

d - West Coast Sustaining Pledge d - West Coast Sustaining Pledge j - miscellaneous
 e - sales of SPARTACIST and lit. k - Studies on the Left

f - subs to SPARTACIST

g - non-lit donations

h - loans to SL

i - donations

### Expenses

A - SPARTACIST costs

B - postage

C - literature, Xerox, reprints

D - personnel and travel E - telephone, telegraph

F - ads, outside donations, CIPA

G - non-lit expenses

H - loan repayments

I - consumable office supplies

J - miscellaneous, legal fees

K - office equipment

L - repairs

M - taxes

N - rent for office, P.O. box, etc.

O - Studies on the Left