

POLITICAL BUREAU

Number 3

October 16, 1973

Present: Barnes, Britton, A. Hansen, Jenness, Jones, Lovell, Morrison, Stone

Visitors: Cabaniss, Grinnon, Scott, Seigle, White

Chair: Lovell

Agenda: 1. Fall Circulation Drive and Mideast Sales
2. Critical Support
3. Transfers
4. CP Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with Africa
5. International Correspondence
6. USLA

1. FALL CIRCULATION DRIVE AND MIDEAST SALES

Cabaniss reported that concern over the Mideast war and its implications has been reflected in high sales of the current issue ("Behind Israeli Aggression"). A central aspect of our propaganda activities in regard to the Mideast will be extensive coverage in the press and a special emphasis on sales. (See attached.)

Discussion

2. CRITICAL SUPPORT

Stone reported on the recommendation of the Pittsburgh branch to extend critical support to the Communist Party campaign of Beth Edelman for city council.

Discussion

Motion: To concur with the recommendation of the Pittsburgh branch to extend critical support to the Communist Party campaign of Beth Edelman for city council.

Carried.

3. TRANSFERS

Scott presented a list of transfers to be approved and another list about which further information is needed.

Discussion

Motion: To approve the proposal.

Carried.

4. CP ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICA

Morrison reported that the Communist Party has organized a "National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation" to be held in Chicago October 26-28. The conference is dominated by the CP, and no actions are planned. A number of comrades will attend in order to sell literature, hold informal discussions and participate in workshops.

Discussion

5. INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Barnes reported. (See attached.)

Discussion

Motion: To send the proposed letter (see attached).

Carried.

6. USLA

White reported. (Report on New York USLA meeting attached.)

Discussion

Meeting adjourned.

FALL SALES CAMPAIGN -- First Five Weeks

Total sold by branches:

Week 1	7,122
Week 2	7,815
Week 3	8,123
Week 4	10,278
Week 5	8,528

We have topped last spring's highest week's sale, which was 10,172.

The average weekly sale so far is 8,373, compared to last spring's average of 6,308 -- an increase of 33%.

Two branches have raised their quotas: Austin from 120 to 140 and St. Louis from 175 to 225.

Three branches have made their quota five weeks in a row: Austin, St. Louis, San Diego. Atlanta and Philadelphia have made their quotas three times; Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Portland, San Francisco, and Washington DC two times; and Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Houston, Seattle, and Upper West Side one time.

Participation by members:

We have topped last spring's highest week's participation. The average weekly participation so far is 14% greater than the average last spring.

The sales campaign has five weeks to go and ends November 18.

FALL SUB DRIVE

Goal: 15,000

So Far:	Sold	Goal	Percent
Branches	5,640	8,770	64%
Other	293	---	
Teams	2,456	7,400	33%
Total In	<u>8,389</u>		<u>56%</u>

Cleveland and Detroit have already made their total blitz quota. The final blitz weekend is October 27, and all branches should be able to make it.

ISR SUB DRIVE

The ISR sub drive finished its sixth week behind schedule with 836, or 33.4% of the goal, in. The goal is 2,500, and we should have 1,156, or 46.2%.

Five branches are ahead of schedule: Detroit, Lower Manhattan, Cleveland, Austin, and Seattle. Eight others are pretty close, but nine are far behind.

MILITANT ANNIVERSARY FUND

Goal: \$20,000

Raised so far: \$16,430.70

A fund appeal mailing was sent to 6,070 subscribers, former contributors to The Militant and the election campaign, and former subscribers.

Branch anniversary banquets begin October 27, and the fund ends on December 15.

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14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

October 16, 1973

BRUSSELS

Dear Charles,

We discussed your proposal, communicated to us by phone today, that a member of the IEC Majority Tendency make a tour of the SWP branches between October 20 and the beginning of November.

Since these dates cannot be met by us, we would like to make a counterproposal -- at least a three-week tour from about November 25 to December 15. It would be still better if it could be longer. We have 22 branches, everyone of which is anxious to organize a meeting to hear an international leader of the IEC Majority Tendency. Even with an exhausting effort, one person could not begin to cover them all, or even the major ones, in two weeks.

On your proposed dates, which gives us only five days' notice, it is virtually impossible to organize an adequate tour or give the branches time to arrange for the special meetings they will want to have.

Additional considerations are as follows:

We held an extensive three-months' oral discussion (and four-months written discussion) in all the branches prior to our August convention. During those three months we repeatedly requested that the IEC Majority Tendency send one or more comrades to tour. One comrade did finally arrive, less than two weeks before the convention, and made brief stops at four of the largest branches. This was quite inadequate.

As of September 28 the SWP Political Committee reopened the written discussion in the party on all points on the world congress agenda. However, the PC decided not to reopen oral discussion in the branches until one or more of the new resolutions submitted by the IEC Majority Tendency for vote at the world congress become available. The translation of the political resolution adopted by the IEC Majority Tendency is now being checked by the comrades in Brussels -- a special request they made -- so this will not be received in the SWP branches for several weeks at the earliest. The other new IEC Majority resolutions -- on Argentina and on armed struggle in Latin America -- were received in New York today. They have to be translated and then published before they can be distributed to the branches.

For these reasons we propose the last week of November and the first two weeks of December as the best dates for a tour by a leader of the IEC Majority Tendency. If this comrade can only come for two weeks, the first half of December would be best.

If further details need to be taken up, this can be done at the Parity Committee meeting on October 23.

Comradely,
s/Lew Jones
for the Political Bureau

cc: Walter

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SWP
14 Charles Lane
New York, New York 100 14
United States of America

Gote Kildén
Sweden
5 October 1973

to: The Political Committee of the SWP

Dear Comrades:

In the last issue of Intercontinental Press, there is an article by comrade Gerry Foley, entitled "The coup in Chile -- what happened and why". One of the conclusions drawn by comrade Foley is a serious political error and has to be clarified. Among many revolutionists in Sweden, as in many other countries, this article is taken as stating the revolutionary marxist point of view in relation to the bloody confrontation in Chile. Therefore an official rectification is urgently needed.

The conclusion which I find in contradiction to the principles of revolutionary marxism, is the following:

"A revolutionary party able to give leadership to the resistance could have completely changed the outcome. Without this, the military force of the former guerillas was insignificant. The final irony was that they died defending a government that had irrevocably condemned itself to death, when they were needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers that could have really fought imperialism and dealt it a decisive defeat." (IP Vol. 11, No. 33 - page 1052)

What is this? Moralizing cynicism! An insult to those who died in the battles with the counter-revolutionaries!

Comrade Foley's proposal to those who took up arms and wanted to fight, is the following: Stop fighting, you are "needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers"! This is nonsense. Those who died were defending their own lives. They were defending the working class. The counter-revolutionaries wanted to wipe out the political organisations of the working class! They wanted to jail or execute all leaders of the working class! In this struggle the workers of course were not neutral between the camp of Allende and that of the semi-fascists! I think it is necessary to remind comrade Foley of the positions of revolutionary marxism:

"The Bolsheviks did not remain neutral between the camp of Kerensky and that of Kornilov. They fought in the first camp against the second. They accepted the official command as long as they were not sufficiently strong to overthrow it. It was precisely in the month of August, with the Kornilov uprising, that a prodigious upswing of the Bolsheviks began. This upswing was made possible only thanks to the double-edged Bolshevik policy. While participating in the front lines of the struggle against Kornilov, the Bolsheviks did not take the slightest responsibility for the policy of Kerensky. On the contrary, they denounced him as responsible for the reactionary attack and as incapable of overcoming it. In this way they prepared the political premises of the October revolution

in which the laternative Bolshevism or counter-revolution (communism or fascism) evolved from a historic tendency into a living and immediate reality.

"We must teach this lesson to the youth. We must inculcate the Marxist method into them. But as to the people who are a few decades past school age and who persist in counterposing to us at all times -- to us as well as to reality -- the same formulas (which they have, by the way, taken from us), it is necessary to recognize them publicly as incurables who must be kept a few feet away from the general staffs who are elaborating revolutionary policy." (The Spanish Revolution, L. Trotsky, pp. 296-297)

As far as I know, comrade Foley is a few decades past school age, but still I do not want to denounce him publicly. I hope that he made a mistake when he wrote the article and I therefore hope for a clarification. But that is not enough. Comrade Foley is a co-thinker of the Fourth International and therefore I hope for a public rectification!

Maybe comrade Foley has the opinion that there was no possibility to win the battle against the semi-fascists. Maybe that's why he writes that the young former guerillas "died heroically in a futile (!) defence of a capitulationist government". But this doesn't change things:

"A revolutionary party will always prefer to subject itself to a defeat together with the masses rather than stand aside moralizing, and leave the workers without leadership under the bayonets of the bourgeoisie. A party beaten in battle will root itself deeply in the hearts of the masses and will sooner or later take revenge. But a party that has deserted the class at the moment of danger will never come to life again". (Ibid., p. 132)

Communist Greetings,

Gote Kildén

- member of RMF's Political Bureau

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14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

October 13, 1973

Sweden

Dear Comrade Kildén,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 5 concerning the article by Comrade Gerry Foley in the September 24 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Your letter was addressed to the "Political Committee of the SWP." This is in error. Intercontinental Press is not a publication of the Socialist Workers Party, however great our interest is in supporting and circulating it as the weekly magazine of the Fourth International. Consequently I have forwarded your letter to Intercontinental Press.

Comradely yours,

s/Lew Jones
SWP National Office

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October 13, 1973

Dear Comrade Kildén,

We received your letter criticizing some of the formulations in the article by Gerry Foley "The Coup in Chile -- What Happened and Why" which appeared in the September 24 issue of Intercontinental Press.

I think that the sentences you cite are open to misinterpretation, particularly if they are taken out of context. Since others may have gained the same impression as you, I think it would be worthwhile to publish your letter in Intercontinental Press together with a brief clarification by Comrade Foley.

This should be done as soon as possible, so we would appreciate your checking your letter again in case you want to modify anything before it is published.

Comradely yours,
s/Joseph Hansen
Editor

cc: Pierre
Ernest
Peter

Report on New York USLA Rally

by Doug Jenness, October 16, 1973

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) initiated and organized a very successful united front meeting in New York on October 12 against the repression in Chile. About 1,300 people attended and more than \$4,000 was raised. More than 300 people filled out "interest" cards and 100 USLA Reporters were sold.

USLA was successful in getting a broad spectrum of organizations to endorse the meeting. (The Puerto Rican Socialist Party endorsed at first but withdrew their endorsement when José Torres, a prominent Puerto Rican columnist, was scheduled to speak. He did not appear, however.) The principal speakers were Mark Cooper, Edward Boorstein, Adam Schesch, and Patricia Garrett all of whom were in Chile when the junta assumed power. Other speakers included Dr. Benjamin Spock; Conrad Lynn, Black civil rights attorney; Dolores Huerta, UFW vice president; Judith Melina, USLA; and Dave McReynolds, War Resisters League. Corliss Lamont chaired the meeting and Annette Rubenstein gave the collection speech. Statements were read from Hugo Blanco, Francisco Juliao, José Revuektas, and Representative Bella Abzug. The program was well organized with strictly adhered to time limits for the speakers. In addition the collection speech was placed about one-third of the way through the agenda, while everyone was still present.

It was a real "movement" meeting with a sizeable number of older radicals and progressives as well as many new radicals, many of whom were from the city's campuses. The political and financial success of the meeting is underlined even further in light of the fact that the Stalinists and their periphery boycotted the meeting. In fact, from the very beginning they attempted to sabotage the meeting by putting pressure on the speakers and conducting a slander campaign around the theme that USLA is a "Trot front." Two of the three union speakers were apparently pressured to back out. The CP held its own meeting on October 15 under the auspices of the Memorial Tribute Committee. About 1,300 people showed up, particularly people from the CP periphery. Billed as a memorial to Allende and Pablo Neruda, the first public reports in the Daily World indicated that Ms. Allende would be speaking. Three days before the meeting they announced at a news conference that she would not be coming but her secretary would come with a taped message. However, many people didn't hear about this change and were angry when Ms. Allende did not show. Other speakers included Gus Hall; David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers; Angela Davis; and Al Evanoff, also of District 65, who chaired. Two hundred USLA Reporters were sold.

Before the October 12 USLA meeting was called, USLA attempted to convince the Chile Solidarity Committee, which the CP totally dominates, to join in a united front rally. They refused. They were also invited to have a speaker which they also refused. A weakness of the rally was the failure to have a prominent USLA speaker that could have elaborated and clarified USLA's campaign around defending political prisoners.

The SWP and YSA had a successful propaganda intervention at the meeting. Sold were about 200 Militants, 70 of the new

Chile pamphlet, and \$125 at the Pathfinder table. Representatives from the Political Rights Defense Fund signed up several sponsors and sold eight Watergate books. A United Farmworkers table sold \$80 worth of buttons.

The meeting showed the large-scale concern around the issue of repression in Chile and the potential for drawing many people into activity around this issue. It particularly showed the possibilities for USLA to take the lead in uniting people on the issue of defending exiles, refugees, and political prisoners in Chile. This rally was a big step forward in helping to establish USLA's authority and legitimacy in spite of the Stalinist attempts to isolate it.

In New York we are now helping to establish USLA chapters on campuses, to help get the truth out about Chile. They will set up regular literature tables, and send speakers to nearby campuses, high schools, and community organizations.