

N.Y. LOCAL MINUTES.....28 April 1966

Present: Roger, Helen, Sam, Al, Lynne, Ron, Hugh, Danny, Jim, Shirley, Paul, Bob, Shelly,
Lyndon, Price(late), Jack(late)

Absent: Dave, Peter, Harry(exc.), Winnie(exc.), Tippy(l.o.a.)

Meeting began at 8:20 p.m.

1. Organization of Meeting: (a) Chairman - Lyndon
(b) Agenda adopted
(c) Minutes of 14 and 17 April adopted as corrected

2. General Information and Correspondence - Jim
 - a. REB of 25 April: Letter received from Jim P. on his Chile, Argentina and Uruguay trip. LSU Alumni Mag. had article on "Nelson Incident." London School Econ. Agitator contains series of polemics between our comrade and types deriding existence of an American working class. We have acquired Multilith 80, makes need for hdqtrs. more urgent. SWP P.C. minutes of 1959-62 have come temporarily into our hands. Comrades in Chicago & Houston have permitted their mailboxes to lapse, an absolutely intolerable occurrence. Liz.G. over last 2 months has contributed total of \$800 to the organization, mostly from savings. Mike C. accepted as Bay Area candidate member. Jim M. resigned from Balt. OC. Resignation of Gary K. of Hartford accepted with regret. Jim and Trish L. of Conn. accepted as candidates, will go to B.A. in summer with Chris and Dee. Marimar B. accepted as New Orleans candidate. Resignation of Shane Mage from N.Y.local accepted, submitted at membership's request. Perspectives in light of ACFI break from us discussed. We remain in political solidarity with IC; however, regard SLL and ACFI leaderships as opponents.
 - b. ASOC is holding referendum demanded by Bob Brown of Chicago group on whether to dissolve; Joe V. of Nrlns. declaring open membership in Spartacist as only Rev. socialist org. & urging others to follow. Dave R. will soon be in Chicago and may be able to take advantage of ASOC breakup.
 - c. DuBois Clubs will hold nat'l convention in Chicago 17-19 June, 500 expected. Dave R. should be there in time to attend and assist intervention.
 - d. Preparation of brochure on Spartacist delaying Paul's departure to South.
 - e. SPARTACIST WEST #3 & #4: 2000 copies being secured for general mailing to subscribers and others. SW#4 deals with "independent" peace candidates.
 - f. Organizational Assignments: Mark K. to Norlins; Dave R. to Chicago. Chris and Dee plus Jim and Trish to B.A.
 - g. Baltimore: Bob S. to speak on "Crisis in Colonial Revolution" on 8 May.
 - h. Letter from Grandizo Munis: a remaining cadre of the original Trotskyist Spanish group, in Spain during Civil War. Escaped into Mexico during WWII. In '48 broke with official FI along with Natalia Trotsky on state capitalist basis, set up group in South France to do clandestine work in Spain, entered Spain, captured and sentenced to 30 yrs. and has finally been released. Saw copy of SPARTACIST and contacted our locals. He is slightly to the left of IC, sectarian, similar to Hugo Urbans in Germany prior to 1933.

Disc: Sam, Bob, Lyndon, Price, Shelly, Roger, Helen

3. ACFI-IC - Jim
 - a. Last REB endorsed action of Spartacist delegation to conference, specifically documents presented, refusal to capitulate and N.O. "Flash". X and Y have associated themselves with this position also. A ragged split is

- developing in ACFI. Bulletin of 9 May will have attack on us, which is now being cleared in London, to be followed by Newsletter attack, and this will occasion resignation by X & Y; 2 others have already left, and others will probably follow later. Majority of ACFI is itself split into 3 parts. We will continue line of fusion toward ACFI opposition. X & Y will be sitting on REB. THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL. ACFI's Minneapolis group is demoralized (and has lost 2 out of 6 over failure of unity).
- b. Healy attempted to obtain our capitulation of Montreal Agreement. To have capitulated would have been a breach of our line. Healy letter to Sherwood and Turner reported; draft reply being revised.
 - c. Letter to ACFI requesting common meeting to hear reports of the 2 delegations contains our fundamental line toward ACFI. Their response was to offer debate instead which we will accept. ACFI is supposed to try to isolate us with a campaign of slander. In retrospect we did an excellent job at the Conference. Probably no one before has stood up to H. as we did. We gave them nothing to hang on us, so all they have to attack us with is a pile of garbage. We must reply immediately in SPARTACIST #6 or Healy will be believed. We can also go after him in England by winning supporters there (CONFIDENTIAL). Healy is a fake Leninist who has driven out too many too soon, destroys cadre.
 - d. Final estimate of SLL: We don't have a fundamental characterization of SLL at this point. We have only just arrived at looking at the organization as it is. Considerations and outcome of Conference:
 - (1) British Trotskyism only emerged from Stalinism in the 3rd Period and may never have broken qualitatively with them on organizational methods. British movement was always isolated from main line of world Trotskyism and emerged late.
 - (2) The SLL grew out of one faction and developed as a personal autocracy of Healy alone, a personal dictatorship. A rigid organization in which no one else exercises authority over sensitive questions.
 - (3) H. seems to be going out of control personally (violent rages, alcoholism, etc.).
 - (4) Within SLL "whiplash" technique is used, ie. exceedingly violent treatment alternated with soft treatment, and on individual members it is devastatingly effective. H. carried over these methods to the Conference and tried to apply it to other delegations there.
 - (5) What is the place of the organizational question in the Marxist movement? 2 views: (1) org. question of no importance and to raise it is Petty-bourgeois (Cannon); (2) org. question is fundamental postulate of Leninism (especially when faced with a minority) (SLL). Both are wrong. The organizational question is a political question and one of the 10 or so main programmatic planks of a Bolshevik organization, and doesn't stand apart from the other political positions (and it would be wrong to consider it the most important plank).
 - (6) Politically there is a question of English exceptionalism. While the strength of the SLL is that these comrades subjectively desire and work for an English proletarian revolution, their attitude on many questions (Int'l, Cuba, Negro question) is determined by needs and experiences of the English movement. This fundamentally guides Healy.
 - (7) IC--we are and remain part of the International movement. Those we stand closest to politically are the IC but they are incapable of building the 4th Int'l. and are limited in England. We must develop a strong section there.

The foregoing are not finished positions.

Disc: Hugh, Jack, Sam, Jim, Lynne, Darny

- Motion by Danny: (1) Our immediate task toward the international perspective should be to link up with those sections which are dedicated toward building a true Int'l. This can most successfully be done within a spirit of continuous intimate relationship, i.e., frequent correspondence (by mail), paving the way for the development of the theoretical analysis necessary toward a clear understanding of the contradictions within the SLL.
- (2) These groups should function not merely as nat'l sections nor as a new Int'l, but should through agitational and propoganda work attempt to reveal the organizational methods necessary for the functioning of an Int'l. This work should in turn be motivated toward stimulating opposition against the bureaucratic, chauvanistic, and nationalistic leadership of the SLL.
- (3) This work should grow into an Int'l. conference which will also help to stimulate, sharpen, and polarize an opposition within the SLL itself.

Motions tabled4. SSEU Report - Lyndon

We have succeeded in organizing a small caucus and have handed out several leaflets at union meetings and at various welfare centers. Tripartite situation has been allowed to die down. SSEU is lining up other unions behind the scenes and has appointed 3 organizers to mobilize outside support for the City Hall rally. However, nothing is being done to inform the membership or mobilize them or their energies; therefore membership remains apathetic. Bureaucracy is crystallizing in union. At last general membership meeting we were almost ejected and prevented from distributing leaflets, but we argued them down. Several were helping distribute incl. SWPers, Draperite and Jan S. and leaflets were being read by everyone, were on Tripartite and against Tepedino's candidacy in Democratic primary (T. is SSEU vice-pres., former pres. of union and former opponent of J.Mage). During course of meeting and despite undemocratic methods of chairman debate and opposition continually increased until eventually leadership was losing on all org. points. Though leadership won the political questions, it was with decreasing majorities. Leadership has prepared counterproposal to Tripartite, advising City on how to conduct its labor relations and offering to submit to binding arbitration of grievances. We offered amdt. to delet this section. Amendment was defeated with PL fractiiong voting to keep binding arbitration! Membership endorsed Tepedino's candidacy and to pay him salary while campaigning, with latter passing by only small majority (only 75 people at meeting anyway). Mage offered strong endorsement of Tepedino's candidacy and payment of his salary. We have heard leadership will attempt to smash our caucus. We have had 2 meetings thus far, and our primary task at moment to mobilize membership to fight tripartite. Caucus has adopted 4 point program, plus usual caucus discipline: (1) To go beyond the Welfare system by eliminating need for it through full employment by struggle for shorter workweek. (2) Union should actively intervene in organization of clients. (3) Independent political action; no support to anti-Labor Demo. and Repl. parties. (4) Union should take a position opposing Viet Nam war. As part of our defense a mailing of all our leaflets thus far will be made to Union's active membership list.

Disc: Helen, Sam, Jim, Lynne, Roger, Lyndon, Al, Helen, Sam, Lyndon

Motion by Lyndon: To endorse line of Welfare Fraction as contained in motions passed by the fraction and in caucus leaflets. Withdrawn

Amend. by Roger: To table pending circulation of Fraction minutes. Withdrawn

Motion by Helen: To endorse line of fraction as contained in leaflets and fraction minutes. Withdrawn

Motion by Jim: To endorse line of fraction as reflected in leaflets of Caucus and to carry over further disc. of the internal work of the fraction.

Amend. by Helen: To invite Tippy to this discussion. Accepted.

Motion passed unanimously

Announcements.

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 p.m.