

November 17, 1966

Spartacist League
Political Bureau
New York, New York

Dear Comrades;

The Baltimore local has directed me to inform the Political Bureau of the following motions passed at our last meeting on November 13, 1966.

1. Motion, Kaufman: That the political Bureau be censured by the Baltimore Spartacist Committee for failing to contact the National Guardian, BBC, CBS, NBC, as requested by phone. The loss by this inaction is incalculable. If any of the networks had been contacted, valuable propaganda and educational work could have been done. The National Guardian coverage was extremely important. The BBC coverage, being international was important.
Passed Unanimously
2. Motion, Kaufman: That on the basis that the Baltimore local has demonstrated sustained organizational and political stability for going on the past three months during which we have recruited 3 comrades, carried on written, oral and organizational work far exceeding any like work by any local during any like period of time in the history of the Spartacist League, we request recognition as a full local.
Passed Unanimously
3. Motion, Kaufman: To correct impressions given by PB in Minutes of Sept. 19 regarding 'Worker's Power', our projected local newsletter, that it was only after the convention that the National Leadership had any knowledge of it. The local newsletter had been discussed with Jim R. prior to, and with others at the convention (our highest body). The newsletter was projected as a local newsletter not a regional one, as stated in the minutes. The expenditures for the printed masthead was a normal one since the normal volume of mimeo material would have approximated the expense of the stock for 'Worker's Power'. This interference into our local functioning was unrepresented. The PB has always praised our leaflets as exemplary. Since we had intended to publish a local newsletter amounting to nothing but regularized leaflets, we reject the criticisms.
Passed Unanimously
4. Motion, Kaufman: To correct authoritarian fashion which PB made "corrections" instead of suggestions about wording of our platform. The "corrections" involved no substantive political point. Because of the actions of the PB an unfortunate delay was caused and inferior wording substituted for original wording, as well as saddling us with a theoretically incorrect position on Black Power.
Passed Unanimously
5. Motion, Kaufman: On Black Power. We reject Cmd. Nelson's editorializing in the PB minutes of Sept. 26 that we have a "simplistic line." In the campaign we had the greatest response from ghetto groups. Be it further noted that our position was the same as the written position presented at the CORE convention, which was praised by the NO and later reiterated in an unsigned article on the CORE convention in Spartacist #7. We totally and indignately reject the following sentence appearing in the PB minutes of Sept. 26. "Negro struggle was omitted from mass leaflet on basis it was intended to reach white workers--an impermissible and opportunistic error." First of all the leaflet referred to was not our mass leaflet but was merely a supplement to the platform which in itself had a tough position on the Negro question. Our mass leaflet of which over 5,000 were distributed

(mainly to white factory workers) presented and defended the Negro struggle. (This leaflet was written before we had knowledge of the PB criticisms.) In the course of the campaign we unflinchingly defended Black Power to white workers. Cmd. Nelson's criticisms were "impermissible, and opportunistic", along with being unprincipled and stupid. The comrades might note that in Cmd. Nelson's conversations with the Baltimore comrades his point of criticism was never mentioned.

Passed Unanimously

6. Motion, Kaufman: Policy point of Sept. 23 PB minutes about Cmd. Sherwood's article on CORE convention. That article deleted the fact that Spartacist had a demonstration outside the CORE convention raising the demands for independent working class politics and self defense. The demonstration followed our exclusion from the convention to the favor of Baltimore's mayor and the Black Muslims. This was a serious matter because local opportunists used this omission as an example of solidarity in Spartacist ranks. After Cmds. Sherwood and Kaufman had requested return of the copy so that the Baltimore Local might compare what had been sent in and what was printed, this was the reply as appearing in the Sept. 26 minutes of the PB. "POLICY POINT: If Sherwood really wants his copy back, he should send money for Xerox copy." All this over trying to set the record straight! We would think the PB would have nothing to hide. If not--why all this nonsense? This is another example of oppositionism bordering on juvenile spitefulness. We reject such nonsense and request return of the article. The whole situation could have been easily handled by sending the xerox copies and a bill for 30¢ or 40¢. (Dollar is enclosed, please return change). The apparent motivation behind these slanders is to lower respect for Cmd. Bob Sherwood, Baltimore Spartacist Chairman, who we now commend for his continued exemplary contributions and leadership, especially for his herculean efforts in the recent electoral campaign.

Passed Unanimously

The reason the Baltimore Local is replying to the slanders at this late date is because until now we have been concentrating our efforts in fighting the class enemy in the Maryland General Election. For the past couple of months we have had little time to defend ourselves from petty spitefulness, backbiting, slanders and half truths on the part of our 'leading comrades'. It is unfortunate that we have to take the time out now to answer comrades who's only interest in the class struggle appears to be to drive others out of it. The Baltimore comrades seek to spend their time in the class struggle in a more constructive way. For example, during the course of the campaign we have distributed well over 15 leaflets, articles, and press releases, spoken to over 15 audiences, aprox. 15 articles in the press, numerous radio and TV mentions, and effectively neutralized all political opposition --especially the Maoists. Since the convention Baltimore has recruited 3 new comrades and integrated them into our work, bringing our membership to 7. At the present time we are conducting a class series on "The Fight for Socialism".

We are intending to let the Spartacist membership become acquainted with the truth about the Baltimore Local. This will be affected by a mimeod letter to the appropriate comrades.

In the interests of expediency we are sending this out to B.A., Austin, N.O. as well as N.Y.C. % C.C. members and alternates.

We would like a list of key members and addresses plus a list of comrades not qualified to receive material relating to national discussion. We wish a reply within the next 5 days or we will assume that you choose to ignore our requests as you have treated our communications in the past and will consequently act on our own.

Fraternally,
Bob Sherwood, Chairman
For the Balto. Spartacist League

November 20, 1966

Yoc Verret
1521 Port St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Comrade Joe,

I'm sorry about the tone expressed in your letter of Nov. 11. I believe that its tone is due primarily to an ignorance of the facts on your part. Your letter evidences a degree of ignorance that I would think unusual for a "leader" of our organization. Perhaps because cmd. Kaufman and myself aren't leaders, we are jumping to rash conclusions- but I don't think so. (Even non leaders such as us occasionally have something to say.)

You speak of our attempts to "usurpt the national leadership" and "to create undue dissent within the organization". First of all if you had read cmd. Kaufmans post convention letter (appended to the PB minutes) you would have noticed that we stated clearly our intentions to act as disiplined and loyal members of the organization. No sooner than the PB received our communication they began a full fledged attack on the Baltimore comrades (we are now 7 in numbers). Aside from the antics with our election work, which is covered in the mimeod letter to the PB by the Baltimore Local, we were on the reveiving end of a vicious attack by cmd. Nelson through the PB regarding our attitudes on the Negro question. The "Baltimore Report" in the PB minutes stated "Negro struggle was omitted from mass leaflet on basis it was intended to reach white workers--an impermissable and opportunistic error." THAT IS A LIE!!! First of all that leaflet was not our mass leaflet but was intended as a supplement to our platform which devoted considerable attention to the Negro struggle. Secondly our mass leaflet which was distributed mainly to white factory workers (it was written before the attcks became known to us) included a strong section on the Negro movement. During cmd. Nelsons visit to Baltimore none of these "criticisms" were raised. Only behind our back were the "criticisms" circulated.

You criticise my writing a letter to cmd. Settle criticising the national leadership. What in the hell is wrong with that? Maybe our leadership needs to be criticised sometimes? It so happens that I had a good reason to write Tom. Cmd. Settle has communicated with me since the convention imploring the Baltimore comrades to act as loyal and disiplined members of the Spartacist League. He showed a great deal of interest in Spartacist and expressed the opinion that it was worth a revolutionarys time and full efforts to build. His letters to me have been nothing but that of an exceedingly good Spartacist member. In his letter to you I saw no mention of cmd. Fox that would indicate that he was in political solidarity with him. Settles letter quite justly complements Fox for his excellent work in Detroit. What is wrong with that? Because you seem to be so concerned in your letter with what is the basis for a tendency, maybe you can devote some time explaining how, from a political point of view, Tom Settles letter was factional in nature? The item in the PB minutes regarding Tom Settle refered to a letter received in Baltimore that was similar to that received by you. No one in Baltimore had ever relayed information concerning the contents of Settles letters to anyone in the PB. Cmd. Nelson who presumably reported on that event for the PB had no knowledge regarding communications with Tom Settle other than reading one of several replies to his letters. In order to disassociate ourselves from what we thought to be an unfair attack on a comrade we

wrote Tom regarding the attacks against him. You refer to cmd. Settle as "at best a marginal member". Now we have a new type of member to add to our old categories of candidate and full members--the marginal member. Maybe because we have been cut off the national minutes list (at least we infer so since you refer to items usually distributed via PB minutes that we had no knowledge of) we haven't heard that the PB has created a new category of "marginal member". Perhaps the Baltimore local (which does more work than the better part of the organization combined) has been relegated to the marginal status?

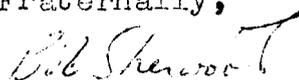
The comrades when they were still in the SWP never feared to criticise the leadership. They knew that their criticism helped make others good revolutionaries. We feel that what criticisms we make will help others become more conscious and therefore better revolutionaries. Or have the ground rules changed now that we are out of the SWP? You seem to think so.

Referring to our projected reply to the slanders against the Baltimore comrades you ask, "ARE YOU GOING TO LET THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP KNOW BEFORE HAND?" NO!!! We are not going to! And why should we? They have just concluded a savage, vicious and dishonest attack upon us and you expect us observe the niceties of diplomacy and protocol! The national leadership went to great lengths to circulate slanders against the Baltimore comrades--we are going to go to just as great of lengths to refute those slanders! We dissolved our tendency as an act of good faith and now we are slapped. We had left ourselves unprotected and now we are attacked. Do you really expect us to repeat that mistake? You act like an undertaker giving advise to a drowning man. We can do without your advise and commandments!

You state, "I would certainly be in favor of any action which the organization would take against you!" Thankyou! I should presume that you would favor expulsion of the Baltimore comrades and all those who stand in solidarity with us. We have done nothing wrong but seek (rightfully) to defend ourselves. Further on you say, "if we are trying to build cadre can we allow the open criticism in the organization to any and all comrades of the leadership? No! This is not Leninism." Thankyou cmd. Healy! Lets see you defend that one!

I know that many of the comrades here were disturbed by the tone of your letter which was nasty and unthinking. I hope that such ignorance, fact twisting, and maliciousness doesn't exist in the rest of the organization, for if it did it would bid ill for the socialist revolution and our efforts to build its vanguard.

Fraternally,



Bob Sherwood

1521 Port St.
New Orleans, La. 70117
November 11, 1966

Dear Comrade:

After seeing your letter to Cd. Earl, I was sincerely hoping that I would not have to write this letter to you. However, your actions with respect to Tom Settle and your general conduct in the organization over the past few months has made me feel that possibly I can help you in becoming a sounder member of this organization.

I certainly hoped that the capitulation of the tendency (if it can correctly be called that) to the majority was the end of your faction fighting at least until such time as you had principled disagreements with the majority. However, from what I can see you have persisted in your attempts to usurp the national leadership as well as to create undue dissent within the organization.

Before writing this letter I re-read your document. You mentioned in it that the national leadership failed in its duty to raise the consciousness of an isolated comrade in Texas. I ask you what did you think you were doing by writing a letter to Settle (at best a marginal member) criticizing the National leadership? That kind of thing will certainly not raise his consciousness or make him a solid comrade in this organization.

Let me say this also, the main disagreement with your "tendency" was about your method. Yet you are still going through the same practices. You mentioned that you are mimeoing some things which were said about you in the PB minutes. ARE YOU GOING TO LET NATIONAL LEADERSHIP KNOW BEFORE HAND? It is possible that this should not be made public to the entire membership as should certain sections of the PB minutes. If you keep these pseudo-Menshevik practices up, I would certainly be in favor of any action which the organization would take against you!

This organization has had difficulty in functioning in a consistent manner. You and Bob K. are certainly to be commended for your hard work. But the question arises: if we are trying to build cadre can we allow the open criticism in the organization to any and all comrades of the leadership? No! This is not Leninism.

I would urge you to make your complaints in a straight-forward way to the PB. I would urge you to take care in your linking up with comrades who are not solid members of this organization. Develop them as cadre and then when the next pre-Conference discussion comes around voice whatever criticisms you have in the discussion. I must tell you that many of the organizational disagreements which you have are well rooted. But your practices can, I think, in the end only hurt our attempts to make the socialist revolution.

Comradely,

Joe Verret

cc: Bob S., PB, S. Bureau

REPORT ON THE 1966 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN
OF THE BALTIMORE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

On August 20 the Baltimore comrades visiting the N.O. conferred with Cmd. Jim Robertson on our electoral plans. We also announced them at the Spartacist League Conference. It was decided to run Bob Kaufman for governor on the correct assumption that the most public attention will be focused on that contest and we wanted to relate "local" issues to Marxist analysis and solutions. It was decided to run Bob Sherwood for congress on the basis that we could then hit harder on such international issues as Vietnam and perhaps get some additional speaking time. This proved to be not so in that no one seemed interested in the congressional campaigns. All of our attention was focused on the top of our ticket but having an additional candidate focused more attention to whatever he had to contribute.

In early September we drew up a 12 page platform and a 2 page legal size leaflet "Why We Are Running". The two were written to supplement each other; with the leaflet going into a deep but popular basic class analysis and why we were running as socialists and why a worker party is necessary. It was decided to separate it from the main body of the platform only for stylistic and technical reasons.

The platform was already a very long one--covering briefly all the possible specific campaign issues. We attached the photos of the candidates to the leaflet and put a 5¢ price tag on the platform. Through subsequent experience we learned that most people preferred to read the platform although the leaflet gave a deeper analysis. We got a few nickles but felt that the price tag itself made it even more desirable reading.

Fund appeals were attached to all appropriate literature but did not result in more funds. Sub blanks also were included with similar negative results. We did not push for votes or it is extremely hard to get people to write-in names and in most instances they aren't counted anyway.

Bob Sherwood laid out the final copy on these two basic pieces of literature and supervised a professional typist.

We sent finished drafts to Comrade Marion in Berkeley on Sept. 9. We had hoped to receive them back soon after the primary election but the process was delayed from two sources. Firstly, Cmd. Chris K in Berkeley had neglected to deliver our copy to the printer. This was discovered when we finally made two long distance phone calls to Berkeley on Sept. 18. A second delay was caused by a phone call, followed by a letter from the P.B. on Sept. 19, directing four minor changes in our platform. This was unfortunate for a number of reasons. Firstly, the changes should have been "suggested" rather than "directed", insofar as they were not substantive changes. Secondly, the further delay cramped our schedule. Thirdly, although we would have been grateful for such "comradly criticism", three of the four changes were, in our opinion, changes for the worse. This was so in style and tactics as well as a theoretically incorrect position on Black Power with which the P.B. saddled us--i.e. "In the end, black power will lead to working class power, etc." If this "will" happen--mechanically--there is no need in this instance for any intervention--much less a vanguard party.

Under the mistaken impression that the "Why We Are Running" leaflet was to be our "Mass Leaflet" the Berkeley comrades were instructed to append to it a section on the Negro question, which was already included in the platform. This, fortunately, Cmd. Geoffry White did and did splendidly.

Cmd. Marion did a herculean job of integrating all these changes, plus some

last minute changes we sent in. He cannot be over praised for the perfect work he turned out, for his promptness, his tolerance and talent for so well integrating the changes.

The platform proved to be a most valuable tool in popularizing the Spartacist League. We received praise for it from many sources. Some 2,000 of it and the companion leaflet were distributed.

Around \$160.00 was raised on the basis of our literature from political and personal friends. We are still trying to raise more to compensate Berkeley.

On Sept. 27 we mailed our literature and a cover letter to all major newspapers, TV and radio stations in the state, as well as to the F.C.C. We obtained the list from a P.R. friend on the staff of a U. S. Congressman. It was also sent to the radical press including The Guardian, Militant, M.R., I. F. Stones Weekly, Challenge, Liberation, Bulletin of I.S., Worker's World, and Peace and Freedom News. None of which, to our knowledge have written a word on our campaign.

On Sept. 28 a brief interview on a D. C. TV channel resulted in making contact with an independent Marxist scholar who arranged two speaking engagements in D. C. for us, distributed our literature in D. C. and generally acted as our agent. We hope to recruit him to the Spartacist League.

On Oct. 1, at a Ft.-Hood 3 rallie Kaufman spoke and was well received. Earlier we had issued a press release inviting the other candidates to address the rallie and demonstrate. The York Gazette reported the talk. We took our subs to all local newspapers so we could find out where the other candidates were speaking and attempted to bull-dog our way in. We also wanted to keep abreast on what the political writers were saying to gage our press releases to meet their interests.

A large campaign sign was posted at our Hdq. Cmd. Marion printed in excess of 5,000 of a compact and well received mass leaflet written by Bob Sherwood. We found that workers were quick to respond to our leafleteering when we told them we were for 30 for 40.

We put out a leaflet attacking U-JOIN for refusing to endorse us on the basis that "we shouldn't mention socialism" in our literature and that we were kooks. This despite a lead article in their newspaper entitled, "Where is Our Candidate?" They also wrote the other candidates asking their position on welfare issues.

Cmd. Marion made stickers for us which were popular but black on red is hard to read. Also- the peel off kind are well worth the additional expense. Next time we run we intend to plaster the cities lamp posts on all major artaries. The best way to do this is from the back of a truck so you can post them too high for vandles to get to. They should also be put up in a fast concentrated effort before the city fathers realize that reds are defacing public property.

We were unable to obtain a P.A. system for car and street corner meetings. They would have been quite valuable.

We tried to form a Peoples Com. for Socialist Candidates but the periffery manpower proved mostly unavailable. We held a Capt. Bolshevick Party to "meet the candidates." We found that a local "Soul" radio station was quite generous with recording our statements and the Baltimore Afro American, after some prodding printed our press releases, but up until Oct. 15 the 3 local dailies had refused any mention of our candidacies; despite five press releases and phone calls to the editors. On Oct. 15 we held a 10 man picket line at the Sun Office Bldg., protesting "Press Blackout!" after we convinced the cops that there could be no "trouble" and

they disbanded their forces (of a good 2 dozen cruising around) to three. We then proceeded to burn a 6ft. effigy of "The Publisher" on the Sun Papers lawn. It burned beautifully for a good 20 minutes and the culprits escaped. We then proceeded to deliver our sixth press release wrapped around a brick. We explained that insofar as the more conventional means of delivery had proven useless, we had intended to throw it through a window, but decided not to insofar as we couldn't find a window small enough for ourselves to pay the damages on. "At any rate" we explained, "it's the thought that counts." We were not arrested but despite the delivery of press releases to the local media on our action, none of the other press media squealed on The Sun Papers. It did, however, result in a immediate, favorable article in the Hurst, News American--perhaps through the fear that they would be next.

It had come to our attention that ABC, CBS, and NBC had news teams covering the Md. election, as well as the BCC and Swedish BC. After having exhausted any possibilities of contacting any of these news media from Baltimore and D. C., we phoned Cmd. Jim Robertson on Oct. 28 to phone these medias in N. Y. C. as well as the National Guardian to bring our campaign, particularly the press black-out, to their attention. He said that he could have it done. A number of days later when he had occasion to phone us he admitted that the calls had not been made. This was extremely unfortunate insofar as an article in the National Guardian would have been very good for the Spartacist League (to say the least) and I feel that such a prompting would have had such a result. For international reasons a BBC mention could have likewise proven very valuable.

We gave 17 talks to 17 different organizations to an estimated total audience of 1,000 people, mostly college and ghetto groups.

We distributed around 10,000 pieces of literature. We sold over \$20.00 worth of literature. We were interviewed briefly on 2 D.C. TV channels. Distributed leaflets at 4 factories; one lecture, one folk concert, and two anti-war demonstrations.

We were discussed on at least seven different occasions on radio and TV.

We had a minimum of 20 press releases printed--17 of which were in daily newspapers and the Afro American; 3 of which were in college papers and we expect more of these. Many of the articles were extremely good. We were advertised in numerous college posters and flyers.

We mimeographed and distributed 22 different press releases and leaflets including a post-election evaluation leaflet and a leaflet on a study series on "The Fight for Socialism."

We were able to do all this with a used, hand operated A. B. Dick #90 mimeograph and a cheap portable typewriter. If you know how to handle these machines correctly you can put out professional material.

We wrote over 225 organizations, unions and schools inviting ourselves to address their members. These letters had only secondary effect, insofar as they did not result in any direct speaking engagements but certainly smoothed the way when we phoned schools to put us on their programs.

We sent literature and cover letter to over 100 sympathizers and other politicians.

A personal fund raising letter to some 25 of my radical friends outside of Baltimore resulted thus far in two \$5.00 donations from Conrad Lynn and Art Felps.

We were refused the right to participate in only 3 forums.

We had intended to leafleteer a League of Women Voter's panel which excluded us but we just couldn't squeeze it in.

We missed out on 2 questionnaires which had been sent out before the primaries. Next time we will contact these organizations earlier.

We contacted two schools which have political institutes whereby the students must help the candidates of their choice.

We sent a special letter to the S.W.P. explaining that they should endorse us insofar as "we are all the things" Harry Ring's Militant article says "Levin is not and should be. We are also everything you regret Aptheker is not--despite your endorsement." They neither endorsed us, printed our letter or replied to it.

The two Spartacist League candidates also endorsed the S.W.P. candidates in N. Y. The S.W.P. saw fit, however, to mention Grand. Bob Sherywood's name and neglected to identify him as a candidate--unprincipled, rotten, schmucks that they are.

We hope that the next Spartacist attacks the Militant and Guardian for their full cooperation in the press blackout.

The FCC told us that if we were bonafide candidates they would guarantee us equal radio and TV time. The final proof of being bonafide was whether the Attorney General of Maryland would put in writing that if I received a plurality of votes I would be seated. He had admitted this much orally but told me that he would put it in writing only if the FCC itself requested him to do so. This simple request the FCC refused--despite a profusion of letters and phone calls on our part and despite the fact that two years ago when I ran as an Independent Socialist write-in candidate for the U. S. Senate, the FCC did phone the Md. Attorney General, who did, in turn, send a night letter to the FCC which resulted in an hour free TV time (45 minutes of which was prime time), the day before the election. The estimated viewing audience had been 1,600,000 at an estimated cost to the stations of \$15,000. We are sicking the ACLU on the FCC.

Most important of all we recruited the finest kind of well read Marxist intellectuals from our work and expect to recruit others of equal qualifications and dedication. We presented our views in oral and printed form to many people who were quite favorably disposed to what we had to say. We made many valuable contacts and started a lot of minds thinking.

We have gained the attention and respect of much of the community.

We have already been invited to speak at 5 additional schools, one Catholic seminary, a Visita group, and the very popular Steve Allison, radio discussion show in D. C.

The cooperation of all comrades was most praiseworthy. Our stickers, leafleteering, typing, mimeographing, selling, talking, setting up tables, panels, demonstrations, etc., kept us all quite busy.

We consider the campaign to have been most successful (a real red feather in the cap of the Spartacist League) and recommend it wherever practical.

A. Robert Kaufman- Nov. 17, 1966

Reverend: Doel

considered spokesman

4th year disease ongoing factional documents - (avoid them)

because he was opposed to sublim, et, of that doc.

" and lots of sympathizers (i.e. Jerry E. doubtless)

What the question here?

to be written
come out in 1972
of 1970

fight on S. - R. Doc -

really? - no doc - ~~it~~ I think have soft - comment

but H. not willing

the relationship of doc?

found somebody (R, S.) had doc with - only?

personal note

it, died to ~~accident~~ - justified, but on wh. basis

On the end -

too bad the leadership isn't all 20 years yet -

most of us have had bad teachers

nature of leadership - mostly right, (a definition)

People should read @ Whites patheic Resignation