

POLITICAL BUREAU MINUTES ..... 25 March 1968

Present: Full: Robertson, Nelson, Turner, Henry (late), Stoute (late)  
Alts: Small, Ellens, Janacek (late) Staff: Gordon, Martin  
Other: Mark T. (NYC Organizer), Dave C. (late)  
Meeting convened 8:25 p.m.

- Special Agenda:
1. Minutes
  2. Membership
  3. PB and N.O. Functioning (continued)
  4. Press
  5. PFP and California Trip
  6. Supplemental General Information and Correspondence

Motion: To admit Comrade Dave C. to meeting with voice and consultative vote. Passed

1. Minutes: Minutes of 4 March have been corrected and await stencilling. All other recent back minutes are in draft.
2. Membership: Joel S., an SDS member who has been working with our comrades for several months, has applied for membership in the Philadelphia Organizing Committee. The O.C. recommends that his application be accepted.

Motion: To accept Joel S. of Phila. as a candidate member. Passed

3. PB and N.O. Functioning (continued):
  - a. General: Disc: Robertson, Mark T., Ellens, Turner, Nelson, Turner, Nelson, Robertson. Motions by Robertson presented at meeting of 4 March voted.

Motion: 1) In the event of a falling out between sections of a bureaucracy we make no critical support of either wing; we do not push pressure politics oriented to a left face of a bureaucracy, 2) at the same time, where such fissures exist or can be opened we intervene to exacerbate and exploit these from the point of view of the independent revolutionary line and power of the proletariat.

Motion: On the organizational side: we are not yet a stable propaganda group. Basically, aside from certain quantitative improvement we will only change our functioning through: 1) broadening our membership base and roots, 2) increasing our full-time and politically qualified functionaries, even if only to about three, 3) deepening the consciousness of individuals over time through the interactions of personal struggle involvement and Marxist education.

Vote on both motions: For: Robertson, Nelson, Turner, Henry, Stoute; Small, Ellens (see her statement immediately below), Janacek; Gordon, Martin; Dave C.

Not voting: Mark T. Passed

Statement by Ellens on the above motions: "The three motions on organization do not take into account that we are not functioning in a Leninist manner. This must be done in their implementation."

- b. J. Glenn: Glenn, alternate member of the Central Committee, has resigned abruptly from the organization, without having

raised any political differences or any other serious disagreements in the PB. He has also refused repeated entreaties to get into good standing financially as a condition for accepting his resignation.

Motion: To drop Glenn from SL membership

Passed

c. Security: Our practice regarding the use of party pseudonyms is that ordinary members are identified in minutes and otherwise by their first name and last initial. Members of the Central Committee and comrades who write for the public press, and comrades who possibly may have difficulties in the future from use of their real names, are encouraged to use pseudonyms, except for public spokesmen for the organization who are already known in political circles under their real names. Our real security needs are: 1) to protect our comrades from victimization in mainly normal activities, especially jobs; 2) to avoid anything which could involve the organization in legal difficulty, especially with conspiracy or advocacy charges, and especially of a public, written or official nature; 3) to protect our comrades against mass sanctioned terrorism, especially in more backward areas of the country. Individual terrorism, e.g., the Detroit SWP shooting, is more difficult to protect ourselves against. We must be able to adapt our practice locally as the situation dictates; adoption of a binding uniform national policy tailored to deal with the most hazardous circumstances would cut our effective man-hours in half; except in circumstances of unusual and extreme risk, we must have street sales, public spokesmen, etc. During the Korean War, the Trotskyists decided that for an organization of 200, "going underground" is just a cute way of quitting. If this country really goes fascist, we would simply have a very difficult time; we do not have any secondary layers to take over for us. Our task is political and organizational, not military or conspiratorial. There is not much we can do except, by discretion and avoiding provocations, make the attainment of information by the authorities more difficult and the attainment of genuine evidence impossible. Regarding the Hatch Act and loyalty oaths, the comrades can take city and state civil service jobs without much risk of penalization, and should not at this point take any permanent federal jobs. Internally, while comrades should exercise caution in their utterances and actions and encourage other comrades to do the same, comrades concerned with security should not hold up our few horrible examples as typical behavior which has generally been sanctioned. Ours is a policy of legality and security, not of "clandestinity."

Disc: Ellens, Stoute, Janacek, Mark T., Gordon, Nelson, Martin, Turner, Robertson, Ellens, Janacek, Small, Stoute, Turner, Nelson, Martin, Robertson, Ellens, Mark T.

Motion: To table the rest of the agenda to a special meeting next week, except for a few technical points under Press. Passed

#### 4. Press:

Motion: 1) To appoint Comrade Dave C. as editor of SPARTACIST; 2) Robertson's function will be confined mostly to bulletins and

pamphlets; 3) to reconfirm Janacek as managing editor.

Passed

Motion: To extend to Dave C. a standing invitation to attend PB meetings with voice and consultative vote. Passed

Meeting adjourned 11:25 p.m.