

First Plenum, Second Central Committee.....1 September 1969

Present: Full: Cunningham(NYC), Day(New Orleans), Frisco(Austin),
Foster(en route Boston), Gordon(NYC), Kinder(Berkeley),
Nelson(NYC), Robertson(NYC)
Alts: Benjamin(NYC), Grey(Boston), Kelley(Austin),
Shiffman(en route Austin), Salant(NYC)
Other: Clara E.(Houston), Helene B.(Berkeley),
Maedee M.(Washington, D.C.), Gallatin D.(Illinois)
Absent: Full: Seymour(NYC), Small(en route S.F.), Vetter(New Orleans)
Alt: Fellows(S.F.)
Meeting convened 7:05 p.m.

Agenda: 1. Central Committee Organization
2. National Conference Implementation

1. Central Committee Organization:

a. Political Bureau: Is a subcommittee of CC, to be elected by CC. Outgoing leadership's slate for PB was discussed and motivated in session of National Conference which elected entire CC.

Motion: To elect a Political Bureau of at present 4 members, to consist of Cunningham, Gordon, Nelson, Robertson. Passed
Our expectation is to add a fifth member within perhaps a year's time.

b. Regional Bureaus: We now have CC groups of 3 each in Austin and Bay Area (Austin--Frisco, Kelley, Shiffman; Bay Area--Kinder, Small, Fellows).

Motion: To re-establish a Southern Regional Bureau in Austin and a Western Regional Bureau in the Bay Area, which shall undertake such work as is delegated to them by the CC or PB.

c. Control Commission: Is set up by Conference to have 3 members, 2 elected by Conference and 1 by CC. Conference elected only Henry to serve on Control Commission, leaving one vacant seat. Passed

Motion: To elect Nelson as the CC's representative to the Control Commission. Passed

d. National Officers:

Motion: To elect Robertson as National Chairman, Nelson as National Organizational Secretary and leave the post of National Secretary temporarily vacant. Passed

2. National Conference Implementation:

a. Pre-Conference Discussion: The regular pre-Conference discussion period has been quite full and is now completed.

Motion: To hold open written discussion on SDS work and Women's Liberation. Passed

Disc: Shiffman, Day, Robertson, Cunningham, Nelson, Day, Robertson, Day, Robertson

b. Main Resolution: Has been adopted by Conference. Is in essentially final form.

Motion: To have a Styles Committee of Robertson (Chairman), Gordon and Nelson to promptly produce the document in final form suitable for public advertisement. Passed

c. Finances Proposal: Basic principle of progressive taxation on income was adopted by Conference. More specific implementation was adopted by outgoing PB. Burden of directing imple-

mentation falls on national and local treasurers. Several examples were given.

Motion: To adopt the detailed draft financial proposal [appended], to be effective as of 1 September. Passed

- d. Bay Area: Document [appended] was signed by 7 members of the local and representatives of the national leadership, following intensive discussion in the Western ad hoc Committee at the National Conference. It is not necessarily a call for a faction but makes explicit the ability to work in common against internal opposition when necessary. Perhaps in this case what will be lacking is enough of an opposition to struggle against.

Motion: The CC endorses the action of its representatives in supporting and signing this document. Passed

Disc: Gallatin, Robertson

- e. Educational Policy: As was implied in the Organizational Rules, we want to adopt the substance of the suggestion from Fellows of a minimum knowledge basis for new members. We request that Grey draw up, based on Fellows' letter in the 3rd pre-Conference Discussion Bulletin, a detailed, brief bibliography and a general statement of this policy.

Disc: Grey

- f. Chicago: Has been a blot on the Spartacist League map. Black transit workers' wildcat strike was a missed opportunity. Rader and a sympathizer worked with the strike's leading bodies, but Rader's level of activity in general was low and erratic. Schultz issued adventurist leaflet for which he was censured by PB.

Disc: Grey, Gallatin, Robertson, Gallatin, Kinder, Robertson, Shiffman, Robertson, Gordon, Nelson, Robertson

Meeting adjourned 8:20 p.m.

DECLARATION ON THE BAY AREA LOCAL COMMITTEE

A species of Bay Area exceptionalism arose from the very inception of the SL as a tendency. The long-time local leadership of G. White was highly political and authoritative, but passive and conciliatory to rightist currents and moods. A tone to the local was set which was also in part drawn from the "idyllic" Berkeley college town milieu.

Even with the almost complete personnel turnover from 1962 through the present, a high degree of continuity was maintained and, additionally, negative moods have tended constantly to reinforce the local by absorption of our newer elements into the same milieu which originally helped generate the weakness in the local.

The local has been politically accommodationist to ISC-type pressures as recently evidenced by the (now corrected) orientation to the ISC-dominated Radical Student Union as against the PL-led SDS chapter. This was a less serious repetition of the earlier entry into the ISC-initiated "peace and Freedom Party".

The local has been organizationally passive and skeptical in the factional disputes and incidents over the past 18 months and has for a longer period shown hostility or cynicism to the national SL, combined with tendencies toward autonomy.

The local has been capitulatory to anti-Marxist life styles of members drifting out of the SL and in some cases these have been members who were maliciously intriguing, unopposed, against the SL on their way out. The local is currently facing new losses that are by now no loss if they are accompanied by a strong reaction and intolerance from the vital forces in the local against such departures.

The Bay Area SL is the second largest local in the SL and it must play a key role in the period ahead. Recent developments have created powerful new opportunities and give new forces to the local.

The prospects are sharply contradicted by acquiescence to a degenerated wing of the local and cannot be properly realized unless the local reorients sharply away from and against the over-age ex-/semi-radical lumpen academic bohemian and drug cultures. The local must turn fully and completely toward winning and immersing itself in revolutionary student youth and militant, class-conscious young workers.

It is urgent that the local be imbued with a conscious determination to fight to break with the patterns of its past.

Therefore (1) we must launch a struggle against the penetration of the drug scene into our ranks, if necessary flatly prohibiting any use of illegal drugs by members. This is not simply because such use would give the cops a handle to crush the local at any time. Ultimately worse is the decomposition of the local that such life styles engender; (2) We must insist upon the closely related necessity that

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all our members must appear employable and not objects with which our opponents can mock the SL; (3) We must give highest priority to carrying out our line in SDS whose implementation slogan is "all comrades under 30 into the SDS and most into its activity!". Other points on the local's short, tight priority list are Workers Action and other trade union work and participation in Women's Liberation activity; (4) We must lay the basis for an aggressive political assault upon our opponents such as the ISC by deep, organic absorption of both Trotskyist political understanding and Bolshevik hardness, i.e., to become more fully conscious revolutionaries.

In short we must free ourselves from the paralysing proposition (drawn from Gramsci) that to the extent the Bay Area comrades haven't recognized the nature of their enemies it's because they haven't fought them.

The undersigned Bay Area comrades agree to work in common within the local to achieve these objectives for as long as is made necessary by opposition and resistance to this qualitative leap by the local.

The Central Committee agrees to facilitate and aid this struggle with all the authority at its disposal.

31 August 1969

CC representatives

Dave Cunningham
Liz Gordon
Al Nelson
Jim Robertson

concurring members
of the Bay Area delegation

Helene B.
Kat S.
Bill O'C.
Paul N.
Chris Kinder
Nancy R.
Mark Small

Detailed Sustaining Pledge Regulations Adopted by
the Central Committee to Implement Organizational Rule III-13

I. The Minimum Sustaining Pledge expected of all members shall be determined according to a progressively graduated scale in relation to the NET INCOME PER CAPITA of each member based on the family or spending unit, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent or more. SP's of less than \$5 a month must be approved by the National Office.

II. Definitions: Net income shall be defined as that portion of the family's income retained after taxes and legal or other obligations (e.g. recent transfer to new area or recent past unemployment with accumulated debts) which the organization may recognize, have been deducted from gross pay. Legal obligations shall include only those currently under enforcement by court order and in the amount actually being paid. Members in institutions (e.g. schools, army, jail, merchant marine, asylums, etc.) whose basic needs (room and board) are supplied should add to their actual cash income to arrive at NET INCOME.

For assessment purposes, a member's NET INCOME shall be arrived at by dividing total family net income by the number of persons dependent upon the income of the member's family or spending unit.

III. Schedule: The minimum pledge shall be assessed according to the following schedule:

for a member's net monthly per capita income of:	not less than the fol- lowing shall be paid the SL:
under \$50	5%
\$50-99	6%
\$100-149	7%
\$150-199	8%
\$200-249	9%
\$250-299	10%
\$300-349	11%
\$350-399	12%
\$400-449	13%
\$450-499	14%
\$500 and up	15% and up

IV. Additional members: In the event that two or more members reside within a single family (or spending unit), such members shall jointly be expected to pay to the organization the aforementioned pledge, PLUS an additional half (1/2) of such amount per additional member as a minimum.

V. Computation: To convert weekly wages (after deductions) to monthly, multiply the weekly wage by 4.35. (A slide rule or comparable aid is useful for treasurers.) After the monthly net wage is multiplied by the appropriate per cent found in the above table, the minimum amount due the SL should be rounded off as follows: if the number of dollars ends in a 0 or 5 (plus some cents), round off to that number of dollars dropping the extra cents; otherwise round off the amount to the next largest final 0 or 5 dollar figure. Be careful to first make all deductions from the spending unit's net income, then divide to arrive at the member's net per capita income.

Some examples are:

(1) Single member, earning \$98 net weekly, has moving loan of \$25/month, current major dental of \$40/month, and is paying off an employment fee of \$60/mo. All necessary to survive and allowable deductions, totalling \$125.

$$\$98 \times 4.35 = \$427 - \$125 = \$302 \text{ net income/month}$$

$$\$302 @ 11\% = \$33.20 \text{ which rounds off to } \underline{\$35/\text{month minimum SP}}$$

(2) Married, both party members. \$460 monthly for one, irregular part-time work for the other for which the W-2 form proves amounted to \$1260 net for the previous year. (Their loan for vacation, car payments, air conditioner time payment and savings by payroll deduction are not allowed, being items of augmented standard of living, but the large, long-term college education loan being paid off at \$35/month is OK.)

$$\$470 + \$1260/12 = \$470 + \$105 = \$575$$

$$\$575 - \$35 = \$540 \text{ for two in family or } \$270 \text{ net income for one}$$

$$\$270 @ 10\% = \$27 \text{ plus } 1/2 \text{ of that, } \$13.50 = \$40.50$$

which rounds off to \$40/month SP for both

(3) High school student, free room and board at home, irregularly earns money over vacations. Total cash income over the year \$900. Not computable. SL would expect perhaps 20% of net cash income, i.e. averaging \$15 a month.

VI. Procedures: The member may petition the local organization, subject to review by the PB, for recognition of OTHER OBLIGATIONS to be deducted for income computation purposes. Adjustments to changing personal financial circumstances will be carried out by the local organization upon either the local's or member's initiative and subject to national appeal. Changes in the income-pledge scale reflecting changes in the economy, circumstances of the SL, etc. may be made by the CC between National Conferences.

Collection will be through local treasurers for purposes of efficiency. The local treasurer will be responsible for reviewing each month every member's financial situation. Locals may retain a portion of amounts received with permission of the PB. Pledges will remain a matter of individual responsibility; there will be no collective local pledges. For transmission of money to the N.O., the amounts forwarded will be rounded off to the nearest dollar.

VII. General: With this adjustment of the pledge system, it is expected that resulting pledges will be reasonable, and that they will be MET: members failing to meet their pledge without due recourse to established procedures will be subject to disciplinary action.

This sustaining pledge system shall not be construed to compromise other financial procedures, such as those covering members' windfalls, etc., nor shall it in any way discourage pledges in excess of the established minimum.

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