

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
May 27, 1971

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

The first steps have been taken toward building a national campaign calling for the abolishment of all laws against abortion. A group of women representing various organizations in New York and New Haven met this week in New York and decided to put out a letter calling a national conference on abortion, where plans for a national abortion action can be made. The proposed conference will be the weekend of July 17-18.

The letter also calls for a preliminary planning meeting in New York on June 12, to which all women interested in building such a campaign are invited. At the June 12 meeting, plans for building the July conference and the abortion action will be discussed.

The letter calling the conference and the June 12 meeting will be mailed out to women's liberation groups all over the country this week. Plans should be made for women from the main abortion groups on the East Coast to attend the June 12 meeting. In addition, if there are women in other areas of the country who are especially interested in building a national abortion action campaign, and who could make the trip to New York, they should also be encouraged to attend.

Please let the national office know who you think would be able to attend the New York meeting from your area. In addition, please send us immediately a list of all those organizations in your area which should receive the letter on the abortion action campaign. This list should be sent to Ruth Robinett, 527 E. 12th St., Apt. F4, New York, N.Y. 10009.

Comradely,

*Betsy Stone*  
Betsy Stone  
Women's Liberation Director

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
May 27, 1971

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND SUMMER SCHOOL DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

Since the last letter on projected plans for socialist summer schools, we've received information from most of the branches planning summer schools, and all indications are that we can look forward to a very successful summer spent preparing our party for the coming convention in Ohio this August, and the subsequent antiwar, women's liberation and socialist election campaigns in 1971 and 1972.

Enclosed are copies of three study guides which you will find useful in planning your summer school classes on the topics covered. Two of them, on women's liberation and on the Black struggle, were also sent out last year. The study guide on women's liberation has since been brought up to date with new reading material added.

In addition to the enclosed outlines, a new Education for Socialists bulletin will be available very shortly entitled "Structure and Organizational Principles of the Party." It contains the texts of three lectures given at last year's Socialist Activists and Educational Conference by Farrell Dobbs, plus the organizational resolutions of the SWP from 1938, 1940 and 1953. This bulletin, together with The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party (also an Education for Socialists bulletin) will provide an excellent opportunity for a series of classes on the concept of democratic centralism and its application today.

Many branches have already arranged for national speakers for their summer schools. Those branches which have not yet done so and which want speakers should get in touch immediately with Rich Lesnik, who is handling speaker coordination. Because of the late date, any new requests should be made over the phone. Rich Lesnik can be reached at the national office at (212) 242-5530. Please note when making requests that availability of speakers is generally limited to weekends, and that because of the relatively small number of speakers, we cannot fill too many requests from any one branch.

Comradely,

*Gus Horowitz (w)*

Gus Horowitz  
National Education Director

enc. (3)

## REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST STRATEGY IN ELECTORAL ACTION

### Study Guide

#### Class 1. Why Revolutionary Socialists Intervene in Capitalist Elections.

- a) Lenin, Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, chap. 7 & 9
- b) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy (SWP Education for Socialists bulletin) pp. 5-8
- c) Jenness, Doug, Lenin as Campaign Manager, Pathfinder Press
- d) Sheppard, Barry, "Elections as a Weapon of Struggle" in Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy, and Tactics, Pathfinder Press, pp. 3-5

#### Class 2. The Origin and Evolution of the SWP's Position on the Labor Party

- a) Trotsky on the Labor Party, Pathfinder Press
- b) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, pp. 11-17
- c) Preis, Art, "Labor Political Action," in Labor's Giant Step, pp. 237-253
- d) Dobbs, Farrell, "The Case for an Independent Labor Party" in Recent Trends in the Labor Movement (Education for Socialists bulletin) pp. 22-28

#### Class 3. Third Capitalist Parties and "Peace and Freedom" Politics

- a) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, pp. 20-44
- b) Preis, Art, "The Wallace Campaign and Truman's Victory" in Labor's Giant Step, pp. 363-370

#### Class 4. United Socialist Ticket in 1958

- a) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, pp. 47-59

#### Class 5. Independent Black and Chicano Political Action

- a) The Case for a Black Party, Pathfinder Press
- b) A Transitional Program for Black Liberation, Pathfinder Press
- c) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, pp. 62-74
- d) La Raza Unida Party in Texas, Gutierrez and Compean, Pathfinder Press
- e) La Raza! Why Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?, Pathfinder Press
- f) Political Report and Summary to March 1970 National Committee Plenum of the SWP, by Jack Barnes. Towards An American Socialist Revolution: A Strategy for the 1970's, Pathfinder Press, pp. 197-205

Class 6. Independent Campaigns and the Tactic of Critical Support

- a) Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, pp. 77-88
- b) "Discussions with Trotsky," Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-1940, Pathfinder Press, pp. 56-64

Class 7. Socialist Workers Party Campaigns

- a) Barnes, Jack, "American Politics and the 1968 Presidential Campaign," SWP Internal Information Bulletin No. 2 in 1968
- b) "Reports and Discussion: 1969 and 1970 SWP Campaigns," SWP Internal Information Bulletin. No. 1 in 1970
- c) "Election Campaigns Panel," 1970 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference Reports Vol. 1 No. 3

## STUDY OUTLINE FOR CLASSES ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

### I. STATUS OF WOMEN IN PRE-CLASS AND EARLY CLASS SOCIETY

Covers the key questions raised in Engels' Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, including the nature of the matriarchal clan and the role of women in pre-family pre-class society. The overthrow of the matriarchy and the origin of the family and the oppression of women.

Readings: REQUIRED:

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,  
Frederick Engels

Problems of Women's Liberation, Evelyn Reed (first two  
articles)

"Red Stockings Manifesto," Notes from the Second Year:  
Women's Liberation. (available from Radical Feminism,  
P.O. Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011.)

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Man Makes Himself, V. Gordon Childe

What Happened in History, Childe

The Mothers, Robert Briffault (paperback edition)

Ancient Society, Lewis Morgan

TAPE: Lecture by Stacey Seigle

### II. WOMEN AND THE FAMILY UNDER SLAVERY AND FEUDALISM

The evolution of the family from the beginnings of class society through the periods of slavery and feudalism. Limited to Western Europe. Discussion of how the family was the basic unit of production and consumption during the entire period. The role of the state and the church in enforcing the oppression of women, and the modifications of the status of women among the various social classes in Greece, Rome, feudal Europe (including the influence of Christianity), and Jewish society.

Readings: REQUIRED:

Origin of the Family...., Engels

General Note: Very little has been written on this subject. The material which is available is of a pioneering nature in that it is limited in factual data and perspective. The teacher will have to depend on the public library for assistance. Helpful books include:

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Women and Socialism, August Bebel (Be careful of his sweeping generalizations and sometimes inaccurate material.)

The Family in the Making, Mary Burt Messer (Best for earlier societies as she tends to become more subjective when dealing with Christianity.)

A History of Marriage and the Family, Willystone Goodsell

The Family, Edward B. Reuter, Jessie R. Runner (essays by Theodore Schoeder and Ernest Burgess)

The Middle Ages, Joseph Strayer and Dana Muro (pretty good history for general background information on feudalism)  
Peasant Wars in Germany, Frederick Engels (chapter on "Decay of Feudalism and Rise of National States")

TAPE: Lecture by Kipp Dawson

### III. EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL ROLE OF THE FAMILY UNDER CAPITALISM

How the nuclear family under industrial capitalism evolved from the extended family of pre-industrial society. The changes in the status of women under capitalism and the roots of the present crisis of the nuclear family. The role of the family in maintaining capitalist class institutions. Emphasis is on history of family and oppression of women in U.S.

Readings: REQUIRED:

The Sexual Revolution, Wilhelm Reich (Ignore the introductions which were written by Reich in the later period of his life when his thinking had degenerated. The book itself is useful as a discussion of the role of the authoritarian family under capitalism.)

The Family: Revolutionary or Oppressive Force?, Caroline Lund, Pahtfinder Press

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Lenin on the Emancipation of Women, Lenin (chapter VII, "The Development of Large-Scale Machine Industry.")

A Social History of the American Family, Volumes I, II & III, Arthur W. Calhoun

TAPE: Lecture by Betsey Stone

### IV. HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS -- 1830 to Civil War

Discussion of the background conditions for the rise of the women's rights movement: the general decline of the status of women in relation to men that accompanied the development of capitalism, the beginnings of a female proletariat, and the rise of the abolitionist and other social movements. History and nature of the women's rights movement during this period.

Readings: REQUIRED:

A Century of Struggle, Eleanor Flexner

Pioneers of Women's Liberation, Joyce Cowley

Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation, George Novack

And Everyone Was Brave, William O'Neil. (At present, this book is available only in a cloth edition for \$8, so it might be impractical to ask the whole class to read it. Nevertheless, it should be read by anyone teaching a class on this subject.)

SUPPLEMENTARY:

The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920,  
Aileen S. Kraditor  
Women as a Force in History, Mary Beard  
The Woman Movement: Feminism in the U.S. and England,  
William O'Neil  
Rise of American Civilization, Charles & Mary Beard

TAPE: Lecture by Berta Green

V. HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The political and economic struggles of women in the U.S. during this period, centering on the struggle for suffrage.

Readings: REQUIRED:

"American Feminism 1848-1920," by Debby Woodrooffe,  
ISR, March 1971, pp. 21-31, 41-42

Same as for lesson IV

SUPPLEMENTARY:

The Rise of Feminism, William O'Neil  
Jailed for Freedom, Doris Stevens (Gives picture  
of some activities of the Women's Party)

TAPE: Lecture by Joyce DeGroot

VI. ROOTS OF CURRENT STAGE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

This lesson has two parts: 1) Economics of women's oppression: discussion of women as a reserve army of labor, statistics on trends in the current situation of women workers, discrimination in pay, sex typing of jobs, etc. 2) The social and economic position of women in the post-WW I period, the depression and radicalization of the 1930's, WW II and post-war reaction, and the emergence of the women's liberation movement as part of the current radicalization.

Readings: REQUIRED:

The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan, (chapters 4 through 9)  
"Political Economy of Women's Liberation," Margaret Benston  
Sisterhood is Powerful, Betsey Stone (Pathfinder Press)

SUPPLEMENTARY:

1969 Handbook on Women Workers, issued by the Women's Bureau,  
U.S. Department of Labor.  
Women and Work in America, Robert W. Smuts (this is not  
great, but it is useful as an over-all survey through the  
years.)  
Born Female, Caroline Bird

TAPE: Two short lectures by Sarah Lovell

## VII. THE OPPRESSION OF BLACK WOMEN

The history of the oppression of Black women, beginning with slavery, including a discussion and refutation of the myth of the Black matriarchy.

Readings: REQUIRED:

Black Women's Liberation, Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman (Pathfinder Press)

SUPPLEMENTARY:

"Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," Francis M. Beale, reprinted in The Militant, March 6, 1970.

"The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," Robert Staples, The Black Scholar, January-February, 1970 issue

The Negro Family in the U.S., E. Franklin Frazier

Black Rage, William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs (especially chapter III)

Poor Black Women, pamphlet published by New England Free Press

## VIII. WOMEN IN THE POST-CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The Status of women in post-capitalist countries, using the specific examples of Cuba and the Soviet Union

Readings: REQUIRED:

Women and the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro and Linda Jenness Revolution Betrayed, Leon Trotsky (chapter on "Family, Youth and Culture")

Women and the Family, Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder Press)

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Problems of Life, Leon Trotsky (chapter on "From the Old Family to the New")

In the Fist of the Revolution, Jose Yglesias

The Sexual Revolution, Wilhelm Reich

Rural Cuba, Larry Nelson

TAPE: Lecture on Cuba by Eva Chertov (to be reprinted in The Militant), lecture on Soviet Union by Cindy Jaquith

## IX. THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY

The revolutionary potential of the struggle for women's liberation, its relationship to other social struggles in the U.S. today. A discussion of the main questions under debate in the women's liberation movement, where the YSA and SWP stand on these questions and what other political tendencies think. Deals with need for independent women's organizations, why struggle must be anticapitalist, why women's oppression is not simply a subcategory of working class oppression, and the reactionary character of the family institution. Also discusses the role of the revolutionary party and the central demands for the current stage of the struggle for women's liberation.



Reading: REQUIRED:

The Struggle for Women's Liberation: strategy for a mass movement (YSA Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 14 No. 1, 1970)  
Sisterhood is Powerful, Betsey Stone  
The Politics of Women's Liberation, Mary-Alice Waters

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Enter Fighting: Today's Woman, Clara Colon  
In Defense of the Women's Movement, A reply to Clara Colon,  
by Evelyn Reed  
Maoism in the U.S., Mary-Alice Waters (chapter on women's liberation)  
Redstockings Manifesto, Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. Why did Engels consider the discovery of the maternal gens or clan so important?
2. What are the basic differences between the maternal clan of the matriarchy, and the father-family of class society?
3. Does a man have to be a biological father to perform paternal functions?
4. What is the extended family? What is the nuclear family?
5. What is monogamous marriage? Will it still prevail in a socialist society?
6. What role does the family play in maintaining capitalist class institutions?
7. What is the economic role played by women under capitalism?
8. Can women be defined as a class? Why not?
9. Why did the organized independent women's struggle come to a standstill after 1920?
10. What was the difference between the radicalization of women in the 1930's and the women's movement we see today?
11. What has been the effect of the rise of nationalism on the fight against the tripple oppression of Third World women?
12. What are the basic causes of the disintegration of the family system today?
13. How can the women's liberation movement best reach out and involve new layers of women in the struggle, including working and Third World women?
14. What changes in capitalist society have helped to bring about the rise of the women's liberation movement?
15. Why is it that 50 years after the Russian Revolution, women are still oppressed in the Soviet Union?
16. Can the U.S. ruling class co-opt the demands being raised by the women's liberation movement today?
17. What is the relationship between the independent women's liberation movement and the revolutionary party?

# THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE BLACK STRUGGLE

## Study Guide

### Class I. The Marxist position on the national question

reading: Lenin, articles on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" and "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up." Available in several different anthologies.

supplementary: Trotsky, "The Problem of Nationalities" in History of the Russian Revolution, vol. 3, pp. 36-61

Trotsky, "Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads" in Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-1940), pp. 74-78.

discussion:

- A. How do nationalist demands have their historical roots in the bourgeois revolution?
- B. What does it mean to say that the demand for self-determination is a "bourgeois-democratic" demand?
- C. The character of the fight for self-determination in the imperialist epoch. The significance of bourgeois-democratic demands in the fight for socialism.
- D. Support for the right of self-determination as the basis for class unity and internationalism. Why it is the only concrete way of taking an anti-capitalist and pro-socialist approach.

### Class 2. Self-determination and the United States

reading: Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination

supplementary: Vernon and Browne, Should the U.S. Be Partitioned?

Articles on "Black Nationalism as a Touchstone" in Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today.

SWP 1969 pre-convention discussion bulletin vol. 27, no. 12, articles by Morrison and Breitman

Jenness, "What was the CP's 'Black Belt' Theory?" in The Militant, February 27, 1970.

discussion:

- A. The oppression of Black people as a national oppression, not just a case of extra-class oppression.

- B. The difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of oppressor nations.
- C. Why is there an anti-capitalist thrust to the struggle of oppressed nationalities?
- D. Is it likely that Black nationalism will decline in influence among Black people in the U.S. as the working class in general radicalizes?
- E. The difference between the demand for self-determination and the demand for equality. Does support to self-determination exclude support to demands for equality?
- F. Why do revolutionaries make no concessions whatsoever to the racist attitudes of white workers?
- G. Is nationalism equivalent to separatism? Is support to the right of self-determination qualified in any way? Is support to the right of self-determination equivalent to demanding separation? Who decides the question of separation, the revolutionary party or the Black masses? What was wrong with the CP's theory of independence for the "Black Belt?"
- H. What is wrong with the argument that self-determination, up to and including the possibility of separation, is "impractical?"

Class 3. The Revolutionary Dynamic of Black Nationalism

reading: Breitman & Novack, Black Nationalism and Socialism  
"The Course of U.S. imperialism and the Revolutionary Struggle for a Socialist America," -- 1969 SWP political resolution, contained in International Socialist Review, November-December 1969, or SWP Discussion Bulletin Volume 27 No. 11  
Barnes, Political Report to SWP 1969 Convention, Internal Information Bulletin No. 8 in 1969.

supplementary: "Black Caucuses in the Trade Unions" (Political Committee Memorandum) SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 27, no. 11  
Boutelle, "Should Blacks Run on a Multi-national Ticket?" The Militant, November 21, 1969

discussion:

- A. Can the demands of Black people for national liberation be satisfied within the capitalist system?

- B. The vanguard role of Blacks in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The different ways in which this will be manifest.
- C. The dual class and national character of Black demands.
- D. The effects that the predominantly proletarian social composition of the Black masses will have.
- E. The combined character of the American socialist revolution. The convergence and interdependence of the socialist and nationalist struggles. In what sense is this an American manifestation of the permanent revolution?
- F. The multinational character of the revolutionary socialist party.
- G. In the History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. III, chapter II on "The Problem of Nationalities," Trotsky says: "Bolshevism at the same time made it a verily sacred task to unite as closely as possible, by means of voluntary class discipline, the workers of different nationalities. Thus it flatly rejected the national-federation principle in building the party. A revolutionary organization is not the prototype of the future state, but merely the instrument for its creation. An instrument ought to be adapted to fashioning the product; it ought not to include the product. Thus a centralized organization can guarantee the success of a revolutionary struggle -- even where the task is to destroy the centralized oppression of nationalities."

This has a profound meaning for the character of the revolutionary party in general and for the dynamic of the national liberation struggle. Discuss.

#### Class 4. Black Nationalism Today

reading: Vernon, "White Radicals and Black Nationalism," International Socialist Review, Winter, 1964  
Two Speeches by Malcolm X  
The Black Uprisings: Newark, Detroit 1967  
Breitman, Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas  
1969 YSA resolution, "Strategy and Tactics in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination."

supplementary:

Malcolm X Speaks  
Breitman, The Last Year of Malcolm X

discussion:

- A. The development of Black nationalism as a rejection of American capitalist society.
- B. How the nationalist struggle comes into confrontation with the institutions of bourgeois society.
- C. Black nationalism as the form of expression of the urban working class sector of the Black community.
- D. The evolution of Black nationalism, contrasting the struggles of the Black liberation movement prior to 1965 with those after.

Class 5. Strategy and Tactics for Black Liberation (two sessions)

reading: The Case for a Black Party

A Transitional Program for Black Liberation

DeBerry, "Report on the Transitional Program for Black Liberation" (1969 SWP convention, Internal Information Bulletin No. 6 in 1969.)

"Report on Strategy and Tactics in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination," in To Make a Revolution: Proceedings of the 9th National Convention of the YSA

discussion:

Session 1.

- A. The nationalist character of the current radicalization.
- B. The importance of a transitional approach to the Black struggle.
- C. The necessity to give organization form to the Black struggle.
- D. The Black party as a vehicle for organization and struggle.
- E. Would a Black party be solely or mainly an electoral instrument?
- F. What is the nature of the present period and what does this mean in terms of organization and program?
- G. Describe how the Transitional Program for Black Liberation includes both democratic and transitional demands.
- H. The Transitional Program for Black Liberation says, "Taken point by point, the program can seem modest, perhaps even feasible under capitalism if one were to take at face value the propaganda about capitalism standing for democracy, a good

living, and a free world.... But how does such a program tie in with the struggle to overturn capitalism and build a socialist society in America?" Explain.

- I. Our political line as opposed to that of our political opponents in the radical movement.

Session 2.

- A. The need for mass struggles as a step toward the Black party -- as opposed to the ultra-left or reformist approaches.
- B. From what source does ultra-leftism flow?
- C. What is wrong with the "dual" or "syndicalist" concepts which try to combine vanguard and mass forms in one organization? What has been the concrete experience of these types of groups. Give examples.
- D. Would the Black party be a revolutionary cadre organization?
- E. What have been the positive and negative experiences of the Black Panther Party?
- F. The effect of nationalist consciousness on Black workers and how this will affect the labor movement in general.
- G. The importance of revolutionary socialist cadre at this stage of the radicalization. How can the YSA and SWP, with as yet limited numbers of Black cadre, best intervene in the Black liberation struggle?

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May 28, 1971

Dear Jack,

The Twin Cities Branch passed a motion to allow a representative of the "For a Proletarian Orientation" Counter-resolution time to speak before our Branch.

As of yet, we have not decided the form -- debate, presentation. When we do we will inform the N.O. Please inform Barbara Gregorich of our decision.

Comradely,  
s/Ken Shilman  
Organizer, Twin Cities



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180 N. Wacker  
Chicago, Ill. 60606  
May 31, 1971

Dear Comrade Barnes,

The Chicago Branch passed the following motion as regards the Gregorich grouping at its meeting of May 26:  
Motion to request that the National Office inform the Gregorich grouping that the Chicago Branch wishes to hear a presentation by a representative of that grouping. You will notice from the minutes that we will try to make June 23rd available for that discussion. If we have any scheduling problems we will contact you.

Comradely,  
Pearl Chertov  
Chicago Branch Organizer

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To: Austin SWP Branch  
c/o Organizer & Exec Committee

June 1, 1971

Dear Comrades,

The National Office has informed us of the request of the Austin SWP Branch to have a spokesperson for the document "For a Proletarian Orientation" present that position before the Austin Branch on June 6, 1971.

Due to problems such as finances, work, schedules, etc., it would be difficult for Comrades Massey, Gregorich, Passen or McCann to do so on June 6th.

However, Comrade Travis B. of the Houston SWP Branch has expressed to us a willingness to speak in favor of the document "For a Proletarian Orientation" and we would give him our approval to do so. We would ask that you accept him as our spokesperson on June 6. Travis has already spoken on behalf of our document in Houston, where he presented its position to that Branch.

If this procedure is agreeable to you, we ask that you work out the arrangements with Comrade Travis.

We are sending him as well as the National Office (c/o Comrade Jack Barnes) a copy of this letter and we ask Comrade Travis to get in touch with you to work out the details.

We enclose also a letter of ours to Comrade Travis, in this regard.

If this is not suitable to you, please communicate your decision to us.

Comradely greetings,  
s/Bill Massey  
for Barbara Gregorich, Phil  
Passen & John McCann

copy to: SWP N.O.  
Travis B.  
File

Bill Massey c/o Oakland SWP;  
Barbara Gregorich - Phil  
Passen (Cleveland SWP);  
John McCann (Boston SWP)

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June 1, 1971

Dear Comrade Travis,

Enclosed is a letter sent to the Austin SWP Branch c/o the Organizer and Branch Executive Committee.

The writers of the document "For a Proletarian Orientation" are aware that you presented the position of that document in the Houston pre-convention discussion and that you support the general position of said document. We are agreed in requesting that you present its position before the Austin Branch, if it is agreed on by the comrades in Austin. We have sent them as well as the SWP N.O. a copy of this letter to you. Please contact them immediately in order to arrange the matter.

With comradely greetings,  
s/Bill Massey  
for/ Barbara Gregorich,  
Phil Passen & John McCann

copy to: Austin SWP Branch  
SWP National Office  
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Dear NO,

The branch did decide to ask a representative of the Gregorich tendency to come and present their ideas. Please have her get in touch with me as soon as possible. Branch meetings are on Tuesday nights, and we will put the comrade up for a day or two. We have scheduled an hour for presentation and two hours for discussion.

Comradely,  
s/Bill Perdue  
[Denver organizer]

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14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

June 3, 1971

CLEVELAND

Barbara Gregorich

Dear Comrade Gregorich,

We received a letter today from the Denver branch requesting a speaker for the resolution For a Proletarian Orientation.

The appropriate part of the letter from the organizer reads as follows:

"The branch did decide to ask a representative of the Gregorich tendency to come and present their ideas. Please have her get in touch with me as soon as possible. Branch meetings are on Tuesday nights, and we will put the comrade up for a day or two. We have scheduled an hour for presentation and two hours for discussion."

The organizer of the Denver branch is Bill Perdue. He can be reached through the branch headquarters at 303/623-9505.

Comradely,  
s/Jack Barnes  
Organization Secretary

cc: Bill Perdue - Denver

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14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

June 3, 1971

CLEVELAND

Barbara Gregorich

Dear Comrade Gregorich,

We received a letter today from the Chicago branch requesting a speaker for the resolution For a Proletarian Orientation.

The letter refers to a motion passed by the Chicago branch May 25 "to request that the National Office inform the Gregorich grouping that the Chicago Branch wishes to hear a presentation by a representative of that grouping."

They have tentatively scheduled the discussion for June 23.

The organizer of the Chicago branch is Pearl Chertov. Her home telephone number is 312/321-9661.

Comradely,  
s/Jack Barnes  
Organization Secretary

cc: Pearl Chertov - Chicago

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14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

June 3, 1971

CLEVELAND

Barbara Gregorich

Dear Comrade Gregorich,

We received yesterday a letter from the Twin Cities branch requesting a speaker for the resolution For a Proletarian Orientation. The letter reads as follows:

"The Twin Cities Branch passed a motion to allow a representative of the 'For a Proletarian Orientation' Counter-resolution time to speak before our Branch.

"As of yet, we have not decided the form -- debate, presentation. When we do we will inform the N.O. Please inform Barbara Gregorich of our decision."

The organizer of the Twin Cities branch is Ken Shilman. His home telephone number is 612/825-5112.

Comradely,  
s/Jack Barnes  
Organization Secretary

cc: Ken Shilman - Twin Cities

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May 30, 1971

Dear Jack,

I want to make a suggestion for the consideration of the administrative committee comrades. This has nothing to do with the Gregorich document, the discussion or whatever.

I think the present form of our slogan of 30 for 40 might be better as for a 4 day week. There may be some reason why it is not better that I have not thought of but here are the reasons why I think it is better.

A. The new generation does not know what 30 for 40 means. Therefore as a popularized slogan it cannot be used but must be explained.

B. The 4 day work week is understood and means in content 32 for 40. I think it is understood as a means to solve the unemployment problem although consciousness of this may be weak.

C. The 4 day work week fits in well with the humanist feelings of the radicalization against alienation. I think workers would prefer a 4 day work week over 5 days at 6 hours (or the equivalent of 32 hours spread over 5 days). That is the three day week end is very attractive as a response to human need, for more free time.

D. The only danger I can see as a slogan is if it introduces an element of utopianism in terms of the consciousness of the masses. That is where they may believe a reduction in the 40 hour week is possible but that a 4 day week is impossible. Then to change the form of the slogan would be self defeating. Thirty for forty does imply anything less than 40 for 40. A 4 day work week is a little bit more rigid as a slogan in this sense. That is the slogan 30 for 40 is more directly associated to the sliding scale of hours which is the basic concept. The question of mass popularization of a concept is important and a 4 day work week may be slightly more favorable at this time.

The whole matter is not that important but it is worthwhile considering it. I notice the bourgeois press occasionally has discussions on the 4 day work week. Although we would only raise the slogan in things like our campaign brochures, in speeches etc. it may be of value to change over especially if that is what is happening in terms of mass consciousness.

Naturally we can use both slogans for a while as propaganda slogans until an actual movement appears among workers under one formulation or the other.

Comradely,  
s/Peter Camejo



EXCERPTS FROM DETROIT BRANCH AND EC MINUTESExecutive Committee - May 5

Organizer's Report

Motion that Rudi present her document May 13th. A proved.

Branch Meeting - May 6

Executive Committee Report

F) Rudie's documents: to be made available to be read by comrades this weekend; to be discussed at next week's meeting. (approved)

Executive Committee - May 11

Special point on Rudi A. Motion to recommend to the Branch that Rudi be given a leave of absence till her health has improved. Carried. Motion that the E.C. carry out decision that Rudi not be allowed to attend branch meeting. Carried. Motion that a committee of the E.C. Ron, Helen and John B. tell her these decisions. Carried.

Branch Meeting - May 13

## II. Special Point--John B.

A. Motion to record report (passed)

B. Two E.C. motions:

- 1.) That Rudi be given an indefinite leave of absence pending necessary medical attention. This would be a complete leave of absence extending to Branch meetings, attending forums, coming to the hall, and all Branch functions and all political assignments.
- 2.) That a committee of John B., Peter, Helen and Ron communicate the Branch decision to Rudi and be responsible for implementation of the previous motion.

## III. Discussion

Henry (2), Peter, Gene (2), Helen, Ron (2), Edie (2), Paul, Louise, Barry D., Barry D., Barry S., David K., Malik

A. Motion to disapprove of E.C. action to ban Rudie from tonight's meeting.

B. Motion not to give Rudi leave of absence and to disapprove of E.C. motion to force leave of absence (ruled by chair as not separate motion but as vote against E.C. motion)

C. Procedural motion to take last list of speakers (passed)

D. Procedural motion to allow discussion of Edie's motion to disapprove of E.C.'s barring Rudi from meeting (passed)

E. Procedural motion to adjourn after this point (passed)

## IV. Concluding report -- John B.

V. Amendment to strike "medical attention" from E.C. motion

VI. Vote

- A. To disapprove of E.C.'s barring of Rudi from tonight's meeting failed 6 - 18
- B. Amendment to strike "medical attention" from E.C. motion failed 6 - 14 (six to fourteen)
- C. E.C. motion
  1. That Rudi be given an indefinite leave of absence pending necessary medical attention passed - 17-6
  2. That committee of John B., Peter, Helen and Ron communicate to Rudi and be responsible for implementation of previous motion. passed 19-1 (one abstention)

\*\*NOTE: Edie Gbur, maker of motions to disapprove of E.C.'s barring Rudi from tonight's meeting and motion to grant Rudi an indefinite leave of absence pending necessary medical attention, wishes that motivations for her motions be submitted with minutes. (This was approved by the Branch). In order to get minutes in the mail, I am postponing mailing of these motivations which Edie is recording. These will be sent as soon as possible.

Attachment to May 13 branch minutes

Motivation by Edith Gbur

The E.C.'s actions are a violation of party policy and of Rudy's rights as a member in good standing.

The E.C.'s actions are based upon the false assumption that Rudy is mentally disturbed. Rudy's actions stem from her interest in the correct functioning of the party and her differences with the functioning of the Detroit branch, which she believes is a departure from the party's concepts.

It is unprecedented in the history of the party that a loyal comrade should by action of the E.C. be barred from attending a branch meeting on the threat of being physically blocked from entering the building by E.C. members.

The action to force Rudy to take a leave of absence is illogical and undemocratic:

A leave of absence is granted solely on a comrade's request.

Because of this period of pre-convention discussion Rudy should be in the branch to discuss her views rather than being excluded.

Further she should have been given the opportunity to defend her position and her actions instead of being brutally barred from the meeting and she should have been granted the simple democratic opportunity to convince the membership that she was opposed to the forced leave of absence.

( MINUTES...Page 3

If these motions are upheld it will set a bad precedent in the party. Any minority may be forced to leave not because of disloyalty to the party but because of differences, no matter how big or small.

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May 20, 1971

Rudi Austin  
6526 Regular  
Detroit, Mi.

Dear Rudi,

At the Branch meeting May 13 the two following motions were adopted by the Detroit Branch:

1. That Rudi be given an indefinite leave of absence pending necessary medical attention. This would be a complete leave of absence extending to Branch meetings, attending forums, coming to the hall and all Branch functions and all political assignments.
2. That a committee of John B., Peter, Helen and Ron communicate the branch decision to Rudi and be responsible for implementation of the previous motion.

Helen, Ron and myself met with you on the afternoon of May 13 as a subcommittee of the executive committee. We discussed and explained these motions which the committee was bringing to the Branch. We outlined the basic motivation of the executive committee:

1. that your behavior was becoming increasingly disruptive to Branch work, both in conducting meetings and in several areas of mass work and in the fractions.
2. It was the feeling of the executive committee that this behavior was a medical question and had to be solved medically.

This was the motivation of the report to the Branch meeting and the basis for the adoption of the motion giving you the leave of absence.

Both Peter and myself have had phone conversations with you since the adoption of the motion. You indicated to us that rather than have a meeting with the committee you would prefer formal written notification of the Branch decision. Members of the committee or the committee as a whole will be willing to meet with you to discuss this any further if you desire.

Comradely,  
s/ John Benson  
Branch Organizer

COO  
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Rudie Austin  
6526 Regular Ave.  
Detroit, Mi. 48209

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May 21, 1971

To:  
The National Committee  
Socialist Workers Party  
14 Charles Lane,  
New York, N.Y. 10014

Dear Comrades,

I appeal the action taken by the Executive Committee of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, and passed by a majority vote at the membership meeting on May 13, 1971.

I am fully in accord with Edith Gbur's motivation (attached) of her motion opposing the action taken against me by the Detroit branch.

It is a false assumption and slanderous to state that I am mentally disturbed.

I am a rank and file member. I wrote a paper about the concepts that I was discussing three and one half years ago. I spoke about this many times, asking how and when it is possible for a member of a branch to intervene and raise organizational questions for discussion. I spoke out of turn then (1968), also because I could not get the floor when I asked for it.

We had a serious problem in the Detroit branch three and a half years ago, and even more serious this past year. There were many inactive members and many resignations from the party. The Luveara-Bouse-Evelyn Kirsch incident only emphasized the seriousness of the problem.

Why was I not called before the E.C. months ago, or three and a half years ago, and called to order on my behavior? Why were these questions not discussed?

I believe that the Detroit branch of the SWP has not been functioning according to the organizational concepts of the party. I would like to be convinced after discussing these questions that I am wrong.

I have spent the most active, instructive and fruitful years of my life in the SWP. As a result of this I have had a purpose and a goal in life and access to the accumulated knowledge, theory and practice of a revolutionary party.

I could not understand how members who have spent a number of years in the party could adjust to being absorbed only in their personal lives.

If a decision is made not to allow me to remain as an active member of the party, I will have nothing of importance left in my life. I will still try to express my conception of what occurred in the Detroit branch of the SWP. Comradely yours,

Attachment: s/Rudie

Motivation by Edith Gbur of her motion opposing the action of the E.C. taken against Rudie Austin by the Detroit branch of the SWP on May 13, 1971:

The Executive Committee's actions are a violation of the Party policy, and of Rudie's rights as a member in good standing.

The E.C.'s actions are based upon the false assumption that Rudie is mentally disturbed.

Rudie's actions stem from her interest in the correct functioning of the party and her differences with the functioning of the Detroit branch which she believes is a departure from the party's concepts.

It is unprecedented in the history of the party that a loyal comrade should be, by a motion of the E.C., barred from attending a branch meeting on the threat of being physically blocked from entering the building by E.C. members.

The motion to force Rudie to take a leave of absence is undemocratic and illogical.

A leave of absence is granted solely on a comrade's request. In addition, because of this period of pre-convention discussion Rudie should be in the branch to discuss her views rather than being excluded. Further, she should have been given the opportunity to defend her position and her action, instead of being personally and physically barred from the meeting. She should have been granted the simple democratic opportunity to convince the membership that she was opposed to the forced leave of absence.

If these motions are upheld, it will set a bad precedent in the party. Any minority may be forced to leave, not because of disloyalty to the party but because of difference, no matter how big or small.

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Rudie Austin  
6526 Regular Avenue  
Detroit Mich. 48209

May 23, 1971

To:  
National Committee  
Socialist Workers Party  
14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

Dear Comrades,

I request that the appeal of May 21, 1971 that I sent the National Committee be changed as follows:

I appeal the action taken by the E.C. of the Detroit branch of the SWP and passed by a majority vote of the membership on May 13.

It is a false assumption and slanderous to state that I am mentally disturbed.

We had a serious problem in the Detroit branch three and a half years ago, and an even more serious one this past year. There were many inactive members and many resignations from the party. The Luveara Bouse-Evelyn Kirsch incident only emphasized the seriousness of the problem.

I was not in accord with the concepts of the E.C. and the organizers of the branch in the organization of branch work in which I was active over a period of years.

I became involved in the discussion because of my concern about the party. I do not think the pre-convention discussion period is a proper time to discuss organizational questions because there is the possibility of an amalgam with a difference of political views. Nor is it proper for the same reason for a discussion of the organizational questions except as presented in resolutions.

It is unfortunate that two of the sub-committee of the E.C. who were to meet with me were the ones involved in the dispute.

I cooperated and met with them but I have not received the charges against me that I requested.

I note that the Organization report to the N.C. plenum by Barry Sheppard discusses branch functioning very thoroughly and therefore will be discussed at the Convention. This was the root of the problems of the Detroit branch.

In writing to the N.C., I hope to explain how I became involved in this dispute.

Comradely yours,  
s/Rudie