

Horowitz

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July 18, 1971

Dear Peter,

I've enclosed the outline of what was to become the "Proletarian Orientation" document. I was given this outline during last year's Oberlin conference. At that time I was told, by John McCann (who gave it to me), that a number of comrades would be researching various parts of it, developing various aspects of the question, in preparation for the 1971 convention of the party. In the little bit of time I've thought about it I haven't been able to remember what other comrades were shown this outline, just that there were several others. I do remember its contents being discussed on a number of occasions during the Oberlin conference. I can't be totally sure about all the individuals involved -- since I thought little of it at the time, being sympathetic to the positions McCann and the others held, and being quite ignorant of our norms in such matters, etc. But as I recall, these discussions involved Comrades Nancy Adolphi, Terry Bell, Marion Thelan, Dave Edwards -- all from Boston and Dave Keil from Minneapolis (?). Dave Keil was later excluded from discussion, from McCann's entourage at Oberlin, on the grounds of his being too confused and unreliable!

If I can remember other names or be more definite about the others as I give this more thought I'll write you.

I do remember, quite clearly, that the comrades that followed McCann around Oberlin were being presented with the positions the document was to take as counter to what the comrades were hearing in Oberlin reports from N.C. comrades. I also remember that McCann and others wanted to restrict the number of actual signatories when it came time to submit it. That is, they wanted to exclude the names of some of the comrades it was being circulated to, even if they agreed with the line, because these other comrades were considered "too wild"!!! Specifically being excluded were Comrades Mike Tormey and Ralph Leavitt as "wild men"!

Comradely,
s/Mike Kelly

ON THE NEED FOR SENDING YOUNG PARTY COMRADES INTO INDUSTRIAL TRADE UNIONS

II

SECTION I -- WORKING CLASS AND PETTY BOURGEOISIE

INTRODUCTION

- A. Recent Definition by leadership of working class, students, trade unions, and our relationship to them.
- B. Traditional Definitions -- no fundamental changes

PETTY-BOURGEOISIE

- A. Definition
- B. Description
- C. Role

WORKING CLASS

- A. Definition
- B. Description
- C. Role

TRANSITION TO SECTION II -- BEING DETERMINES CONSCIOUSNESS -- COM-
POSITION AND ITS EFFECTS ON PROGRAM

- A. CPUSSR
- B. SPUSA
- C. Shachtman
- D. Cochran
- E. April Theses

SECTION II -- CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY AND TRADE UNION WORK

PRESENT CLASS COMPOSITION OF PARTY AND ITS EFFECTS

- A. Leadership Rationalization of Party's Present Position
 - 1. Redefinition of students
 - 2. No need to consider working class in day-to-day work
 - 3. Redefinition of working class
 - 4. Alteration of definition of combat party

NECESSITY OF ENTERING TRADE UNIONS

- A. One Way Party Addresses Itself to Class Composition -- Not a Panacea
- B. Lessons of French Events
 - 1. Lessons Leadership Given
 - 2. Lessons we Draw
- C. Method of Relating to Working Class
 - 1. Leadership's Method--Movement - to - Movement instead of becoming part of (treat unions as exception--enter all other movements.)

~~Traditional Method of Marxism -- sinking roots into class.~~

ALTERNATIVE TO PRESENT PARTY PROCEDURE

- A. Send Some Young Comrades into Industrial Trade Unions
- B. What This Will Accomplish
- C. What It Will Not Accomplish--Not a Panacea

Seigle

SWP 1972 Campaign Committee
706 Broadway 8th floor
New York, New York 10003
July 21, 1971

Dear Comrades,

The 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign will be publicly launched on Thursday, August 12, at the Cleveland-Sheraton hotel in Cleveland, Ohio. The rally, to which the press will be invited, will begin at 8:00 p.m. We are sure all comrades will want to be there. Admission will be \$1.50.

Speakers at the rally will include the presidential and vice-presidential nominees of the SWP. Also speaking will be Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, Cindy Jaquith, National Secretary of the YSA, John Hawkins, Evelyn Reed and Fred Halstead. Representatives of the different mass movements to which the campaign will be oriented are also being invited to express their solidarity with the campaign.

Busses and carpools will be arranged to transport people from Oberlin to Cleveland for the rally (only a 45 minute ride), and **back** to Oberlin the same night. Those comrades who are planning to attend only the convention, which ends August 12, should arrange to leave for home directly from Cleveland after the rally.

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In order to maximize the publicity surrounding the campaign kick-off, it would be helpful if comrades in every area would send in to the campaign office the names and addresses of all those local reporters who have been especially friendly or helpful to us, or who have indicated a particular interest in covering our activities. We will see that these reporters receive press releases and other material from the national campaign office.

Comradely,

Larry Seigle

Larry Seigle
National Campaign Director

14 Charles Lane
New York, N. Y. 10014

July 20, 1971

TO ALL MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

Recently, a number of comrades have received letters from the Army declaring them "unsuitable" for military service because of their membership in the YSA and/or SWP. These recent letters have alleged that the YSA and the SWP are engaged in activities furthering "unlawful goals."

This false charge is a new addition to these standardized form letters. Previously, membership in the SWP or YSA was used as a basis for rejection by the Army solely on the grounds that the SWP has been designated as a "subversive organization" by the Attorney General.

Because of the unconstitutional, arbitrary, and totally false nature of this charge of "unlawful goals" the SWP and YSA are planning to take legal action against the government on this matter. Details on this action will appear in The Militant.

In the meantime individual comrades who receive such letters should send copies to the SWP National Office. Some comrades may want to respond to the charges by submitting a written statement to the Army. However it is not necessary to do so.

Comradely,



Joel Britton
National Office

14 Charles Lane
New York, N. Y. 10014

TO ALL BRANCH ORGANIZERS AND ANTIWAR DIRECTORS

The antiwar movement has now completed a series of discussions and conferences resulting in a common calendar of actions for the fall. This agreement is expressed in a joint statement issued by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (see attached). The agreement calls for a series of actions which will culminate in massive regional actions on November 6th.

An agreement of this character at this early stage of building the actions is a significant achievement. It creates the basis for a rapid expansion of the organized support to the antiwar movement, and especially of those forces committed to mass, peaceful demonstrations around the "Out Now" demand. In the context of the deepened anger at the war in the wake of the Pentagon Papers, the possibility clearly exists to organize truly historic actions on November 6.

Now is the time to begin the actual preparations for the November 6 actions. In making these preparations it is important to understand the outlook of the organized tendencies in the antiwar movement to the coming actions.

Lessons were learned from the April 24th experience which have helped to determine the attitudes of the various tendencies toward the fall offensive. Central among these lessons is the disastrous consequences for the Peoples Coalition when it opted for a direct organization-to-organization competition with NPAC over such questions as the date for the action, "set the date" vs. "out now" and legal, peaceful actions versus confrontation civil disobedience. This course was corrected partially in mid-stream when the PCPJ chose to endorse April 24.

As a result, the forces in PCPJ, with the exception of May Day, seem to have resolved that it is in their better interests to find a common calendar with NPAC, in the context of which they can maneuver to accomplish their specific aims. Central to this orientation, of course, is a decision to give at least paper endorsement to an April 24th-type action in the fall.

The Communist Party is the prime mover of this approach within the PCPJ. The CP's central aim is to carry off an action in the fall which will represent their political perspective ("set the date") they want to be able to exert enough organizational influence in order to channel such actions in the direction of their reformist perspective in preparation for the 1962 elections. Specifically, they hope to see on October 13 a repeat of the Oct. 15, 1969 moratorium in which they have predominant influence.

To date, the CP has been cool towards November 6, apparently viewing it as counterposed to their scenario for Oct. 13 and a threat to it. In a recent article in the Daily World, reporting on a recent CP national committee plenum, Oct. 13 is projected as the central action, and Nov. 6 isn't even mentioned.

The May Day forces within PCPJ oppose both Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 as projected, and view them as just another "sellout" by their leadership to the SWP. May Day is committed to "returning to Washington" in the fall for another series of confrontations. They see the Nov. 6 action with its regional character as a counterpole to a national demonstration in Washington. Also, of course, they object to the political character of the actions as excluding civil

disobedience.

Dave Dellinger and some of the radical pacifists are attempting to carve out a niche for themselves between these two currents. Dellinger wants both the authority of NPAC and the cover of the CP for a national mass action in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 6, from which people can be induced into staying for a week of "mobile and non-mobile" civil disobedience. Dellinger, unlike the May Day forces, understands the need for a bloc with NPAC on the one hand, and the PCPJ on the other, if large numbers of people are going to be brought out for any antiwar action.

These contrary lines cannot be resolved within the PCPJ easily. The continual maneuvering by the forces involved will play a disruptive role within PCPJ and will hamper the CP's efforts to accomplish its aims. At the recent PCPJ convention, the CP's method of handling the differences was simply to ram through their proposal with a mechanical majority and tight control of the convention apparatus.

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It is important to keep in mind that the agreement on a common set of actions in no way constitutes a strategic shift by the CP. They have not given up their multi-issue line, their commitment to "set the date" or any other position. They are engaging in a tactical maneuver in order to better pursue their political goals.

However, this tactical turn on their part presents significant opportunities for NPAC, the SMC and for the Trotskyist movement. The CP has put itself in the position where if NPAC and the SMC handle themselves correctly, it can do nothing but support the November 6 action. How far they are forced to go in their support, depends in large measure on our ability to turn the action into a broadly endorsed, well-publicized, mass action. The key to the most massive antiwar activity in the fall on all dates, but especially on November 6, lies in the immediate steps in local areas to build and organize for November 6.

Our central task is to begin to draw together the broadest possible endorsement of and participation in the planning and organizing for November 6. The logic of the PCPJ's endorsement of Nov. 6, and the agreement on other action dates, points in the direction of a unified organizing committee, including common offices, leading bodies, and even common staff. This is the most efficient way to organize those actions agreed to by both groups.

Within the framework of such joint committees, however, we are in favor of maintaining and strengthening NPAC local affiliates and the SMC as the mass action, out now wing of the coalition. The PCPJ forces also will want to maintain their own organizational identity, for their own purposes.

It is to our advantage to see the political debate between the various elements of the antiwar movement take place within the context of joint planning for the fall actions. We can anticipate and should prepare ourselves for an intensified debate over the central issues facing the antiwar movement. It is not clear yet how far the CP and the PCPJ will go in the direction of common organizing apparatuses for the fall offensive. It is clear, however that it is to our advantage, and to the advantage of the antiwar movement as a whole, if the initiative towards setting up such formations comes from NPAC and the SMCs in local and regional centers. These initiatives should be in the form of well thought-out proposals that provide for working unity around common dates, and also allow for

the continuation of the distinct coalitions.

In areas where the PCPJ exists, we favor the local PACs and SMCs trying to involve PCPJ directly in united planning bodies. Where PCPJ does not exist, we favor going to those organizations and milieus which generally support PCPJ with the same aim in mind. Central to the success of these formations will be the involvement of forces that can now be mobilized in action such as certain trade unions, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian groups, women's organizations, GI and veterans groups, gay groups, student committees, etc.

Optimally, we would like to see the Oct. 13, Oct. 25 and Nov. 6 actions all planned by joint organizing committees. Oct. 13 and Oct. 25 can be important and useful actions in themselves, if they are planned correctly as actions designed to set broader forces in motion in preparation for Nov. 6.

The SMC will play a vital role in this fall offensive. The degree to which our objectives are realized will depend in great measure on the SMC's success in mobilizing students in action as the left wing of the movement. The Oct. 13 action is a convenient date for an initial focus for the SMC's big push on the high schools and campuses in preparation for Nov. 6 and the Nov. 3 student strike.

The recent NPAC convention's success is the launching pad for this fall offensive. The NPAC convention was the largest, broadest coalition convention in the history of the antiwar movement. NPAC's authority must now be used to further the broadening of the antiwar movement. Several key tasks are now before NPAC:

1. Plans and concrete steps toward the formation of unified fall offensive organizing committees should be made.

2. Immediate steps should be taken to gain endorsement and publicity for Nov. 6 and the other fall action dates.

3. Initial plans for the Nov. 6 actions should be made, including obtaining the necessary permits.

Comradely,



John Benson
National Antiwar Director

UNITY STATEMENT

The representatives of the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace & Justice have met in a series of meetings together with Abe Feinglass of the Meat Cutters Union, Moe Foner of Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Union and David Livingston, District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers. Representatives from the National Peace Action Coalition were Jerry Gordon and Syd Stapleton. Representatives of the Peoples Coalition for Peace & Justice were Sid Peck, Pauline Rosen, Robert Greenblatt, William Douthard, Ron Young.

The purpose of this agreement is to achieve a working unity of all organizations opposed to the war, to build a series of massive antiwar actions in the streets this summer and fall.

All parties were motivated by their awareness that the overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed to the war in Indo-China and see its connection with the increasing crises in this country. All parties agreed that there is a pressing and immediate need for unity of the peace forces so that the massive power of the people's opposition to the war can be effectively exercised. To that end, the parties have agreed upon a common orderly non-confrontation actions which will be presented to the convention of each of the coalitions for their approval. It is recognized that each of the coalitions will be conducting other activities in opposition to the war or other activities related to other issues of national concern. In general the parties agree to be guided by recognition that each of them is free to conduct various activities independently, and that the views of both coalitions will be reflected in the demands of the actions.

The specific actions contemplated are:

1) The period of August 6th to 9th generally known as Hiroshima-Nagasaki Commemoration. In this period there will be meetings, demonstrations and actions of various kinds. The parties took note of the fact that an International Convention of Students is to take place during this period. It is hoped they will join in common action. Also it is expected that the leader of the South Vietnam Student Union, Huyn Tan Mam is to be brought to trial for treason for advocacy of peace at approximately that time and the parties agreed that the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Commemoration will also be directed to a demand for his release.

Also it is reported that further underground nuclear testing will take place at that time and the parties agreed that a demand of a halt of the underground testing will be part of their activities.

2) October 13th -- the Parties agreed to jointly organize a National Moratorium, the aim of which is to cease business as usual on that day in order to bring about an end to the war. The moratorium actions will take place in as many cities, campuses and communities as possible throughout the land and will take such form as local peace action committees agree upon.

3) Saturday, November 6th. A series of regional massive antiwar demonstrations in the streets in a selected number of metropolitan cities.

The parties have agreed to avoid divisiveness amongst themselves by refraining from any kind of baiting of one against the other. They have agreed that when problems of any kind arise, which require a public statement of position, that they will consult in an effort to achieve a common statement on issues arising in connection with the war.

The parties look upon this common program of action as the beginning of a unification of the peace forces to bring about an end to the war. Various differences, divergences and variations have existed between the two coalitions. However, both are committed to the principle that unity of all the peace forces is needed now. There is a common awareness that division among the peace forces will play into the hands of the reactionary war makers. Above all there is the common belief that we now have the support of the overwhelming majority of the people and the war can be ended by them.

NPAC conference outlines unified peace offensive

By GENE TOURNOUR

NEW YORK, July 5 — This weekend's national conference of the National Peace Action Coalition overwhelmingly endorsed the recommendations of NPAC's coordinators for a summer-fall peace offensive recently worked out in cooperation with representatives of the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice.

The actions endorsed by the conference focused on a series of local antiwar demonstrations on August 6-9, the period from Hiroshima Day to Nagasaki Day, a national moratorium on October 13; demonstrations by various sections of the peace movement during the weeks of October 25 to November 5 culminating in a nationwide wave of protest on November 6 by the entire U.S. peace movement.

Cities which have been confirmed as regional centers for the nation-wide day of anti-war protest on November 6 are Tampa, Fla.; Denver, Colo.; Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit; Los Angeles; Philadelphia; Minneapolis; Seattle; San Francisco; Boston; Chicago; Atlanta; Austin or Houston, Texas; and New York.

The conference brought together 2,400 delegates from 157 cities who hammered out this schedule of antiwar actions to "maximize the involvement of every section of American society."

Participants agreed that the summer-fall antiwar program would "place special emphasis on relating the war to inflation, poverty, racism, unemployment, suppression of GI rights, repression, high taxes, the urban crisis, and all the other burdens now weighing so heavily on the American people — problems that are intensified and made more acute by the war."

Agreement was also reached on the motion: "to help guarantee that the summer-fall actions planned by the U.S. antiwar movement are the most effective ever mounted, NPAC and its affiliated local coalitions will do everything possible to unify the U.S. antiwar movement."

The spirit of conciliation with the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice that marked the NPAC convention was enhanced

by a series of meetings between leaders of the two groups and peace activists from the labor movement over the past weeks. The outcome of those talks was an agreement to achieve a work-

ing unity of all organizations opposed to the war, and to launch a series of massive actions in the streets this summer and fall that can bring the Vietnam war to an end.

DAILY WORLD, JULY 3, 1971

BRING IT HOME
END WAR NOW