NEWSLETTER NO. 7

August 3, 1976

Contents: I. Local Reports
II. Correspondence

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I. Local Reports

Baltimore: (June - more or less)

from Baltimore, and others drove. class struggle here (i.e., U.S. and Balto). from Baltimore, and others drove. That's substantially more than we expected initially, and is a good turnout for this city. The major weakness was that few "new" people went, to bring together more people who are asking similar questions about the development of the i.e., few Blacks and white workers. A positive outcome of the whole thing was that it helped of the French film, Blow for Blow, attended by over 100 people. About 180 went on the buses participated. The overall operation was a success. Part of the building included a showing Most of the organizational work was done by the "left wing" of the local NAM. YAWF also July 4 - We were one of the major builders of the July 4 demo in Philadelphia.

the bus to sell the Militant for 20 minutes and then left. In Phila their only presence was literature sales. Peter Camejo walked along the sidewalk so that everyone could see him. Baltimore the SWP did not participate at all in the coalition. Another notable aspect of the demo was the almost total absence of the CP and SWP. Three of them showed up at

member. A demo has been planned for July 12. It may be fairly successful since we have a pretty interesting program and because the Esmeralda evokes a great deal of disgust. ition has been based primarily on several independents and us and has been collaborating Baltimore July 12-17. We have been active in a coalition to protest its arrival. The coalwith the D. C. NICH. The Esmeralda - As part of O peration Sail, this Chilean torture ship will be in Thus far, we have had two public forums, one addressed by an RMOC

tive of most of those involved. on an anti-imperialist and working class orientation has been in agreement with the perspec-In both groups, the majority of those participating have been leftists, and so our insistence of the coalitions. That is, there has been little that has distinguished us politically as RMOC. hard to relate them to some larger RMOC project. problem of self-definition in that although these actions are both good and necessary, it is visit of the Esmeralda to "our" Bicentennial was fairly easily resolved. Thus there is a A point about both the above coalitions. Our participation has largely been as members For example, a brief initial dispute about the relation of the

this point; we realize that we're not even sufficiently familiar with the bibliography. 3) Study groups - We are currently involved in two study groups. One is working with some contacts on basic Marxism. The other is trying to deal with the framework of the development of the class struggle in the U.S. in the current period. It's very slow going at

of the choirs that participated, and devoted followers of Mitchell's (apparently not too many). Mitchell dropped plans for a follow-up action. poorly organized (little advance propaganda other than press releases), and only some 250 support of the AFL-CIO tops. The rally was probably the flop of the year. Mitchell (who was going to be a participant) decided he would call his own rally. He got the 4) Jobs Rally - For some time the Balto Coalition to Stop Unemployment and Inflation (not CP) in which we are active had been planning a jobs rally. Then suddenly Parren The crowd was made up primarily of the left, the families and friends It was very

have (even if well planned) separate from some already defined, ongoing struggle of at least This rally posed the question of what kind of impact this kind of independent action can

Houston:

unprovoked killing of Milton Clover by 2 police officers. and Gary Tyler of Louisiana, and a Committee to Protest Police Brutality concerning the paign centers around the defense of political prisoners like Lee Otis Johnson, of Houston, no students on campus during the summer. Regular lit. tables will be in effect beginning with the Fall semester. Most political activity in Houston outside the SWP election cam-Literature and Inprecor sales are under severe handicap due to the fact that there

lective request arising out of our Baltimore conference. I asked why we were not invited to the forthcoming convention, but the Spark group was. He replied, "These people are moving toward us and you are moving away from us." I told him that they are moving to the forthcoming convention, but the Spark group was. "Do you want to waste your time in a small propaganda group?" rejoin the SWP with the remark that they would be glad to have me and with the question, they're treating us with equality. Last week I was asked by an SWP branch organizer to Concerning the Internatil. bulletins, we received the same reply as L.A. At least I advised him of our col-

to each local. The locals should remit 45¢ per copy to the Nat'l. Admin. Committee. Vol.1 #3 will go to press the last week in July. Copy for Vol. 1 #4 is wanting. Chicago, lowa City and L.A. should get the lead out and finish their assignments. away from the F.I. By "they", I mean the SWP.

RMOC Disc. bulletin Vol. 1 # 2 is off the press and an adequate amount was mailed

comrades may be called upon to help with the mailing in their areas. W. W. party by a former member and our contact will be ready beginning of Aug. W. W. conference will take place over Labor Day. The open letter to members of

Los Angeles:

to expand into an area wide coalition. Response is favorable and some area wide activities but not strongly enough to get moving. There is a weak coalition centered in the Black itiate a coalition on Southern Africa has, thus far, not succeeded. Everybody is for it, are being planned. community of Pasadena. As elsewhere, activity is at a low point as usual in the summer. We decided to hook up with this grouping and try to persuade it Our attempts to in-

with a study of the Braverman book. expanded as we proceed. We actually started with II-C, The Working Class, beginning Our most successful work is around our new study group on the American class strug-A very preliminary and tentative outline and bibliography is attached. This will be

be attempted in other localities. best meets the requirements of our present situation. and actively participating in the discussion. Interest and participation is excellent. Eight non-members attending, making reports We are convinced that this type of activity We recommend that similar groups

Boston. Boston: (report is from Chicago comrade who has spent approximately one month in The following info. is taken from a letter he wrote to L. A.)

- because it isn't right or decent. We want a clash of ideas." (from his 'public' speech) to SWPers. Almost totally 'apolitical' with primary focus on FBI and civil liberties. Fred Halstead quoted as saying, "We don't want policing of ideas during or after the revolution, I) SWP campaign rally - Held in mid July with attendance limited almost exclusively
- because, in the words of local organizer after consultation with New York, "you are a member of RMOC." Re: upcoming SWP convention - RMCC comrade excluded from pre-conv. discussion

dize its unprincipled majority position. Hansen concludes, "The IMT's factional guidelines clearly constitute an obstacle to building the F.I. They should be rejected out of hand." on super centralization of the F.I. and will exclude fusions (Lambertists) that may jepororganizational campaign in the F.I. Hansen alludes to the "camp of the IMT" that is bent on the recent IEC meeting. RMOC comrade did obtain a couple of SWP documents, and reports that the most interesting contains an article by cde. Hansen in response to a report, by cde. Barzman, The SWP, it now appears, is going to continue and harden its

II. Correspondence

- Þ Regarding Internatil. Internal Discussion Bulletins:
- ۳ Communication to SWP Nat'l. Office, dated June 14, 1976.
- " Dear Comrades,

body in Feb., 1976. make available to us all copies of the International Internal Discussion Bulletins published Fourth International, as established by the Feb., 1975, I.E.C., and reaffirmed by that since our expulsion. branches of the S. W. P. in July of 1974, (names listed below), requesting that the party I am writing on behalf of ten comrades who were unjustly expelled from Los Angeles This request is fully consistent with our status as militants of the

or instruct the local organizers to give us ten copies each of the discussion bulletins. fore have every right to these documents and, hereby, request that you supply us directly, Since our relationship to the International was not altered by the expulsion, we there-

We trust this request will be met promptly.

Comradely, s/Judi Shayne, for the following comrades: Mickie Haslam, Ed Medard, Moore, Debbie Shayne, John Van Leeuwen, Gene Warren, Ron Warren, Sue Warren, Woolacott." (cc to USEC noted on bottom of letter) Ed Medard, Ned

- Cover letter, dated June 17, to USEC, attached to above communication.
- Dear Comrades,

while no longer members of the party, retain the status, nonetheless, as militants of the The enclosed letter to the S. W. P. was sent on behalf of ten former I. T. comrades who,

ship between them and RMOC. for wanting them, 3) what are the names of these ten people, and 4) what is the relationthe following information: 1) more, we were instructed by the organizer to write the national office and submit to them organizer, we were finally informed that the bulletins were not available to us. Furtherof I.I.D.B.s, to which we are fully entitled. The letter follows a number of unsuccessful attempts, on our part, to receive copies what documents were we asking for, 2) explain our reasons After a series of requests to the L.A. city

that we could read them. listed the names of each and every comrade, and had explained, quite clearly, exactly state our 'reasons' for wanting them, as it seemed obvious that we wanted the bulletins so what bulletins we were requesting. I will admit, however, that it never occured to us to wered in the course of our numerous conversations with the local organizer, i.e., we had It seems unnecessary to point out that some of these questions had already been ans-

knows very well that it is not the RMOC, as such, that is requesting the bulletins, but ten comrades whom the party unjustly expelled, and who have every right to the IIDBs, regardless of their relationship to RMOC. to "opponents." anizer explained that the national office sought clarification on this point, since they view RMOC as an "opponent" organization, and the SWP does not give out internal documents As for the relationship between the former I. T. comrades and RMOC, the city org-In our opinion, this kind of reasoning is pure nonsense, since the S. W.P.

Comradely, s/J. Shayne for Mickie Haslam, et al." ner. In the meantime, we are sending you the enclosed letter for your information, We sincerely hope that this matter will be resolved promptly, and in a comradely man-

3) Reply from SWP, dated June 22, 1976.

"Dear Comrade Shayne,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 14, 1976. Comradely, s/Natalie Bambaro, SWP Nat¹1. Office"

4) Letter to USEC, dated June 22.

from L. A, branches of the SWP in July of 1974. I am writing, once again, on behalf of the ten Los Angeles comrades who were ousted

SWP's reply to our request, dated June 22, reads as follows: that the party supply us with all IIDBs published since our expulsion, (copy enclosed) The On June 17, we sent you a copy of our communication to the SWP in which we requested

"Dear Comrade Shayne....." (see letter #3 above)

status of the expelled comrades, which is in direct violation of international decisions. In light of this 'reply', it now appears obvious that the SWP is refusing to recognize the

right to decide which militants will or will not receive these bulletins. discussion bulletins and making them available to militants of the Fourth. Furthermore, the SWP is only supposed to carry out the task of publishing the Intern'l The SWP has no

to militants of the Fourth, regardless of whether or not these comrades are members of our status as militants of the F.I., plus its abuse of its responsibility to distribute IIDBs We therefore, strongly protest the party's refusal to abide by the IEC decision defining

to make these bulletins available to us. IIDBs, and in the event the party refuses to fulfill this responsibility, we expect the USEC In this regard, we call on the USEC to instruct the SWP to supply us directly with the

Fraternally, s/J. Shayne, for the following comrades, M. Haslam, et al."

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Communication and material regarding New York press conference:

Press Release, dated April 6, 1976.

defense of the Socialist Workers party and the United Secretariat of the Fourth Internatil., although none of the groups or individuals she represents are members of either of these s/ Jack Barnes, for the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party, and Ernest Mandel, for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International." sponsibility for her declarations. organizations. " At a press conference held April 6 in New York, Hedda Garza purported to speak in Consequently neither the S. W.P. nor the USEC of the F.I. take any re-Both dissociate themselves from them.

individual members of that party and other left groups and dissenting groups. (expelled from the S. W.P., July 1974) responded today to the charges raised by Romersupporters of the Fourth International, former members of the Internationalist Tendency in a long series of burglaries of SWP headquarters, as well as a constant harrassment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been forced to disclose the fact that it has engaged 'Trotskyite Terrorist International.' Publication of this volume takes place at a time when stein before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in a 462-page document entitled, ' The Senate Committee on the Judiciary has released the testimony of Herbert Romer-) Press Release, dated April 6, 1976.
SUPPORTERS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL DENY 'TERRORIST' CHARGES

stein against them and the Fourth International. (F.I.)

been brought to light by the SWP's court suit against that institution. Romerstein, in fact, is a consultant to the Friends of the FBI, and also, in his own words, 'a consultant to State The F.I. supporters, presumed guilty even by the title of Romerstein's report, countered that the purpose of the document is to justify the criminal acts of the FBI which have and Federal agencies on problems relating to subversive activities and violence oriented been brought to light by the SWP's court suit against that institution.

is his comment on the terrorism of U.S. napalming of Vietnamese villages, the terrorism of CIA-aided and approved torture of political prisoners in Latin America?' Quoting James letarian revolution as a weapon forced upon it by the violence of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie; never did he renounce a preference for the peaceful way. selves, 'They asked, 'In Romerstein's concern with subversion, has he forgotten the subattempts to label those who oppose the violence of the FBI, CIA, etc. as terrorists themmony is published in an effort to revive the anti-Communist fears of the McCarthy era. version of the Allende government in Chile by the CIA? In his alarm over terrorism, what P, Cannon, the founder of the SWP, they explained, 'Trotsky defends the violence of the pro-The former Internationalist Tendency spokespeople contend that this slanderous testi-

velations of CIA assassination plots, this is now public knowledge. But anyone responding to this violence is hysterically labelled terrorist. have long considered violence justifiable, as long as they are the perpetrators. The F.I. supporters stated that the 'surveillance' organizations and their defenders

author of this act, Gerry Voorhis, has himself called the provisions of this act absurd. The fact is that the U.S. government, in its ongoing criminal involvements around the world, breaking the Voorhis Act, which forbids membership in an international organization. is violating this very act! Another charge made by Romerstein is that the U.S. supporters of the F.I. are in fact

was utilized to prevent the acts of violence that were being carried out by various leftist and new-left groups... Nowhere in the testimony is there a shred of evidence of such ganizations! any American history book shows that all minor parties have stated this as their main pur-'violence.' Much ado is made, for example, of the fact that SWP candidates ran to spread the ideas of the party rather than in hopes of winning elected office. A cursory reading of governments. And yet Romerstein's report claims that the counterintelligence program vent acts of vandalism by breaking-and-entry vandalizing techniques against dissidnet orpose, surely not a very 'violent' goal! We must assume, then, that the FBI planned to prehave been among the most outspoken critics of the violence and terrorism of repressive ganization of such movements as the antiwar movement, women's movements, etc., and The facts are that F.I. supporters and members have been in the forefront of the or-

ical anti-Communist collection of half-truths and fabrications that no one on the Senate of France!" (the above Press Release was distributed by cdes. H. Garza and Ernest of the French section of the F.I., is in reality a photograph of Giscard d'Estaing, Pres. two former IT comrades in New York, at a press conference called by them and other F.I. committees even noticed that a photograph captioned Charles Michaloux, one of the leaders In conclusion, the F.I. supporters commented that the report itself was such a hyster-

"Dear Comrades, 3) Letter to SWP Political Committee, dated June 28, 1976.

May 8-9, we are communicating to you our strong protest against the public attack made against us in the press release issued by you on April 6, over the names of cdes. Barnes At the instructions of our National Coordinating Committee, which met in Chicago on

and Mandel.

The reasons for this protest are elaborated in our letter to USec (copy attached). s/ JS for the National Administrative Committee, RMOC

4) Letter to USec, dated June 28, 1976

Dear Comrades,

of this motion with your cover letter, dated April 30, 1976. conference held by our comraded in New York on April 6, 1976. We received the text Our National Coordinating Committee, meeting in Chicago on May 8-9, considered the motion pas sed by the USec at its meeting of April 24-25, 1976, concerning the press

ence with full; approval of the national center of; our organization. since these two comrades are militants of RMOC, and proceeded with the press confer-Ernest L., our National Coordinating Committee voted to respond in the name of RMOC, Although the censure implied in the motion was directed at comrades Hedda G, and

actuality was release by the SWP. Mandel could not possibly have been aware of the contents of the statement that in of the Fourth International (attached). However, we were all convinced that comrade mittee of the Socialist Workers Party, and Ernest Mandel, for the United Secretariat to the press on April 6, 1976, over the names of Jack Barnes, for the Political Comto the motion referred to above, as well as to the scandalous public statement released vote of our national Coordinating Committee (NCC) to convey to you the following response The National Administrative Committee (NAC) of RMOC was instructed by a unanimous

group) is totally unwarranted and unjust. The implied censure and the public repudiation of our comrades (and, thereby of our

was taken without full knowledge of the facts. We acknowledge no error at all, let alone a "grave one". We suspect that this action

supporters of the Fourth International, former members of the Internationalist Tendency in connection with the press conference is conclusive proof of the fallacy of this assumprepresent the SWP and the F.I. The text of the press release issued by our comrades false premises. It rests on the assumption that cdes. H.G. and E.L. "purported" to If we examine the Barnes-Mandel press release, we will find that it's base on entirely These comrades represented themselves solely as spokepersons for a "group of

suspected that our comrades were going to claim to be, or to represent, members of (expelled from the SWP, July, 1974)".

The statement that "none of the individuals or groups are members of either of in 1974"), or of the F.I., since U.S. law prohibits such affiliation; the SWP (in fact, they explicitly stated they were not members, having been "expelled these organizations" is purely gratuitous since cde. Barnes could not possibly have

former members of the I. T. against charges of advocating terrorism, and to defend the political line of the F.I. We cannot possibly surrender our rights to persue either of informed in advance of the real purpose of the press conference, which was to defend What makes this public repudiation especially reprehensible is that cde. Barnes was

fending ourselves against slanderous (and potentially criminal) charges, or for defending test your assertion that "final decision in these matters" rests with the SWP. the line of the F. I. on the question of revolutionary violence. We also vigorously pro-It is absolutely intolerable that we should be condemned by our co-thinkers for de-

YSA, convention of 1974. The Militant quoted the judge as follows, without comment: the statement by the judge at the hearing held in connection with FBI surveillance of the is not the first such attacks that have been made against us. With regardto our own defense, it should be noted that the Rommerstein We call your attention to

faction in the U.S. shadowed a more basic break, with more widespread geographical implications, as far as ousted from the SWP party in America as of July 1974. which was in favor of the resolution about guerrilla warfare in Latin America, has been the basic question of nonviolence versus violence was concerned. However, the minority ion backing the use of guerrilla force in Latin America and said that in his opinion it fore-" The representative of the majority of the United States party was opposed to the resolutparty, according to the representations made to me, which I credit,

implication of violence in the United States. "There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible

basically eliminated." "In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been

right to defend ourselves? In light of the above, can we grant the SWP "the right of final decision" on our

illuminating remarks: ame statement by the judge, which the SWP quoted approvingly, includes the following As to the political defense of the views of the F. I. on the question of violence,

regarding their current nonviolent beliefs and their current disavoval of violence. "The SWP and the YSA have come forward with materials which I find convincing

orderly manner by majority decision after free and open debate, in which all points of view terrorism, and stating that political differences within our society must be settled in an of the SWP issued a press release condemning the assassination, condemning political are heard." "At the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, the national secretary

single word of this assessment. The judge was entirely correct. The SWP did not find it necessary to dispute

with the position of the Fourth International. think so. Can we give the SWP "the right of final decision" on this question also? We believe we have the duty to counter this revision and debasement of Marxism

interview that could possibly have damaged the case of the SWP, and no one claims otherbetween the SWP and the FI, and, in fact, no such problems arose in the press interview. slightest danger of our comrades getting entangled in questions concerning the relations How could this possibly effect the litigation of the SWP vs. the FBI? defending non-members of the SWP against charges made by a U.S. somehow prejudicing the case of the SWP vs. the FBI is absurd, on the face of it. We were There was not a single word in either the statement released by our comrades nor in the Finally, the contention thay by the press conference our New York comrades were Senate subcommittee. There was not the

scind the motion of censure referred to above. In view of the above information and clarification, we strongly urge that you re-

With fraternal NAC greetings,

s/J.S. for the of the RMOC"

<u>ი</u> Re: SWP convention:

రో SWP, dated July 29, from RMOC (center)

"Dear Comrades,

Oberlin, tend as observers. and to request permission to have several representatives of our committee We wish to convey our best wishes for a successful convention next month in į at-

V.

should be unified into a single organization, and consistant with that view, we urged, last our members would be affiliated with it were it not for reactionary legislation that prohibbers of RMOC into the SWP. October, the merger of our two organizations through the collective integration of all memits any such association. As you know, we are active supporters of the Fourth International, and most of It has been our view that all supporters of the F. I. in the U.S.

its eventual implementation, and we believe that our participation, with cbs erver status, was in your upcoming convention, would constitute some small progress toward that end. Although we have not yet received a reply to this proposal, we are still hopeful of

We hope to hear from you soon,

With .comradely greetings,

s/JS, for RMOC

(The following is a bibliography for the L.A. * study group on the American class struggle)

SOCIETY PRELIMINARY OUTLINE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR A STUDY OF AMERICAN CAPITALIST

features and dynamics. American revolution. To examine the class structure of the U.S. with special attention to its unique Optimum goal is to develop some ideas about a strategy for the

Format: based on critical summaries and commentaries presented in either oral or written form A collective study and discussion group with coordinator. Discussion will be

Monthly Review, and the Guardian, as well as organs of political organizations. Some gested books and pamphlets are listed below. Bibliography: To be developed collectively as the study progresses. Readings will include Some sug-

assigned to one or several participants for reports. Some materials will be made available to the entire group. Other readings will be

Relation of U.S. to the World

the consequences of declining American power. and non-capitalist countries. The special-and changing-relation of the U.S. The effect of this special world role on the class struggle and to the imperialist, underdeveloped,

Ernest Mandel - "Where is America Going?"

"Europe and America"

Harry Magdoff - "The American Empire and US Economy" (from "Age of Imperialism")

H Class Structure of the U.S.

Capitalist class - component parts and potential for conflict within class.

Ĥ Petty bourgeois urban, rural and role in class struggle.

industrial sector, and growth of service, clerical and public sector. Working class The scope of the labor aristocracy. implications of unique ethnic heterogeneity, of decline of Skilled vs.

Readings: Harry Braverman Ernest Mandel "Labor & Monopoly Capital"

"Workers Under Neo-capitalism"

"American Labor Today"

Andrew Levison Richard Hamilton "The Working Class Majority" "Class & Politics in the

Martin Glaberman Jean Tepperman - "The Working Class" (Radical America, Vol. 10, #1) "Organizing Office Workers" (Radical America, Vol.

Lumpenproletariat ı to be considered in connection with the fascist potential. 10, #1)

H.

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Oppressed Social Strata

Their relation to the class struggle.

tegration into the class struggle? Blacks nation, national role of Black workers in the revolutionary vanguard. minority, race, caste? toward separation or in-

Readings: Oliver C. Cox Gunnar Myrdal "An American Dilemma" "Caste, Class & Race"

Earl Ofari "Myth of Black Capitalism"

Baran & Sweezy - from "Monopoly Capitalism" ch. 9 - Monopoly

Capital & Race Relations.

Writings of Malcolm X & Franz Fanon ı "Racism & the Class Struggle."

U.S. working class? Puerto Rican minority ı extension of Puerto Rican society or segment of

Chicano minority 1 m eaning and validity of 'Aztlan'

Readings: Gilberto Lopez - "The Chicanos: Life & The Struggles of the Mexican Minority in the U.S."

Ġ Other Oppressed minorities - Asians, Indians -

H 1 Feminism and the Class Struggle. * (see bottom of pg. 10)

Women Gays gay liberation & the class struggle.

Readings: Richmond & Noguera "Gay Liberation Book"

David Fernbach (Socialist Revolution #28) "Toward a Marxist Theory of Gay Liberation"

IV. Quality of Life in Contemporary America A. Alienation -

Alienation -

Readings: Herbert Marcuse "One Dimensional Man"

Ernest Mandel ŧ "The Marxist Theory of Alienation"

lution, deterioration of services-transportation, etc. - deterioration of inner cities into minority ghettos. Crises of the Cities ı welfare, education and medical care cutbacks, pol-

James O'Connor "Financial Crises of the State"

1

Readings:

radicalization? To what extent are these features of modern capitalist society potential sources of Baran & Sweezy Quality of Monopoly Capitalist Society. "Monopoly Capitalism" - ch. 10 On the

Prospects for Fascism or a PoliceState in the U.S.

A Classic fascist currents

ħ Ul tra conservative currents

0 The military officer caste

Þ Racism - as a potential reservoir for fascism

The significance of the Black Panthers and US movements in that connection. ressed minorities. The U.S. lumpenproletariat - its special nature, based largely in the opp-Implications for its role in a social crisis and radical polarization.

Strategy of the American Revolution

VI.

Critical examination of the various strategies advanced within the U.S.

Road to Class Consciousness of the American Proletariat

- Causes of its unique political backwardness
- ğ Role of Unions, left wings
- Ω The social democratic vacuum
- Ö Prospects for a labor party possibility of a hybrid lebor-liberal party
- Ħ The future of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S.

Readings: (women)

- The Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 8, #1 Radical America, Vol. 10, #2
- SWP contribution on women to Tenth World Congress, IIDB #
- C ensus Series, A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S. Pg. 23, No. 58, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, ı Special Studies Bureau of the