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3861 Montevista Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44121
October 5, 1970

Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
New York, New York

Dear Comrade Dobbs,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I wrote to Comrade Barnes, his reply, and my reply. I am enclosing these three items so that you will better understand my reasons for writing to you.

For the 1969 SWP Convention I helped to write a document on the question of sending some young comrades into the industrial working class. Events have since then further convinced me among others, of the necessity of the party's doing this at this time. However, since the party leadership has not, to my knowledge, expressed itself formally on this question, I do not have the advantage of knowing the leadership's position. Perhaps the party leadership agrees with the document. But until the party leadership expresses itself on this question, I am reduced to inferring what it thinks. Certainly it is not in the best interests of the party that in the forthcoming convention documents are based on inferences.

Therefore, I would like to request clarification from you on what the thinking of the national leadership is on the question of sending young comrades into the industrial working class. Specifically, what is your thinking, and/or the thinking of other leading comrades, on the following:

- 1) In order for our party to win the leadership of the industrial proletariat, is it necessary for us to send some comrades into the industrial proletariat?
- 2) If it is necessary, what conditions must exist before we will consider such a policy on a national level?
- 3) If it is not necessary, by what method do we expect to win the leadership of the industrial proletariat?

In concluding, I wish to express the following: I hope that you regard this letter and the questions in it as a request for clarification of the party's attitude and not as any attempt whatsoever to begin "selective discussion." The only way I know what the party leadership thinks is by asking it or by reading its statements. If there is a written party statement on this question, please refer me to it.

Comradely,
s/Barbara Gregorich

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3861 Montevista Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44121
October 5, 1970

Jack Barnes
Organizational Secretary
New York, New York

Dear Comrade Barnes,

Since writing you the letter of 10-4-70, I was reminded of something regarding this correspondence. When I wrote to Comrade Hansen in November of 1969 on McCarthyism, my letter and his answer were sent out to all NCers. Some branches posted these letters on their bulletin boards, which is how I happen to know that they were sent out.

In his answer to me Comrade Hansen said that my definition of McCarthyism was "faulty" and that, in his opinion, McCarthyism was never "the American form of fascism." In my second letter to Comrade Hansen I think I clearly illustrated that the definition of McCarthyism as "the American form of fascism" was not a figment of my imagination and that in 1954 Comrade Hansen himself insisted upon that phrase as the correct definition of McCarthyism. To my knowledge, this second letter of mine was never sent out to NCers. Thus any comrade who read only the first set of letters would be left with the erroneous impression that the SWP never defined McCarthyism as "the American form of fascism."

In no way am I questioning the right of the PC to send out correspondence received by its individual members. Nor am I questioning the right of the PC to send out selective correspondence. However, I relate the above incident to illustrate that if the PC did not send out my second letter to Comrade Hansen, it left recipients of the first two letters with a mistaken impression.

Therefore, I would like to request that if the PC has sent out copies of my first letter to you (8-19-70) and your answer (9-21-70) it also send out copies of my second letter to you (10-4-70). My reason for requesting this is very simple: I do not want any comrades under the mistaken impression that I am engaging in the factional activities described in the quote in your letter.

Comradely,
s/ Barbara Gregorich

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873 Broadway
2nd floor south
New York, N. Y. 10003

October 12, 1970

CLEVELAND

Barbara Gregorich

Dear Barbara,

This will acknowledge receipt of your two letters of October 4 and October 5 to me and your letter of October 5 to Farrell Dobbs.

Comrade Dobbs is on vacation. I will bring your letter to his attention when he returns.

Enclosed is a copy of the cover letter we sent on December 17, 1969 to National Committee members and Organizers with your initial correspondence with Joe Hansen on McCarthyism. After receiving your letter of October 5, I read the second part of your correspondence with Joe Hansen on this question. I concur with your thought that it would be useful to send it to the National Committee members and Organizers.

Comradely,
s/Jack Barnes
Organization Secretary

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873 Broadway
2nd floor south
New York, N. Y. 10003

October 27, 1970

CLEVELAND

Barbara Gregorich

Dear Comrade Gregorich,

Your letter of October 5 arrived while I was away from the National Office; hence the delay in my reply.

In response to your inquiry let me refer you to recent documents setting forth the party's approach to changing trends within the working class, presented in the context of the overall objective situation. These include the political resolution adopted by the 1969 party convention, published in the November-December 1969 ISR; also the political reports to the 1969 party convention and the February 1970 plenum of the National Committee, both published in the July 1970 Internal Information Bulletin.

The point you raise about "sending some young comrades into the industrial working class" is a tactical matter. Whether or not a given comrade will be sent into industry is determined by the party on the basis of the specific circumstances in each individual case.

Comradely,
s/Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary