

INTERNAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

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	<u>Page</u>
1. Memorandum on Trade Union Policy	1
2. Report on Black Struggle, by Clifton DeBerry	6

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1968

Draft Memorandum on Trade Union Policy

1. During an extended period of political adversity since the 1944-46 labor upsurge it has been necessary for trade union comrades to follow a general policy of caution. With the union ranks more or less quiescent, attempts to challenge the ruling bureaucracy would have laid the challengers open to victimization. Efforts to play a leading role within the framework of official union policies would have led to violations of class struggle principles, thereby compromising the comrades and the party. Militants could do little more than hang on in the unions, carry out educational work among receptive listeners and prepare for a future upturn in objective conditions.

2. Today the internal union situation is changing. Inflationary pressures are generating rank and file militancy in defense of living standards. Wage demands are stiffening, as are pressures for effective escalator clauses. Ascending waves of strike action are spreading throughout the union movement. Contract settlements recommended by official union negotiators are frequently rejected by the rank and file. Workers not only do not tend to be squeamish about strike action involving war production, they also show considerable readiness to resist government strike-breaking -- characteristics that reflect the impact, especially on younger workers, of the intensifying black struggle and student upsurge. These broadening membership pressures for effective use of the union power are beginning to alter the relationship of forces between militants in the ranks and the bureaucrats at the top.

3. Faced with the declining ability of union bureaucrats to keep a tight check rein on the workers, the capitalist government is preparing tougher police controls over the labor movement. Measures are being designed for more extensive suppression of the right to strike. Plans are afoot to outlaw industry-wide and coalition bargaining, as well as to block union mergers. New forms of direct government control over internal union affairs are being cooked up. These hostile acts against dissatisfied workers can only antagonize them against the government.

COPPER

4. The sharpening labor-capital conflict puts the union bureaucrats in a bind. They find it increasingly difficult to conciliate the capitalist overlords, as they seek to do, and at the same time maintain support within labor's ranks. Bureaucratic paring down of official union demands throws them increasingly out of harmony with the workers' actual needs. Weak-kneed compromising of these inadequate official demands in contract settlements aggravates the problem. Proposals for "voluntary" arbitration of contract terms, made in an effort to ward off new antilabor laws, flatly contravene growing membership pressures for use of the strike weapon. Similarly, the imposition of no-strike clauses during the life of a contract deepens frustration and anger in the union ranks over company violations of the terms. The felony is compounded when union bureaucrats help the capitalists break "unauthorized" walkouts.

1900 strike  
seller movements  
refused

5. As the crisis of union leadership worsens new internal formations are developing in opposition to the entrenched bureaucrats. Usually these oppositions tend to be relatively unstable, lacking in experience, limited in programmatic outlook and not firmly led. Yet it is significant that they are beginning to appear and that the trend is spreading throughout the unions generally. Also meaningful is the fact that younger workers, who comprise a large and growing proportion of the trade union ranks, play a big part in the opposition movements. They lend dynamism to these formations, whereas the bureaucrats must rely primarily on support from older and more conservative workers. Added impulses toward militant action derive from increasing unionization of various categories of public workers who find themselves in an especially difficult economic position. Their fight against the capitalist government, which to them is the direct employer, will help both to intensify the struggle against strikebreaking laws and to teach all workers political lessons about the antilabor role of the whole governing apparatus.

YOUNGER WORKERS

PUBLIC WORKERS

6. Bureaucratic efforts to stem the rise of organized oppositions in the unions have focused on moves toward palace overturns in top circles. Examples range from Abel's defeat of McDonald in a contest for the steel union presidency to Reuther's present challenge of Meany for central leadership of the labor movement. Starting from pretended response to rank and file criticisms, diverse ruses are used to arouse hope that necessary changes in union policy can be entrusted to self-reform measures within the bureaucracy. At the outset many workers will be susceptible to this maneuver. It will take time and experience for them to see through the trickery and come to the realization that all union bureaucrats are misleaders who can't be trusted.

ABEL

REUTHER

7. Although experiencing a decline in leadership authority, the bureaucrats remain well entrenched in the unions. In general they can still withstand head-on attacks from internal oppositions and even take reprisals against impetuous militants who get too far out on a limb. These circumstances lend importance to the use of flanking tactics by oppositions at the present stage of developments.

8. The central objective of the opposition program should be clearly defined as defense of working class interests in the face of employer and government attacks. Key demands should be aimed straight at the class enemy, being careful to avoid any implication that the primary objective is to oust incumbent union officials. To the extent that rank and file support can then be mobilized around fighting union policies, the bureaucrats will be put on the spot. They must either respond to the will of the membership or stand exposed as unreliable. Instead of the bureaucrats being in a position to victimize militants, it will become increasingly clear to the union ranks that a change in leadership is needed.

9. Tactical advantage can be derived from rifts in the bureaucratic structure. Disputes among top officials open the way to

press for critical examination of union policy in the ranks. Using this opening militants can go beyond discussion of narrow disagreements within the officialdom and introduce a class struggle approach to the solution of labor's problems. In the process lower-echelon bureaucrats, who are most directly subject to rank and file pressures, can be pushed a certain distance toward opposition to policies laid down from on high. This weakening of the bureaucratic monolith will help, to a degree, in advancing the fight for rank and file control over union affairs.

10. A certain opening is provided by the Labor Leadership Assembly For Peace. Although run by bureaucrats who keep within the framework of the capitalist dispute over tactics in Vietnam, it at least challenges Meany's attempt to impose a monolithic pro-war line on the labor movement. This rift at the top helps open the way for debate on the war issue in the union ranks. Intervention toward that end in the LLAFP development, including circulation of Labor Voice For Peace and related material, requires careful avoidance of pitfalls for militants created by the official policies imposed by the bureaucrats who run it. The work must be done in a way that leaves no implication of support to LLAFP's negotiation line on Vietnam or to bureaucratic use of the formation as an electioneering instrument for capitalist politicians. In view of this official line the LLAFP does not in itself constitute an instrument around which efforts can be centered to build left wing groupings. It has potentialities for stimulating membership participation in the dispute over union policy on the war. An opportunity is thus afforded to advance arguments in favor of immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. As the debate gains momentum steps can then be taken, according to specific union situations, to press for official adoption of a firm antiwar position.

11. Measures can be taken by the antiwar movement to assist development of allied forces in the unions. Approaches to responsive union sectors through literature distributions, offers to provide speakers at union affairs, solicitation of reciprocal labor representation at general antiwar meetings and actions, etc., would give added momentum to antiwar sentiments that are becoming increasingly widespread in the ranks. In the changing union climate right wingers will find it hard to block such efforts by the antiwar movement. It is noteworthy that even among union bureaucrats at the founding session of the LLAFP a speech about harm done the unions through internal witch hunting was received rather sympathetically. Comparable sentiments are bound to become even more pronounced among rank and file unionists.

12. Rising black power trends in the Afro-American movement imply parallel developments of black caucuses in the unions. Essentially the step involves self-organization of black workers, determination of their own program and selection of their own leaders. White militants have the duty to support black workers in exercising these rights and to extend fraternal collaboration to black formations in a manner that will promote black-white unity in the unions and on the job. Specific Afro-American de-

BLACK  
POWER  
UNION

mands for full equality should be incorporated into the general left wing program. Efforts to combat racist attitudes among white workers should be coupled with a fight to guarantee black workers full democratic rights, including meaningful representation in the official union leadership. Promotion of black-white cooperation among militants inside the unions should be accompanied by efforts to develop union support to the struggles of the black communities. Through the resulting impulses that will come from radicalizing black workers the union movement as a whole can be further impelled toward anticapitalist actions.

13. Spontaneous oppositional formations now appearing in the unions represent workers at varying levels of political understanding and class outlook. Even those becoming more advanced in their thinking tend to lag in class political consciousness. Patience and understanding will be required to help them progress step by step toward the necessary class perspectives. Our broad union program can't be forced upon them in one stroke. Its acceptance can be developed only through a series of struggles over particular issues and through lessons learned in these experiences. A transitional phase will be required before oppositions heading consciously toward a showdown with class collaborationist misleaders can be firmly knitted around the necessary anticapitalist outlook.

*Program*

14. While introducing specific points of policy in stages as required by the given concrete situation, we should be clear in our minds about the overall immediate program around which we strive to build left wing forces. This includes rank and file control over union affairs; escalator clauses in all contracts, formulated to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices; reduction of the work week with no cut in pay; full compensation for jobless workers, including youth unable to find a place in the labor force; defense of the unconditional right to strike; complete union independence from government control; equal rights for all workers in the unions and on the job; full union support to the Afro-American struggle in every sphere; immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam; a complete break with capitalist politics and formation of an independent labor party based on the unions.

15. Advocacy of an independent labor party should be central to our propaganda work in the unions. Concrete experiences in economic struggles should be used to explain why union action alone, even though vitally important, is not adequate for defense of working class interests. Every hostile action by the government, every broken promise by the capitalist politicians who run it, should be used to expose its antilabor role. Examples should be cited of the many allies who would support a working class challenge of capitalist rule. Along these lines we should argue persistently for a basic turn in union policy toward formation of a labor party and a fight to take power in labor's name.

16. Although objective conditions are improving, our prospects in the trade unions at present remain modest. The key task is still one of propaganda and education aimed toward formation of

left wing forces around a class struggle program. Since the workers are not yet ready for a general showdown with the bureaucrats, it is necessary to steer clear of premature power struggles in the unions. Critical support to an oppositional ticket may be in order here and there as a step toward loosening up bureaucratic control over the ranks. Concerning our comrades participating in power caucuses and running for union posts, the question must always be put: Will it help or will it cut across building left wing forces around a class struggle program? On this point delicate matters of timing may sometimes arise. In such cases appropriate tactics should be worked out in consultation with the party. In addition, wherever comrades are involved in trade union situations, the party should be kept informed of significant developments as an aid to the assessment of general trade union trends.

Approved by Political Committee  
April 25, 1968

## Memorandum on Trade Union Policy

1. During an extended period of political adversity since the 1944-46 labor upsurge it has been necessary for trade union comrades to follow a general policy of caution. With the union ranks more or less quiescent, attempts to challenge the ruling bureaucracy would have laid the challengers open to victimization. Efforts to play a leading role within the framework of official union policies would have led to violations of class struggle principles, thereby compromising the comrades and the party. Militants could do little more than hang on in the unions, carry out educational work among receptive listeners and prepare for a future upturn in objective conditions.

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REPORT ON THE BLACK STRUGGLE

by Clifton DeBerry

In any discussion of the black struggle today, the first thing to be recognized is that we are in the midst of a deep-going radicalization of black people. As a matter of fact, in the three years since Watts, we have probably seen the most rapid mass radicalization of the century in this country.

Just one month ago, 125 different cities were hit by spontaneous rebellions of the black community. To get an idea of how fast things are moving, compare the sweep of this reaction to the assassination of Dr. King with the limited reaction to the death of Malcolm X just three years ago.

The fact that the black rebellion has reached the point where masses of people are ready to take to the streets in open revolt wherever blows are dealt to the Afro-American community means that the capitalist rulers confront a crisis of major magnitude. As George Novack pointed out in a recent issue of World Outlook, it is their gravest social crisis since the Civil War.

While they have no trouble in seeing the justness of the Afro-American's grievances and their flaming fury, many radicals fail to appreciate the depth of the predicament of the ruling class. Here some perspective is helpful. The contemporary period of the historic movement for self-determination has been going on now for thirteen years. Thirteen years from the bus boycott at Montgomery, Alabama to King's assassination in Memphis, Tennessee!

With what result? America's rulers are farther away from any solution of this social crisis than they were at the start of the movement. They have just lost Martin Luther King, one of their ultimate reserves among the black leadership. It was easier for them to grant demands for civil rights legislation than the demands for immediate action on jobs, housing, education, etc. It was easier for them to deal with calls for legal equality than the nationalist demand for black power. It was easier for them to handle isolated outbursts of discontent than simultaneous uprisings in the major cities from coast to coast.

The bankruptcy of the policy of tokenism, of big promises and mini-performance, is bound up with Johnson's refusal to run again for the presidency. Remember how he told Congress in January, 1965 and assured the nation at the height of the exuberance over civil rights that "we shall overcome!" This demagoguery didn't work. Instead, the man in the White House has been overcome! Both by the Vietnamese, whom he could not defeat, and by the black masses, whose demands grew faster than his token concessions could grow!

Today the ruling class turns and twists in an agonizing dilemma between the alternatives of concession or repression. Neither course promises any definitive solution. On both fronts the powers that be resort to half-or-quarter measures which do more to irritate the forces involved than to appease them.

On top of their domestic difficulties, the international factor renders the position of Washington extremely delicate and difficult. The whole world is watching to see how the U.S. government fares with this touchy issue. The colonial countries with colored populations are especially sensitive on this point. How can Washington hope to woo Africa, Asia, and Latin America if it pitilessly represses its own colored citizens? How can it pretend to be the champion of "the free world" if it heads toward the road of apartheid? How explain such a course to the UN located in New York City with a majority of members sympathetic to Afro-America?

These considerations deter the policy-makers in the national capital more than is usually recognized and complicate a situation which is excruciating enough for them on domestic grounds alone.

The Irish rebels used to say: "England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities." So it is today with the difficulties confronting the American imperialists. The greater they are, the greater are the chances for the black liberation forces to press forward and make something of them.

#### NATIONALISM AND BLACK RADICALISM

Hand in hand with the radicalization of black people has gone the deepening of nationalist consciousness. We predicted such a development and now we are beginning to see more concretely how the deepening of the struggle breeds a more pronounced nationalist character.

Black consciousness is being expressed in the mass outbursts in the streets -- in the attacks on white businessmen and in the measures taken against the occupation armies of cops and troops.

It is being expressed in most of the slogans being raised today -- for black power, black history and culture, black unity, black pride, and black control of the black community.

Black nationalism is thus playing a role in the mobilization of the black people comparable to the enhancement of class consciousness in the radicalization of the working class. We are seeing how it helps to unite the black community in a movement for liberation which is independent of the ruling class and more and more sharply opposed to it.

We have pointed out many times that the development of black nationalism and the struggle for self-determination in this country has a revolutionary logic and progressiveness similar to the nationalism of the colonial nations. And we are beginning to see more and more concrete examples of the similarities between the rise of black nationalism here

and the rise of nationalism in the colonial world. For this reason, we need to study more carefully the various revolutionary nationalist movements of other oppressed peoples in order to get a better understanding of the dynamics of the struggle here. Comrades have to become more familiar with the Marxist literature on the nationalist struggles in Algeria, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.

In certain respects the development of black nationalism here acquires a revolutionary edge which is even sharper than that of the nationalisms of some oppressed colonial peoples. That is because in the U.S. the black people are mainly working class and concentrated in the principal cities. This leads the struggle immediately to direct confrontation with the ruling class in which proletarian as well as nationalist demands are raised simultaneously. In addition, the imperialists have more room for maneuver in granting political independence to the colonial nations than they can satisfy the demands for self-determination of the Afro-Americans who are located right within their own belly.

The black rebellions are beginning to show us graphically the special power and dynamism of this combined struggle. These events, regardless of their leaderless character, are an example of what Trotsky talked about thirty years ago -- of the vanguard role of the black people in the American revolution, and of how the theory of the Permanent Revolution applies to the conditions of their fight right within the heartland of imperialism. The Afro-American struggle is especially dangerous to the ruling class because black people are a part of the American working class, and their insurgent actions can help set into motion the entire class -- black and white.

#### SEPARATISM

Along with the deepening nationalist struggle in general, comrades around the country have noticed an increase of interest in black separatism. One example of this trend was Eldridge Cleaver's call for a referendum in the black community on the question of a separate state. Another was the recent conference in Detroit to set up a black nation.

The more intense separatist feeling is the logical outcome of a more vigorous and conscious rejection of this rotten racist society -- of its government, its "law and order," its exploitation of black people, and its racist culture. The new Merit pamphlet on Separatism will help clarify our attitude toward this development.

#### BLACK CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

In the struggle for self-determination, black control of the black community is emerging as the central demand. It is raised in the fight for community control of the schools and for student control of the colleges. It can be seen more and more clearly in protests against police brutality -- where we see the development of cop-watching patrols and the demands for the removal of cops from the black community. We can also see it in the various calls and campaigns for community control of anti-poverty funds.

It is instructive to read the list of demands which were put forward by a united front of various black organizations in Boston after the King assassination. Many of them are demands for black control of the black community, such as ejection of white businessmen from the ghetto. Others are simply nationalist demands such as the renaming of schools after black heroes.

Because they cannot grant the demand for black control of the black community, the capitalist politicians are attempting to get around it through various ploys and small concessions. These include the nomination of black men for important political posts, the appointment of black police captains, the hiring of more black cops, self-policing patrols to "cool things down" during ghetto revolts, and the training of more black school administrators.

In New York City, a school "decentralization plan" was initiated by the city in the hopes of dampening the demand for community control of the schools.

But these attempts by agents of the ruling class to dampen the struggle for self-determination with small or fraudulent concessions will not dispose of their difficulties. On one hand any concessions which are granted are viewed as the product of the militant actions of the black community -- and lay the groundwork for further such actions. On the other hand, repressions of the struggle are seen as further proof of the bankruptcy of the system and in turn lead to increased nationalism and radicalism.

The simple fact that the American rulers are faced with a situation of having to repeatedly send occupation armies of troops and cops into the black community, and to make complicated plans for future warfare in the ghetto, is an indictment of this system.

#### RESPONSE TO KING ASSASSINATION

The insurgent response to the assassination of Dr. King shows that mass counterblows to ruling class attacks on black people have become a permanent feature of the struggle. This is a totally new phenomenon in American politics. The forms of these mass reactions to racist persecutions and social frustrations will change with the development of organization and the refinement of program and leadership.

The most important feature of the recent events is that the masses of black people are no longer going to sit idly by when the black community is attacked -- they are ready and willing to defend themselves.

The ruling class has not been slow to grasp this fact. Their new "riot-control" policy of so-called "restraint" is a result of the recognition that they can no longer get away with wholesale slaughter in the black community.

A New York Times article, which was quoted in The Militant several weeks ago, clearly pointed out this new understanding. The article

quoted a Defense Department official who made the following comment: "It has taken a long time for some of us to understand what the black power demonstrator means with his placard 'I am A Man.' If you want to say that it took a lot of people arming themselves to emphasize that they are human beings and cannot be just shot down even when they are terribly wrong, then you would be somewhere near the mark."

From now on, in formulating its strategy and tactics, the ruling class will always have to keep in mind that the black community is a powder keg, ready to explode in response to blows against black people.

This could be seen in the recent rebellion at Columbia University where students took over college buildings. Because the students were demonstrating for a demand which was supported by the black community and because of the proximity of Columbia to Harlem, the fear of repercussions in the black community was an important factor in causing both the university and the city authorities to hesitate to move in with cops against the demonstrators. When the police were called in, they acted at 2:30 in the morning because, they said, at that time "Harlem is asleep."

We could discern this fear of what the black masses might do in the official treatment of the King assassination. The national day of mourning, the flags at half-mast, the hours of propaganda on television were all calculated to undercut any spontaneous workstoppages or mass demonstrations.

The continuation of the mass outbursts has forced more and more black militants to take a more thought-out stand in regard to them and try to come to grips with their meaning.

In the face of the street revolts last month, there was a tendency on the part of some militants to panic and simply reject the actions of the masses, to condemn them publically, without suggesting alternative actions or giving any perspective for organizing self-defense of the ghetto or raising the struggle to a higher and political level.

Others who rejected the outbursts took an ultra-left position of proposing terrorism (blowing up police stations, etc.) as a substitute. Many looked at the rebellions as being just one more indication that an Armageddon type showdown is close at hand between the masses and the capitalist government. Thus in the wake of the assassination of King we heard a lot of speeches about the possibility of genocide, or the imminent danger of fascism.

But the policies and actions of the capitalist officials and politicians are showing people that Armageddon is not just around the corner, that the struggle between the masses and the capitalist power structure is going to be a drawn out affair.

Of course, this does not mean that the struggle will not be punctuated with violent encounters, or that the government will not do everything in its power to isolate and victimize vanguard leaders and organizations. In our discussions with black militants we must not appear to



be naive on this repressive side of the situation.

What has to be explained to leaders and militants in the black movement is that they should not equate the attacks on themselves as a vanguard with genocidal slaughter of the black people as a whole. The Queens 17 made this mistake when they put out a news release announcing that their case was the beginning of preparations on the part of the government for putting black people in concentration camps.

Both the ultra-left and rightward reactions to the black rebellion indicate the lack of understanding or inability to orient concretely toward the central task of organizing the masses in the black community.

Our main line on the rebellions was formulated in the Militant headline: "What Next? Self-Defense and Political Action Are Keys."

Our propaganda should continue to link these two concepts of organized self-defense and the building of an independent black party. The building of a black party cannot be separated from the need to defend that party, and it cannot be separated from the need for the party to help organize the black community to defend itself.

A black political party which began to gain a following in the black community would represent a tremendous threat to the ruling class, and they will attack it not only with their more subtle methods of propaganda, bribery and infiltration -- but through illegal attacks by white racists and cops. This is part of the lesson of the shooting of Martin Luther King and of Malcolm X, the attacks on Lowndes County, and the Oakland Black Panther leaders.

We should take care not to appear to counterpose our call for a black political party to the present individual anarchial attempts at self-defense made by the so-called snipers in the black community. Even the unorganized arming of black people has had its effects. It is significant that the New York Times admits this. In the article I referred to earlier they quote a government official as saying, "That old stuff about 'looters will be shot on sight' is for the history books and maybe the movies. It's for people who don't know how it is to be in a riot where, if you shoot, they shoot back, and you've got a lot of dead cops and troops along with the dead citizens." We point out what an organized self-defense effort could accomplish if this much progress has already been made by disorganized acts.

We have already seen an interlinking of the demands for self-defense and motion toward political action in the cases of the Lowndes County Freedom Party and now the Black Panther Party in Oakland. In the latter case, the organization started as a self-defense group and gained an understanding of the need for political action later.

The experiences of the struggle are leading more and more people to more serious consideration of the necessity for independent political action. This is evidenced in the interest in our pamphlet on the black party, in the statement by LeRoi Jones saying the black movement in Newark must run candidates (although we don't know whether he means

inside or outside of the Democratic Party), in the statement by Floyd Nichols of the TSU five, in various statements contradictory though they are by SNCC leaders, and by the Black Panther Party candidacies in the California Peace and Freedom Party.

Perhaps the most important though somewhat complicated development of this sort has been that of the Black Panther Party which is running on the California Peace and Freedom ticket. They have chosen the wrong form for their political action through their bloc with this outfit -- this is a negative side of the political action undertaken by the Panthers. But, it is also very significant that they have rejected the Democratic and Republican parties, that they have taken a move toward independence, and are looking for a way to build a political party which uses all forms of struggle including participation in elections.

One thing we need to do is make the idea of a black party more vivid and real by relating it to what is going on -- for example, to what the Black Panthers are doing in Oakland and to the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

We can use our press more to discuss the lessons to be learned from the actual programs of Stokes and Hatcher -- for example, I understand that Stokes has a pet project he is pushing for raising the City's income tax so that the city will be able to hire more policemen. The Cleveland comrades will probably have something to add on this. We can support independent candidates that are run by such organizations as CORE and SNCC. We should be alert to what the various united front coalitions that are growing up around the country do in the coming elections. Maybe some of these coalitions will field candidates.

But we should be sure to keep in mind that the general effect of the situation where no black party exists leaves the field open for whomever the Democratic party decides to nominate. Kennedy is already showing that he is capable of a lot of demogogy in his attempts to win black support and McCarthy is beginning to imitate him.

Groups such as CORE and SCLC which concentrate on specific projects for economic improvement of the community, or on demonstrations aimed at pressuring the government for reforms, will, in the long run if they are not tied to independent political action, either become coopted in one way or another, to some extent or another by Democratic party politicians like Powell or they will simply peter out. That happened with King's Operation Breadbasket in Chicago.

It is important to recognize that at the time of his death, SCLC was involved in some protest actions which were bringing King and his associates into conflict with the administration -- these included his stand on the war and his Poor People's Campaign. In addition, he was supporting the militant public employees' strike in Memphis.

We have yet to see whether and to what extent the new leaders of SCLC will continue these confrontations, and should watch carefully for any motion in a leftward direction on their part.

## ROLE OF YOUTH

The black youth continue to be in the vanguard of the struggle. This is expressed in the youthful composition of the black power conferences being held around the country, in the fact that such organizations as SNCC, CORE, and NBAWADU are made up mainly of young people.

It can also be seen in the phenomenal growth of the Afro-American clubs on campuses around the country. Throughout the spring we have seen countless struggles being waged by black students. These struggles are deepening, becoming better organized and more numerous.

Most significant has been the beginnings of radicalization in the high schools. This is the sure sign of a deepening of the radicalization of the black community as a whole.

The high school and college youth provide the most easily organized base for any black group which comes into existence -- including anti-war groups, an initial black party nucleus or Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle. It is through these youth, especially the high school students, that a link-up can be made with the ghetto.

The main orientation of our work at the present time should be toward the high school and college youth. This is where we will recruit the most -- and the most easily.

## DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP

The development of leadership and program for the struggle is continuing to lag far behind the rapid radicalization of the masses.

It takes time to build a leadership and the assassination of Malcolm X was a big blow to this process.

At the same time, there has been a tremendous growth in consciousness among black militants in general. It was only two years ago that the demand for black power was first raised as a slogan, and now there are literally thousands of black radicals who are not only talking about black power, but about such things as solidarity with the NLF and the need to get rid of the "system."

The rapid ideological development and flux which is going on in the various existing organizations and among black militants will continue as the radicalization of the masses continues to deepen.

The SWP has a central role to play in the discussions which are going on, and in the building of a black leadership.

We are finding out now that there are greater opportunities to extend the influence of our ideas and proposals than ever before. The contradiction between a highly radicalized black community along with a poorly organized and programatically equipped black leadership was made blatantly obvious in the lack of purpose and perspectives in the rebel-

lions which followed the King assassination. Awareness of this deficiency is causing serious militants to be more open to new ideas -- including ours. We noticed some change in this regard at the NBAWADU conference, where many people were interested in what we had to say -- not only in private conversations, but on the floor.

In addition, the link-up between the colonial revolution and the black revolution, which has been made by people such as Stokely Carmichael, continues to play an important part in creating an increased interest in the connections between socialist and nationalist ideas. Our new pamphlet on "Black Nationalism and Socialism" by George Breitman and George Novack should be very helpful in this respect.

The only way we will be able to intervene effectively in the black movement is if we do so with an understanding of the difficulties involved -- if we understand the problems of building a movement rapidly from scratch. We must be conscious of the tremendous pressures put on black leaders by the government -- either in trying to buy them off or in physically attacking them.

In many areas the burden of our propaganda work and contact with Afro-American organizations will of necessity fall on white comrades and it is important that these comrades display an attitude of full identification with the ongoing struggles. We are not sideline critics who simply make comments about existing black leaderships and we should never give this impression. They must see the building of a leadership as part of their responsibility as cadres of this revolutionary party.

One thing we can do to make our positions more clear is to explain more concretely to black militants the nature of our movement as a combat organization whose task it is to build leadership for the American revolution.

#### TASKS

Our major task in the coming period is centered around the election campaign -- that is building Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle.

The campaign gives us the greatest opportunity we have had in a long time to reach out to black groups and individuals. Already a number of black comrades have been recruited to the youth in the first six months of the campaign and we have over 300 Afro-American endorsers -- most of them young activists in the struggle. This is an indication of the openings we have.

We have six months left before the end of the campaign. In these months it is crucial that we launch a more intensive effort to build Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle. There are many ways to do this. These include holding meetings, debates, classes and even possibly fall conferences sponsored or cosponsored by Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle. Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle can put out press releases on important events, take out ads in black newspapers -- as the comrades have in Detroit -- sponsor columns in black papers or student papers and hold street meetings.

The new brochure put out by Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle will help in this work. In addition, the National Campaign Committee in collaboration with the New York black fraction is initiating an Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Campaigner similar to the Socialist Workers Campaigner. We also will be carrying more prominent coverage on Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle in The Militant.

We should think in terms of involving Afro-American endorsers in campaign activities -- in selling The Militant, in handing out literature, in sponsoring a Malcolm X tape series on their campus, or at their community group, or in sponsoring debates or discussions. This is especially feasible with high school age Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle.

Some comrades may be wondering -- how this can be done in locals where there are few or no black comrades. This brings up another very important aspect of campaign work. In the course of their regular campaigning, white comrades can approach Afro-American contacts, introduce them to Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle through the brochure or the newsletter, involve them in campaign activities, and, over time, establish at least an informal political working relationship.

It will be important for those locals who have comrades, white or black, participating in these activities to send in information to the campaign office on what they are doing -- so that we can pass it along to other locals.

Because of the radicalization among black students, it is much easier for us to make contact with black groups through our campus fractions. A high percentage of the Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle endorsers are students. In addition, we have found a very good reception to our speakers among black high school students, and we may find that black high school students may well be our best arena for recruitment.

Besides campaign work there are a number of other tasks that should be mentioned. First, we must utilize the contacts we make more effectively to get our literature -- our pamphlets, and especially The Militant. Sales of The Militant continue to be one of the most important ways in which we bring black contacts around, and in which we influence the movement as a whole.

Second, we should continue our regular work in the locals around the country in building defense for victimized militants such as the TSU Five, LeRoi Jones, Rap Brown, and the Black Panthers. We can do this by holding forums and sponsoring meetings on campuses, participating in defense committees, and by carrying regular articles in The Militant.

Another new aspect of our work has been participation in NBAWADU. It is significant that at recent antiwar conferences, for the first time, we have had functioning black fractions of ten or so comrades.

To carry out these tasks more effectively -- that is, the tasks of working on the campaign, of building NBAWADU and other antiwar groups, of defending black militants and of getting out our ideas -- we must establish better contact with black organizations and with individual Afro-Americans.

Each local should consider carefully the idea of setting up at least a minimal fraction to carry out the various tasks I've just outlined. Or in very small locals of putting one person in charge of this work. This should be done regardless of whether or not there are any black comrades in the local.

Such fractions should meet regularly to plan the work that needs to be done and should make regular reports to the local execs and branch meetings.

One person from the fraction should be appointed to correspond regularly with the black fraction in New York about the work that is going on. As in all the other areas of our work, it is the organizers and NC members who are responsible to see that these things get done.

Most important, it is their responsibility to see that we get into gear on our principal task of taking advantage of the openings among Afro-Americans offered by the election campaign.