



YSA

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 7 No. 4
August 1963

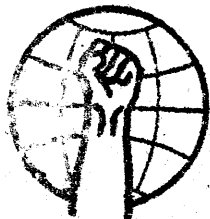
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20¢

Young Socialist Alliance

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, New York



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YOUTH AND THE BLACK REVOLT

(NEC Draft Resolution)

The New Mood

The black American is taking the initiative at a critical moment in this country's history in demanding Freedom Here, Freedom Now, and All Freedoms. He is tired, fed up, enraged with the gradualism and tokenism which has characterized the integration battle for Negro equality. Expressing themselves in a growing mood of defiance and despair, Negroes are indicating through their actions and by their demands that white Jim Crow America must change. It has been over 300 years since the enslavement of American blacks began, and over 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation was issued; that is "long enough to wait and see."

The Black Revolt sweeping white America takes the form of massive disaffection and a growing mood for "blackness." The tenor of the Negro people today is that they are no longer willing to leave the future of interracial relations in the hands of whites. They are determined to decide their own destinies in an effort to satisfy Negro demands. The present mood for blackness is being conditioned by the objective situation of the mid-twentieth century. It corresponds to the colonial revolutions and resultant independence of the Afro-Asian states, the increasing affluence of the Negro middle class, unionization of Negro workers during the CIO organizing drive, the pressures of the Cold War

These situation and forces prompted a series of Supreme Court decisions that marked a new confrontation between black-white America.

With the Black Revolt there is a general rejection of "gradualism" which is either an apology for weak action or mere acceptance of the status quo in a slightly modified form. The gradualists ask the Negro to let Jim Crow courts solve racial conflicts, to permit a Congress dominated by Dixiecrats propose civil rights legislation, to have faith that racist cops will maintain law and order. This has brought tokenism, moderation and hypocrisy; but not substantive change.

On jobs, the Negro is still the last one hired and first fired. He is expected to do the heaviest, dirtiest, least skilled job at the lowest pay. In housing, urban renewal means Negro removal and slum redevelopment projects simply redevelops slum conditions more intensely for the Negro ghetto. In education, school drop-out means Negro drop-out, while school construction builds more understaffed, inadequate segregated

facilities. Emancipation is a hundred years of broken promises, democracy is hypocrisy, and integration is tokenism. The federal government issues appeals "for a cooling off period" or considers mass demonstrations "ill-timed."

Every institution in America - churches, schools, government, businesses, unions, the white neighborhood - is imbued with racism.

The Here-Now-All mood indicates impatience with the slow pace of desegregation, frustration over continued deprivation and a healthy disdain for tokenism. Fresh victories bred new despair. Every advance reveals the precise nature of the ruling class: naked and violent power organized to maintain racial exploitation and oppression. Experiences in the school of hard knocks, in struggle, has exposed the lies and myths about "democratic capitalism."

The Black Revolt is a revolt against liberalism and the "middle class ethic." There is a growing gap between the middle-class liberals. And there is a growing gap between the Negro middle-class and the Negro masses. The liberals do not encourage whites to hurry up and fulfill the promises of emancipation. Instead they tell the Negro to slow down, wait, get back. The all-or-nothing sentiment of the Birmingham **struggle** pin-pointed the shift in attitudes of the Negroes; they ain't gonna wait no more, white is no longer right, black need not stay back.

The mass struggles in Birmingham, Albany and Jackson have marked a new stage in the Southern struggle and in the struggle nationwide. While the more sustained actions in the South involve a small cadre of militants, mainly around SNCC, the increase in direct mass actions is noticeable. What happens in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia has had immediate repercussions upon the moods of the movement in the North. This was dramatized by the struggle against the high unemployment among Negroes in the North which followed the incidents in Birmingham.

There are distinct differences between the struggle for civil rights in the South and "Up South." While the demands of the South have been to give the "equality" prevalent in the North, the Northern movement has demanded the complete and total elimination of all vestiges of racial discrimination, including housing, political appointments, employment, etc.

The nation-wide struggle is beginning to sense an identity between colonial oppression abroad and racial oppression at home. Black pride and the world-wide "revolution of

rising expectations" have upped the ante in America. Negro militants today are measuring their progress not by the slavery of the past, nor by the "progress of the last 100 years," but by strides other minorities elsewhere are making now. The world revolutionary upsurge against colonialism and capitalism is closely related to the **emancipation** of the Afro-American.

For black Americans of African descent, the African revolution means a rediscovered cultural heritage, a renewed pride in their history and a new sense of dignity as black men. Many see Africa's struggle for freedom as part of their own struggle for equality. And now, in the Western hemisphere, Cuba has taken the road of revolution against U.S. domination and kindled new hope and self-confidence among oppressed peoples of the Americas. The failure of tokenism at home and the success of the colonial revolution abroad has contributed to the Negro's dissatisfaction in this country. The nationalism of these revolutions has accelerated the growth of "black nationalism" here.

Black Nationalism

The mood of the Black Revolt, of militancy and boldness, is being conditioned by a new sense of self respect and self esteem. Previously the Negro aspired to what was "white", to be assimilated into the society of whites. In the 1960's this is changing. The Negro is rejecting many of the white man's values, codes of conduct, and forms of struggle.

There **has not** been an economic, cultural, nor lingual base for the creation of an exclusive culture, language, homeland or national economy for the Negro in the U.S. Nevertheless, anti-Negro prejudice as a phenomenon of American capitalism has fostered racial-national sentiments among the American black for over 300 years. Segregation means that the Negro's position in society is special as an oppressed national minority. Jim Crow segregates the Negro into second-rate neighborhoods, second-best schools, secondary jobs and second class citizenship. Since there has been no social assimilation of Negroes in Jim Crow America the black ghetto has binded together in a common resentment against racial injustice. While confined to the ghetto the Negro is stripped of any personal identity; he has no heritage, he has no rights -- he is simply available to be commercially exploited.

There is an unwillingness to accept the bankrupt values of American class society and the dissolution of Negro heritage, character and culture into the "broad" stream of American life. This consciousness among Negroes to determine their own destiny, to define it clearly, is commonly referred to as "black nationalism."

The growth of black nationalism is a reaction to racial oppression, and its appearance on such a wide scale and to such profound degree indicates a vote of "no confidence" in gradualism. The militants, suspicious of gradualist Negro leaders influenced by white liberals, are now calling for black leadership. They have asserted the independence of the ghetto from white society and challenge the Negro middle class seeking individual assimilation into Jim Crow America. Nationalism expresses the feeling of Negroes that U.S. capitalist society is degenerate and doomed by history.

Black nationalism has found expression in the Black Revolt in different ways and in different degrees. In general, there is racial pride in the Negro's resistance to centuries of enslavement and in the vital, decisive role he has played in his own emancipation. It is expressed in integrationist as well as separatist tendencies within the civil rights movement.

The black nationalists want to build an independent movement as a vehicle to realize their goal of human equality -- whether through integration or separation. Both integrationists and separatists wish to unite the Negro masses, both hope to force the ruling class to concede to their demands, and both may use black nationalism to help do this.

Many cannot understand how integrationists can also be black nationalists. The two are not necessarily contradictory. Integration, when viewed as a social process consciously directed, is a strategy toward achieving racial equality. If integration were more than strategy, that is, a goal, then we would have to say that "token integration" is progressive -- but tokenism is an obstacle to real human progress. The objective goal is not integration, but human freedom; to be enjoyed in a society oblivious to racial differences and free from material want. Thus far, the struggle for integration has been the only major area where the objective struggle against racial oppression has taken place. Black nationalism in demanding the independent organization of Negroes does not mean a disavowal of the strategy of integration, necessarily.

Then too, all nationalists are not separatists. The separatists advocate the creation of a separate nation as a solution to isolating the infection of racism. Black nationalism implies a desire by Negroes to decide their own destiny, including attitudes toward a separate nation, and an incisive rejection of the existing society.

As revolutionary socialists we are concerned with what the black nationalists are to do once the Negro movement has been unified. We recognize that the Negroes cannot successfully nor completely win human freedom under capitalism. Nor can they achieve their goal of equality without an alliance with the working class as a whole. This latter fact poses a problem for those who maintain they are for the independent organization of the Negro people.

There is no contradiction between the organization and reorganization of the black masses along independent lines and the necessity of achieving alliances with other sections of the population, namely the white working class. It is just as true that white workers cannot win their rights while Negroes are oppressed. There is an interrelationship in that Negroes are doubly exploited, as blacks, and as workers. Their struggle for equality has an impact upon the social and political life of Jim Crow America out of proportion to their numbers; their special demands inject progressive class elements into the consciousness of the general working class, and their independent action incites other, even larger forces into motion.

Many black nationalists fail to realize that while the labor movement and the Negro movement are traveling along different roads of struggle and at a different pace, they nevertheless move toward a common objective. Both can achieve their victory against a common foe through a concerted struggle against capitalism. This does not mean that the Negro movement must wait for Labor. No! The Negro movement should and will push ahead, initiate a new course, and spur other sections into action. This is essential today where Negroes are gaining momentum and becoming radicalized while Labor remains relatively inactive and conservative.

White liberals, labor bureaucrats, and Negro gradualists are insisting that the Negroes must slow down, wait for whites to "have a change of heart." Some radicals do the same when they exaggerate the dangers of Negroes "going it alone" and polemicize against the growing sentiment of black nationalism. The YSA, on the other hand, supports all movements expressing the desire of Negroes to lead their own struggles and assert their right to independent organization.

We do this because we recognize the Negro struggle as separate from, though connected to the class struggle. This movement must therefore have independent organization. Black nationalism is progressive where it contributes to the creation of such an independent movement for the mobilization and unification of the black masses. We welcome the growth of black nationalism as a vehicle of struggle against racial oppression. We assert that revolutionary socialists and black nationalists are complementary forces which should seek to unite in action and to collaborate in thought.

The Nation of Islam, popularly known as the Black Muslims, has become a significant sector of the Black Revolt. The Muslim movement has gained in prominence due to the growing impatience of American Negroes who admire the aggressiveness and boldness of Muslims in telling off whites and "putting down white America." The Muslims articulate the feelings and aspirations of Negroes in the Northern ghettos more incisively than any other tendency. According to a hostile NEWSWEEK opinion poll (July 29, 1963), one out of eight Negroes in the U.S. (i.e. over two million) are overtly sympathetic to the Muslims.

The Muslims are a well disciplined cadre organization deeply rooted in the slums of the Northern cities, potentially revolutionary in both leadership and rank-and-file. Their religion is more political and black nationalist than obscurantist. They are not primarily oriented towards nor rooted in the Southern Negro struggle.

The fierce and intransigent rejection of American society and values, the urge to separate, geographically or otherwise, from that society, and the orientation toward building a black power base independent of white (capitalist) society spell serious trouble ahead for the status quo in America, and cast a revolutionary shadow on future events.

The Muslims have been instrumental in forcing other organizations to take a more determined stand against tokenism and gradualism, and are forcing the entire Negro struggle in the direction of greater militancy at this stage. The Muslims themselves are grappling with, and have not yet solved, the problem of combining their long-range view of breaking free from U.S. domination and contributing to the downfall of U.S. power with the immediate struggles which more closely occupy the attention of the black masses.

In the coming period, we are likely to confront any number of young militants who are "Muslims minus the religion." We must learn how to work with these individuals or small groups, and learn from them. The Muslims must be defended against repressive attacks by the government and police.

The Labor Movement

Today the gap between organized labor and the Negro movement is overwhelmingly apparent. The tie between the labor bureaucracy and Jim Crow society and the blatant discriminatory policies of many unions has made labor's relation with the black masses strained. Token support by the labor leadership to civil rights indicates that this top bureaucracy is not merely a drag on the struggle against Jim Crow in the labor movement -- it is a bitter and vindictive opponent of the struggle. If this were not the case then there would be no need to form separate Negro caucuses dedicated to the fight for equal rights for all union members. It is obvious that this bureaucracy must be replaced if workers are to gain real economic security. A similar change is necessary if Negroes are to change their attitudes toward labor.

The Negro movement has preceeded and outpaced labor in its struggle against capitalist domination and oppression. The fact that the tempos of development of these two movements are uneven is understandable since their origins and history are different. While the Negro ghetto is predominately working class, its consciousness is influenced by racial as well as class factors. Though the majority of the black population is a part of the general working class, its position in society is special. The Negro movement is a distinct and independent movement having particular origins and special characteristics, including special methods of action. These independent traits also determine the independent nature of the Negro struggle. Though independent, the Negro movement remains related to the labor movement due to its class nature and interests.

Unlike labor, the Negro movement is becoming radicalized. Negroes are beginning to realize that the democratic process ignores his right to equal opportunity, especially the right to economic security. Since the ruling class is unwilling to grant the demand for simple democratic rights, the struggle tends to merge with the broader struggle to abolish Jim Crow capitalism. Through their own experience in fighting for democracy, Negroes learn to reject myths about "share the wealth", "free world" american society. In the Black Revolt the black masses reach deeply radical conclusions, ahead of the general labor force. As the other sectors merely drag their heels in the civil rights issue the Negro movement declares its independence and attempts to go it alone.

This process of independence and radicalization tends to hasten common action with organized labor eventually. The independent organization of the Negro people is a step toward a future alliance with labor as an equal partner in the fight against working class oppression. Such independence sets the working class into motion -- the more the Negroes move and the more independently they move, the more they shake up the status quo, and

the faster will white workers be forced to move.

The Negro movement must ally itself with the labor movement to compensate for it being a numerical minority and to insure the most effective struggle against the ruling class. This alliance must be achieved as a partnership of equals so that the demands and needs of the Negro movement are not neglected or betrayed by their allies. Negroes must insist that priority be given to supporting the Black Revolt and that there can be no alliance based on subordination or gradualism. The Black Revolt can be forging such an alliance here and now, but if any dispute arises involving independence or the alliance then the creation of an independent Negro movement should predominate.

Our propaganda tasks are seriously affected by the gap between the labor movement and the Negro movement.

Impact of Cuba

The Cuban revolution successfully eliminated racial discrimination and has accomplished more in several years through revolutionary action than has been achieved by 100 years of gradualism in the U.S. The main feature of the revolution in the area of race relations is that it confronted economic discrimination, the basic source of racism in the Americas. In tackling problems of poverty, slums and unemployment as well as illiteracy and social discrimination the revolution changed the attitudes of whites and Negroes alike. Cuba's victory demonstrates that a minority -- a racial minority such as the Afro-Cuban -- can struggle, be victorious, and thereby guarantee the elimination of racial strife.

Cuba's method of abolishing Jim Crow was by striking directly at the economic and social roots of Jim Crow, not by futile appeals to the hearts and good will of those who profit from racism. The pacifist-minded youth who insist Negroes fight their struggle with hearts, bellies and by turning the other cheek should be reminded that Cuba was able to accomplish the destruction of discrimination much faster, much surer, and with far less bloodshed through direct struggle. Revolutionary Cuba destroys the concept that Negroes can never win freedom where they are a minority of the population. The Afro-Cubans did not fight alone as a race. They fought as a common class, united with Cuban peasants, agricultural workers, and the urban proletariat.

With the victory of the Cuban Negroes, the white people of Cuba also won their economic, social and political freedom. Without one there never would have been the other. Revolutionary methods of example, re-education and strict law enforcement demonstrate how socialism can do away with racism. It did not take "another 100 years" nor "another generation of progress" to get human freedom. It took a socialist

revolution. To those who maintain the Negro is going too fast in his demands for equality, we can point to Cuba -- the Cubans didn't wait. They fought a revolution and by doing so won respect and aid.

Independent Political Action

The Black Revolt is characterized by increasing self-reliance of the Negro people on their own ability to destroy the power of the white supremacists. Many militants are confronting the issue of whether political power is to remain in the hands of the racists and gradualists who have demonstrated time and time again their unwillingness to alleviate the humiliating and oppressive conditions of the black masses. Black Freedom Fighters have seen the consistent betrayal, filibustering and lip service by both Republicans and Democrats and are beginning to expose the vise-like grip of the Dixicrats in Congress. With the Black Revolt upsetting the national political equilibrium and advancing the political education of the working class, now is the time for the militants to develop independent political organization and action.

Under the banner of Freedom Here-Now-All the present is the time to break the political power of the racists by entering the political arena as an independent force. Yet, it is precisely in this area of struggle that the developing independent Negro movement is still tied to the status quo. Some militants favor the ASTOOT policy of "All Sitting This One Out Together" which amounts to little more than maintaining the present political power structure. Others support a "Vote Black" policy which usually means vote in the Uncle Tom Demo-Dixicrat or Republican. There is no effective alternative offered by the two major parties who either expound racism, or give support to the racists by their political abstention.

There is no adequate Negro representation in Congress. The few Negroes there represent their own self-interest and/or party interest. Negroes want representatives who represent the ghetto, who are imbued with the impatience of the Negro of "waiting for more progress" and who will not accept tokenism. Proportional representation is no longer enough -- the Negroes want equal, mutual representation. They are out for power. The achievements of black Americans should be acknowledged NOW. They are fed up with promises of legislation, they have lost faith in the ability of courts to enforce legislation on the books, and they are tired of waiting.

The racists have actually forced a decline in Negro voting registration in the South. They use intimidation, economic reprisals, illegal purges from the registration rolls and outright violence to keep Negroes from the polls. The federal government has proved it is unwilling to make good the guarantees of the Constitution. Voting laws are obviously useless to Southern Negroes who fear for their lives and for the safety of their families if they register to vote.

The voter registration drive in the South represents an initial thrust by the independent Negro movement pitted against the Southern Bourbon regime. Although they have no hope of getting immediate benefits from voting, the Southern movement is conscious that it must strive for political power. It is not surprising that many are willing to face possible threats to their jobs and credit, their homes and even their personal safety in an attempt to get the vote. This was evident too at a recent SNCC conference where the youth leadership called for the formation of a "second party." For the present however, election prospects for Southern Negroes are: "It isn't for whom you vote for; it's whether you can vote at all."

Northern Negro leaders are constantly criticizing the ghetto for not exercising its voting rights. Yet, these same leaders do not think in terms of providing Negroes with a meaningful choice at the polling booth. With independent candidates of their own choice instead of major party "lesser evils" there would be no problem of turning out the Negro vote. Today individuals around the country are probing the possibilities of developing a Freedom Now Party. The sentiment for such a party has a base in the ghetto. The concentration of Negroes in segregated neighborhoods provides a base for initiating an independent party to act as political spokesman of the Black Revolt.

The implications of forming an independent Negro party should not be underestimated. It is obvious that in a number of big cities the Negro vote is decisive.

The first steps in this direction are now being taken in local campaigns in New Haven, Newark, on the West Coast, in Brooklyn, and elsewhere. The appearance of such a party on a national scale will shake up the political scene and deal a mortal blow to the two-party shell game. It will open up many new opportunities for youth, black and white, both in political activity as such and in year-round neighborhood activities.

TASKS OF THE YSA IN THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

FOR THE NEXT PERIOD

(NEC Draft Resolution)

In the light of the general orientation toward the Freedom Now struggle set forth in the draft resolution on Youth and the Black Revolt the principal tasks of the YSA after the Labor Day weekend 1963 conference should proceed along the following lines.

The first important task is to learn from the ghetto the mood and feelings of the Negro people. In this task we who are white can be aided by the Negro comrades, and by the Negro contacts we have and will increasingly make. They have a great deal to teach us. Before the militants will listen to us, we have to listen to them, and learn from them. In many ways, we speak a different language from the militant Negro youth, especially the non-campus youth. It will take time and effort on our part to learn to speak their language and "get their message."

We are an organization composed mainly of whites from a student background. Our contact with the Negro youth has been intermittent, and in some areas, there has been no contact yet. The most militant Negro youth who are most likely to be attracted by our views are also most suspicious of an organization of predominantly white composition. We cannot hope to make contact, recruit and work with the revolutionary minded Negro youth unless we recognize the difficulties as well as the opportunities facing us.

Even Negro youth who have come to see that the revolutionary socialist road is the only solution for them have hesitations about joining the YSA. Such a revolutionist is keenly aware that other Negro youth may regard him as just another stooge for whites.

Although the record of the Communist Party's betrayal of the Negro struggle is not our fault, we have to bear some of the burdens of their policy in the form of Negro distrust of white radicals. The present political positions of the CP, SP and other radicals and liberals, demonstrating their complete lack of understanding of black nationalism and the mood of the Negro masses is a further handicap, but a minor and temporary one. Through experience in working with us, militant Negro youth will learn we are different not only in words but in deeds.

An important preparation for the YSA is internal education on Negro history and the Marxist writings on the Negro struggle. It is especially important now to study the Freedom Now and the Youth and the Black Revolt resolutions to get a feel for and understanding of the present stage of the struggle. One aspect of the nationalist mood is pride in the true history of the Negro people in America, and we can share this mood by absorbing Negro history.

Keeping all these difficulties in mind, the YSA must consciously begin to reorient itself toward the growing revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle. This requires knowledge and understanding of the main youth organizations in the field.

In the South the outstanding youth organization is the SNCC. SNCC grew out of the 1960 Sit-Ins as a coordinating committee of the many student demonstrations across the South. Formed as a sub-organization of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SNCC has since become an independent organization, increasingly more militant than SCLC. As SNCC developed, new people have entered its leadership, including a few Northern Negro intellectuals. Although a youth organization with its initial roots on Southern Negro campuses, SNCC has made a turn toward the Southern Negro masses in voter registration drives, and in direct action projects as in Cambridge, Md., competing with the adult Negro organizations.

SNCC is not tightly organized and does not have programmatic unity. Its top leaders are opposed to both capitalist political parties and show an awareness of the power structure of our society and of developments like the Cuban revolution. SNCC's program is integration, although they have more friendliness toward the Muslims than any of the respectable adult organizations. Some of its cadre are pacifists, although the majority regard non-violence as a tactic. In Cambridge, Md., the SNCC leaders were quite at home with the local defense guard.

We have been supporting SNCC in the North, mainly through our press. We should continue to support their struggle in the North where and how we can, publicizing their struggle on the campus. In this way we seek to become an ally of theirs.

The YSA is still a small organization working in an essentially hostile atmosphere, welding together a cadre by ones and twos. We cannot lightmindedly disperse our

cadre in colonization experiments aiming to recruit Negro youth in the South. Our first job is to make contact with the militant Negro youth right in our own backyard, in the cities where we have established locals. We do not yet know enough about the situation in the Negro ghettos in our own cities, let alone Southern cities where we have no roots at all. There is a great potential in the Northern cities we have yet to tap, and great difficulties to overcome which will require our full strength.

Where realistic participation in the Southern struggle is possible, we may send a comrade or two into the South for that purpose.

There is still a lot to be learned about the specific aspirations, responses, and modes of struggle of the Southern Negro youth.

Northern support to the 1960 Sit-Ins came for the most part from white college students. These white students have been in the main bypassed by the growth of Negro youth organizations and the influx of Negro youth into adult organizations like the Muslims. Youth groups have sprung up in many Northern cities of widely varying character. There are nationalist groups like the Afro-American Association in Berkeley, the Negro History Club at Roosevelt U. in Chicago, Uhuru in Detroit, RAM in Philadelphia. CORE and the NAACP youth have attracted some militant young Negroes and whites by their actions in some areas.

Uhuru is the most highly developed politically of all these Negro youth organizations. Its members consider themselves revolutionary socialist black nationalists. We can expect similar organizations to spring up in other areas, and our attitude towards them should be friendly and comradely. Where an organization shows potential of developing along the path toward revolutionary socialism we should encourage it to do so.

In relating ourselves to all-black nationalist groups which only our Negro comrades can join, the YSA as an organization should seek to become an ally, defender and supporter of these organizations. This includes the Muslims, who have the best contact with the youth of the ghetto as an organization. In this way we can reach other young people who consider themselves Muslims minus the religion.

White comrades who constitute the bulk of our organization, can join integrationist organizations. Our purpose

in participation is not to contend for the leadership of such organizations, but to meet militants, both black and white whom we can interest in our ideas.

We must participate in actions such militants are engaged in when and where we can. The YSA is not a group of parlor socialists but an action organization. To be seriously considered by the militants, we have to **prove** ourselves in deeds as well as words. The best way to do this is to develop contact with the action organizations and participate in their projects either as allies or members.

Each local that doesn't have any real contact in this area should look over the youth organizations engaged in the "Freedom Now" movement and make contact with them in order to find some field of activity in the Negro struggle.

Our major task in this period is socialist propaganda and education. We want to reach the young militants with our ideas on the one side, and learn from them on the other. The broadest means of communication is the weekly MILITANT. Our experience in the past few months has indicated that the MILITANT is well received by the young freedom fighters. The monthly Y.S. can publish more extensive material of interest to students. To facilitate this, the YS must make a turn toward reporting the student side of the Negro struggle (like feature articles on Uhuru, etc.) in the North as well as the South.

The major points we want to get across in our propaganda are:

- 1) Nationalism is progressive in so far as it means Negro independence from the system. We are for the Negro movement developing more independence; we are especially for a political break by the Negroes with the capitalist parties through the formation of an all-black Freedom Now party.

- 2) Support to the concept of self-defense by Negroes against racist attacks from any quarter.

- 3) The Cuban revolution as the closest example of a successful revolutionary socialist solution to the oppression of the Negro people.

Because of our background, white Northern college students are easiest for us to reach and to recruit. We should serve as a transmission belt from the Negro movement in the North to the white student in order to teach him the meaning of this struggle. It is easier for the white Northern

radical to find an identification with what he believes to be the Southern integration struggle than with the Negro ghetto in his own city. We must help win white support to the youth organizations in the **Northern ghetto.**

White radicals in general, including those in the YSA, are out of step with the Northern ghetto youth on certain attitudes. The white radical's emphasis on integration, internationalism and brotherhood, on the "workers" and on socialism, and on the struggle in the South, do not meet with ready response from the ghetto youth. The white radical has to learn to avoid vulgarized, dogmatic Marxism and how to present the ideas of Marxism in a concrete, **not over-simplified, manner.** A rigid and frigid "theoretical" posture common to many white socialist youth render the atmosphere of white youth organizations uncongenial, uninviting, and even "creepy" to most Negro slum youth. White radical concern for peace, the class character of Cuba, etc. is necessary, but the white radical should keep in mind that the main bond he has with the youth of the ghetto is the Negro freedom fight. Other important issues are secondary in the minds of the Negro youth.

We should have a clear and strong stand on unemployment and what we propose should be done about it. Demands for preferential hiring and apprenticeship, 30 for 40, unlimited unemployment compensation at full pay will meet with a response among this sector of the working class whose unemployment rate is up near 40%.

Suggestions such as black ghetto control of the schools including the ~~circula~~ and school books, and others might be raised for consideration to independent organizations we work with.

There is no contradiction between recruitment of young Negro militants to our organization and our support as an organization to groups developing outside the YSA. The two processes are complementary. By carrying forward the steps projected in this resolution we can forge links with militant Negro youth which will bring us close to them in common action, ideas and aims. This will break down the barriers and will result in direct recruitment. It must be understood that this will be a prolonged process going hand in hand with the advances of the Negro struggle for freedom and the expansion of the radical youth movement.