

On the
Revolutionary
Struggle of
Black America
for
Self-Determination

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This draft resolution on the revolutionary struggle of black America for self determination has been written for the national Young Socialist convention to be held in Chicago at the University of Illinois — Circle Campus, November 28 - December 1, 1968. It was drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles deal with other activities in which young socialists are involved. These initial draft resolutions along with any others submitted to the convention will be discussed and the general political perspectives outlined in them will be voted on.

The resolutions are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young socialists from around the country are invited to participate in the written discussion and urged to attend the convention. Contributions to the discussion and inquiries should be sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination

"The grief and depression caused by the condition of black men in America is an unpopular reality to the sufferers. They would rather see themselves in a more heroic posture and chide a disconsolate brother. They would like to point to their achievements (which in fact have been staggering); they would rather point to virtue (which in fact has been shown in magnificent form by some blacks); they would point to bravery, fidelity, prudence, brilliance, creativity, all of which dark men have shown in abundance. But the overriding experience of the black American has been grief and sorrow and no man can change that fact.

"His grief has been realistic and appropriate. What people have so earned a period of mourning?

"We want to emphasize yet again the depth of the grief for slain sons and ravished daughters, how deep and lingering it is.

"If the depth of this sorrow is felt, we can then consider what can be made of this emotion.

"As grief lifts and the sufferer moves toward health, the hatred he had turned on himself is redirected toward his tormenters, and the fury of his attack on the one who caused him pain is in direct proportion to the depth of his grief. When the mourner lashes out in anger, it is a relief to those who love him, for they know he has returned to health.

"Observe that the amount of rage the oppressed turns on his tormentor is a direct function of the depth of his grief, and consider the intensity of black men's grief.

"Slip for a moment into the soul of a black girl whose womanhood is blighted, not because she is ugly, but because she is black and by definition all blacks are ugly.

"Become for a moment a black citizen of Birmingham, Alabama, and try to understand his grief and dismay when innocent children are slain while they worship, for no other reason than that they are black.

"Imagine how an impoverished mother feels as she watches the light of creativity snuffed out in her children by schools which dull the mind and environs which rot the soul.

"For a moment make yourself the black father whose son

went innocently to war and there was slain -- for whom, for what?...

"It is the transformation of this quantum of grief into aggression of which we now speak. As a sapling bent low stores energy for a violent backswing, blacks bent double by oppression have stored energy which will be released in the form of rage -- black rage, apocalyptic and final.

"If existing oppressions and humiliating disenfranchisements are to be lifted, they will have to be lifted most speedily, or catastrophe will follow.

"For there are no more psychological tricks blacks can play upon themselves to make it possible to exist in dreadful circumstances. No more lies can they tell themselves. No more dreams to fix on. No more opiates to dull to pain. No more patience. No more thought. No more reason. Only a welling tide risen out of all those terrible years of grief, now a tidal wave of fury and anger, and all black, black as night." -- Black Rage

Thus two black west coast professors of psychiatry, William H. Grier, M.D. and Price M. Cobbs, M.D., render a psychological account of the agitation and animation that has seized the body of Afro-America. This animation and agitation is only the beginning of the awakening of 22 million Afro-Americans to nationalist consciousness.

This display of nationalist consciousness is not only shaking up and remaking the North American scene, but has consequences for the world at large. No significant social motion can take place in the strongest of the imperialist powers without having world-wide ramifications.

The specter of Blackism caused the British and their lackeys to ban Stokely Carmichael from England and parts of the West Indies, including Trinidad, the place of Carmichael's birth. But the specter of Blackism has been only a source of inspiration to the fighting Vietnamese and the ever-ready Cubans. The nationalist movement inside the U.S. is educating the international revolutionary vanguard as to what the problems of black people are and how those problems will be resolved.

The mistaken idea that the principal thrust of the black movement was for civil rights, or integration into the American set-up, was exposed by Carmichael's appearance at the OIAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) conference in Cuba last year. The upheavals in Newark and Detroit at the time of the conference also helped show the direction of the struggle. The concatenation of black explosions in over 100 American cities after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King again drove home the nationalist character of the struggle to the international vanguard. With the rapid spread of the demand for black control of the black community and the growth of the

Black Panther Party and the black student movement there need be no argument among revolutionaries anywhere in the world about the central thrust of the Afro-American liberation struggle.

The non-violent civil rights struggle was only a stream that led inexorably to the swelling river of black nationalism, not the other way around as some would like to have it. To get this latter view across, the militant to moderate notion, the propagandists for the American ruling class have tried to take the evolution of the ideological fountainhead of present day nationalism, Brother Malcolm X, and make it look as though Malcolm, in his last months, was taking the road of compromise and reconciliation with the American establishment. It was precisely because Malcolm lacked these qualities that North American imperialism had him assassinated.

If we are in any way to understand what the black liberation struggle is all about and where it is going we must first develop an appreciation of Malcolm X.

It was Malcolm who constructed the ideological framework for black nationalism as we know it today. In the wilderness of North America, the rebirth of the idea that black is beautiful; of the need to psychologically go back to Africa; that black people should pick up the gun to defend themselves against racist violence; that black people should run and control their own organizations; that black people have to seize political, economic and social control of their communities; that the vulturous system called capitalism cannot grant freedom to black people; that the racism manifested by white people comes from the social system, not from some innately evil characteristic possessed by whites; that black people have to reject the Democratic and Republican parties; that the problems of

black people were not just local matters but international matters tied to the struggle between imperialism and the colonial peoples, and that pan-Blackism or internationalism is essential if black people are to defeat Uncle Sam -- all of these ideas can be traced back to Malcolm. He developed and refined each of them in the course of his last year.

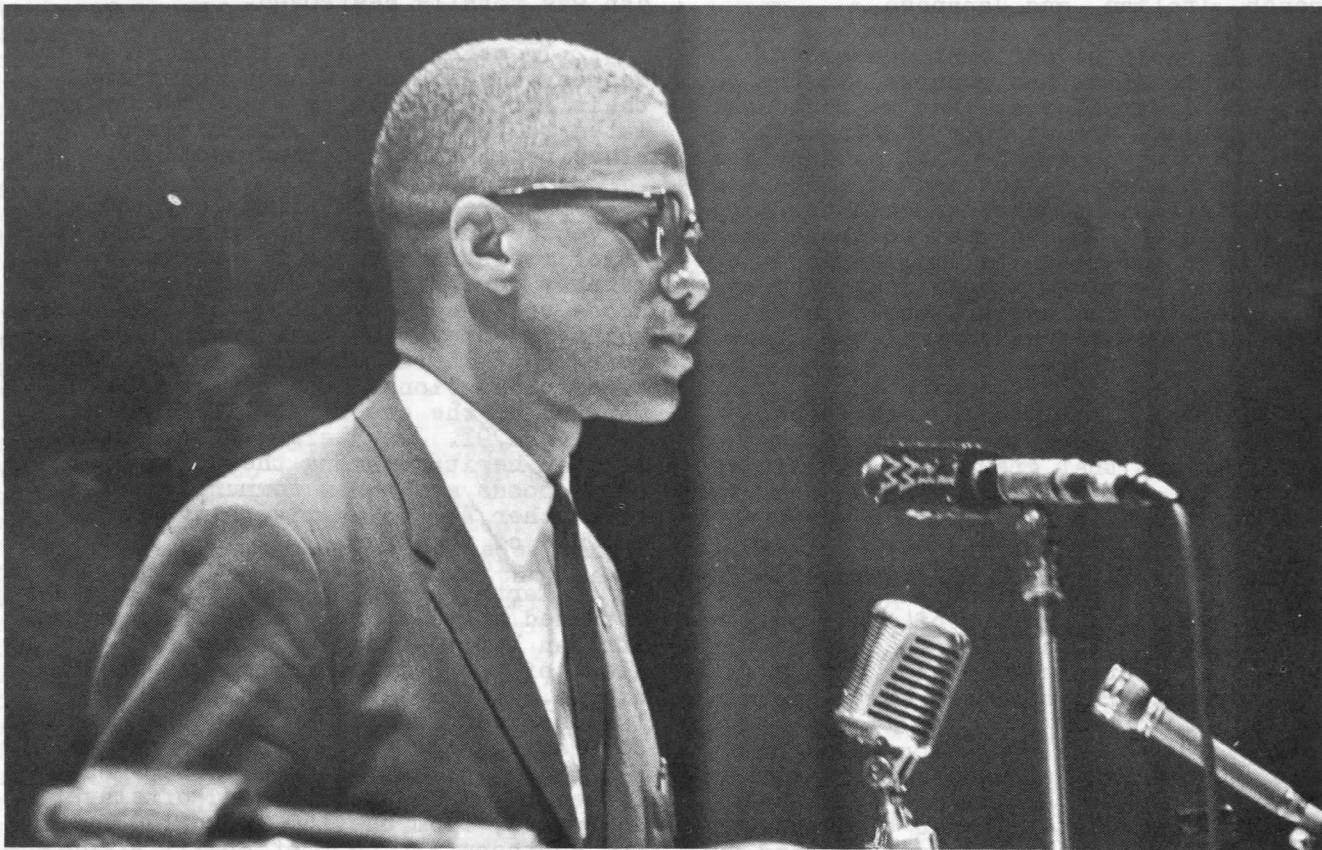
The idea that Malcolm was most maligned about was his advocacy of the need for black people to arm and defend themselves against racist violence. While white people may arm themselves, the idea of black self-defense is tantamount to unhinging the whole social system in the eyes of the American ruling class. If social, economic, political, and physical violence is necessary to keep the black man in his place, then the implications of black self-defense are obvious. "By Any Means Necessary" was the phrase Malcolm coined to get this idea across.

Malcolm's internationalism also caused a great deal of indignation amongst those who sit in Washington and on Wall Street. The black man's struggle for civil and human rights in the post-World War II era was brought on by the weakening of European imperialism and the

outbreak of revolution in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Although this was the objective situation, it was yet to be reflected subjectively by leaders of the civil and human rights struggle in this country. It was not until Robert F. Williams came on the scene that this non-identification by black leaders with the colonial revolution was breached. Williams, as the leader of the self-defense movement in Monroe, North Carolina, started out by expressing admiration and respect for the Cuban Revolution that occurred in 1959. His increasing solidarity with this Revolution plus his advocacy and practice of organized, armed self-defense brought him under severe persecution by the state of North Carolina and the federal government, forcing him to flee the country.

Starting from this breach, Malcolm widened it considerably. Malcolm became the first black leader of any stature in the post-World War II era to take on the task of explaining to the world what the struggle for human rights was all about. He consciously sought aid and support on the African continent for the Afro-American struggle back home. Malcolm spent almost half of his last year abroad.





But the role that Malcolm played and enthusiastic response he received from abroad had a greater significance. What Malcolm's excursion indicated was the potential that existed for the black struggle in the United States to play a crucial role in helping to shape and inspire the worldwide movement for revolutionary change.

The crisis in the world today does not revolve around lack of revolutionary conditions, but lack of a capable revolutionary leadership and organization. Bolivia, France, and Czechoslovakia are the most recent examples of this crisis of leadership.

Since the United States is the bastion of world imperialism, it is obvious that the world's people look with great elation at any force that arises inside that bastion and threatens the functioning of the Beast. The Afro-American struggle is doing just that. For this reason, the power of the black minority is increased several fold.

This world-wide role that black people have assumed is registered in the number of languages in which you can read the speeches of Malcolm. Malcolm X Speaks has been printed in English, French, Italian, and Japanese.

The most significant upsurge of black nationalism has occurred in the post-World War II era. But we must ask the question, are we only dealing with a transitory phenomenon? Will nationalism slowly ebb away as sections of white workers radicalize and move against the imperialist state? The answers to these questions have far-reaching implications for the coming American Revolution. Any attempt to find the answers begins with an examination of the history of the black man in the Americas.

Before black people were forcibly brought to this country they were part of civilizations that grew up on the African continent. The many kingdoms in West Africa out of which black people were taken had their own languages, sets of rules and conventions for maintaining their own law and order, communications systems, and an extensive network of trade relations throughout the African continent. These civilizations drew upon a very rich and long cultural heritage that existed in Africa.

When the savage and parasitic white European brought the African to these shores he immediately began to denude and strip the African of his heritage and culture. This was necessary if the European was to put the African to work on the slave labor plantations that were erected throughout the Americas. It was through this super-exploitation of black labor on

the islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Haiti, and other islands that British and French capitalism obtained an important part of the capital needed to start industry and large-scale manufacture. Even after Britain entered the industrial revolution and lost her dependence on the West Indian islands the British textile mills depended upon raw cotton supplied by slave labor plantations in the North American South.

In the northern part of North America, home-grown American capitalists accumulated their first fortunes off the lucrative slave trade and the plantation system. In fact, the restriction of the slave trade by the British was one of the main reasons behind the American Declaration of Independence. All of this goes to show that the first European and North American capitalists didn't accumulate their fortunes to launch the industrial revolution through Puritan frugality or penny-pinching. The looting and plundering of Africa had a great deal to do with it.

Of all the Africans brought to the Americas only the black man in North America suffered complete cultural genocide, i.e., he was totally stripped of the culture and values he acquired on the African continent. His identity as an African was totally destroyed.

In other parts of the Americas the degree to which the slaves maintained their African identity was directly related to the size and intensiveness of slave rebellions and insurrections.

In pre-1791 Haiti the maroons kept alive the quest for freedom and the spirit of resistance among the slaves. The maroons were Africans who escaped the noose of slavery by going into the mountains and operating like guerrillas, carrying out liberation raids on the French sugar plantations. There were over 3,000 maroons on the eve of the Haitian Revolution in 1791. As a sign of the surviving African heritage among the Haitian slaves the maroons sometimes communicated with each other and to captive slaves through the use of the drum.

Farther east, in Brazil, the slaves retained a great deal more of their West African heritage and culture. The equivalent of the Haitian maroon was the quilombola. After several hundred quilombolas escaped and made it into the interior of Brazil they set up a settlement called a quilombo. These quilombos were established throughout the period of slavery in Brazil, from the 1500's to 1888. In the northeastern part of Brazil a confederation of quilombos was set up around 1630 which became known as the kingdom of Palmares because of the concentration of palm trees, and which was not definitively smashed until 1697. The kingdom of Pal-

mares embraced several thousand escaped slaves. Traditions brought over from Africa by the slaves were used in organizing and maintaining Palmares.

In Brazil the nations or tribes of Africans from West Africa were never systematically broken up by the Portuguese. You had Yorubas, Hausas, Dahomans, Mandingos, and Fulahs occupying distinct parts of Brazilian provinces and sections of cities. Even those nations that practiced it in Brazil. In certain parts of the Brazilian province of Bahia the Muslims would sometimes wage holy wars against mulattoes, whites, and other slaves who did not practice the religion. The Portuguese settlers noted that the Muslim slaves were the most aggressive. Because these nations also maintained their languages to some degree they were able to easily pull off a number of slave insurrections in the cities and countryside that were very costly to the Portuguese slave holders.

The examples of Haiti and Brazil are not to say that because the North American Africans in bondage did not maintain their heritage, therefore they didn't revolt. The North American slaves put together a number of elaborate conspiracies and insurrections. Since there was very little of the African heritage to use to fight the "peculiar institution," the North American slaves had to use the culture and heritage given to them by the slavemaster to fight the system. One has only to mention Christianity, the Bible, and the spirituals to illustrate this use. Nat Turner was a Christian preacher who drew his code of revolution from the Bible.

Nevertheless, the examples of Haiti and Brazil go to show why the contemporary Haitian and black Brazilian do not have much trouble in identifying with their African heritage. Part of their heritage brought over from Africa was allowed to fuse with their Latin environment. Contrary to this, there has been no fusion of the African heritage with Anglo culture in the United States. Therefore black people have to reject Anglo culture and institutions when they reclaim their identity as African-Americans or Afro-Americans. White Anglo-American culture and society were never meant for the participation of black people. From this point of view, then, black nationalism, identifying as part of the collective mass of black people, becomes a necessary thing for a black person to begin to deal with the crippling and putrid effects of this decaying society. This is one of the reasons why nationalism is not just a transitory phenomenon but an historical necessity.

The nationalism that arises from the North American black population will

be most devastating for the white oppressor. In other parts of the Americas and in Africa, as was shown in the examples of Haiti and Brazil, the white oppressor did not destroy the total African heritage and culture. In fact, over a period of time, European and North American imperialism subverted and used part of the cultural heritage to better subjugate the African and Afro-Latin. The exploitation of tribal differences by the imperialists in Africa is an example of this subversion.

But this subversion and method of rule is also related to the fact that a large part of the African and Afro-Latin populations are of a peasant or semi-peasant composition. The peasantry is a source of all types of obscurantist and unscientific notions. Coupled with this, you have a miniscule bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie or middle class that is well integrated into the colonial or neo-colonial structure. The oppressive nationalism that emanates from this colonial elite is used by the imperialists to set up a neo-colonial state, whereas the revolutionary-latent nationalism of the peasants that leads to self-determination will only be able to topple the landlords and the imperialists if it is linked to the struggles of the colonial proletariat. Therefore, the nationalism of the African and Afro-Latin can be channeled into many grooves, from that of reaction to that of revolution.

Contrary to these class divisions and peasant diversifications, the Afro-American population is predominantly proletarian. To understand this proletarian character and its relation to the rising tide of black nationalism we again have to refer back to our history.

After the Civil War the masses of black people lived an existence as tenant farmers, i.e., farmers without land, in the South of these United States. A trickle of blacks went North.

In the period between 1910 and the 1929 depression a combination of natural disasters in the South, growing mechanization of farming, World War I, and the rapid expansion of northern industry caused a flood of over a million blacks to migrate to northern cities to live in defined sections called ghettos. During World War I, with part of the working class in uniform, the expansion of the war industries required that cheap black labor be recruited. This same phenomenon occurred during World War II. After the end of each of these wars the black man was let loose to wait for another job opportunity.

This cycle points to the use of black people as a reserve labor force, a reserve labor army in which many black

men spend their whole lives. "Last hired and first fired" is the phrase that aptly characterizes this position.

The basic labor force among black people is composed of between 8 and 9 million people according to government figures. This figure also includes those blacks who are listed as working part-time. Since the number of black capitalists (not including petty businessmen) can be counted on two hands, the composition of the black population is overwhelmingly proletarian or working class. Hence the position of black people as super-exploited beasts of burden involves a dual state of oppression: oppression deriving from being black, i.e. national oppression, and oppression as members of the working class.

The factor of national oppression makes black people the most oppressed section of the working class. This special status creates the situation in which black workers are worked more and paid less than the white worker, and in which black people are forced to make up a large part of the reserve army of labor.

On top of all this, the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam shows that black youth are coming into increasing use as an agency to defend North American capitalism's "right" to ride roughshod over the peoples and wealth of the entire world.

To those militants who believe that there is an excess number of black people in the United States, or that black people are totally irrelevant to the functioning of the U.S. economy, this is devastating evidence that Uncle Sam knows better.

From this evidence we can say that it is the proletarian base that makes the nationalism of the black man in North America the most explosive force for social change in the world.

Recovering the black identity and Afro-American heritage is part and parcel of the realization that black people have contributed 300 years of free slave labor and 100 years of underpaid, superexploited labor to the making of the North American colossus. The collection of the indemnity on this labor will force black people into a position of having to wipe North American imperialism from the face of the earth. The measure of this indemnity gives one a glimpse into the torrential force that Afro-American nationalism will become.

The People

Over the past few years the collective consciousness of black people has radically changed. This is registered

most graphically in the rebellions that have taken place. It is also displayed in the aftermath of the rebellions, where the Negro identity is shed for the black or Afro-American identity. The aftermath of Watts, Newark, and Detroit attests to this change.

In a Supplemental Studies issued by the President's civil disorders commission it was revealed in a survey of almost 3,000 Afro-Americans from 15 different cities that a little under half thought that black school children should study an African language. Over 50% of these respondents were sympathetic to those blacks that participated in the rebellions. Just several years ago these same respondents would probably have had nothing to do with black self-defense and would have condemned as un-American the idea of teaching black children an African language.

The Youth

That sector of the black population which has been in the vanguard of all this radicalism is the youth. Unhampered by the hangups of the past, the youth of Afro-America want revolution now. As Brother Malcolm put it, "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."

The majority of Afro-America is under 25. Whereas the median age of white America is 29, the median age of Afro-America is 21. Over 25% of black youth suffer from the twin evils of unemployment and underemployment (having a part-time job but looking for a full-time job). Black youth are drafted all out of proportion to their number in society, and constitute over 22% of the dead in Vietnam. These and other statistics justify the total alienation from, and rejection of, white American society by young Bloods.

In the high schools and on the college campuses black youth have displayed a considerable amount of activity. The militant protest activity takes place because these institutions of indoctrination where black youth spend a considerable amount of their time are in stark opposition to the nationalist motion. The demand for the blackification of these so-called education institutions is not understood by the white administrators, and the Negro and white teachers. It is only when violence breaks out, or threats of it, that some token concessions are made.

Activity in the high schools immediately brings in the police. The city-wide demonstration by black high schoolers in Philadelphia in November, 1967 resulted in a mobilization of Police Chief Rizzo's "pigs," who moved against the demonstration. The Detroit police used guns

to disperse a demonstration of junior high schoolers and their parents last spring. To any police department around the country black people are just cattle, animals that have to be corralled and caged.

On the college campus the action by black students at Columbia last spring was pregnant with the most revolutionary implications. Here you had the inciting and exciting of the Harlem community by the demand of the black students to get rid of the construction site in Morning-side Park. Had there been the leadership and organization, you would have had the non-student brothers and sisters seizing Columbia as well as sections of Harlem itself. It was this potential linkup between the students and the black community that struck fear into city and police officials. This is what makes the activity on campus and in the public schools so explosive with farreaching consequences.

The Workers

Another sector of the black population that has shown some combativity, as a result of the influx of youth and the nationalist awakening of the black community, is the black working class. The actions spearheaded by black workers in DRUM, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in Detroit, and the Concerned Transit Workers in Chicago, have dire implications for the lead-bottomed and lead-headed trade union bureaucrats. The relative and absolute strength of black workers in constantly on the upswing. In the United Auto Workers (UAW) black workers constitute over 33% of the 1.6 million member union. Of the 1.1 million members of the United Steelworkers of America black workers are 25%. In the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) 30% of the 400,000 members are black.

About 70% of AFSCME consists of blue-collar workers. AFSCME embraces city sanitation workers, janitors, service workers, university and public school employees, and hospital workers. One of the concessions that the Memphis sanitation workers achieved in their struggle with the vicious cracker government was the right to form a local of AFSCME. The National Field Director of AFSCME was maced by Memphis pigs during one of the strike demonstrations. As the unionization of this stratum of workers continues we can expect many more similar strike struggles.

However, it is the concentration of black workers in industry that will have the most forceful implications for the future. The formation of DRUM at the Dodge plant in Detroit marks the opening of a new and higher stage in the development

of organized opposition against the UAW bureaucrats. Because of the racist consciousness prevalent among white workers only a minority of whites are at present sympathetic to DRUM. The composition of DRUM for the most part is young black workers.

While fighting the racist abuse of the Chrysler Corporation, DRUM has to contend with the racist UAW leadership. The plant is over 50% black. Because most of the black workers are entrenched in the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs, DRUM is also fighting for the breakup of the lily-white skilled trades.

It is conceivable, considering the number of auto plants with black majorities, that as the antibureaucratic struggle deepens union locals will be taken over and plants will be occupied by black workers in the fight against the auto corporations.

The Concerned Transit Workers in Chicago is less radical than DRUM but has a broader base. It is possible for the CTW to actually take over the Transit Workers Union, which has a slight black majority. One of the issues in the struggle is the right of retired workers, who are mostly white, to vote on internal union matters. The vote of the retired workers maintains the lily-white bureaucratic union leadership. Since the black



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workers are not only fighting for representation in the leadership, but criticizing the pro-boss policy of the bureaucrats, they have the support of some of the white workers.

The fight in the TWU has important implications for the rest of the trade union plutocrats. If the CTW is able to restrict the vote of the retired workers on contract issues this sets a precedent for workers to use in attacking one of the bases of bureaucratic power.

Again, as in the case of the students, linking up the struggles on the job to the overall struggle of the community is necessary for success. This is the lesson of Memphis. In the long run, the overthrow of the Beast is intimately tied to the radicalization and organization of black workers.

The Veterans

There are over 120,000 black veterans walking around in this country. Each year their ranks are swelled by 40,000. The government and police departments across the country are worried. How will these veterans act in the event of a ghetto upheaval? Already the army brass is worried about lack of cannon fodder: while draft quotas are getting larger, black reenlistments have dropped 50% in the last two years.

When black Vietnam veterans start saying, "I'm ashamed of what I did in Vietnam. We did to yellow people what whites do to us," or, "The rights we fought for for somebody else just don't exist for us," or "We fought for the honkie and now we're going to fight for ourselves" the vultures in power have great reason to worry.

Just recently 60 black GIs at Fort Hood, Texas refused to go to Chicago for riot duty during the Democratic Party Convention. The nationalist awakening of black GIs, while the imperialist war goes on, is a sign that imperialism will find it increasingly difficult to carry out its aggressive policies.

Other Oppressed Peoples

The resistance to white oppression and aggression by Afro-America has ignited and excited other oppressed national minority groups: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indian Americans. The Indian American has a bottomless pit of searing grievances and vexations to bring against the Beast. There are over 16,000 Indians now fighting in Vietnam. Indian youth are beginning to show signs of Red Power motion.

The largest Puerto Rican population in the U.S. is locked up in New York City.

In the summer of 1967 the Puerto Rican ghetto exploded in fury against the police. More and more Puerto Rican youth are beginning to direct their pent-up anger and resentment against the Anglo establishment. During the school strike in New York the Puerto Rican community, in cooperation with the black community, began to unite and organize around the issue of the schools.

Mexican-Americans are beginning to awaken to the anti-brown or anti-Chicano nature of Anglo society. Schools in East Los Angeles were rocked with cries of Chicano Power in the spring of 1968. Young Mexican-Americans realize that their Indian ancestry and Spanish heritage are being omitted or cruelly distorted in the Anglo indoctrination center called a public school. The emergence of Mexican-American student organizations, such as UMAS (the United Mexican-American Students) and the Brown Berets, patterned after the Black Panther Party, are signs of a great deal of nationalist motion. The black and brown nationalist organizations have worked together very well in Los Angeles, jointly organizing protests against the L.A. pigs. Viva la Raza!

State of the Movement

In analyzing the thrust and direction of the struggle as it has evolved over the past two years we find that the vanguard in the black community has gone past the stage of the spontaneous upheaval or rebellion. The Watts rebellion in the summer of 1965 began this stage, the Newark and Detroit upheavals were the apex of this type of widespread spontaneous action. Liberating commodities from the stores was the most salient feature of these rebellions. The people were attacking the superstructure of oppression and degradation, the greedy corner store merchant.

Elements in the black vanguard know that it is foolish for unorganized and ill-equipped masses of people to go up against the organized violence of the white capitalist state. The vanguard knows that the next stage in the unfolding of the black struggle is one of organization, organizing the sentiment and thirst for revolutionary change.

The last two years have witnessed the rapid spread and absorption of the philosophy of black nationalism and the idea of black power by the people. What has not gone along and kept pace with the flowering of the idea is the growth of a black revolutionary organization. The unevenness between the ideas and organization around the ideas is now beginning to be bridged with the growth of the Black Panther Party.

However, to understand the signifi-

cance of the Black Panther Party we must take into account the stratification and fragmentation of all those who rallied to the flag of nationalism and black power two years ago.

SNCC and CORE were the vanguard organizations in the nationalist movement at the initiation of the cry for black power. With this initiation, various cultural nationalist organizations like the L.A. based US or the Yorubas of New York experienced a period of growth. Other cultural nationalist organizations began to spring up all over the country. After the white establishment overcame the initial shocks of black power the carrot treatment was applied by the Ford Foundation to CORE. The stick treatment was brandished and used against SNCC and other organizations that could not be bought off. While trying to get Carmichael and Rap Brown, the federal government emasculated many militants through the use of the so-called anti-poverty program.

The Ford Foundation operation on CORE was to provide an example as to how big business can go about defanging and pacifying black power organizations that are just out to get a piece of the setup, not to overthrow the setup. The Republican Party Convention even got hip to this when they promised black militants a "piece of the action" if they should win in November.

By helping CORE to pay off its debts, getting the organization involved in the Carl Stokes Democratic Party mayoral campaign in Cleveland, and funneling the leaders of the organization through the neocolonialist school called the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) CORE was rendered incapable of revolutionary leadership. This compromising of the organization led to the split that occurred at its July convention. CORE is now off in the direction of setting up black businesses, seeing black economic power as the key to the solution of the problem.

In fact, setting up black businesses rather than striving for independent black political power has become the major drive of the reformist or compromised nationalists. In Detroit the Federation for Self-Determination, a coalition of black nationalist groups, was destroyed when the leadership began to fool around with Ford Foundation money. Now, most of the traditional nationalist leadership in Detroit is spending its time starting and operating black co-ops. This is being done instead of, rather than as part of, the task of providing political direction for the people.

The Xerox Corporation is helping a group of militants in Rochester, N.Y. set up a \$1 million a year business. Xerox

is also sponsor of the TV program "Of Black America." New York's Mau-Mau leader Charles 37X Kenyatta was photographed walking arm in arm with Gov. Rockefeller at the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial march last April. And so the search of big business is on, looking for nationalists with all bark and no bite.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary nationalists ponder the question of organization. Some of the revolutionary nationalists are grouped around newspapers such as the Inner City Voice in Detroit, Boston's Rebellion News, New York's Mojo, and the Plain Truth in Champaign-Urbana. Others are in and around the black student organizations.

SNCC is one of the leading organizations among this tendency, but has serious problems. The shift from civil rights to black power brought on a severe financial crisis in SNCC. The guilt-complex white liberals could not take, and did not understand, the cry for black power. More funds were cut off when SNCC came out in support of the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli War last year. Due to this financial crisis, SNCC chapters across the country in the North were busy raising funds.

Since SNCC considers itself for the most part a tightly knit organization of cadre or political organizers, and not a membership organization, it wasn't structured for people to join after they heard and agreed with the speeches of Carmichael or Rap Brown. SNCC people could provide a revolutionary analysis of the problem, but no concrete program. This lack of program, not concretely defining black power, caused some to get caught up in the rhetoric of the spontaneous rebellions. Many revolutionary nationalists talked in terms of forming underground and clandestine groups to spark the masses.

Early this year, proceeding from the principle that "every Negro is a potential black man," SNCC moved to form militant-moderate coalitions, i.e., united fronts, in the black community. While these united fronts threw every tendency together, they still did not speak to the question of a revolutionary organization. Because the Urban League, NAACP, SCLC, and minister types are more organized than the revolutionaries, the united fronts thus far have tended to wind up as reformist swamps. This is the case in Washington, D.C. where the first united front was started.

The Black Congress, a coalition in Los Angeles set up independently of SNCC, is another example of how these organizations can be used by big business and the government to control the ghetto. The second edition of Black Voice, the organ

The Black Revolt Hits the Campuses



HOWARD - UNIVERSITY - STUDENTS - OCCUPY - ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, MARCH, 1968



PHILADELPHIA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT DEMONSTRATION FOR BLACK CONTROL OF SCHOOLS, NOVEMBER, 1967



FREE HUEY DEMONSTRATION, BERKELEY, JULY 26, 1968



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STRIKE, APRIL, 1968

of the Black Congress, came out in support of the capitalist dove, Eugene McCarthy. Neo-colonial organizations are what these organizations tend to turn out to be.

Unlike the Black Congress, the United Brothers, a quasi-united front organization in Newark, has taken a step away from capitalist politics and the Republican and Democratic parties by running two black independent candidates for city council.

The United Brothers campaign is a reflection of the growing motion in the black community toward independence from the capitalist parties and the building of a black political party. At present SNCC is attempting to relate to this motion by propagating the idea of building a mass political party.

It has been the Oakland Black Panther Party that has emerged thus far as the most significant development toward answering the question of revolutionary organization. The Panther Party, founded by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton in 1966, is developing a revolutionary perspective and program as well as a revolutionary analysis. It not only has begun to speak to the needs of Afro-America, but has been able to organize the brothers and sisters on the block and from the campus into a disciplined, tightly-knit organization. One of the reasons that the BPP has been able to do this is because it has the structure of a membership organization, unlike SNCC. Because its membership is based on agreement with a basic program, the BPP is homogeneous, not heterogeneous like a united front. One of the main purposes of the BPP in its initial phase was to protect the ghetto by instituting armed patrols of the police. To do this and be able to point out police violations the Panthers diligently studied the law. By using these laws the Panthers attempted to educate the black community as to its legal rights.

In the early part of this year the Panthers, whose full title was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, dropped the Self-Defense from their name. This signified that the Party was evolving from just an armed defense group in the direction of a political party. The political party direction was given more delineation when the Panthers announced the local candidacies of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and Kathleen Cleaver, using the ballot status of the Peace and Freedom Party, but based on the Panther ten-point program.

The Panther Party is very different from either the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, or the now-defunct Freedom Now Party that grew up in Detroit and ran statewide candi-

dates in Michigan in 1964. While the FNP and LCFP had and have a broader base of support in the community, they were not national organizations as the BPP has become. Whereas the FNP and LCFP were and are implicitly revolutionary, the BPP is explicit about its revolutionary nature. The BPP is pro-socialist, at this stage drawing especially on the thoughts of Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara.

Concomitant with this revolutionary direction, the BPP has certain deformations which have to be cleared up if it is to continue to grow and increase its influence in the black community. Firstly, the Panthers have to decide whether they are going to become a political party or just purely a self-defense group. The two concepts are not mutually exclusive, but organized armed self-defense is clearly a subordinate operation of a political party.

The actions of a political party have to be designed for the highly centralized, industrialized Hell called North America, not for the jungles and mountains of Latin America. Under the circumstances in North America the execution of the Beast will not take place according to the strategic dictums of Mao, Guevara, Castro, or Debray, but according to the strategic dictums of the May-June events in France.

The image and activities of a political party must not be just associated with the gun. To take control of the black community a political party will have to educate and organize the people around the issues of housing, the rotten school system, unemployment, the debilitating welfare system, taxation, medical care, demeaning jobs, the war and the draft, and government representation, as well as self-defense.

This will not be an over-night job but a job that will be accomplished only with a long term perspective. A revolutionary lives for tomorrow, not for today. The Bloods must be politically educated as well as politically agitated.

A second mistake made by the Panthers was the electoral alliance, or coalition, entered into with the Peace and Freedom Party. The justification for the alliance is that the reformist-minded Peace and Freedom formation is a revolutionary party. The initiation of the alliance around the defense of Huey P. Newton was correct. But the transformation of this alliance into an electoral coalition was incorrect.

The Peace and Freedom Party obtained over 100,000 signatures in California to achieve ballot status by basing itself on the rising antiwar and anti-Johnson sentiment in the country. The party's

subsequent evolution was not marked by any conscious effort to build a revolutionary party, but was marked by reactions to the actions of the two major capitalist parties.

When Johnson dropped out of the presidential race thousands of people who had registered Peace and Freedom re-registered as Democrats. At the California convention last March no attempt was made to pick a presidential candidate until it was clear who was going to be nominated by the Democrats and Republicans.

Owing to the influence of the Independent Socialist Clubs and liberals the program of the California Peace and Freedom Party ignores the basic economic and social differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. It equates Soviet foreign policy with the foreign policy of American capitalism, and calls both imperialist.

At their national convention in August Peace and Freedom adopted a program limited to reforms of the capitalist system. Such a program cannot possibly build an anticapitalist movement. This type of program opens the way to being co-opted or outflanked by the capitalist parties. Programs such as this also produce illusions about being able to get real change through the ballot box.

The adhesive tape that has kept the many factions in Peace and Freedom together is the electoral alliance with the Black Panther Party and, now, the presidential campaign of Eldridge Cleaver. The centrifugal nature of this party is expressed by the fact that each state-wide Peace and Freedom unit gets to pick its own vice-presidential candidate.

In contrast to this confusion and illusion-ridden campaign stands the electoral campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The campaign of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle is designed to educate people about the nature of this society by way of the Vietnam war and the Afro-American liberation struggle. The Halstead and Boutelle campaign points out the necessity of socialist solutions to the problems plaguing North America. Their goal is to build a mass socialist movement to accomplish this solution. The use of the ballot by Halstead and Boutelle is designed to build and organize protests in the streets, not substitute the ballot for mass action. It is this type of unequivocal and uncompromising campaign that is laying the groundwork for revolutionary change.

Because of the ramifications of the Panther-Peace and Freedom alliance it will be dealt with later on.

The Slogan: Black Control of the Black Community

Out of the debate over the concept of black power, coupled with the actions of the people, has emerged a working definition of black power: Black Control of the Black Community. The struggles to remove the occupation army, the police, to take control of the public schools, to have a voice in the welfare system, and to take over other operations in the black community, invariably lead to the demand for black control of the black community. This control is negated by the social, economic, and political force that is exercised over the ghetto by the white exploiter.

The question is, can this domination be destroyed short of a revolution. We don't think it can. Some radicals consider the demand for black control to be reformist and opportunist. They see it as substituting the white-eye administration with a neo-colonialist administration. They take the election of black mayors in Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, Ohio to be proof-positive that this demand can be met this side of capitalism. Even some of the bourgeois figures, like Eugene McCarthy, have come out for some concept of community control.

But what we're concerned about is not the verbal lip-service of capitalist politicians but the revolutionary dynamics that are set into motion by raising the slogan Black Control of the Black Community. Black control doesn't mean control by one black person, but control by black people collectively. The black masses do not control the offices of mayor in Gary and in Cleveland. These offices are controlled by the white capitalist power structure. This power structure can grant tokens, but not collective control.

The people have to form their own independent organizations to take collective control over the community. To make Carl Stokes act in their desired manner cannot be done through the Democratic Party. Since Stokes and Hatcher belong to the political parties of the vultures in power, they have to act in the desired manner of the vultures, not the people. This is why Stokes called in the National Guard to occupy the black community last summer. Any illusion that black people run Cleveland should have been destroyed at that time.

Another example is the school system. Community control of the schools cannot be handed down through some decentralization plan of the vultures, it has to be taken by the people and operated through their own organs of power. The idea of the people building and operating their own organs of power is the revolu-

tionary logic of the demand for black control of the black community. It is this revolutionary logic that is key to all transitional demands, that is, demands that help bridge the gap between the present consciousness of the people and the necessary revolutionary solution to their problems. The ten-point program of the Black Panther Party is a transitional program. All transitional demands and programs look mild and moderate until placed into the water of living reality.

Take this revealing quote from a speech given by Mayor Hatcher of Gary: "There is much talk about black control of the ghetto. What does that mean? I am mayor of a city of roughly 90,000 black people, but we do not control the possibilities of jobs for them, of money for their schools, or state-funded social services. These things are in the hands of the United States Steel Corporation and the County Department of Welfare of the State of Indiana. Will the poor in Gary's worst slums be helped because the pawn-shop owner is black, not white?" Aside from Mayor Hatcher's superficial understanding of the concept of black people running their own communities, it is obvious that if black people are going to take control of Gary they will have to step outside the bounds of the system of private property and organize to collectively run the United States Steel Corporation.

Black people in Detroit will have to deal with the Chrysler and Ford auto plants if they really want to run their own community. Cuban control of Cuba took a socialist revolution to accomplish it. Nothing less than that will accomplish black control of the black community.

The Question of Alliances

Now we come back again to the question of alliances. If we know where we want to go, then all of our alliances will serve to help us achieve that goal.

While fighting the struggle for self-determination here at home, revolutionary black nationalists have sought to link-up their cause with that of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans fighting for the same demands abroad. The common factor of white oppression also unites Afro-Americans with Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Indian Americans here at home. These alliances formed on the international and national levels are of the highest caliber, alliances involving revolution, the destruction of the white capitalist oppressor. Such a revolutionary alliance was symbolically forged between the revolutionary vanguard and the Latin American vanguard when Carmichael appeared at the OLAS conference last year.

So far the alliances that we have considered are those between the revolutionary vanguards of the black, brown, red, and yellow peoples. As opposed to these long term alliances we should launch into a discussion of short term alliances. The former might be labeled strategic alliances, whereas the latter are tactical alliances.

A tactical or short term alliance might involve participation in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam, or the building of a legal defense committee to defend victims of a frame-up or the rights of radical political organizations. Tactical alliances usually unite diverse political forces around a single issue,

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or into what is known as a united front.

The Student Mobilization Committee is an example of a single-issue coalition. In this organization people of varying political persuasions, from pacifism to revolutionary socialism, are united in an effort to end the war in Vietnam by bringing the troops home now. NBAWADU, the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, was a coalition of black organizations and people who wanted to organize the black community against the war and the draft. It was built mainly through the student strike of last April 26.

Last December antiwar alliances were built to stage a week of demonstrations against the draft. In February of this year a coalition was built to support Professor Harry Edwards' call to boycott a track meet held by the lily-white New York Athletic Club.

Two years ago the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee arose to defend the rights of three GIs who refused to go to Vietnam. Because one of the GIs was an Afro-American, and another a Puerto Rican, nationalists and black power advocates participated in the defense.

After the brutal attack on Leroy Jones by Newark police during the rebellion last year an Ad Hoc Committee of Afro-American Artists and Writers was formed. This committee's function was to raise funds for the legal defense of Jones and rally public support for him.

All of the above united-front alliances and coalitions were established to fulfill a specific purpose or carry out a specific action. These alliances did not involve any attempt to gloss over the political and ideological differences of the participants.

Many times, white radicals and black militants confuse this single-issue type of alliance with a strategic alliance, or political bloc.

A case in point is the defense of Huey P. Newton. From a specific alliance to defend Newton, the Panther Party's working relationship with Peace and Freedom evolved into a political alliance that is supposed to aid in the liberation of the black nation.

A specific alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party to defend Newton is justifiable. In fact, each and every organization that is willing to defend Newton's constitutional rights, even if they do not agree with Newton's political views, should be incorporated into a legal defense organization. Such a defense organization should include black liberals as well as white liberals. In this way the task of raising funds and getting

publicity would be made much easier.

To take up the question of strategic alliances between black and white revolutionaries, using the BPP-PFP alliance as an example, you have to deal with the nature of this society. What is also at stake in such alliances is how to further the fight against racial oppression.

Granting that the society has a capitalistic nature, a nature based on the right of private property being the most cherished of all rights, then the society is essentially divided into a class of owners and a class of the propertyless. (In this context, property does not mean a shirt, a pair of trousers, or a house, but property that affects the lives of hundreds of thousands and millions of human beings, such as banks, factories, real estate, and government and higher financial institutions.)

The class of owners constitutes what is known as the bourgeois or capitalist class. In the age of imperialism, where a few powerful capitalist nations have carved up the world, the capitalists form combines and trusts which monopolize one particular industry or a set of different industries. Henry Ford II is an example of a monopoly capitalist who specializes in automobiles. The Rockefellers are a monopoly capitalist family running oil companies like Standard Oil, and banks like Chase Manhattan.

The class of the propertyless is known as the workers, or working class. A little less than one quarter of the 80 million membered working class in the United States is organized into economic defense organizations called trade unions. These unions are now run in a high-handed manner by bureaucrats and labor toms who used to know what it was like to be a worker.

In this country you not only have this class division but a race division as well, where whites collectively oppress blacks. As was mentioned before, this black labor force forms a pool of cheap labor for the benefit of the monopoly capitalists. Black people make up what is known as an intra-colonized nation.

Flowing from this analysis, the two main social forces that can move in a revolutionary political fashion against the capitalist power structure are black people as a people and the working class--both black and white.

Any political party that programmatically stands in the zone between the capitalists and the workers is building its base on sand, and it will eventually be swept into the dust heap by the forward march of history. The Peace and

Freedom Party is a contemporary example of such a party. Programmatically, the 1948 Progressive Party of Henry Wallace is its predecessor.

The Peace and Freedom Party is the worst electoral expression of white middle-class liberalism and faint-hearted radicalism. Such a party, with no working class base or working class program, will wind up pleading to the monopolists for social change rather than looking toward the mobilization of the people.

This comes out explicitly in the way Peace and Freedom and a lot of white radicals perceive racism in this society. Many radicals see racism as a dirty, nasty, bad idea that has somehow permeated society. It is a dirty, nasty, bad idea that has to be expelled from the psyches of white people. To these radicals organizing in the white community comes to mean organizing this amorphous group of people called "white people" around their guilty racist consciences.

One of the motivations for running Eldridge Cleaver as the presidential candidate of Peace and Freedom is to help the white community fight its racism. Therefore, for some people, support to the Black Panther Party becomes not an act of political solidarity, but an act by which a white radical shows that he or she has overcome his or her racist conscience. This is just another sophisticated version of white paternalism, smacking of the missionary complex. This is the same approach the ruling class uses, attacking the effect, white racism, not the cause, white racist oppression as a tool of rule for the North American capitalist class.

What did the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders blame as the cause of the urban rebellions? Why, white racism. In the words of one of the chief commissioners, U.S. Senator Fred Harris: "When my colleagues and I on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded that the deepest cause of the recent riots in our cities was white racism, we went as directly as we knew how to the heart of the matter." The heart of the matter is white capitalist society, upheld by racist institutions, one of them being the Democratic Party, to which Mr. Harris belongs. Mr. Harris fights white racism by supporting Hubert Horatio Humphrey for president.

The most ridiculous effort to be set afoot is this "Give a damn" campaign of the Urban Coalition. Psych yourself into wearing a "Give a damn" button and you've KO'd racism. What quackery! North America may be in the atomic age technologically, but politically it is still in the stone age.

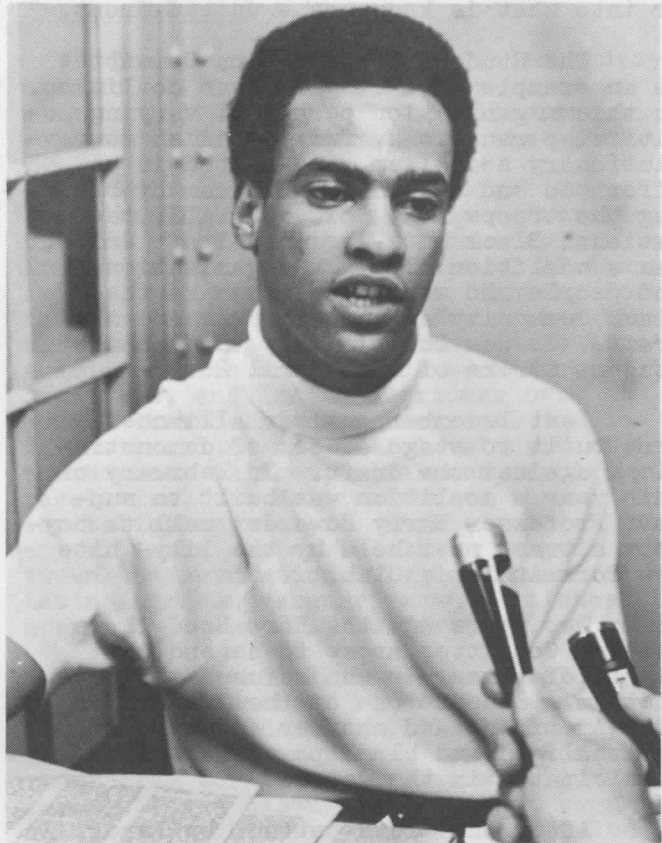


HUEY P. NEWTON

The ruling class approach to racism, designed to buttress its rule, becomes that of the middle class, since the middle class has no approach of its own. This approach may mobilize a few nuts in suburbia, but not white workers. The class approach is the only sane approach to the problem. It is this approach that will bring about the decomposition of this class society with the subsequent destruction of the vultures and their racist institutions.

The only way the psyche of the white worker will begin to rethink the question of racism is when he begins to see how it goes against his own self-interest. The redneck knows that black armed self-defense will have direct consequences for him, whereas the policy of nonviolent resistance allows him to continue his racist aggression.

At the present juncture, the way sections of white workers will radicalize will be through issues such as opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam. The white worker will not oppose the Vietnam war on moral grounds alone or because of pacifist principles, he will come out and oppose the war when taxation, rises in the cost of living (inflation), and use of his relatives as cannon fodder make it impossible for him to continue to support



HUEY P. NEWTON

the war. His "patriotism" goes out the window when his pay-check can't make ends meet.

While the North American worker bitches in front of his television about the war, it is only when he decides on some direct action that his radical education begins. In the streets he meets the repressive apparatus of the state and deepens his understanding about the Vietnam war.

As he comprehends the nature of the Vietnam conflict, he begins to transfer some of that understanding to the North American scene. He learns that it is not H. Rap Brown, but conditions, that breed black rebellions. Through further anti-war action in the streets and in the plants against the bootlicking trade union bureaucrats, he sees the need for solidarity with the Afro-American struggle. This solidarity is not born out of any soul-searching, but out of actual struggle against imperialist wars and misleadership in the union movement. Thus, it is such things as the Vietnam war and its economic consequences that will detonate the pent up anger and frustration of white workers, not "white racism."

The example of France is most illustrative at this point. It was the street actions of the French students that detonated the dam and allowed the 10-year backlog of grievances of the French workers against the Gaullist regime to spill over across the nation.

In the May-June events, the French students and workers understood each other because they were both talking the same language: power. If this power had been achieved, France's neo-colonialist setup in parts of Africa would have collapsed. It is when the North American white worker starts speaking the language of workers power that he will begin to understand the rebellious students and the captive Afro-American nation. And it is at that point that the Yankee empire will crumble as if it were made of sand.

The above is just a brief sketch of one of the many possible ways in which North American workers will be forced to take up the cudgels of revolution. This description dealt with the nature of this society, and the dynamic struggles that will be set loose when the masses begin to move against it.

Revolutionary Black Socialists and the Struggle for Self-Determination

When we say that the nationalism of the oppressed peoples in this epoch inevitably flows into socialist channels, that is not based on a pragmatic understanding of the Chinese, Korean, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions. This asser-

tion is rooted in a comprehension of events stretching over the first half of the 20th century. That comprehension begins with a digestion of V.I. Lenin's work on imperialism, and Leon Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.

Lenin's work simply deals with the fact that capitalism has reached its highest and last stage -- imperialism. This is where the world has been completely carved up by the Japanese, European and North American capitalist nations. It is a stage that is marked by the export of investment capital, which is utilized to strangle and stunt the development of the colonial nations through using the mineral and natural riches of these continents for the benefit of the advanced capitalist countries.

The question of how to deal with this imperialist state of affairs is answered in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. Trotsky argued that, given the atrophy of the colonial bourgeoisie because of its dependence on the landlords and foreign imperialists, the task of achieving national independence and self-determination lay upon the shoulders of the workers in an alliance with the peasantry.

In other words, as applied to pre-1917 Russia, this theory showed that it wasn't the Russian bourgeoisie that was going to lead the peasantry in the struggle against the landlords, nor reclaim Russian independence from the French and British imperialists, but that these two tasks would be accomplished by the Russian working class allied with the peasantry in a socialist revolution. It was this analysis, called the permanent revolution, which Trotsky laid down in 1905, that correctly forecast the nature and character of the Russian Revolution of 1917. It is this theory that has correctly described the nature and character of every successful revolution in the colonial world since World War II.

The application of this theory to the wilderness of North America produces the inevitable conclusion that the enchained Afro-American nation will achieve its complete liberation, i.e., self-determination, only through a socialist or anticapitalist revolution. Because the enchained black nation resides in the belly of the Beast, the consequences of a successful revolution by Afro-America will mean the liberation of this entire planet from capitalist exploitation and misery. To accomplish this deed, the physical, spiritual, and ideological armament of Afro-America must be of the highest caliber.

Concerning the ideological weapons, if they are not immune from the virus of bureaucracy, neo-colonialism, and imperi-

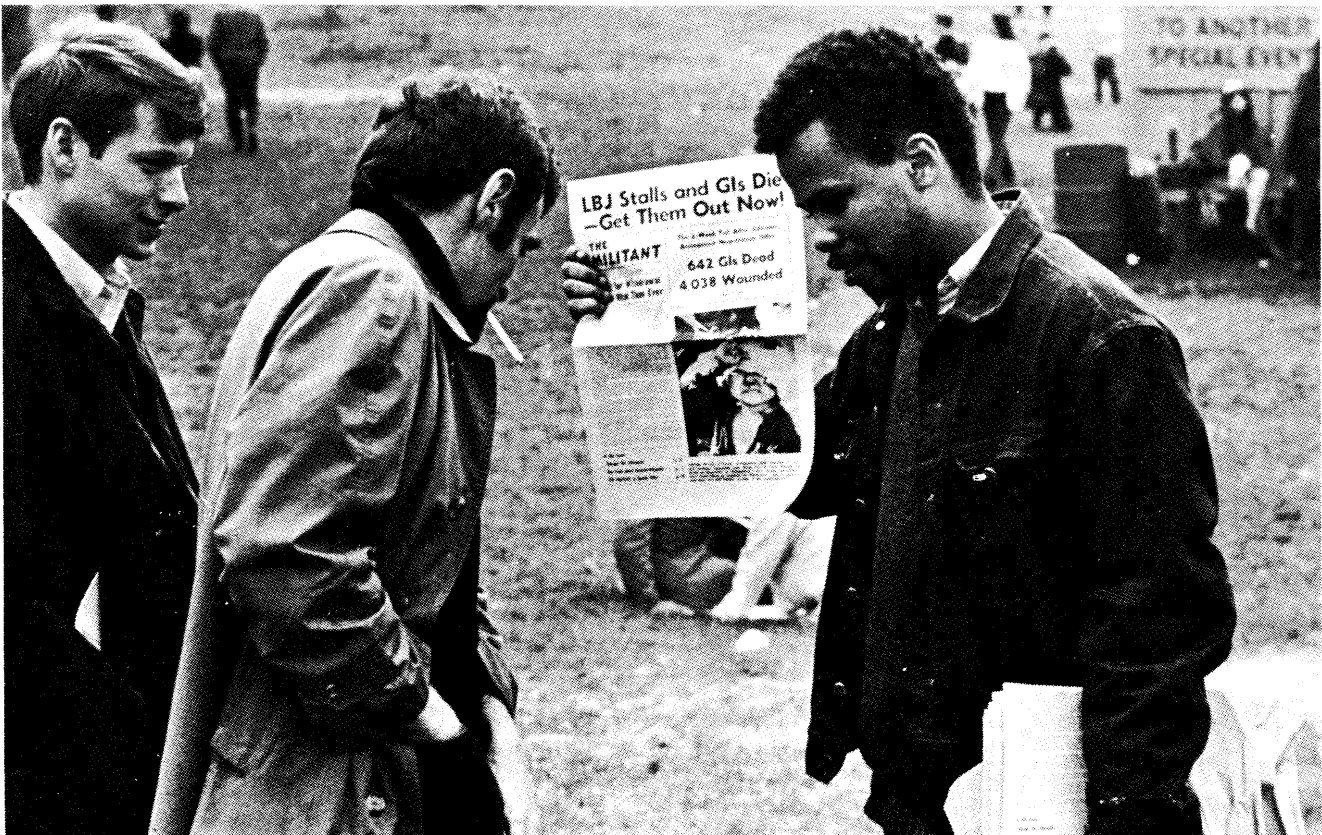
alism, then we are standing on a false foundation. Pseudo-revolutionaries are the product, and sellouts or aborted revolutionaries are the results of an infected ideology. Under the guise of nationalism and socialism, a lot of setbacks and atrocities have been perpetrated on the people. Witness the so-called nationalist governments in Africa, or the so-called Communist parties of Latin America. Using the pretext of "defending" socialism, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. Under the guise of nationalism, the interests of black people have been sold down the drain only too often.

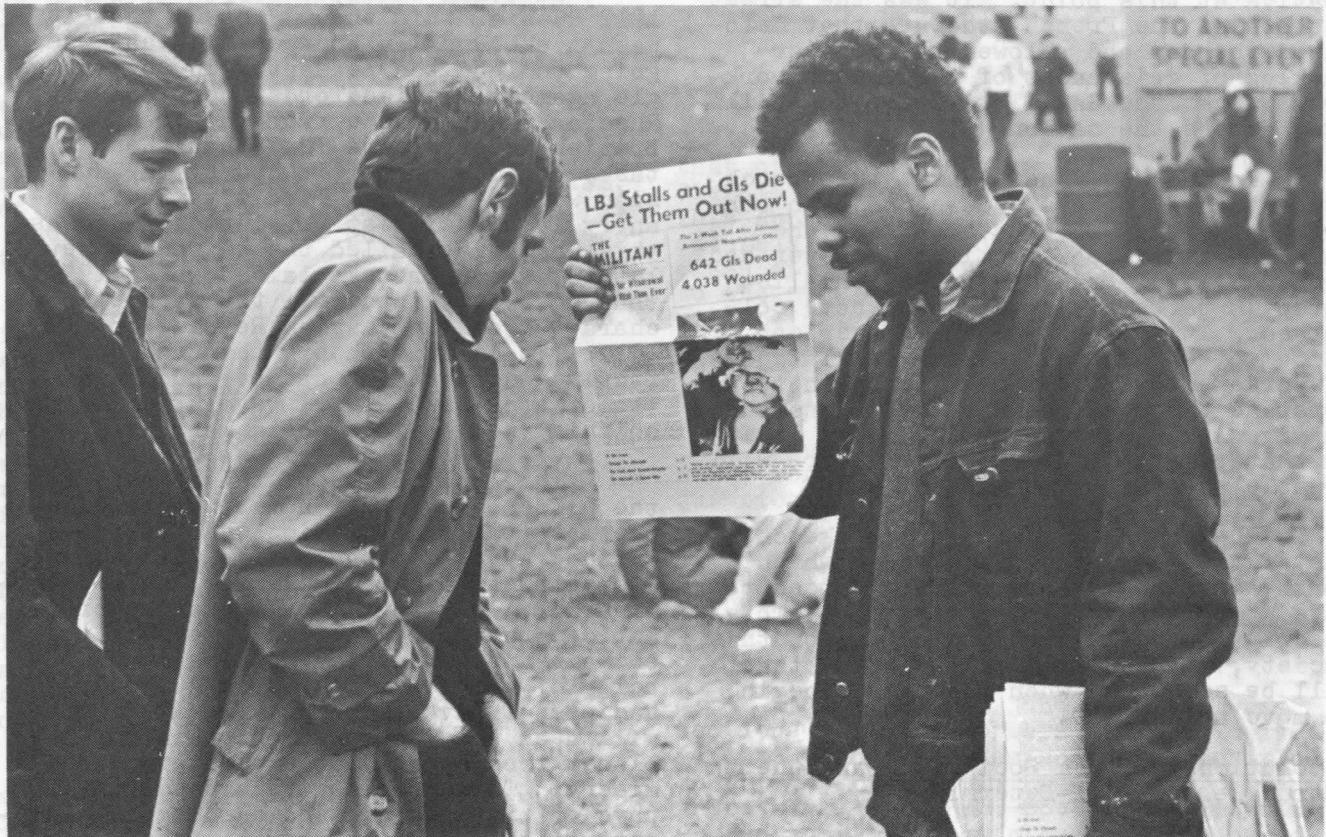
On account of all of this, the tools of revolutionary Marxism, including the theory of the permanent revolution, are necessary in developing a revolutionary theory and program. To be a consistent nationalist, one has to become a revolutionary socialist or Marxist. Revolutionary nationalists are of the Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral (Secretary-General of the PAIGC, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, a guerrilla organization struggling to liberate "Portuguese" Guinea on the coast of West Africa) school of thought. Reactionary nationalists are of the Chaing Kai-Shek, Moise Tshombe school.

Black revolutionary socialists in the Young Socialist Alliance represent the growing number of nationalists who are becoming conscious Marxists, not just pro-Marxist or pro-socialist as the case may be.

The conscious black Marxists are in the very vanguard of the struggle. They are trailblazing toward the day when the black vanguard becomes consciously Marxist and the black masses achieve socialist consciousness as a result of the unfolding of the national and class contradictions in American society.

The black Marxists seek to build a cadre that will help educate and construct a black vanguard that is capable of organizing the struggle for self-determination. At the same time, black Marxists, through the Young Socialist Alliance, participate in the construction of a revolutionary vanguard for the millions of workers that will one day achieve socialist consciousness as a result of the aggravation and intensification of the class struggle. Both these tasks correspond to the dual oppression of Afro-America, speaking to the question of building revolutionary political formations that will untie the Gordian knots of national





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oppression and class exploitation. Achievement of these goals requires the steeling of ourselves for a protracted struggle.

The job of black revolutionary socialists is to Afro-Americanize Marxism. Marxism is a social science that has strategic value the world over, but it has to be applied to each concrete situation. Fidel combined the revolutionary tradition of Maceo and Marti, two 19th century Cuban patriots, with the tradition of Marx and Lenin to forge the ideological armor of the Cuban Revolution. Revolutionary black socialists must combine the traditions of Martin Delaney, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, and Malcolm X with the traditions of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and Cannon to forge a suitable ideological armor. This can best be done through using the international revolutionary socialist heritage of the YSA.

The Young Socialist Alliance has inherited the reservoir of knowledge and experience gained over the past fifty years in North Americanizing Marxism. The combination of this heritage with the heritage of 400 years of struggle by Afro-America against white racist aggression and oppression will produce an invincible weapon.

When this ideological armor is constructed and organizationally reflected in the struggle of the people, the ending of 400 years of white racist oppression will be just around the corner. In this Hannibalian task, we can't afford to lose, we have a world to win!

Tasks

This analysis of the struggle for black liberation points to the following tasks which the Young Socialist Alliance should concentrate on during the coming year:

1. Young Socialists should continue and deepen their campaigns in support of 1) the struggle for black control of the black community and 2) the formation of a black political party. Both of these concepts point toward the long-run goal of mobilizing the masses as a necessary condition for revolution.

The demand for black control of the black community can mobilize masses of black people in struggle against the ruling class on issues such as schools, the welfare system and police occupation of the black community.

A mass independent black political party is the vehicle through which the struggle for black control of the black community can be organized. Such a party is needed to unite the struggles on all the issues which concern black people and

to pose an alternative to the parties of the capitalist rulers. It can have the perspective of taking power within the black community.

2. The YSA should support and participate in those organizations which are struggling for black liberation on the campuses, in the unions, in the antiwar movement, among black GIs, and in the schools.

Young Socialists should support and help build the Black Panther Party as the most important organization presently taking steps in the direction of building a black party.

3. During the coming year, the struggles for black control of the schools will deepen. It is around this issue that the most substantial organization of the masses of black people is taking place. This fight, which is mobilizing people in the community around demands which put them in conflict with the Republican and Democratic city administrations, can be important in laying the basis for an independent political party.

Young Socialists should actively support these struggles — especially those taking place in the high schools.

Black high school YSAers should participate in high school struggles for black control of the schools, for a black curriculum, and for the right to carry out political activity in the high schools. Black YSA high school students can help build Afro-American clubs in the high schools as well as recruit high school students to revolutionary socialism.

4. The struggles of black students on college campuses are also intensifying and becoming more political. Black YSAers on campus can help build Afro-American student organizations, participate in the growing number of campus-based struggles, and recruit black college students to the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

5. Young Socialists should actively support defense campaigns for black political defendants by participating in defense committees, by helping to build united front defense rallies and demonstrations, by raising money, and distributing defense pamphlets and buttons.

Those national defense campaigns that Young Socialists should continue to support include the cases of Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, H. Rap Brown, the TSU Five, and the Queens 17.

Also of importance are the many local cases of the Black Panther Party.

6. Young Socialists should take part in the general discussion going on within the black liberation movement over perspectives for the struggle. This can be done not only through informal discussion and at public meetings, but through the expanded circulation of the Militant and the Young Socialist and YSA pamphlets and literature.

7. YSAers should educate themselves through classes and individual reading on the history and theory of the black liberation movement. This should include an understanding of black nationalism, Afro-

American history, and the history of nationalist movements in other countries. YSAers should be familiar with the works of Malcolm X as well as the writings coming out of the present day struggle, including such papers as the Inner City Voice, the Black Panther Party paper, books on the struggle such as Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice, and such pamphlets as Vernon and Browne on black separatism.

8. Young Socialists should help to build the ranks of the revolutionary black Marxist vanguard by recruiting Afro-Americans to the YSA.

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