

# Discussion Bulletin

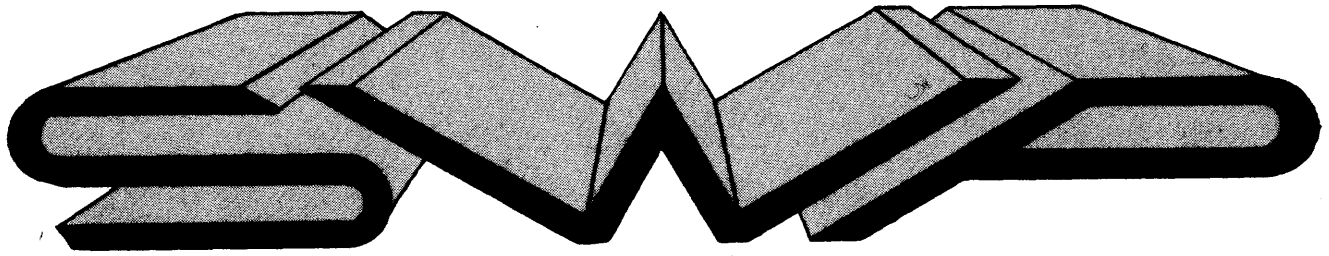
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THE INDEPENDENT BLACK PARTY, BLACK CADRES  
AND ORGANIZED TROTSKYISM

by Jan G.

One of the biggest problems faced by the black liberation struggle and which we will continue to have to deal with in connection with our program for the independent black party is the question of how cadres will be trained and organized.

Of course, we cannot make any exact predictions about this, but it is important that we have some sort of idea. In private discussions in our movement -- and perhaps even with contacts -- a very incorrect notion has developed because of the fact that we have had only very vague ideas as to how this problem will be solved.

Some black militants who have an idea how the SWP functions have come to the conclusion that only a black "Leninist" party can lead the black masses; in view of the lack of such a party, which might intervene to influence a mass black party in the way the SWP might intervene in a Labor Party development, they oppose in practice the idea of a mass independent black party because, they say, it will invariably be reformist. They feel it would be a block to the development of a black "Leninist" party. (It may be that I have distorted their position by trying to present it as though it were a consistent theory, but this has been necessary to extract the essence of a political problem.)

A handful of militants, sharing this idea either in whole or in part; made a good deal of difficulty in the early stages of the Michigan FNP. They came into the FNP, before its nature had been delineated, with the intention of weeding out all but the most "committed."

I do not intend to dwell on the dead-end character of this conception. But I am concerned when I hear comrades talk about the possibility of a black Leninist party forming separately sometime between now and the revolution as though it were a major and desirable likelihood. It appears to violate the principle that cadre building is an organic process and the lesson of sixty years of organizational experience: that a unified democratic-centralist party is required to train and develop the cadres who must lead the assault on a single capitalist state. However much self-determination for the black masses is fought for, the American revolution will not circumnavigate the cadres assembled in our movement.

Of course, if something unprecedented should happen and a black Leninist formation should independently arise, we would do everything in our power to cooperate with it in bringing about the revolution. Yet I believe it is incorrect to predict this development or to look upon it as any

sort of solution to the problem many members have in developing contacts with nationalists or in recruiting black militants to the movement.

To black radicals who appreciate the need for the training of black cadres we should say something along these lines:

1) It is incorrect to counterpose building black cadres to building an independent black party that strives to become a mass party of action. (The difficulty in organizing the unity of the black community through other means -- trade unions, etc. -- is one of the best arguments for the black party, which may play a role analogous to Soviets in the Russian Revolution in that it may become an elementary form of independent mass organization aimed at eventually establishing dual power. Cf. also the role envisaged by Hugo Blanco for the Peruvian peasant-union confederations.)

2) The place for the black activist is in the black party but he should also join the only Leninist party on the scene, which is also the only political party that unreservedly supports the black-party idea.

3) Despite the SWP's predominantly white composition, it contains within it the best traditions and experiences of the class and national liberation struggles as well as the tools with which to analyze it and chart strategy and tactics. Part of this is the recognition that the black people are destined to play the vanguard role in the coming American revolution; but we also know that a vanguard people must have its own organizers, strategists, spokesmen, writers, etc. and therefore we strive to develop black cadres and assist them to function as a team.

4) We do not know and cannot predict what forms the relation between the black and white activists will take at various stages of the struggle, to what extent they will be combined in alliances and organizations with a common goal. A lot of that will depend upon, though not necessarily directly reflect, the extent to which the black and white masses are engaged in action against the common enemy.

5) You can learn revolutionary theory by reading, but the best way to receive the political heritage of the class struggle, of Marxism-Leninism, is through practical experience in the only Leninist party presently on the scene. If, for whatever reason (we cannot refuse to deal with this question if it is raised), a totally separate black Leninist organization becomes necessary, black revolutionaries from the presently integrated party will be ready to make a major contribution.

6) The international ties of the SWP with militants engaged in the colonial revolution on the grass-roots level are additional advantages to membership; moreover, these ties

are partial insurance against its degeneration on account of its present composition.

7) Since membership in the SWP is voluntary, individuals may terminate their membership whenever they feel that the majority decision (made, in any case, after full discussion) contravenes the interest of the freedom struggle. Thus there is no magic snare keeping militants under the control of somehow "alien" revolutionaries. (Note the coincidence of this " 'alien' revolutionary" idea with the normal anti-communist myth.)

8) Besides receiving the political heritage of Marxism from participation in the SWP, black revolutionaries have a good deal to teach white revolutionaries -- especially the younger ones -- so that the latter will make effective and intelligent allies at a later stage. There is no place that such efforts are to be more rewarded than in the SWP or YSA.

\* \* \*

The above lines were written before I read Nat W.'s contribution. Although I disagree with the idea of an independent black Trotskyist organization separately associated with the International, there is a positive kernel in Nat's suggestion, if I may be permitted to interpret it in my own way.

It may become desirable to "dualize" the public face of the SWP to take into account the distinct role of the black people, just as the Canadian movement has formed the League for Socialist Action -- Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere -- to indicate the importance they place on the Quebecois revolution. The LSA-LSO is still a democratic-centralist party, but in the area where the national minority is dominant, the public name is different and the comrades have a different tactical orientation.

The Canadians have proved that it is possible to start a national-minority branch with a small number of cadres. We have already made the decision at various points to develop the team-functioning of our Afro-American members; and we are striving to build Afro-American branches in the ghettos at some future date. When we are ready for this, we might decide to name the black branches of the movement something like the Afro-American Socialist League (League would be appropriate if, say, a larger independent black party were in formation) and the entire movement might be the SWP-ASL.

September 12, 1967

Detroit, Michigan

THOUGHTS ON BLACK LIBERATION AND THE SWP

By Derrick Morrison

The question of the liberation of 22 million black people, in the heart of American imperialism, is an unprecedented one in the annals of Marxism. There are no pat answers as to how this liberation struggle will take place. These are two thoughts that all SWPers should have in mind when approaching the Afro-American question in the U.S.

The legacy of racism permeates any and all relationships between whites and blacks in American society. There is much truth to the idea expressed by SNCC, earlier this year, when it stated that when blacks look at whites in this country, they see 180 million racists. Similarly, when blacks look at the left in this country, they see it only as the white left, being not too much different from the crackers who clamor for black skins. And this lumping together of the white left and rednecks is the natural result of the betrayal after betrayal after betrayal that black people have suffered at the hands of white radicals. The self-declared friends of black people are sometimes worse than their self-declared enemies.

From the American Revolution, through the abolitionist movement, through Reconstruction, through the SP, CP, CIO, and on up until the present, the historic reaction of the white left has been to flee when things get rough. Anytime support to the struggles of black people threatened to upset the applecart, white radicals broke down and became apologists for the system. The assimilation of the history of these sellouts produces the widespread black nationalist mood that exists among black people today. The SWP, as part of this white left, inherits the crimes and failures of its predecessors.

But the question that must be asked is, why the consistent record of betrayal? The record of betrayal is rooted in the fact that white supremacy formed an open or latent part of the analysis by white radicals of the role that Afro-Americans will play in the radical transformation of American society. In considering this question, our attention will be focused on white radicals in the 20th century, meaning the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Party cannot be understood fully unless we take into account the policies and program of the Second International. In this way, the attitude of the Second International toward the colonial world can be related to the attitude of the Socialist Party toward Afro-Americans.

In both cases, the policies towards the colonials and blacks are shot through with the white supremacy complex: the idea that 19th century Europe and America were carrying on the white man's burden by bringing "civilization" to the colored peoples of the world. This chauvinism was produced by the fact that the European and American Socialist Parties were comprised for the most part of privileged sectors of the working class and petty bourgeoisie. These two sectors of society outside the ruling class were the chief benefactors of imperialism.

The Second International's position on the colonial peoples was simply that their liberation must wait until the Western European workers came to power. This idea was so preponderant that it played a part in preventing the Bolsheviks and Russian Social Democracy from accepting Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution. This was because Lenin and the Social Democrats saw Russia as a semi-colonial country that could not be liberated unless the European workers moved first. Thus, acceptance of Russian inferiority to European superiority was one of the latent obstacles that prohibited the Russian Social Democrats from accepting a perspective of socialist revolution for Russia. On the other hand, what allowed the Russian Bolsheviks to pass over from acceptance of their "place" in the world revolution to Trotsky's theory was the fact that they were organized independently of the European left. The contradiction of the Bolshevik position was that while they accepted their "place" in the World Revolution, they disregarded Europe entirely on the organization of their own Marxist party. From the time that Plekhanov formed the first Russian Marxist vanguard in 1883, up to and after 1917, the European Social Democrats expressed open disgust and contempt for the political disputes and "dictatorial" organizational methods of the Russian left. Even Engels supported the Populists for a long time against Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labor Group. But in the end, it was the Russian Bolsheviks, not the European Social Democrats, who made the revolution. It was the people on the bottom who showed the way to those on the top.

Getting back to America, the Socialist Party saw the black man's problem as simply a class problem, which would end when the white proletariat came to power in the U.S. Thus, if the SP could not fathom the difference between black workers and white workers, it ended up ignoring black workers altogether. This ignorance of the difference was a submission to the omnipotence of American racism. The only way the SP was unable to see this difference was because they were blinded by racism. Not seeing resulted in no action. Why did not the SP even defend black workers against racial injustices? This could have been defended from a class viewpoint of the racial problem on the basis of equal treatment for members of the working class, whether they be

black or white. But no, this couldn't be done because it was white workers, the panacea for everybody's ills under capitalism, who were inflicting the racial injustices. It was these very white workers whom the SP was trying to recruit; that the SP leaders were afraid of offending if they promoted racial equality.

The same thing goes for the European Social Democratic Parties. They could have protested the injustices and crimes inflicted upon the colonial world by the Western powers, even if they did maintain that the colonials would be free after the white workers destroyed capitalism. But this was not so on account of the fact that the very workers the Second International was out to recruit were the same workers being used by the capitalist class to brutally enslave Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And the populations of Europe were being whipped up with racial hysteria to justify this conquest.

So now we can see that the attitude of the American left toward black people is directly related to the attitude of the European left toward the subjugated peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It is no accident that the theory of the Permanent Revolution was formulated by a Marxist from a semi-colonial country. It had to be that way because of the infection of the European left with white chauvinism. This chauvinism makes it impossible for them to see the role that can be played by the colonials.

Just as the attitude of the American Marxists toward the black struggle came from the outside (as George Breitman so aptly noted in his introduction to the pamphlet, "Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination," which every comrade should read), so the attitude of European Marxists toward the colonials came from the "outside." In both cases, the source of outside influence was the Russian Bolsheviks. And the Bolsheviks had every right to lecture the Europeans and Americans, since they had mastered and conquered Great Russian chauvinism, kept a nation together in which 57 per cent of the population comprised various minority groups, and waged a three-year civil war on top of all this. Sometimes I think comrades take lightly the significance of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

But the key lesson to learn here is that the Russians were able to teach the Americans and Europeans because they were independent. One of the reasons that made it easy for Western Marxists to give in to racial prejudice was that the masses of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans did not engage in a protracted assault upon imperialism before WWI. This was mainly because the technology of the West (means of destruction), and a revolutionary ideology (Marxism) based on that technology had not yet been assimilated by the colonials. This in turn was due to the embryonic existence of the colonial working class which was not yet sufficiently developed to take on the colossus that is imperialism.



Now we come to the second period in the development of Marxism in relation to the Afro-American struggle. This began with the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Third International. Through the Third International, the Russian Bolsheviks began to get across the Marxist position in regard to oppressed national minorities and oppressed nations. As various nationalist movements broke out in the colonial world and in the States (Marcus Garvey), the Marxist understanding of the question of nationalities was facilitated. The American Communist Party in the 20's was never able really to understand this question because it had difficulty just trying to stay together. Democratic centralism was hard enough, let alone the national question. Because the CPUSA never did catch on how to build a vanguard Marxist party, which made it more than ever dependent upon Moscow. Therefore, when Moscow began to degenerate in the middle and late 20's, this same degeneration was reflected in the CPUSA. Thus, whatever lessons on the national question that should have been assimilated by the CP, had to be assimilated by the American Left Opposition. The American Communist Party was never able to adopt a revolutionary position on the black struggle simply because it was never a revolutionary party. The best position that it could possibly take after World War II was that of the left liberals, who hold a somewhat militant integrationist viewpoint. Other than this, the CP has to tail-end the black struggle, attempting to absorb its mood but trying to keep it within the capitalist framework.

Before the end of World War II, all through the 30's and 40's, the CP's position on the black struggle was outlined by the Kremlin. Making a mockery of the Leninist demand for the self-determination of nations, the CP called for "Self-determination for the Black Belt." This meant that blacks should set up a state in the South. And the CP even had plans as to how this state would look and what boundaries it would possess. What crude stuff! The CP was not only going to tell black people what to do, but how to do it. The blacks recruited to the CP were not recruited because of this program, but in spite of it. However, this demand of "Self-determination for the black belt" was only used by the CP during its left turns. When it sought to snuggle up close to the Roosevelt liberals, it conveniently dropped this plank. What the CP did to this plank is similar to what the CP did to black people: use them as out and out pawns. When it was in the interest of the Stalinists to militantly support black people, they did it. And when it was in the interests of the Stalinists to compromise and mitigate their support to the black struggle, they did that, too. Before the Soviet Union's entrance into World War II, it was all self-determination and full support to the black struggle, even if it interfered with Washington's war moves; after the Soviet Union was attacked, it was "Save Mother Russia", the American black man will have to wait. Such crass opportunism reeks of the racist treatment that black people have received at the hands of this society.

The policy of the Stalinists toward the American black man went hand in hand with the policy of the Kremlin toward the colonials. Stalin decreed that the farthest the colonial revolutionists could go was to put the national bourgeoisie into power. Socialist revolution was theoretically reserved for Europe and America. Of course, when history pushed too hard, Uncle Joe allowed China and North Korea to join the club. But these were the exceptions. No matter what the sacrifices (and this came close to a million human beings in Indonesia), nothing must get in the way of cementing and maintaining an alliance with the national bourgeoisie. As with the Afro-American policy, this policy toward the colonials is permeated with great white fatherism, and leads to the deepening and strengthening of Western racism throughout the world.

The central ideas that had to be stamped out of existence before the Soviet bureaucracy to pursue such policies were Lenin's idea of the right of nations to self-determination, and Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution.

It is the theory of the permanent revolution that gives us the key to understanding the struggles going on in the colonial countries and in the U.S. among Afro-Americans. In a real sense, Trotsky must not be looked upon as a European, but as a revolutionary Marxist of the Third World. The movement that he attempted to build in the 30's embodies the best traditions of uncompromising struggle. He was key in developing the theory and program of the Fourth International. Even though the American movement understood the program of the Left Opposition, it was still incapable of applying Marxism to the Afro-American struggle. Only upon the intervention of Trotsky in 1933 and 1939 was the American Left Opposition able to begin to make some headway in a satisfactory analysis.

Trotsky's key contribution was to prepare the American Trotskyists for the eventual rise of nationalist consciousness among the oppressed black men and women in America. This idea of genuinely looking at black people as an oppressed national minority was a very unique contribution. This was why the SWP was able to understand and support the Nation of Islam when every other radical tendency was competing with each other in delivering strident condemnations of the Muslims. This was why the SWP could see the potential of the late Brother Malcolm X, why it was able to collaborate with him and become the principal source for knowledge about him after his death. The SWP was able to see the potential of Malcolm's revolutionary development when most whites and a lot of blacks were missing the point or outrightly attacking Malcolm. The idea of black people as an oppressed national minority enabled the SWP to support, collaborate, and help build the Michigan Freedom Now Party; the first independent black political party. This idea enabled the SWP to be the very vanguard in support to the Lowndes County Freedom Party and

the developments in SNCC and CORE, and in unconditionally supporting the ghetto rebellions. Holding to this idea and the analysis that flows from it explains why the literature of the SWP enjoys a wide popularity among black militants. This also explains why we sell more literature in the ghetto than any other radical tendency.

But, despite all of these accomplishments and achievements, there is a lot to be desired in the SWP. The accomplishments and achievements stand out when the party is compared with other radical tendencies. This can cause some comrades to think that everything is all right and that we don't have to deepen our analysis. This attitude in turn can lead to indifference and apathy among members. As Robert Vernon said in one of the Discussion Bulletins of 1965 entitled "Memo on Black Ghetto Radicalism," "The very fact that 'our line was proved right,' and spectacularly so in the experience with Malcolm X, can cause some complacency and a lag in the understanding of some comrades, who feel that we have found the answer when actually we have made an excellent beginning; who mistake zero-ing in the shots for actually hitting the bull's-eye. (The fact that other 'radicals' cannot even hit the side of the barn on this question is true, and does us credit, but we still have a lot to learn.)"

"No comrade could gain a serious hearing from union militants by simply stating his support for the 'progressive aspects of trade unionism' while remaining ignorant of and indifferent to the multiple and complex problems which actually trouble and irritate workers and their families. Similarly, it is not enough for revolutionary socialists to 'support the progressive aspects of black nationalism.' At least some, if not all, comrades must become conversant with the specific problems of ghetto life and the ghetto-centered class struggle. We must have comrades capable of running down the intricacies of the problems to other comrades, to black ghetto radicals, to prospective party recruits. Our comrades must be capable of demonstrating in wealth of detail and within a revolutionary Marxist class-struggle framework just how and why the many piecemeal reforms now attempted are and will be impotent in solving the problems of black slum ghettos and of impoverished slum neighborhoods in general. Included among these reformist ameliorative gimmicks are the War-on-Poverty bread and circuses, and white missionary work of the Office of Economic Opportunity, CORE, church groups, SDS, Haryou-Act, Mobilization for Youth, Civil Rights organizations, and even the black nationalist self-help schemes.

"Reforms within a capitalist framework won't work, and only revolutionary solutions are possible -- we all agree on that, but we have to be able to prove it in detail, we have to be on top of the ghetto situation, in order to make serious inroads for revolutionary socialism and/or black radicalism among the 'community people'. A general radicalization

sweeping the entire country, a powerful revolutionary mass movement rooted in factory and neighborhood, could attempt serious work on these problems, but that's the cart before the horse. Our problem now is how to channelize this radical potential in the present stage, when only black people are radical, generally speaking, and no powerful allies are in sight. All of this requires special attention from comrades, some of whom must have specialized knowledge of this area of the class struggle, on a par with the Marxist knowledge other comrades command in the area of trade unions, the history of other revolutions, the class nature of this or that state, etc.

"It is in this sense that the many ghetto problems are posed for analysis and for development of a transitional-program approach in the coming period."

Vernon's document pinpoints the next stage in the development of the SWP's analysis of the black question. The only way one can Afro-Americanize Marxism is to have a knowledge of the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of black people. For the revolutionary socialist party to formulate a transitional program for the black struggle, knowledge of the above conditions is indispensable.

To be able to Latin-Americanize Marxism, knowledge of the conditions in Latin America is indispensable. We don't just parrot the conclusion that socialist revolution is the only answer to the problems of the countries south of the Rio Grande. We show how socialist revolution flows out of the social, economic, political, and cultural situation in Latin America. Livio Maitan's reply to Regis Debray is an excellent example of the application of Marxism to the concrete conditions in Latin America. We must exhibit that same quality in dealing with the black question.

It is generally known by most party members that the 22 million Afro-Americans enchained in the U.S. will be the very vanguard of the coming socialist revolution in North America. That socialism is the answer to the black man's struggle, which is that of an oppressed national minority. That the nationalism we see expressed today will make it that much easier for the growth of Marxism in the Afro-American struggle when other layers of the American working class began to show some of the same combativity that black people possess.

However, these ideas must be concretely applied to the present situation so as to put some flesh on this skeletal analysis. This will be necessary so as to give the newer members of the party more than just vague generalities, and to be able to relate to and recruit black militants.

Just as the theory of the permanent revolution pointed out why the colonial and semi-colonial peoples will be the

vanguard of the world revolution; that is, be the first to engage in combat with imperialism and inflict crushing defeats upon it, so it is with the role that Afro-Americans will play. Only that role will be much more important since Afro-Americans have to fight it out in the very fortress of world imperialism. If this is the task that history has bequeathed to black people, then the role that black Marxists play and will play in the SWP must be fundamentally altered.

Trotsky once said, "The Negro can be developed to a class standpoint only when the white worker is educated. On the whole, the question of the colonial people is in the first instance a question of the development of the metropolitan worker."

This last sentence states essentially that the consciousness of the colonial peoples is dependent to a great extent on the class consciousness of the European worker. In a way this statement is true. The colonial countries will definitely throw off the shackles of imperialism when socialist revolution occurs in Western Europe. The first sentence of the Trotsky quote says the same thing, that the class consciousness of the Afro-American masses is dependent upon the class consciousness of the white worker.

However, this quote from Trotsky is superseded by the permanent revolution which gives the combined task of bourgeois and socialist revolution to the colonial proletariat, and generalizes the idea that the nationalism of the super-exploited human beings of the earth in the 20th century will pass over into socialist or class consciousness. And when Trotsky formulated this theory, there were no limitations or boundaries put on the process, because the idea was conceived in the context of a world revolution.

This world revolution is not just one single event, but is spread out over many decades. The events that take place today are just another episode in an epoch that began with the start of World War I. The culmination of this epoch will be a socialist world.

Therefore, while the quote from Trotsky's pamphlet on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination applies to the whole, it does not apply to some of the parts. The masses of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans will not achieve liberation until the "Beast" is crushed in the heartlands of Europe and North America. And the masses of Afro-Americans will not achieve liberation until the "Beast" is crushed right here in the citadel of imperialism by the whole working class. But it will still be possible for individual countries to achieve socialist revolution (witness China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba), and for the vanguard of the Afro-American masses to achieve socialist consciousness or something near to it (witness Malcolm X, Stokely

Carmichael, and a host of minor figures and groups). And these parts of the world revolution that achieve socialist revolution or socialist consciousness will therefore bear the brunt of solving the crisis of revolutionary leadership. Witness Cuba in relation to Latin America, China in relation to Asia, and the late Malcolm X and other black revolutionaries in relation to the black masses. The task of solving this crisis is no small one. Defaults as in China produce catastrophic defeats, as the one in Indonesia. Sticking to the revolutionary course produces giant steps forward, as the impact of Cuba on Latin America. Setbacks, such as the assassination of Malcolm X slow up the pace of the struggle, forcing the movement to learn the hard way.

While the pressure to solve the crisis of leadership will be heavy and hard for black radicals as a whole, it will be especially difficult for black SWPers. Difficult because the SWP is predominantly white, and because of the paucity of black Marxists in the overall struggle. Thus black comrades bear a much heavier burden than white comrades. Which means that black comrades can't be looked upon as just ordinary SWPers. Black comrades cannot afford to rely on white comrades for solutions and answers to theoretical questions raised by the black struggle. Black comrades must shoulder the dual tasks of educating the revolutionary party and raising the level of consciousness of the general black radical milieu. To do this, black comrades will have to have a theoretical grasp of Marxism, and knowledge of the economic, political, and social conditions of black people. The paucity of black comrades make these tasks that much harder, permitting little division of labor among us.

The problem of earlier black recruits to the party was that they relied for the most part on white SWPers for Marxist analyses for the black struggle. This situation may be all right for blacks when they first join the party, in fact it is necessary. But, if this situation is kept up too long, it stifles the development of the black comrade and smacks of paternalism. Blacks must not just be the arms and legs of the party, but must be part of the brain too. The legacy of racism in this country shows that blacks must be suspicious of all whites, especially whites who talk revolution. To assume this position black comrades must be independent of white comrades. Blacks must be able to write and speak effectively. We can draw on the experience of white comrades, but must maintain an independent stance. Ideological exchange takes place best among equals. To arrive at this state of affairs, blacks must develop very rapidly, they must surpass white comrades. The reason blacks have been sold out so many times in the past is because they didn't have a full grasp of theory and relied on the whites to do their thinking for them. Therefore, it is imperative that black comrades be theoretically independent.

To accomplish this purpose, a national black fraction must be formed in the SWP. This fraction will include black comrades and white comrades, who have a specialized knowledge of the black struggle. If there are no whites who possess this capability in a branch, we will produce them. This national fraction will be concerned with two tasks: to maintain close contact with the black struggle in their local cities, and to educate the party on the black question. This formation will give a tremendous boost to the intervention of black comrades in the struggle, and should provide a framework in which black comrades can develop most successfully and rapidly. This fraction will operate in the same fashion as the antiwar fraction. However, within this black fraction there must be a black caucus. The black fraction will keep the party straight, and the black caucus will keep the fraction straight.

In conclusion, I'd like to quote a paragraph from Jan G.'s article entitled "On the Convergence of the World Revolution." This paragraph applies doubly and triply to black comrades. "As the moment of showdown with imperialism gets closer, the greater the gap between the need felt by potentially revolutionary forces for revolutionary ideology and organization, and the ability of the organized revolutionists to fill that need. The dissolution of the reformists and Stalinists and their inability to intervene grows faster than the numbers and quality of the revolutionary Marxists, the only ones who could conceivably fill the vacuum left by the dissolution of the former tendencies. This means that only by the stretching of its resources to the utmost can the Fourth International attain a size and influence capable of moving the lever of history at the decisive moment."

September 15, 1967