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THE FREEDOM NOW MOVEMENT IN 1965:
Its Progress, Problems and Prospects
(Political Committee Draft Resolution)

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I. Ten Years of Struggle

The latest phase of the Freedom Now movement, which dates from the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954 and the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, is still far from the goals it has set. The forgotten NAACP slogan: "Free by '63", the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, now sounds ironic in the light of the disabilities still suffered by more than 20 million American Negroes.

Nevertheless, the struggle for equality has registered substantial progress. Here is a list of the principal gains made over the past ten years.

- a. The Southern Negroes have arisen as a formidable and increasingly militant force. They have engaged in unceasing and advancing efforts to batter down the supports of the Jim Crow system from Texas to Virginia.
- b. The movement has acquired nation-wide scope. Beginning in the South, it has spread wherever Negroes live in sizeable numbers.
- c. It has led to an increase in Negro voters and political influence.
- d. It has extracted judicial and legislative concessions from the ruling class in numerous court decisions and the civil-rights bills of 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965.
- e. The Negro revolt has become an impressive power in American life.
- f. It has won more and more national and international support.
- g. It has heightened the self-confidence, self-reliance and political consciousness of the black masses.
- h. It has seen the emergence of the ghetto-dwellers of the North onto the arena of action.

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i. Thousands of black people, especially youth, have acquired invaluable cadre experience on local and regional levels in leading mass demonstrations and in confrontations with the police and political authorities.

The Freedom Now movement has been held back from advancing faster by serious deficiencies. The most important are:

a. The incapacity of any single authoritative nation-wide organization or recognized leadership to mobilize the power of the black masses in sustained struggle for equality.

b. Lack of political independence.

c. Illusions about the chances of ending second-class citizenship without thoroughgoing economic, social and political changes.

d. Absence of a comprehensive program and clear perspective for promoting and winning the battle against racism in all its forms.

All these features, both positive and negative, have been manifested over the past two years as the focal point of struggle has swung back and forth between North and South. In 1963 the Battle of Birmingham and the March on Washington were the twin peaks of mass mobilization. The area of most intense activity was in the South where Negro adults and children defied and fought police as they endeavored to desegregate schools, eating places, beaches, hotels and buses.

As the mass movement slackened for a while down South, it erupted in full force "down North" during the "long, hot summer" of 1964. Stirred by economic and social wrongs and ignited by incidents of police brutality, the ghetto-dwellers rose up in spontaneous outbursts of protest. The conditions that generated them remain festering in the slum areas and more defiant demonstrations of the same type can be expected in coming times.

In 1965 the chief sector of the front shifted back to the Deep South where it revolved around the voter-registration battle of Selma. The Alabama events culminated in the march of 30,000 Negroes and whites from all over the USA into the old Confederate capital of Montgomery escorted by Federalized troops.

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The deepening and strengthening of the Southern movement over the past decade can be gauged by the difference in temper and numbers between the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. The first, which initiated the practice of mass struggle, was primarily a localized action. The second, which lifted the movement to new dimensions, became a national and even international event.

The most outstanding features of these last two years have been:

- a. The enlistment of ever-growing numbers into one or another type of action: the black masses in the darkest South; the Negroes packed together in the metropolitan slums; and larger layers of middle class whites, both students and adults.
- b. The more intense militancy being exhibited by these forces: the unremitting protest demonstrations in the South; the sit-ins of the youth; the defensive moves against the cops and other hated elements in the ghettos; and the resort to massive direct action even by moderate and pacifist leaderships under pressure of impatient and angry freedom-fighters.
- c. The expanding area of the struggle, which has been extended to all parts of the country with a sizeable Negro population in one form or another. Remote towns and cities joined in the clamor for Washington's intervention in Alabama.
- d. The capacity of the movement to wrest concessions from the federal authorities who can only see the light when they feel the heat. The mounting pressures which forced passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will push through a voter-registration bill in 1965. These can be counted as gains, despite their deficiencies and the fact that the authorities will be unwilling to enforce their provisions in any but token fashion.

II. The Problem of Leadership

The halting and disappointing progress of the Negro revolt has objectively created a crisis of leadership which has still to be overcome. The momentum of the struggle over the past two years has brought about significant shifts in the standing and strengths of the competing tendencies on the right, in the center and to the left.

a. NAACP. As the struggle has moved from the courts and Congress to the streets, and from juridical and legislative jockeying and lobbying to direct mass action, the influence and prestige of the NAACP has waned. It no longer holds the predominant position and is being challenged on all sides. Its legalistic leaders are being prodded to talk and act more militantly and even at times and places initiate mass actions, though they strive to restrain these within officially permitted limits.

b. SCLC. This organization, which began in the South, has come to occupy the center of the stage. From Kennedy's phone call to Atlanta just before the 1960 election to Johnson's private consultations around the Selma situation, its leader, the pacifist preacher Martin Luther King, has been backed by the Democratic administration as the recognized national head and hero of the civil-rights movement. With the award of the Nobel peace prize and the march on Montgomery Rev. King has reached the crest of his prestige and power. The powers that be count on him and his lieutenants to keep the civil-rights ranks under control.

c. CORE. This loosely organized grouping has been more active and grown a little through the protest actions and projects it has launched in Northern cities and its sporadic interventions in the South. However, it is torn by internal conflict, defections and splits between the moderates and militants who disagree over the methods and aims of its participation in the struggle.

d. SNCC. As the Southern struggle has widened its mass base and adopted more aggressive modes of action, this young student organization has played a more important part in arousing, instructing and mobilizing the Negroes at the grass-roots. It is a vanguard-type organization and the real work-horse of the Southern movement. It inspired C.O.F.O. (Council of Federated Organizations) that launched the 1964 teaching project and voter registration drive. The greater combativeness and independence of its leaders and cadres have brought them into conflict with the more moderate elements. The under-surface friction and mistrust between SCLC and SNCC heralds a possible breach between these divergent components of the Southern leadership.

e. The Black Muslims. By its bold denunciations of racial oppression, this social-religious group helped uplift Negro dignity and push other black organizations to the left. The break between

Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X represented a split between the more conservative, hard-shell abstentionist wing and the progressive, revolutionary elements. It has drastically reduced the capacities of Muhammad's movement to contribute to the furtherance of the cause of Afro-American emancipation.

f. The OAAU. The healthiest and most vital individuals in the Black Muslims and nationalists went with Malcolm X, gathered around him, or intended to follow his lead. The tremendous potential inherent in the movement he started just a few months before his death has been interrupted and blighted by his murder. It is uncertain how and whether it will develop without its founder and brilliant leader.

g. Black Nationalist Groups. The new nationalist formations that have sprung up have become more clearly differentiated into three distinct trends over the past two years. 1. There are the opportunists and careerists. 2. There are the ultra-lefts who, out of desperation and disappointment with the slow pace of the main body of the movement, discuss terrorist methods and engage in adventuristic acts. 3. Our closest allies are to be found among the serious, stable and informed nationalists who through deeper knowledge of the dynamics of the colonial revolutions grasp the connections between national liberation and socialism. They are growing in numbers and understanding, although they are dispersed and badly organized.

h. NALC. This formation of Negro unionists is kept alive by the prestige of its founder, A. Philip Randolph. Although there is real need of concerted Negro militancy in the labor movement, the NALC has played no significant role in the Negro community and has been almost as inactive as the white segment of organized labor.

This summary survey of the existing leaderships confirms the following conclusions:

a. The mass of Negroes have not yet been gathered together into a single mighty movement which can be controlled by any one group or leader. Many who follow King for the time being do not subscribe to his pacifist principles and do not share his avowed trust in the good intentions of the Johnson administration.

b. The left wing elements who were ready to rally around Malcolm X have been rendered temporarily leaderless by his assassination.

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c. According to their own testimony during the clashes in the streets, none of the reputable moderates has the power to bring out or call to order the Northern ghetto-dwellers. The outbursts are called forth, not by any decisions of acknowledged leaders or "agitators" but by ungovernable bitter responses to provocative incidents and intolerable grievances in their daily lives.

d. In many of the mass actions involving head-on collisions with the Jim Crow system, there has been a strong impulse in the ranks to go beyond the limits set for them by the official leaders. They instinctively feel that different and more militant methods are required to change the status quo.

e. The militants of the Freedom Now movement have still to find or work out a program, philosophy and perspective which combines effective methods of mass action with independent political organization to cement a unity which can build black power at all levels.

f. There has been a noticeable decline of separatist sentiment, most conspicuously manifested in Malcolm X's evolution. This has, paradoxically, been attended by a heightening of racial consciousness. This two-sided development confirms the point that black nationalism based upon an acceptance of self-reliance, racial pride and dignity, identification with Africa and an assertion of independence in action is not necessarily bound up with separatism. In all its manifestations, however, it is bound up with the demand for black unity, autonomy and power.

III. The Heritage of Malcolm X

Malcolm X's murder was a stunning blow to the cause of Negro liberation because he gave every promise of becoming the foremost leader of its most militant contingent. Although the man is gone, he has left, not only a personal example for emulation, but a valuable bequest of ideas.

While he was still with the Black Muslims, Malcolm X put forward the following important propositions.

a. Negroes can get their freedom only by fighting for it.

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b. Negroes must defend themselves by all means when attacked by racists.

c. The government is a racist government and is not going to grant freedom.

d. Gradualism, the program of the liberals, white and black, is not the road to equality.

e. Uncle Toms must be exposed and opposed.

f. Negroes must rely on themselves and control their own struggle.

g. Negroes must determine their own strategy and tactics.

h. Negroes must select their own leaders.

In addition to these beliefs, which he never changed, he discarded some old ones and adopted new ones in the turbulent and fruitful year following his departure from the Black Muslims. The most significant changes were his implicit rejection of separatism and his search for a social and political program to unify and mobilize the Negro masses in uncompromising struggle against white racist society.

Here are some of the most prominent of the new views he expressed or considered.

a. He repudiated racism and resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race.

b. He sought to establish intimate ties between the Freedom Now forces in this country and the colonial revolutionists in Africa, the Near East, Asia and Latin America.

c. Going further, he emphasized the need for internationalism, for the solidarity of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their enemies whose central fountainhead was U.S. imperialism.

d. He favored independent political organization of Negroes running and electing their own candidates against the Democratic and Republican machines.

e. He was for an independent black mass movement making meaningful and beneficial alliances on a basis of equality with other anti-racist elements: students, white radicals or a radicalized labor movement.

f. He believed that racism was bred and upheld by capitalism and that in order to uproot racism it was essential to abolish capitalism.

g. He was not only anti-capitalist but sympathetic to socialism, even though not on Marxist grounds.

While other sections of the radical movement denounced, slandered or spurned Malcolm X, his views led him to closer association and friendliness with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. This development was not accidental. Incompleted as it was, the evolution of Malcolm X demonstrated that the logical tendency of revolutionary black nationalism in this country dominated by monopoly capitalism is toward conclusions similar to those held by revolutionary socialists. This convergence and even congruence of views and outlooks provides a firm and extending basis of collaboration between the two movements.

Malcolm's ideas were still in rapid transformation at the time of his premature death. They should and will be taken up, further refined and expanded by other Afro-Americans who will follow in his footsteps and build on his heritage.

IV. The Strategy of the Johnson Administration

The capitalist rulers are hard-pressed on how to handle the irrepressible insurgency against the system of discrimination it profits from and sustains. Their more acute representatives have recognized that the previous practices of naked repression in the South and total indifference in the North cannot be maintained. They cannot, as the racist diehards and their sympathizers would like, break up or brush aside the civil-rights movement. It is too powerful and deep-seated. Goldwater's sharp setback when he tried to extract political advantage by soliciting support of the Dixiecrat racists warned that this policy did not pay off any longer, even for the South.

Johnson's line, like that of Kennedy, is to maneuver with the civil-rights forces. He seeks to buy off, slow down and contain the

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movement by giving the minimum concessions at the points of maximum pressure. He counts on getting away with this tokenism by conniving with the compliant, moderate, liberal and pacifist Negro leaders.

Democratic and Republican leaders alike are induced to steer such a course for both internal and international reasons. They cannot suppress or sweep aside the indignation and determination of more than 20 million colored Americans who not only have justice and democratic principles on their side, but also a growing support among whites, as the widespread public response to the Alabama events indicated.

The capitalists and their representatives in office realize that too much civil strife, social disorder and mass turbulence is not only "bad business" but bad for business. So long as business remains good and organized labor quiescent, they can afford to extend minor concessions to the Negro minority.

Johnson above all wants to keep the Negro voters under Democratic control. 97 per cent voted against Goldwater in 1964. Their electoral backing can supply the margin for victory in national, state and local contests, even in Southern states. He expects that the extension of voting rights to more Southern Negroes will weld their loyalty to his party.

The role of world opinion is no less compelling in molding the government's conduct. Washington's pretence of being the hope and protector of "the free world" is too crassly exposed when Negroes continue to be beaten by police and murdered in cold blood by racist thugs who go unpunished. When Malcolm X proposed to appeal to the UN to protect the human rights of Afro-Americans, he was striking at the most vulnerable joint in the State Department's armor.

The administration's concessions are limited. They do not exclude resort to repressive measures when sectors of the Freedom Now forces exceed the boundaries of official tolerance. Johnson is not aiming to eradicate the causes of discrimination but to calm down the crusade for freedom by varnishing over the most flagrant abuses and most indefensible manifestations of inequality. This strategy of tokenism and gradualism means, not Freedom Now but Freedom Never -- if he gets away with it.

However, the concessions made can be utilized by the movement with good effect. The voter registration bill is comparable to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and may make even greater alterations in the political and social balance in the Deep South. It places

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a new weapon in black hands which can be wielded against the official upholders of white supremacy and their most brutal agents. But the extent of its benefits will depend upon the extension and deepening of the mass struggle, not upon the courts. The new bill will no more guarantee the free and full exercise of voting rights than the 1954 court ruling brought about school desegregation.

Petty political reforms, judicial verdicts or Johnson's grandiose promise of a Great Society cannot halt the Freedom Now movement. The demands of its participants cannot be met because the underlying source of their disabilities and grievances is economic. The root causes are embedded in the system of production for profit that Johnson has sworn to uphold. Capitalism cannot provide adequate employment, education and housing to white wage-workers -- and it can do far less for the Negro masses who constitute the main reservoir of cheap labor. This exploitation explains its inability to get rid of the structure of racial oppression. That is why racism cannot and will not be eradicated unless and until the profit system is abolished.

The delays and frustrations experienced by the masses can be expected to bring more and more of the most conscious freedom-fighters and their spokesmen to this conclusion, already heralded by the evolution of Malcolm X and others. Further disappointment in the actions of administration can impel them to find out the fundamental socio-economic reasons for the continuance of deprivations they are less and less willing to bear.

V. Political Weaknesses of the Negro Struggle

The most glaring contradiction of the Negro struggle is its growing strength as a mass force and its feebleness in the political field. Yet its objectives cannot be effectively pursued unless its immense latent electoral power as the largest and most concentrated minority grouping is welded together and directed along independent lines.

Almost all segments and tendencies of the movement, whatever their disagreements on other matters, lined up behind the Democratic candidates and opposed independent political action in 1964. This subservience extended all the way from the Urban League and NAACP to NALC and SNCC.

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A division exists within the civil rights ranks between those who regard pressure on the major parties through backing its more liberal (or less reactionary) elements as the only realistic method of political action and the direct actionists. Many of the latter, disillusioned with the results of such a policy, turn aside altogether from politics. They prefer to concentrate their energies upon community organizations and projects as the most effective tool for social change.

Such abstention from the electoral arena leaves all the levers of city, state and national power in the hands of capitalist-minded officials who actually retain authority to decide the fate of any large-scale community projects. Thus this anti-political attitude is self-defeating even on the community level.

The most significant political event in the South has been the emergence of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. This has a dual character. It has challenged the seating of the lily-white Dixiecrats, encouraged large numbers of Negroes to join the voter registration drive in that state, and turn out en masse for parallel "Freedom Elections." All this has heightened the potential political force of the Negroes.

The Mississippi movement could have become a starting point and laid the foundation for genuinely independent political organization to further the fight for freedom. But its leaders have so far kept their movement tied to the national Democratic party, even though it gave them only token representation and refused to seat their full delegation at the 1964 Atlantic City convention.

Sympathizers of the Freedom Democratic Party are trying to form similar groups in the northern ghettos. Their aim is to work within the Democratic setup and gain some concessions by electing Negro candidates for office within that framework. By refusing to break with the Democratic machine, the FDP leadership helps sustain the illusion that liberal-sounding Democrats are reliable defenders of Negro rights and progress, instead of recognizing that those who staff the parties of capitalism are thereby committed to resist in practice the elimination of the causes of discrimination.

The inability of the Freedom Now Party to make headway since it was announced in 1963 has reinforced the widespread hesitancy to leave the old political paths. From the beginning it had to contend with a tidal wave of "lesser evil" sentiment that operated to the advantage of the Johnson administration. In 1964 the Freedom Now

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Party forces were able to run a state ticket only in Michigan.

This showed that an independent all-black or black-controlled party was possible. But its low vote and internal difficulties emphasized how much it takes to bring such a party into being under the present objective conditions and keep it alive in the face of opposition from almost all official Negro leaders, the illusions that Negroes can make substantial gains through the Democratic party, and the hopes that the Johnson administration will alleviate their situation.

The FNP has not succeeded in getting off the ground on a national scale. It has encountered all the difficulties of a pioneer experiment. The first airplanes likewise did not stay up and some even crashed. The failings of the first trials were overcome by persistent efforts. So it will be with the idea of independent Negro political action.

The Freedom Now struggle needs its own political arm and this alternative to dependence upon the go-slow and sell-out artists among the capitalist politicians will appear more attractive as more Negroes see the futility of banking on their demagogic promises.

VI. Organizing the Black Ghetto

The Negroes, North and South, are today largely concentrated in urban areas. In some cities (Washington, Newark, Gary, Birmingham, Philadelphia) they constitute a majority or near-majority and in most of the principal metropolitan centers (New York, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles) they make up a considerable and growing percentage of the population.

The inhabitants of these black ghettos are far more revolutionary in temper and outlook than any other section of the American working class. The most pressing task -- and the major unsolved problem -- of the freedom struggle is how to reach and organize these ghetto masses.

The 1964 eruptions in Harlem and elsewhere showed that the ghetto residents are ready to go into the streets and do battle on their own behalf. But their vehement protests brought about no improvements because they lacked organization, leadership and a program to gain their objectives.

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The seething slums have to be replaced with decent housing. The ghetto dwellers need defense against the police and their brutality. This requires throwing off the rule of police violence and organizing neighborhood defense against both the police and random criminals.

To secure adequate, improved and equal education the black ghettos have to control the administration of the school system, allocation of funds, hiring and training of teachers, choice and preparation of curricula, Afro-Americanization of textbooks.

Tenements have to be rid of rats and roaches, sanitized and made livable, evictions halted, rents lowered, extensive new housing built with public funds and employing Negro labor.

Super-exploitation of the poor through low quality and high prices of food, goods and services must be halted by direct inspection of local committees and the establishment of cooperatives.

The humiliating dependence of ghetto families and remnants of families upon welfare and welfare bodies has to be eliminated.

The Negro community has to secure control over job opportunities and enforce fair hiring.

The youth have to be given hope, remoralized and organized.

These are tremendous tasks -- and they cannot even be tackled without building independent black political power from the asphalt up. This entails breaking the stranglehold of the rich, the middle class and suburban elements on city politics and liberating the ghettos from all other outside and alien forces. This in turn cannot be done without discarding the superintendence of the Negro middle class and the liberal civil rights leaders who work hand in glove with the agents of the banks, big business, the insurance companies and landlords, fear and discourage any attempts at autonomous mass organization, and are willing to settle for the most meager and superficial changes. Any and all reforms can be trimmed, twisted and diluted by the existing powers unless the ghetto masses have enough power in their own hands to see that they are properly implemented.

The Johnson administration is trying to buy off at a cheap price any further development of a unified, dynamic and militant leadership in the ghettos by highly publicized Great Society gestures and anti-poverty projects like HARYOU and Mobilization for Youth, the Job Corps, etc. They calculate that these gimmicks will help

the Urban League, NAACP, CORE and SCLC to move in and cap the ghetto volcano without removing the underlying conditions of its eruptions.

In opposition to these officially patronized and subsidized organizations there have sprung up a host of small ghetto organizations which seek to bring and bind the black masses together in action free of domination by any kind of white or Negro liberal groups tied to outside sources of funds.

These black nationalist groups have the defects and difficulties of all newly hatched radical organizations pushing into unknown territory. But they have the outstanding merit of being indigenous to the ghetto and highly sensitive to its insurgent moods, needs and moves. They are the natural allies of the Marxists and their successes and failures are highly important for the further progress of the Negro revolt.

The grievances are so great that there is little likelihood that the liberals can keep a lid on the big ghettos. And it will be a long, tough and complex job even for black radicals to build firm and enduring bases of support among the ghetto masses. Most of the problems involved can only be posed at this point; no tendency has yet worked out practical solutions to them.

VII. The Continued Default of Organized Labor

The conservatism of the bureaucrat-ridden union movement is most shamefully exhibited in the neglect to back up the Freedom Now struggle with its forces and resources while giving lipservice to its aims. It is no less manifested in the reluctance to correct discriminatory union practices.

The bureaucratized unions lag far behind the white students, liberal intellectuals and even clergy in direct participation in civil rights actions. In place of mobilizing his members, Walter Reuther belatedly showed up in Selma to make a speech and walk a few miles. The union officials collaborate with the moderate Negro leaders to keep the Freedom Now movement shackled to the Johnson administration.

Thus, while firmer ties are being knit with other segments of the white population, the gap between organized labor and the Negro masses has continued rather than narrowed over the past period.

This disparity between the radicalization of the Negro and the inertia of organized labor has delayed prospects for any large-scale unity of action between the two movements. The Negro-labor alliance in struggle against the capitalist power structure remains indispensable for the decisive solution of their mutual problems. Under current conditions this can be propagandistically projected as a desirable goal, even though it is far from practical realization. It can and must be prepared for by cementing a working unity between the vanguard of the Negro struggle and the Socialist Workers Party.

VIII. The SWP's Record During 1963-1965 and Its Immediate Tasks

The line of "Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation," the resolution adopted by the 1963 national convention, was fundamentally correct in its analyses and evaluations, has been generally verified by subsequent developments and remains valid as a guide to party activity in this field. This document has done much to reorient and educate our ranks, especially in regard to the progressive character and revolutionary implications of black nationalism.

The progress made in seeking and effecting an alliance between the black and white vanguards was most conspicuously evidenced in the mutually helpful relations established between Malcolm X's movement and our party. This collaboration substantiated the statement in the 1963 resolution that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded closer together in thought and action." It likewise showed in practice our willingness to work with a fully independent Negro movement on a basis of equality, each respecting the autonomy of the other in pursuit of common aims.

Similarly, our forces did all they could to encourage the formation of the Freedom Now Party on a local, state and national scale and supported its candidates in elections.

This whole-hearted, though not uncritical, support to every assertion of independent, all-black organization distinguished our position and attitude from those of the Communist party, Socialist party and many white radicals who fear black nationalism and condemn it as reactionary, "racism in reverse."

At the same time our members followed the rule of participating to the extent of their opportunities and capacities in all the organizations and mass actions of the civil rights forces, irrespective of their leadership or program. Without making secret of our socialist views, we have a completely non-sectarian attitude toward the diverse tendencies in the Negro struggle. Our sole criterion for support is their seriousness in undertaking action against discrimination.

One of our most valuable contributions to the cause of Negro emancipation is the copious literature that has been written and published on the Afro-American struggle. These works have had extensive sale and good acceptance, especially among militants who are seeking clarity on the basic problems of Negro liberation in the light of the socialist perspective.

Even more influential has been the role of the weekly Militant. It has become a prime source of accurate news and informed comment on all significant aspects of the liberation movement. The fact that a considerable percentage of its sales and subscribers are located in the Negro communities from Harlem to the West Coast shows how much its coverage and viewpoint are appreciated.

In connection with its aim of Afro-Americanizing Marxism, the SWP has worked out distinctive views on the dynamics of the Negro revolt against the caste system of U.S. capitalism. High priority must be given to spreading these ideas and the proposals for action based on them to wider circles through the press, publications, forums, debates, etc. The developments of the colonial revolution throughout the world have made Negro militants more receptive to consideration of the relations between socialism and the fight for freedom.

While participating in all sectors of the human rights movement, our ranks must be flexible in the ways and means of linking up with the masses in motion because of the fluidity of the situation and the heterogeneous character of the many tendencies at work. The ties already created with the best freedom fighters in a number of localities must be extended and strengthened.

In cases where their demands clash with the privileged positions of more conservative white workers we side with the black insurgents striving for equality. At the same time we try to make the more

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advanced workers understand that the Freedom Now cause must be supported by a united working class, not only as a matter of decency, democracy and justice, but as the current spearhead of struggle against the evils and insecurities of capitalist exploitation.

Central to all our efforts is the recruitment, training and reinforcement of Negro Marxist cadres. We aspire to convince the most race-and-class conscious black militants that membership in our party and education in the doctrines of socialist internationalism can immeasurably enhance their effectiveness as participants and leaders in the Negro revolt. We must above all get our message to those young rebels in the ghettos and on the campuses who are eager to learn everything they ought to know about the world revolution of our time and its connections with the advancement and victory of the fight for freedom in this country.

May 23, 1965