

Discussion Bulletin

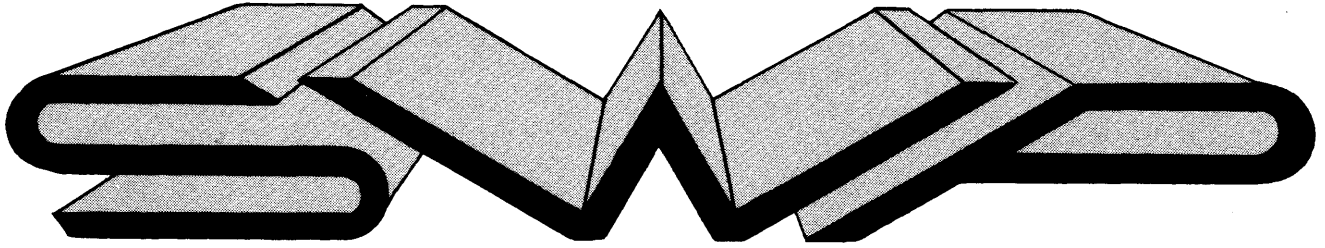
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Proposed Amendment to the PC Draft on the Case
for a Black Independent Political Party

By Alice Parker and D. Mack

The call for black independent political action in the PC's Draft Resolution is a good one, but the document needs two important additions: (1) a series of suggested transitional demands which could form the program for the black independent political party, and (2) a statement that it is the intent of the SWP to be involved in the day-to-day struggle for black emancipation, including a statement of the concrete methods by which this party orientation is to be carried out.

There is no doubt that the formation of an independent black political party in and of itself could signify an enormous step forward in the struggle for Negro emancipation. As the majority document points out, such a declaration of independence from the Republican and Democratic parties would immediately give the black community an enormous vantage point for winning concessions from the capitalist class.

Nevertheless, more is needed if the black party is to be meaningful. History is replete with pre-revolutionary and revolutionary situations which came to nothing for lack of correct leadership and appropriate program. The fact that a people is on the march is no guarantee of their success. History teaches that the knowledge of what needs to be done and how to do it does not necessarily arise spontaneously out of the movement of the masses. It is because of this historical experience that the revolutionary party was formed! Conscious leadership with a consciously articulated program and the conscious application of correct strategy and tactics are requisites for success.

The black political party, without such conscious leadership and without appropriate program, could easily lead the struggle of blacks into a dead end. Compromises by the leadership when intransigence is called for, the seeking of alliances in the wrong places, failure to seek those alliances which must be made, the whole question of where to go and how to get there could be mistakenly handled, without proper program. Defeat for so promising a development as a black political party would mean disillusionment, disorientation and defeat, not just for that party, but for the entire black community.

The SWP has been loathe to propose program and courses of action for the black community. Terribly self-conscious about the white color of our party and correctly aware of the demand of young black militants that they run their own movement and make their own demands, the party has tended to ab-

stain from making suggestions. It has limited itself, by and large, to reporting sympathetically and supportively the activities of black nationalists, but it has offered little more.

While it is right to be aware of the correctness of young blacks' position that black people make their own decisions and run their own organizations, a revolutionary socialist organization has a duty to say what needs to be done. Not to impose its ideas on the black movement. We are in no position to do so even if we so wished! But it is our duty to say -- from the vantage point of our revolutionary theory, our revolutionary practice and our revolutionary tools of analysis what we see must be done. This kind of speaking out is our obligation. And our speaking out must be in the most concrete sense, with analysis and program geared to the problems of blacks today.

Transitional Demands

The Transitional Demands elaborated by Trotsky were a program for the working class. These transitional demands pointed out what the class needed to do if it was to achieve its ends. When these were elaborated and put forth by comrades in the shops and in our press, we did not feel we were imposing ourselves or our ideas on the working class. The working class has the right to run its own organizations and to elaborate its own program, just as does the black community. Yet we saw clearly that as revolutionary socialists we had an obligation to say what the working class needed to do if it were to achieve its ends. The same attitude must prevail vis a vis the struggle for Negro emancipation.

What should be the purposes of transitional demands for the Negro struggle?

The transitional demands to be suggested by the SWP should be concrete proposals related to the concrete problems seen by Negroes themselves as problems today. The proposals should be courses of action which, if adopted, would tend to move the black organizations in the direction of identifying their real friends and making the essential alliances. These transitional demands should be courses of action which would increase the power of black organizations in a confrontation with the real enemy (the capitalist class) and which could lead toward a solution of the recognized problems.

In the elaboration of transitional demands, the SWP must remember that the black bourgeoisie is virtually nonexistent, that the black petty bourgeoisie is very small and that the overwhelming majority of the black community is working class. The ghetto uprisings were the uprisings primarily of an unorganized section of the American working

class. Therefore, it is particularly important that at least some of the transitional demands be specifically designed to facilitate a bridge to the other segment of the working class -- that white segment, which has as yet not marched in the street, but which is the natural and essential ally of the black. Blacks must and will move ahead whether or not white workers move, but every opportunity must be utilized which could create a bridge between the two.

What might be some of the transitional demands?

Appropriate transitional demands have already been raised by black organizations. Others are contained on page 9 of the PC draft and only need be formed into a new paragraph where they are stated as proposals from the SWP rather than as a guess as to what items a black party might adopt. For example:

End the war in Vietnam. Bring the Troops Home. This transitional demand has already been voiced by black organizations. It is a blow at the capitalist class. It strengthens the chances for an alliance between the black movement, young whites and certain middle-class elements, and therefore confronts the capitalist class with a much stronger opponent.

Decent housing for all. Turn slum properties over to tenants councils. Provide federal funds for such housing's rehabilitation. Housing is recognized by Negroes as a major need. Demanding it for all creates the possibility of alliance between all slum dwellers, black and white. Proposing tenant management and ownership is a reasonable demand, striking at the notion of the sacredness of capitalist private property, and proposing, on a small scale, the "nationalization" of some of that property.

Quality Education for all. Schools to be run by joint committees of teachers and parents. The demand for quality education has already been raised by the black community, and several efforts of Negro parents have been made to obtain a meaningful voice in running schools. Widening this demand to include all parents and teachers facilitates an alliance between the black parents, white parents and the organized teachers.

Jobs for all. This proposal meets a current black need and facilitates a bridge to white workers.

Increased welfare benefits. Welfare offices to be run by clients and case workers. This proposal introduces the notion of worker (in this case unemployed worker) control over a section of the capitalist structure and facilitates an alliance with the rank-and-file caseworker, who is also a worker with a grievance against the welfare system.

These proposed transitional demands may need modification. Others could be added. More will become evident as we immerse ourselves in the day to day struggle. They are intended as a beginning place for our party. A beginning place for discussion and a testing out of which demands are the most realistic, most acceptable and most useful to the black community.

Working for black emancipation:

Hand in hand with the enunciation of a program of transitional demands by the SWP must come serious day to day work in black and integrated organizations and in the trade unions and factories. The campus work, important as it may be, has tended to absorb all the party's thoughts and energies. It must not be permitted to do so.

The experience of some comrades who have tried has demonstrated that it is possible for revolutionaries with white skins, under certain circumstances, to be accepted and to work fruitfully as revolutionaries with blacks. It is not only possible to do so, but this day to day work is essential if the transitional demands are to be put forth in concrete ways in concrete situations where their value can be concretely demonstrated. The Militant editorials alone will not create a black revolutionary leadership.

Work in black or integrated organizations is possible for white revolutionaries under certain conditions. They must be willing to come to those organizations and say, "Put me to work. I'll do what you see is needed." In other words, comrades must be prepared to accept orders from blacks, do the work assigned to them, keep their mouths shut until they have earned the right to open them by demonstrating their sincerity and their ability. Once trust has been earned it is then possible to put forth concrete proposals to meet concrete situations. In other words, the same principles that apply to mass work in the factories and unions apply to work in Negro organizations.

In addition to work in black and other civil rights organizations work in the unions, with black and white workers, can also be fruitful. It is work that can be directly related to the black struggle now as well as to the facilitation of the needed bridge between black and white worker. Concrete examples from a Chicago comrade's experience illustrate this.

A white woman worker with some 10 years experience in a factory has been able not only to sell Militant subs and to talk revolutionary politics with selected workers, but has been able to work with a recently-formed black caucus in the union.

This comrade was acceptable to the blacks because they had learned from their day to day experience with her that she is no white liberal but a radical ally who can be trusted

not to sell out and who has useful and workable proposals to make.

This comrade was able to propose to the civil rights committee(chaired by the leader of the black caucus) that it expand its activities beyond the writing of a column for the union paper into a ferretting out and fighting of discrimination grievances in the shop itself. This proposal was not merely a reformist union proposal. By bringing the emancipation struggle into the factory it created the possibility of increasing the participation of Negro workers in the struggle, of making the black caucus more effective, and of forcing the white union leadership into at least tacit support of the Negro demands. It pointed the emancipation struggle directly at the real enemy -- that representative of the capitalist class -- the huge corporation employer. This proposal was a demand appropriate to a concrete situation and was revolutionary in potential.

Another time, the comrade was able to get the union to pay the way of some ten delegates to a trade union - peace conference, thus exposing more unionists to the idea of their concern with the war in Vietnam.

Recently the black caucus considered running its own independent ticket in local union elections. The comrade, despite the twin handicaps of white skin and female sex, was invited to be a candidate on that ticket. When the black caucus split on precisely the same issue that divides the black movement outside the factory (whether to run its independent slate or to throw its weight to one or the other of compromisist local tickets) the comrade was able to discuss in that concrete situation the undoubted outcome of compromise politics. During this next year her analysis will undoubtedly prove correct, and from this concrete educational process in which she takes part may well develop a more sophisticated, knowledgeable and effective black caucus for future independent plant politics. Radicals can make a difference.

This comrade, by concrete day to day work, is able to put forth various transitional demands applied to concrete situations where blacks (and whites) can come to understand the correctness of them. Thus she intervenes effectively to help the movement avoid mistakes and disillusionment and to move into a leftward direction a segment of the mass larger than herself. This is the essence of revolutionary activity.

Recruitment into the SWP

It seems significant that although a significant section of the black community is on the march, the SWP has failed to attract and to hold blacks in the party. Many reasons have been advanced, including the notion that blacks are not "ready"

(meaning sophisticated enough!).

It would seem worthwhile, however, to consider the possibility that the SWP has not offered blacks a good enough reason for joining the SWP. If the most that the SWP has to contribute to the struggle for black emancipation is the sympathetic reporting of black nationalist activities then the logical place for black radicals is not with the SWP but exclusively with the nationalists.

Every activist who joins the SWP hopes to find in the organization the help he needs to do more effectively whatever work he has chosen to do today. The peace worker hopes through membership to receive the tools to do more effective peace work. The worker hopes to find help in doing a better job as a radical worker in the plant. He hopes to find consultation with others, some of whom perhaps are more experienced. He hopes to find help in evaluating union and plant situations, help in analyzing the relationship of forces in the plant and union, devising strategy and tactics, help in making the workers more militant, the union more responsive, the program and activity more radical. In other words, not only socialism in the future, but from the SWP radical and effective work today on the problems workers recognize today.

The same is true of the black militant. What he wants and should receive from the SWP is help in being a more effective black militant today. This the SWP could offer: with a worked out program of transitional demands, deliberate involvement on a serious, day to day basis in black or integrated organizations, the deliberate colonization of some members into selected factories with an orientation to work with comrades already there towards alliance-building activities.

Through guidance to black members and through this kind of serious involvement, the SWP would have something to offer and could then expect to recruit.

The black militant needs to see the relevance of revolutionary politics to his struggle of today. He needs to see it in a concrete way. The SWP must itself find out what that relevance is, and having found out, must state it clearly and unequivocally and put it into practice.

Chicago, Illinois

October 1, 1967

Plain Talk

By Hank Graber

The question of Afro-Americans, if they do decide to do something in politics; what will our position be? This will be a question. The question of the Cuban Revolution; in a year from now will we call for the overthrow of Castro, even if this means restoration of the capitalist class? Because they follow the Chinese line of the permanent revolution. Felix Greene paperbacks should be banned and burned plus any other books or papers that show the China of today. Party members who read this trash should be censured or expelled. Is this the next step we must follow? This is the question.

The youth in our party is the vanguard of the SWP. They do make mistakes, the same as anyone else, and sometimes they get hair-brained ideas. What's wrong with that? Because the only one that doesn't make mistakes is the one that doesn't do anything.

Much history begins with the Bible. It is interpreted by many people, with each sect having its own interpretation. When it comes to the question of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, there are a lot of people with misinterpretations. I question the party leadership on their interpretation of China. This is the question. The question of Comrade Arne Swabeck. The expulsion reminds me of heresy trials. They are not suitable for dealing with questions confronting the party of Trotskyism. I recommend that the term, "disloyalty," itself be junked. In the current ideological dispute surrounding Comrade Swabeck it is a weapon far too easily found in the hands of those fearful of any change for the better. I declare that the concept of disloyalty implies a static fortress of fixed prejudgment closed to the unfolding insight into history and culture. And I propose drastic revision on a matter such as this.

Procedures for removal of comrades such as Arne Swabeck should be made extremely difficult. To brand Arne Swabeck, a comrade of proven loyalty to the party, as disloyal, requires a measure of arrogance and conceit. Who among us has the wisdom to say with certainty that Comrade Arne Swabeck is disloyal, but I am not? "Comrade Arne Swabeck is wrong -- I am right."

The party needs to disassociate itself from unacceptable methods of judging persons and motives. It does not behoove the party to try to hobble anyone's mind or inhibit their search for new insight into truth. The party should not only tolerate, but should effectively encourage free and vigorous ideological debate.

Restatement of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky to make their ideas more intelligible to contemporary minds and experimentations with new forms of understanding: all this will be of service to the party. Any risks the party may run by fostering a climate of genuine freedom are minor compared to the danger it encumbers from expulsion and Stalinist tendencies, and suppression, censorship or thought-control. The party can command respect from the working class only if it has the confidence, courage and honesty to test its program in the free market place of ideas.

In 1941, at a Stalinist-dominated convention of the farm equipment makers union, I was able to take the floor for 45 minutes and express my views, which certainly were contrary to the Stalinists. I was not expelled nor threatened with expulsion. In a trade union a member is given a trial by a trial jury and he may choose to have someone act as his counsel. It is very difficult to expel a member even in a Stalinist-dominated union, as well as the UAW, unless it can be proven that a member is a company agent and sold out. Like a particular case in Harvester, DeBerry can explain that.

Can anyone say with honesty that Comrade Arne Swabeck sold out? In the UAW, Reuther, so to speak, wrote Richard Gosser out of his job as chairman of the Skilled Trades Council of the union the first chance he got. And that was when Gosser had trouble with the government for income taxes. I believe he was in jail at the time, or was standing trial at the time, not defending himself. But this action taken by the SWP is on a lower level than the Stalinist-dominated unions and the Reuther bureaucrats combined.

Comrade Farrell Dobbs can tell of the raids I participated in at the time he was organizer in Chicago. He worked with me when the UAW was raiding UE. I was steward in the UE at the time. In this case the UAW lost the election. Afterward, there was no disciplinary action taken against me, nor was I threatened with expulsion.

In 1943, I also participated in a raid against FE, Farm Equipment Workers. Comrade Dave in California can explain some of this. I also, in 1952, after the raids and so on, was elected chairman of the strike committee in UE. I was also re-elected steward. And I was also re-elected steward when we finally got into the UAW after 1955, and served as steward and also skilled trades representative until I retired in 1965.

The SWP was the only revolutionary party in the United States for many years. I hope this convention will reverse the step it has taken against Comrade Arne Swabeck and put the party in its rightful place, and not degrade it lower than the Stalinist and trade union bureaucrats combined. I question whether anybody but a CIA agent or a Stalin who came

back to life again could mastermind a diabolic plot to destroy the SWP as efficiently as is being done by the present leadership over a real revolutionary question: the Chinese question.

Rather than go through the bulletin page by page, I would just like to point out the question at the last convention. The only one who spoke on the question of the Chinese Revolutionary position -- even though I didn't agree with it, but from a real political point of view, at least, he spoke on this -- was Comrade Hansen. But, in this bulletin I would also like to point out the double-talk by Comrade Hansen and others. For all practical purposes, Comrade Swabeck was expunged from the party press shortly after the 1958 convention. No matter what he wrote nothing was published by this founding member and articulate member, who in the past contributed much to the party press.

The bulletin uses the August 3 issue of the Marcyite paper as the excuse to recommend to expel Comrade Arne Swabeck for "repeated acts of disloyalty." This is what I would call intellectual dishonesty. For all practical purposes, they had already expelled him prior to August 3, although they called it "suspension." And they began the process of expulsion some years ago. The question should be raised: Who is disloyal in this case? Certainly not Comrade Swabeck.

Comrade Cannon, in a meeting with other comrades in L.A., stated his opposition to the suspension; the National Office ignored what was related to them as J.P. Cannon's position. Just as the leadership has abandoned two main political points of J.P. Cannon: The struggle for a proletarian party, and the question of settling political disputes by organizational means.

If there was any doubt, the N.O. could have used the phone and called. The question is: Are you carrying out the idea that was toyed with at the last convention? Getting rid of all the older comrades -- if they don't die fast enough, expel them? The average time of a party comrade is a relative few years. Comrade Arne Swabeck has spent two generations in revolutionary politics and has not wavered one iota from a revolutionary course, including this day. Is this disloyalty? Comrade Swabeck has gone through this in the Socialist Party and then in the Communist Party and only when the party has degenerated to a point where revolutionary ideas were no longer acceptable, then came the expulsions.

Question: Is this the point the SWP is at? Only the convention can answer that.

Chicago, Illinois

On the Proposal for a Black Trotskyist Party

By Robert Halfhill

Some confusion seems to have been introduced into the discussion by the response to Nat W.'s proposal to investigate the possibility of forming a black Trotskyist party. I do not feel that the most fruitful way to conduct this discussion is by invoking phrases like "dead-end character of this conception," "violate the principle," "lesson of sixty years of organizational experience," etc. The proposal involves merely a question of tactics, not principle, and should be discussed in that light.

As Nat W. himself pointed out, a black Trotskyist party would not be in opposition to the independent black party but would be its foremost black advocates. There is no comparison between the political line of such a party and the line taken by a small group of former party members in Detroit. A black Trotskyist party would in fact make the formation of an independent black party more, not less likely, just as the existence of the SWP will ease the birth pangs of a labor party. There is no more justification for counterposing the two black parties than there would be in counterposing the SWP to a labor party.

No one is calling into question our accumulated experience concerning the necessity for a vanguard party. It is only that the peculiar situation in the United States calls for two such parties, not one. We must decide this question on the basis of a concrete analysis of the conditions in this country and not on the basis of some abstract, a priori schema. The 1963 resolution of the Socialist Workers Party, "Freedom Now," expressed the correct approach in this respect when it said: "Revolutionary socialists don't care whether capitalism and racism are abolished by a single party or by a combination of parties, just so long as they are abolished." (p. 18)

In contrast to all other political tendencies, our line on the black struggle has received striking confirmation. We alone were able to see the progressive and anticapitalist thrust of black nationalism when it was imprisoned in the organizational shell of the Black Muslims. We were proved right when Malcolm X broke with the Muslims and moved towards socialism. He was assassinated before he had time to fully develop his program, but by the Meredith march in Mississippi, Malcolm X's ideas had gained wide acceptance among his people. The slogan of Black Power was raised on that march. Once again we pointed out the anti-capitalist thrust of this demand. But would any of us have dared to predict that Black Power would become explicitly anti-capitalist and pro socialist in only 14 short months? Yet, in August of this year, just 14 months after the Meredith march ended in June, 1966, Stokely Carmichael delivered his address to OLAS.

Many other examples could be given of how our line has proved correct.

Yet we must not mistake zeroing in the shots for actually hitting the bullseye. There is a respect in which our line shows itself to be still in need of further refinement: We are not recruiting black cadre. It was reported at the last national youth gathering that we actually have fewer young black members now than we did several years ago. It will not do to say that the level of political consciousness is not yet high enough "to recruit masses of black people." The level of political consciousness might explain why we are not recruiting "masses" of black people, but it will not explain why, at a time when our rate of recruiting white students has shown a dramatic increase, our rate of recruiting Afro-Americans has not only not increased but has actually declined. It will not explain why our black membership is declining. The level of consciousness of black people is certainly in advance of any other group in this country.

It has been commonly accepted among us that the reason for our problems in recruiting black militants is their reluctance to join a predominantly white organization. Undoubtedly, revolutionary parties in other countries have had this problem to some degree with specially oppressed groups. The Bolsheviks must have had problems in gaining the confidence of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc., but it is equally obvious that they did not have this problem to the extent that the Trotskyist movement in this country has in overcoming the suspicion of Afro-Americans. If the Bolsheviks had been faced with an almost total unwillingness of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc., to join their party, we can be sure that there would have been a voluminous literature on how to solve the problem. Where in all the literature of the revolutionary movement can we find a discussion of a comparable problem? Our situation seems to be unprecedented.

Black people are suspicious of all whites and incorrectly lump the SWP with all other radical tendencies. This is a factor that can be overcome by education, continuing our militant and unconditional support of the black struggle, etc. But the thrust of black nationalism is that black people want to be independent of all whites, revolutionary whites included. We must be prepared to deal with the possibility that this tendency may continue to develop and intensify right up through, and past, the revolution. The unwillingness of Afro-Americans to join our party may lessen after the white workers begin to move, but we cannot be certain that it will lessen even then. Yet, if the American revolution is to be successful, our movement must find a way to recruit large numbers of Afro-Americans.

Our resolution, "The Case for an Independent Black Political Party," is politically correct. Yet we must be realistic; it will remain on paper unless we can effectively intervene in the black struggle. Our party has been able to in-

tervene in the past to a surprising extent, given the distrust for whites in the ghetto. For instance, it was mainly our movement that kept the speeches of Malcolm X from being lost. Our work in spreading the ideas of Malcolm X undoubtedly played a major role in aiding the rise of the Black Power movement. But if we expect militant nationalists to listen to the advice of our black comrades concerning what kind of political organization to establish, black Trotskyists must be free from the suspicion of being under the discipline of a predominantly white organization. This is all the more true since any independent black party that might be established may very well pass a motion denying membership to anybody under the discipline of a "white, democratic centralist organization." Some Afro-American organizations have already passed such motions. Such a development would mean a further decrease in our black cadre.

It is necessary to think things through to the end. For several years, it has been our accepted analysis that black people are unwilling to join a predominantly white party. How many of us know black contacts who might have joined our movement if it had not been for their unwillingness to be under the discipline of whites? I can think of at least three from my own experience alone. We must carry our analysis of black nationalism through to its logical conclusion and investigate the possibility of forming a black Trotskyist party.

A black Marxist-Leninist party may develop anyway, whether we form a black Trotskyist party or not. Some black militants have already toyed with this idea. It took only 14 months after the slogan of Black Power was first raised for this tendency to become explicitly socialist. Stokely Carmichael now speaks of "crushing U.S. capitalism." The next logical step is a vanguard party to implement this program. One of the reasons for the rapid development of SNCC is its international contacts. Isn't it likely that the militants that SNCC representatives come in contact with in Cuba and elsewhere will raise the necessity of a vanguard party? But, given the existence of ultraleft currents in the ghetto, a black Marxist-Leninist party would be much more likely to counterpose itself to the independent black party without the intervention of our black comrades.

If we do decide to form a black Trotskyist party, it is absolutely imperative that our intervention be free from the slightest traces of deception and double-dealing. In the discussion of this proposal in Minneapolis, for instance, some comrades have pointed out that since our black comrades would have dual membership in both the SWP and the black Trotskyist party, they would still be under the discipline of a predominantly white party. This is an objection that must be dealt with or we would lose more than we would gain from any attempt to put this proposal into effect.

It is obvious that the SWP must not pass any motion denying dual membership in both parties. If we passed such a motion, thereby constituting ourselves an all white party, we would be guilty of an act of racism that would not even entitle us to be called liberals, much less revolutionary socialists. But if the Afro-Americans who form an all black Trotskyist party themselves decide, without any pressure from whites in either direction, to bar dual membership to anybody joining their party, this of course would be their right. It is possible they would have to make such a decision, but it must be their decision.

Some comrades have asked how two independent parties could have a common program. Since revolutionary politics is based on objective conditions, two revolutionary parties would come to nearly identical conclusions. And both parties would maintain friendly relations with our co-thinkers.

A black Trotskyist party might not begin with the full Trotskyist program; the situation at its founding convention might be similar to that which existed at the founding convention of the Workers Party where the Trotskyists merged with the Muste group. The party might in fact call itself "Marxist-Leninist" instead of Trotskyist at first. The label is unimportant. We can be sure that our program will win out in any such party. What is important is that the party be formed on a programatically principled basis and that enough of our program be adopted to justify the existence of the party in addition to the independent black party.

The proposal for a national black fraction does not go far enough and will leave our black comrades still subject to the charge of being under the discipline of a predominantly white party.

Some comrades wonder if the proposal for a black Trotskyist party is feasible at this time because of the small size of our black membership. But our black membership is presently decreasing, so that objection turns into an argument for doing it sooner instead of later. Actually, there are preliminary steps we could take, such as discussions with our black periphery, etc., that would give us some idea of whether it is practical to proceed further.

The world movement can help us in forming a black Trotskyist party. In the last few years, we have had black co-thinkers tour this country. What would be the effect of a co-thinker of similar prestige touring this country to urge the formation of a black Trotskyist party to black militants? The tour could be billed as dealing with some aspect of the African Revolution and the discussions about the party could be raised privately to black militants. It need not be arranged through the SWP; it would be better for our co-thinkers to approach the Black Power groups directly. "White baiting" can be undercut in this way.

In the last analysis, we will not know whether this proposal is practical until we try to implement it. But I see no principled objection to it, and the objective situation in this country currently demands it. Hence the 1967 convention of the SWP should consider mandating the incoming National Committee to take the preliminary steps involved in investigating whether it is possible to establish a black Trotskyist party at this time. This would involve getting the opinion of our co-thinkers about the establishment of two Trotskyist Parties in the United States, contacts with our black periphery, etc.

Twin Cities

October 8, 1967