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Atlanta  
December 1, 1969

Dear Jack,

This is a memorandum on our antiwar work that should serve as a basis of discussion at the steering committee meeting next Tuesday. Please see to it that ~~my~~ copies should be sent to steering committee members and PC and NEC people. Also if you think that Gus should be invited to this meeting you should invite him.

(1) While we do not want to draw a specific tactical or organizational line, certain lessons must be drawn as we proceed in this work. The basic framework that we have decided upon at the last steering committee and at the convention fraction meeting needs to be expanded, especially in the light of increased opportunities for black antiwar work flowing from the new upsurge in antiwar sentiment and action.

(2) While our own intervention in this area should be primarily student oriented we should do this work in a way that will teach people the correct way of reaching out to broader sections of the black community.

(3) Our use of the Vietnam Solidarity approach to any degree has been a major political error and oversight on our part and it must be changed. We will want to orient around a straight bring the troops home now line for obvious reasons, unless anyone thinks that the rank and file of the black community supports the NLF. If we are to provide a correct lesson on how to organize the black community and end the war, we must drop the Vietnam Solidarity approach. We must note that Hutchings in the Guardian talks about building of these Solidarity committees as an important part of the Guardian's plan for building a pro-PRG faction within the antiwar coalition. We have been building on an opponent line for the antiwar movement.

(4) We will want to maintain tactical and organizational flexibility and where it is immediately impossible to build independent black membership or conditions to bring the troops home, or involvement of black individuals and organizations in multi-national coalitions against the war, we will want to be open to working to build black antiwar actions through other black organizations such as BSU's. However, we must see this work as a temporary tactical orientation toward building antiwar organizations.

(5) The action and construction of black antiwar formations must take full advantage of the national antiwar movement and our apparatus, especially the SMC. This flows from both practical and political considerations. Practically, we must use the SMC's roots in the campus and other facilities to publicize black antiwar

actions. SMC and the Parade Committee reached and brought to Washington uncomparably more blacks and Puerto Ricans than the New York Solidarity Committee. Also, our only highly successful work in this area has been in Philadelphia, where we worked as the black subcommittee of the SMC. Politically, we will want our black antiwar work to help build the mass action, immediate withdrawal, nonexclusionary, democratic decision making wing of the antiwar movement against ultraleft and reformist opponents.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SHOULD ADVOCATE WORKING WITHIN THE SMC ORGANIZATIONALLY OR AS A SUBCOMMITTEE OF SMC AS THE ONLY STRATEGY FOR THIRD WORLD ANTIWAR WORK, OR NECESSARILY THE MAIN STRATEGY. IT DOES MEAN THAT WHETHER WORKING INSIDE OR OUTSIDE SMC WE WILL WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITHIN SMC AND AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE A NATIONAL ANTIWAR COALITION AND LOCAL ANTIWAR COALITIONS.

(6) We do not project any black national coalition or organization in this field.

(7) Internally this work should be done directly through our antiwar fractions as well as the YSA NO which is in charge of black work.

Comradely,

s/Tony Thomas