

THE U.S. IMPERIALIST STATE

A speech by Saladin Muhammad



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AND THE BLACK NATION

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THE U.S. IMPERIALIST STATE AND THE BLACK NATION
(SALADIN MUHAMMAD AT A FORUM ON THE BLACK NATIONAL QUESTION)

INTRODUCTION

This presentation was edited for pamphlet form. It was initially given at a forum on the U.S. Black National Question, along with another major speaker on Topic; Imiri Baraka, chairman of the Revolutionary Communist League.

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Black Scientific Socialism is the Black Working Class ideology of the National Liberation Struggle.

Black Scientific Socialism is the U.S. National Black Liberation Struggle's Ideological and political link to the World Socialist Revolution, while at the same time maintaining its independent national character. This put our struggle for National Liberation in Objective unity with all other struggles against Imperialism, in particular with those fighting the U.S. Imperialist State.

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African people inside the United States, both within the heartland of our national territory, the Black Belt South, and throughout the U.S. industrial urban centers, are all part of a domestic colonized nation. Key to understanding the system of U.S. domestic colonialism and the development of national liberation revolutionary people's war, requires a critical and scientific analysis of the development of American capitalism and the U.S. imperialist state as its colonial institution.

The failure on the part of many revolutionaries to correctly analyze the U.S. capitalist system as a settler-colonial-capitalist system, has led to many incorrect theoretical formulations about the nature of our oppression and the political and ideological direction of our national liberation struggle. This failure comes from having a mechanical concept of historical development, which finds its roots in the theories of economic determinism; that sees only the working class in the advanced capitalist nations, as being the main motive force to bring about social change and liberation of the colonies and oppressed nations. Thus legitimizing the system of U.S. domestic colonialism, by viewing the American bourgeois revolution for independent nationhood as being a necessary step toward the development of a proletariat to bring about a socialist revolution that would give the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations. (Economic determinism is the theory that all social phenomena is determined solely by the economic base of society). Fundamentally, what this theory implies, is that only a social class, whose identity is predetermined according to its development along certain historical lines, is capable of leading a revolutionary struggle to bring about true social change.

As Black scientific socialists,, whose people's historical realities have produced unique lessons toward further shaping and developing a scientific world view, what then in fact is a social class according to our perspective?...."Can we possibly recognize it by the means of purely objective external acknowledgement of the common economic and social conditions of a great number of individuals, and of their similar positions in relationships to the productive process? That would not be enough from our standpoint. Our method does not amount to a mere description of the social structure as it

exists at a given moment, nor does it merely draw an abstract line dividing all individuals composing society into two groups; "... As is done mechanically by many so-called Marxist-Leninist Revolutionaries.

"We know that the development of a phenomenon in movement, whatever its external appearance, depends mainly on its internal characteristics. We also know that on the political level our own reality - however fine and attractive the reality of others may be - can only be transformed by detailed knowledge of it, by our own efforts, by our own sacrifices."⁽²⁾

As Black scientific socialists, we analyze human society in its movement, in its development in time. We study the connection of events, (such as economic crises) as they affect the interaction and responses of the various sectors of the working-class within an imperialist state, to determine whether their social class interest is one and the same.

Are we therefore to conclude, that those Black people who are not oppressed on the National Territory in the Black Belt South, (but who continue to suffer from national oppression throughout the U.S. Imperialist State), are somehow now assimilated into the U.S. Nation, as a national minority of the U.S. working-class. Thus making their national struggle for liberation, one and the same as the class struggle of the U.S. working class for socialist revolution, lead by a multi-nationalist Communist Party.

Is the actual condition of the workers within the imperialist state of the oppressing nation the same as that of the workers of the oppressed nations from the standpoint of the national problem.

No, they are not the same.

"1) Economically, the difference is that sections of the working-class in the oppressing nations receive crumbs of the super-profits which the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations obtain by the extra exploitation of the workers of the oppressed nations. Moreover, economic data shows that a larger percentage of the workers of the oppressing nations become "skilled workers" than the workers of the oppressed nations i.e., a larger percentage rise to the position of labor aristocracy. This is a fact. To a

certain degree the workers of the oppressing nation share with their bourgeoisie in the plunder of the workers (and the masses of the population) of the oppressed nations.

2) Politically, the difference is that the workers of the oppressing nations occupy a privileged position in many spheres of political life compared with the workers of the oppressed nations.

3). Intellectually, or spiritually, the difference is that the workers of the oppressing nations are taught, at school and in everyday life, to regard the workers of the oppressed nations with disdain and contempt.

Thus, all along the line, we see differences in the objective situation, i.e., there is "dualism" in the objective world, which is independent of the will and consciousness of individual persons."⁽³⁾

"All national oppression calls forth the resistance of the broad masses of the people; and the resistance of the nationally oppressed population always tend towards national revolt. Frequently, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations merely talks about national revolt, while in actual practice it enters into reactionary agreements behind the backs of, and against, its own people. In such cases the criticism of revolutionaries must be directed, not against the national movement, but against it being degraded, vulgarized and reduced to a petty squabble."⁽⁴⁾

While it is therefore... "Correct to say that the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. is a struggle against imperialism, it must be understood that imperialism reveals itself as colonialism in its attacks on Black people in the U.S...."⁽⁵⁾ Likewise, "To

define the struggle of Black people in the U.S. as a struggle for socialism is to liquidate the particular essence of the (National) contradiction confronting Black people in the U.S. and, consequently, neutralize the forces of Black liberation."⁽⁶⁾

Therefore in defining the status of Black people living throughout the United States, in their relationship to the Black National Question, our analysis sees them, as a colonized labor force, (employed and unemployed), dispersed from their national territory, but yet still within the political borders of the U.S. Imperialist State; whose class position places them at the leadership of the National Black liberation struggle

against the U.S. Imperialist State, i.e., the struggle for the national independence and Africa's Black liberation struggle.

ownership of the means of production and land in the national territory, and the right of repatriation for colonized subjects. Thus making the struggle of Black people through-

out the U.S., a national liberation revolution led by a revolutionary Black Nationalist Party guided by the ideology of scientific socialism.

Therefore, when applying the principle of the right to self-determination of nation to Black people inside the U.S., it does not only mean, the right to political secession of the national territory in the Black Belt South, but also the right of the colonized subjects dispersed from that nation, to build a Black revolutionary vanguard party, to connect and lead the entire struggle for national liberation.

It is our analysis, as Black scientific socialists, that the origin and nature of the development of U.S. capitalism makes the United States of America Imperialist Settler state; a state whose national borders are a clear enough example of its annexation and

neutral subjugation of peoples and nations to become its internal colonies and basis for growth and expansion throughout the world as an Imperialist power.

In other words, brothers and sisters the U.S. settler state expanded its borders westwards, destroying the native American nations, enslaving millions of Africans, and seizing the southwest territories from Mexico. Under the Slogan of "Manifest Destiny" or "winning the west" the U.S. Imperialist settler state expanded "from Sea to Shining Sea" crushing everything in its path.

The unique aspect of the origin and development of American Capitalism which has so profoundly shaped its history (it correctly understood by a revolutionary Black Nationalist Party guided by the ideology of scientific socialism, as well as all anti-U.S. Imperialists in General) can provide a key to the trans-formation of the U.S. domestic colonial system and lead to the destruction of the U.S. Imperialist state and monopoly capitalist system as a concrete expression of proletarian internationalism; the solidarity

of the different struggles within the U.S. national borders against the imperialist state, viewed internationally.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM"

American capitalism developed out of a colonial relationship between the European settler colonies in North America and the Capitalist system in the European other country, which itself had begun its own development earlier from its international slave trade of continental Africans throughout

the Americas for minerals and food-stuffs, to be brought back for sale in Europe by the mercantile class.

"These new capitalist of New England and the Middle Atlantic States were not powerful enough to seize and utilize colonial areas outside the settler homeland: They indeed turned to the slave system of the mother country right at hand. In order to accumulate the surplus capital needed to launch the factory system, American settler capitalists stimulated, encouraged and protected the internal expansion of the slave system and the slave trade."⁽⁷⁾

"Clearly, as was the case in the Britain and France, the slave trade in New England earned much of the capital upon which her industrial revolution was built. By the time of the American revolution of 1776, the slave trade was the foundation of the region's economic life. The vast sugar, molasses, and rum trade, shipbuilding, the distilleries, a great many fisheries, the employment of artisans and seamen and even agriculture—all were dependent upon the slave traffic," says the historian Lorenzo J. Green.

In an uproar over Britain's proposal to raise money for the crown by taxing sugar and molasses, the merchants of Massachusetts fully supported by the white working class, their former indentured servants pointed out, that these products were the chief articles of the slave trade, and that a tax would wreck the rum distilleries, ruin the fisheries, and end the slave trade, thus leaving 5,000 seamen jobless, 700 ships to rot, and coopers, tanners, barrel makers and farmers would all go broke."⁽⁸⁾ The total control and consolidation of the slave system within their borders as the base of their economic existence and national evolution as a nation, was the underlying cause for the American revolution. The slogan was "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny!"

Winning for the new national bourgeoisie control of its economy, and

for the white working class secure jobs, participation in bourgeois democracy and a

national identity as workers and farmers of a settler state, thus linking their class identity to the superstructure and not to the economic base of society. *to reject the idea of imp. struggle.

"Thus, unlike the development of European capitalist nations, American capitalism built into the very heart of its system, a fundamental contradiction between mother country and Black colony which in all other countries emerged as an external contradiction."⁽⁹⁾

In 1850, the United States census chief estimated that about 2,500,000 slaves were producing the five staple crops 1,815,000 were in cotton, 350,000 in tobacco, 150,000 in sugar, 125,000 in rice, and 60,000 in hemp. By 1860, the slave population numbered almost 4 million 90 per cent of them living in rural areas, and over half in the 7 states of the deep (Plantation) south. The large plantation was a business dedicated to the production of a commodity for sale on the market. Like all production enterprises, the plantation depended upon labor—in this case, forced labor, or slaves. Operating as a capitalist, the planter viewed his slaves as tools of production to be used for the greatest profit."⁽¹⁰⁾

By 1861 America had begun its second bourgeois revolution, this time in the form of a civil war, fought between two competing social systems within the United States capitalist system, a society based upon free farming and free labor in the north, while the south was based upon chattel slavery.

It was not until the north actually began to produce more than the south could use, did the struggle for political power intensify between the Union and the Confederacy. The Southern slavery needed to maintain its system and expand westwards, due to its exhaustion of the soil in the deep south created by intensified and often wasteful farming methods while the Northern industrialists saw their system being

the most advanced and capable of running and maintaining a modern capitalist state. Both saw the recently conquered native American lands as the key to the survival and expansion of their own systems.

In terms of the national self-interest of African people in both sections of the settler state, the pre-civil war Black Nationalist (or Immigrationist), led by Martin

Delaney—who opposed the abolitionist (integrationists), led by Frederick Douglass—reached the conclusion that the south held the future of African people in the U.S. They joined Douglas and the abolitionists in volunteering for service in the Union Army (which amounted to an alliance between the African leadership and the Yankee Government); but they joined for different reasons than the abolitionists. They saw the segregated union army as a ready made mechanism geared to enable them to reach the masses of their people on the southern land mass. By uniting with the Black masses, they actually formed a military umbrella, backing and strengthening them, and agitating for them to seize the land. The combination of Black union troops and slave masses almost succeeded in seizing the Black Belt Nation. For according to historian, James Allen, "The crucial years were 1865-66, when as Charles Sumner (radical abolitionist senator) realized, the former slaveowners 'were submissive. There was nothing they would not do to the extent of entranching their freedmen and providing for the home-stake."⁽¹¹⁾

In the years from 1865-67, the Agrarian revolution reached new heights, with the Black freedman actually fighting pitched battles for the land against sheriffs and white northern troops. Again, Allen, "Northern Troops, in fact, were actually putting down Negro peasant insurrections. Near Richmond, Virginia, a large military force was called upon to put down 'sedition' when a body of 500 Negroes, armed and drawn up in line of battle, refused to pay rent on a large plantation, claiming.... A right to the land. Then there was the Ogechee Negro rebellion involving.... five hundred to twelve hundred men, whose aim was to take possession of the plantations near Savannah, Georgia. Officers of the law were arrested and driven out of the district and the highways were patrolled by Negro guards."⁽¹²⁾

But the Black masses had missed their hour. Even as early as 1865, the former slaveholders backed by northern capitalist were stealthily moving for power again. According to James Allen, "The constitutional conventions held towards the end of 1865 in the southern states under (Pres. Andrew) Johnson's reconstruction plan was dominated by the old confederate leaders."⁽¹³⁾ It was these conventions which began to draft

the infamous "Black Codes" which would, with the indifference or complicity of the Yankee capitalist government, re-enslave African people and establish U.S. apartheid, (segregation) which would last close to one hundred years. This counter-revolution, which reversed and eclipsed the Agrarian revolution, would come to be known as Post-Reconstruction.

From the American Civil War to the Post Reconstruction period in 1865, all the way through the populist movement in the late 1800's which found Black farmers being betrayed and through the union movements of the 1930's our movement's lack of a disciplined Black organization with a correct program to give leadership and direction to all of our actions was our greatest weakness. This led to our movement being setback and betrayed by dependence upon the white leadership and working class to carry our struggle through to completion.

Does this history tell us that white workers will never raise up in their working class interest? Not necessarily, which we will deal with later. But what it does tell us is along what lines and by whose leadership must our struggle proceed to completion. One thing, brothers and sisters, we must never think, is that our struggle's initiation or leadership was dependent on white leadership.

The development of a national liberation struggle is a dialectically historical process, in the course of the development of that struggle, many different organizational forms and ideologies representing many different class interests will surge forth to take the leadership in different historical periods. These provide the historical continuity of our people's national will and aspirations for liberation. This resistance began with the common bond (resistance to slavery) of Black people even before we left the African continent. As this common bond continued to develop qualitatively throughout history, with the development of a common language, culture, economic life and national territory (becoming a nation), we began to see a greater organizational cohesiveness in our struggle. In the course of the historical process, the advanced forces produced from those struggles, began to gain a greater understanding of the class within that movement which had to lead it to liberation.

Martin Luther King, Jr., as a civil rights leader.

By the 1960's, Black student activities began to "boke in" and organize the Black masses around voter registration in the Black Belt Region. They were also active in sit-ins and freedom rides attempting to shatter the barriers of segregation throughout the South. Their progressive student organization was known as the student non-violent coordinating committee (SNCC). Correspondingly, a revolutionary nationalist organization was developed in the North in 1961. This was R.A.M.; the revolutionary action movement. R.A.M organized students and workers demonstrations in the North during this period.

Also in the late 50's in Monroe North Carolina, Brother Robert F. Williams, who was at the time the Head of the Monroe Branch of the NAACP, organized a Black Rifle Club. Later converting it into an armed self-defense force which wage many victorious military battles against the local and regional Ku Klux Klan.

R.A.M's purpose was to attempt to provide a center for the progressive wing of the Black Movement, giving direction while developing a strategy to build a revolutionary nationalist mass movement. With this in mind, R.A.M activists went into the Black Belt Region in 1964, organized two National Black Student Conferences. It formed an alliance with SNCC an began to spread revolutionary nationalist ideology and influence in the Southern Movement. This influence led to SNCC and its "Black Power" stance in 1966 and the formation of a Black Panther Party in Lowndes county, Alabama in 1966, with R.A.M forming other Black Panther Parties in New York and San Francisco, California. Key in this period (1964-1965), was a Revolutionary Nationalist Black internationalist Mass spokesman, Malcolm X, who had left the Nation of Islam in 1964. The young R.A.M activists worked closely with Malcolm and brought his revolutionary message of Black Power to the students, youths and intellectuals of their generation thus projecting it in that period (1964-1967) as the main ideological tendency. This tendency paved the way for the development of the Black Panther Party for self-defense in Oakland, California, and later in every major urban city throughout the country. The

As early as 1787, Africans in Boston petitioned the State Legislature to help them return to Africa. By 1800, Gabriel Prosser had organized 1,000 slaves and planned a major revolt with the goal of making Virginia a Black state.

In Charleston, S.C., in 1822, Denmark Vesey organized 9,000 freedmen and slaves with the plan of seizing Charleston, a major sea port and making it a Black republic, defending it militarily with the aid of Haitian troops. This was a concrete example of Black internationalism.

In 1829 came David Walker, a Black revolutionary nationalist, wrote his famous appeal, calling on the slaves to rise up in armed struggle and fight for their freedom.

In 1831, a slave army led by Rev. Nat Turner rode from plantation to plantation, in Virginia, killing slave masters and freeing slaves.

In the 1850's came Harriet Tubman, great organizer and leader in the underground railroad, later playing a key role in the civil war alliance between the Northern government and the black masses in the South. In one campaign, her efforts helped to free 750 slaves.

In the 20th century, we had the U.N.I.A., begun in 1916 by Marcus Garvey; over 5 million dedicated to liberating the African continent under the slogan "Africa for the African, at home and abroad."

In 1919, there was the African Blood Brotherhood, led by Cyril Briggs, which at one point attained a membership of 5,000 revolutionaries, and called for the establishment of a Black Belt Socialist republic for African people.

In the 1930's came the Nation of Islam, under the leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, calling for the establishment of an independent nation in the South.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the 1950's brought the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision of the Warren Court outlawing U.S. Apartheid (segregation) and gave rise to the massive civil right movement triggered by the heroic stand of Black seamstress, Rosa Parks, who refused to move to the back of a Montgomery, Alabama, bus. This movement, mobilized of Black working people, moved collectively to break down the barriers of segregation and attain democratic or "civil" rights. This spontaneous movement began to project Dr.

Party began to receive

national publicity through their major and well organized campaign to free Huey P. Newton, the Minister of defense of the Black Panther Party. Their ten point program called for a Black Republic to be held to determine the will of Black people about their national destiny.

The continuous influence of the ideology formerly articulated by Malcolm X, later Africa, in Detroit, Michigan in 1968, eventually setting up "consulates" in key mid-western and eastern cities. The RNA as was popularly known, called for the freedom of the land (New Afrika) in the Black Belt as the Black Nations' National territory, and for all Black people (New Afrikans) inside the U.S. to return to the land.

In 1967, with the development of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Revolutionary Nationalism was taken to Black Workers at the point of production. Detroit was the center for the development of the Black Revolutionary Union movement and the linking of the struggles in community to the point of production and those at point of production to the Community Struggles. Thus clearly showing Black workers their dual role; as the leadership of the struggle of the Black working class against its class enemy, the U.S. Imperialist bourgeoisie; and of the Black masses against our national oppression; the U.S. Imperialist state.

Correspondingly, a reactionary tendency had been developing in this period, later to be projected through LIFE Magazine; the reactionary trend, "Bourgeois Cultural Nationalism", which called for a "cultural nation," and becoming a main trend (1967), held back our struggle. This movement was similar to the Bundist movement which developed among the Jews in Russia. The similarity in the two movements, is that neither had a territorial basis in its definition of nationhood. Each saw national autonomy—the autonomy of its religious, cultural and economic institutions—as protecting its existence within the dominant (White) nation.

Basically, this was a struggle for democratic rights for the preservation of a national culture, and not a national liberation struggle for state power. Some projections of this contradiction were the cult of the personality, the

feudalist repression of Black women, and an elitist concept for the national culture and traditions of the masses of our people. Throughout the 1960's and 70's, this trend was continuously fought by revolutionary nationalism. Bourgeois cultural nationalism finally received its death blow as a main trend at the African Liberation Day conference in May, 1974.

African liberation struggles.

At a key time in history, when the crisis of U.S. Imperialism has reached to one of its greatest depths, as manifested by its pitched attempts to maintain control in Southern Africa—which is being threatened by the Azanian and Zimbabwean national liberation movements, the mass organization which could've linked them with the national liberation struggle of New Afrikans at the base of the U.S. economy, thus helping to push them forward, is no longer in existence due to this infantile tendency.

The key advocates of this tendency are now scurrying from city to city and meeting to meeting, arguing with and begging white folks and trying to convince Black folks to build a multi-national party; instead of correctly seeing that the key to the white working class realizing its class interests, will come from an organized and correctly guided Black national liberation movement, which continuously challenges the economic base of society. Thus making their principal task, the coming together into a revolutionary Black nationalist party guided by scientific socialism, to give leadership to that struggle.

KEY QUESTIONS OUR MOVEMENT MUST ADDRESS ITSELF TO

The key questions which our movement must scientifically address itself to in this period in order to correctly move forward in the future are:

1. Are African people throughout the United States one nation, struggling for a common national liberation or are they a part of two nations with different struggles?

2. What is the correct ideology and organizational leadership to bring about their national liberation?

3. What is the relationship of our national liberation struggle to other anti-imperialist struggles inside the United States and what is the correct organizational form to connect these struggles?

4. What is the relationship of our national liberation struggle to the African liberation struggle world-wide and what is the correct organizational form to connect these struggles?

5. How will our struggle move to national independence and socialism?

AFRIKAN PEOPLE IN BLACK BELT SOUTH AND THROUGHOUT THE U.S. ARE ONE NATION
African people inside the United States make up one domestic colonized nation with 52% of the colonial subjects located on the national territory in the Black Belt South and the other 48% scattered throughout the country of the U.S. imperial state concentrating in its major industrial centers.

Key to understanding this dispersion, again, is a correct understanding of the development of the American Imperialist state.

America is an Imperialist settler state, whose growth historically has been based upon its ability to reap maximum super profits from the labor and markets of the workers of its internal colonies and maintain the allegiance of its settler working class whose "white-skin-privileges" come largely from that super-exploitation.

Whenever the U.S. Capitalist system searched for a source of new raw materials to produce goods for sale in its home markets, leading to the consolidation of monopoly capital within its national borders" in the late 1800's, and its subsequent development to the stage of imperialism and controlling of markets internationally, we will see major shifts in the population locality of our domestic colonized nation to fulfill the need of cheap labor.

The development of today's black working class included not only its displacement from an Agrarian society to U.S. Monopolycapitalist owned industry in the national homeland-The Black Belt South, but also its displacement to the industrial urban centers throughout the U.S. in both cases it filled the same need; that of being a source of cheap labor for the U.S. ruling class.

This massive migration to the industrial urban centers throughout the imperialist settler state is one of the collective experiences that forms part of the legacy of the domestic colonial black working class and helps define its conception of the world, the nature of its existence and oppression inside the U.S. imperialist settler state and the struggle for which it must identify with and lead, to guarantee completion of its true liberation.

History will show that the settler class interest of the white working class is only realized when the forward momentum of the mass Black national liberation struggle (in what ever its form) threatens the stability of the economic and political base of U.S. Imperialism, forcing it to shift, if not only temporarily, some of its burdens onto the white working class thus providing the material basis to struggle.

We must understand that when U.S. markets are seized internationally by the victors of the national liberation struggles in the third world, that it is our domestic colony which is the first internal sector to absorb those losses, thus creating spontaneous uprisings to threaten the base?

In order for those uprisings, (which are mainly due to a major crisis within a sector of society and not of an entire working class) to be correctly organized and guided to complete the strategic objective of a given historical period, African people must have the leadership of a revolutionary Black nationalist party guided by the ideology of scientific socialism.

THE SOLIDARITY OF DIFFERENT STRUGGLES AGAINST THE STATE

The relationship of our national liberation struggle to other anti-imperialist struggles within the borders of the imperialist state, is an international relationship.

The solidarity of the different struggles against a common enemy will be represented by the unity of the advanced parties and formations of the various struggles through a strategic alliance against the state.

This strategic alliance must not be seen as nor is it in fact a multi-national party. It is in fact a North American international.

The role of the strategic alliance is to attempt to provide a U.S. world view of the continuous sharpening crisis and trends of the U.S. Imperialist state as a basis for the many struggles to direct their attacks against its weakest point, as is manifest from the instability caused by the forward movement of the various struggles themselves or from those throughout the world.

This alliance will not decide on how the various struggles must proceed to liberation, nor is the body to organize the base of the respective struggles.

THE UNITY OF AFRICAN PEOPLES STRUGGLE WORLD WIDE

What is the relationship of our national liberation struggle to the struggles of African people world wide and how is it connected?

We must first understand that the capitalist system is a world wide system linking together capitalist nations externally as common exploiters of the African world. This linking exists by their inner connection through multi-national corporations of which U.S. Imperialism is the dominant factor; thus making our struggle at the base (in the "belly of the beast", the rear guard of African peoples' struggles world wide; coming to their aid against encirclement. This is known as concrete African internationalism.

The key to linking this struggle is through the formation of an African international. The role of the African international is to provide an African world view of the growing crisis in world imperialism. This analysis will help identify the weakest points in a given historical period, as well as for the future; enabling our various national and class struggles to apply pressure; leading to havoc between the capitalist countries themselves; moving towards the final destruction of world imperialism.

HOW WILL OUR STRUGGLE PROCEED TO COMPLETE NATIONAL LIBERATION?

National liberation revolution is a historical process brought about as a result of

historical objectives.

This continuous inner action of threatening the economic base, creating the objective material conditions activating other domestic struggles is the process of political and economic erosion of the Imperialist state, carried out through a protracted process.

This erosion forces the Imperialist bourgeoisie to increase the denial of democratic rights to appoint where it exhausts the legal means of struggle.

This crisis and the popular allegiance of the masses throughout the country to their revolutionary black nationalist vanguard party will be the signal for our movement to wage an armed struggle for complete national liberation. This armed struggle will be a signal for the various sectors of the strategic alliance to intensify their parallel struggles against the Imperialist state. This armed struggle will continue until the final victory of the national black liberation movement and its allies against the Imperialist state. Thus allowing us to begin socialist consolidation under our own new African people's republic.

LONG LIVE THE NEW AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

DARE TO STRUGGLE

DARE TO WIN

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