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**BASIC TENETS OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM**

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by Muhammad Ahmad

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
Introduction . . . . .	1
1. The Black Liberation Movement: Contradictions Past and Present . . . . .	1
2. Where Do We Stand? (Message to the So-Called Black Vanguard) . . . . .	2
3. Our Historical Situation . . . . .	3
4. The Black Internationalist Party . . . . .	5
5. Revolutionary Black Nationalism . . . . .	7
6. The National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	9
7. The Party Organizer . . . . .	11
8. The Public (Petit Bourgeois) Black Party. . . . .	13
9. The United Front . . . . .	13
10. The National Black Liberation Front . . . . .	14
11. On World Black Revolution. . . . .	14
12. The Underground Movement. . . . .	15
13. The Underground Party. . . . .	15
14. Youth . . . . .	16
15. Black Women . . . . .	17
16. The Education of the Black Nationalist Child . . . . .	17
17. Black Literature and Art . . . . .	18
18. The Cultural Revolution . . . . .	19
19. Black Internationale . . . . .	21
20. On People's Leadership and Black Theoreticians. . . . .	21
21. Classes in the Black Liberation Struggle . . . . .	24
22. The Nature of Black People's War. . . . .	25
23. The Call For The National Black Liberation Front . . . . .	27

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## INTRODUCTION

Revolutionary Black Nationalism is not only a particular way of viewing the reality and trends inherent in U.S. society from a dialectical and historical materialist point of view of a domestic colonized nation, it is also a program and practical strategy of struggle for achieving national liberation and socialism.

Revolutionary Black Nationalism is the ideology of Black National Liberation Revolution; the scientific and historical process of transforming from a domestic colonized nation serving the interest of U.S. imperialism (as a source of cheap labor and major market for its commodities) into a National Liberation Movement consciously representing its own interest as a nation struggling for national independence and state power.

Ideology is therefore indigenous, developed from the historical social reality of the specific oppressed peoples themselves. Theory on the other hand can be developed from the struggles and conditions of all peoples; however, for theories to become transformed into ideology they must be tested in social practice or verified in the social history of the peoples waging the liberation struggle.

Unlike the white working class, whose objective historical class position in U.S. society has not been the motive force of U.S. history (disabling white radicals through a mechanical Marxist-Leninist class analysis from further refining and developing their scientific world view beyond the 1848 Marx; 1918 Lenin; and in some cases 1949 Mao), Black people's history has been one of continuous oppression/repression and struggles challenging the oppressive system for liberation, thus mandating the development of new means to further advance these struggles.

### Chapter 1

#### The Black Liberation Movement: Contradictions Past and Present

To draw a critical analysis of the Black Liberation Struggle we must ask ourselves what are the main contradictions that hinder its development and success.

The main contradiction of the movement is the inability to assess strengths and weaknesses, friends and enemies, strategy and tactics as applied to America (USA).

Very few liberation organizations have analyzed the American society and the inter-relation of Africans to it on a national and class basis. Many Black revolutionaries attempt to apply the tactics of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao and Cabral to the American situation, failing to see, as Cabral has stated:

"However great the similarity between our various cases and however identical our enemies, national liberation and social revolution are not exportable commodities." The most recent tragedy has been the abstract intellectual theorization of Marxism-Leninism which cropped up inside the ALSC (African Liberation Support Committee) in 1974 and the *Black Scholar* in 1975.

This abstract adherence to Marxism-Leninism comes from the inability of the activist to adequately deal with the nature and mode of oppression of African people in the U.S.

The question facing radicals is assessing Africans in the U.S. as an "oppressed nationality" along with other oppressed nationalities as well as oppressor nationalities in a multinational industrialized monopoly capitalist state. This makes the direction towards national liberation much more complex than just stating that Africans are an oppressed national minority in a monopoly capitalist state.

The latter suggests that radicals must make an in-depth historical and dialectical materialist analysis of forms of national and class oppression and the inter-action/relationship between oppressed nationalities and the ruling class.

The abstract Marxism-Leninism debate craze which is now rampant in the movement is a carry-over of Black radicals being unable to sustain a protracted struggle based on day-to-day issues/practice in the 1960's. The inability of Black radicals in the 1960's to creatively relate to the masses of Africans was a legacy of the 1930's. To a large extent the abstract Marxism-Leninism debate is similar to Mao's argument against the returned student faction in the 1940's.

"In a speech to a meeting of cadres on the 5th of May 1941, Mao stressed a similar theme: When many scholars of Marxism-Leninism speak, they must talk about Greece; they can only repeat quotes from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from memory, but about their own ancestors they have to apologize and say they've forgotten.

"They are not shamed but proud when they understand very little or nothing about their own history. . . . Many are ignorant of anything which is their own, yet hold on to Greek and foreign tales (they are nothing more than tales) which are pathetically abstracted and presented from a pile of old foreign papers. For the past few decades, many returned students have been making this mistake. They return from Europe, America or Japan, and all they know is to recite a stock of undigested phrases. They function as phonographs but forget their own responsibility to create something new." [Schram, *Mao Tse-Tung*, page 221]

In the late 1960's three major Black revolutionary organizations emerged: SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee), RAM (Revolu-

tionary Action Movement), and BPP (Black Panther Party).

The first two were active during the time of the mass rebellions from 1964-1968. The Black Panther Party emerged after the rebellions to become the most vocal Black revolutionary organization from 1968-1970. If we study the Black Liberation Movement in depth we will see that it has many internal contradictions, but as a movement it is very dynamic. We will see also that the form or character has changed from the 1960's to the 1970's to adapt to the political, military, and economic forms of repression.

Many social analysts consider the mass rebellions of the 1967-1968 period as a revolution or insurrection. It was a revolution that was suppressed or set back, say many. Out of movement circles come questions like: Why did the Black revolution of 1967-1968 fail? Because we did not take into account all the materialist factors of revolutionary warfare and because we were still operating under the illusion of instant or 90-day revolution.

When we say we failed to take into account the materialist factors, we had not made the necessary preparations to make people's war successful. Also, we only led an advanced section of our people, not taking into account the objective materialist reality of the overwhelming majority of our people.

Why did this happen?

Because we were young and immature as revolutionaries and inexperienced in fighting a revolutionary war. In essence we moved too fast, with too few. We attempted to organize too many without taking into account what resources we had or where we were going to get them from to sustain the action once carried out. Therefore, when the party was attacked, it was unable to consolidate its ranks; the party had not adequately prepared cadre through ideological training to know what to do in crisis situations, how to function independently, how to change tactics and how to re-unite with the revolutionary center when it is forced to move.

As a result of failing to grope with these questions RAM and SNCC both became defunct. The Black Panther Party split into two factions: Oakland and the East Coast.

As a result a tendency towards armed struggle with little political direction occurred on the east coast. Heroic battles took place from coast to coast as the police battled the B.L.A. (Black Liberation Army). But the B.L.A. soon found itself isolated because of not having synchronized its military action with political action.

As the revolutionary nationalists were attacked and ranks being destroyed, the Nation of Islam grew to phenomenal strength of 250,000 members.

The N.O.I., though, while once a progressive organization, now is a reactionary bourgeois organi-

zation whose program is Black capitalism. More so than any organization in the Black Liberation Movement, it puts economics in command of its development. In order to do this it has formed beginning alliances with right-wing and conservative white politicians and has become accommodationist in its approach.

The R.N.A. (Republic of New Afrika) in 1968 had the potential of being a mass base front organization, but in 1970, it prematurely moved into Mississippi and was attacked by the Mississippi state authorities and the F.B.I. As a result the RNA has an infamous RNA-11 case in Mississippi and other RNA members are in jail around the country.

But new developments have occurred on the local level that show promise in the future. But the main contradiction for the movement remains of how to develop a political/tactical approach to the national question.

As an oppressed nationality, unity among liberation groups is essential to draw a collective political/tactical approach/direction for all groups in the form of an Afrikan People's National Liberation Front (APNLF).

## Chapter 2

### Where Do We Stand?

#### (Message to the So-Called Black Vanguard)

At the moment of this writing the Black Movement in America stands at a point of confusion, division and chaos. We must ask ourselves, why is this so? From observing the situation it seems like the movement is sorely divided because of narrow thinking and because of lack of program and personal and organizational egotism. Since 1967-68, during the high tide of rebellions, the Black Power Movement has been coopted and the new organizations that have emerged lack the insight necessary to be effective. To those who consider themselves revolutionary we want to explore the difference between being militant and revolutionary. Many of us mistake being militant for being revolutionary. The enemy has programmed us into thinking what and how a revolutionary should act. Many brothers/sisters feel that the badder one talks and looks the more revolutionary one is. This is being militant but it is not necessarily being revolutionary.

Also some brothers/sisters feel one must look revolutionary; that is, they adopt standards from the white left of being dirty, wearing dungarees, sweat shirts, a beret, and neglect their personal hygiene. These brothers/sisters will even go as far as to say that workers are dirty, but they fail to see that Black workers are not dirty because they want to be, that it is only because in the process of work they get dirty, but as soon as they go home they

wash up. Our people are not dirty people. They are very clean and highly moral. Most of this comes from association with Europeans either directly or indirectly; of thinking super-revolutionary or having an unconscious complex of not being working class and wanting to be more working class than the working class.

There are many brothers/sisters who talk about self-defense but who if put in a tight squeeze couldn't defend themselves or who advocate the bearing of arms but don't know how to use, fire, clean, or break down a piece. Revolutionaries are not made by how loud one can blow about revolution but what one does day by day to prepare oneself and the people to defeat the enemy.

In the Movement there is too much talk about what one is and what one isn't. In essence there is too much bullshit but yet everyone is talking about unity and practicing division.

All of a sudden everyone wants to be the vanguard of the revolution. That's fine if you know what it takes being the vanguard of a struggle, but don't cry when you are cut down because you should expect the enemy to try to cut the vanguard of the Black Revolution down. Contradictions. We are still appealing to so-called nice white folks, Marxist-Leninist white folks, about the bad white folks, the capitalist white folks. The Movement is violating the basic principle that one does not move on the enemy unless one is sure of winning. That means you *use wisdom in picking your issue, your confrontation*. Many in the struggle talk about nothing but struggle and agitation. What is struggle? Is struggle limited to any particular aspect of organizing? No. The people carry out struggle daily.

*In our national revolution we must realize that all classes must be organized and that as a nation we will struggle together for National Liberation.* Struggle therefore is any aspect of organization that leads to National Liberation. Struggle is not a password or correctness of one organization or another. What the Movement has failed to do is retreat and regroup. *In all successful revolutions there have been lulls when the revolutionaries regrouped and recovered from their setbacks and learned from their struggles.* How many of us are doing this? If we study the principle of practice we will see that it takes time for the learning process to make social leaps and in this time span, things must be given time to develop. This doesn't mean we stop practicing but means we stop banging our heads against a brick wall and realize our direction.

What the Movement must realize is that we are in a pre-revolutionary situation and that there is only so much that can be done in this time span. The material conditions of the people must change for the worse before they will be able to be moved to revolution. Now, understanding the dialectical

process, revolutionaries must try to create a revolutionary situation. This means broad, very broad mobilization and organization of our people. This will take time and new creative thinking on our part. The other thing is that our brothers/sisters like to tell everyone exactly where they're at and down everyone else for not being what they are. This is narrow thinking.

Too many brothers/sisters go around calling themselves Marxist-Leninists and putting our people down because they are not Marxists. One need not be a Marxist to be revolutionary and being a Marxist doesn't necessarily make one revolutionary. If one wants to create a revolution among a people who have been brainwashed against communism, stop preaching labels and practice; put your theory into action.

[Written in 1970 against left-wing adventurism in the Black Panther Party and narrow dogmatism in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.]

### Chapter 3 Our Historical Situation

In order to investigate our war of National Liberation, it is first necessary to analyze our historical situation. If we analyze Europe's expansion in the early 1500's and its rape of our Motherland, Afrika, we can see that the system of chattel slavery came into existence for primarily one basic reason; that was for free (slave) labor, which meant super-profits.

*Europe rapidly transformed from a feudal system to a capitalist system as a result of the great material resources produced by the slave system. The base and building of the capitalist system came first and foremost from the profits produced by the international slave system.* The capitalist system and the capitalist class that inherited the benefits of colonialism is the very class and system that maintains the system of economic racism and exploitation of Afrikan and Third World peoples.

The system of racism has produced a phenomenon never before seen in the world's history. This is particularly true of the Afrikan held captive within America. The Afrikan captive was torn from his/her homeland, loved ones, family destroyed. The process of colonialism is not just an economic and political system but also a psychological and cultural system. Racism reinforced and perpetrated by capitalism is the system that is in power in the western European states. These same states are continually carrying out wars of aggression against Afrikan, Asian and South American peoples. This system is international. It is capitalism in its most organized stage; a stage beyond imperialism; neo-colonialism. It is the centralization of multinational corporations (international monopolies) who organize interna-

tional para-military spy agencies — Interpol, C.I.A. — to maintain European (capitalist) control over the world. This is a historical struggle because since 1500 when the European attacked Afrika, the struggle has been who will rule Afrika and the Third World, the indigenous peoples themselves or the Europeans.

But in the context of the 20th century, the arena broadens as the capitalist class moves to dominate the entire world. The historical perspective for the Afrikan captive in America is where is his land, his nation, government. The Afrikan captive being 40 or more million cannot feasibly migrate in mass back to Afrika or any other land mass. This doesn't mean he can't help in the development and liberation of Afrika. The historical question for the Afrikan captive has been two-fold. One was his tactics of struggle against the chattel slave system; the other has been his struggle for equality within the capitalist system and his own definition of what he wanted.

The first stage took place from 1500 to 1865. A great history of resistance was waged by slave revolts. The most notable because of organization and plan was the Denmark Vesey revolt of 1800. Vesey had planned to seize a port town (Charleston) in South Carolina, if possible secure aid from Haiti and then seize the entire state with the objective of establishing a Black Republic.

Just prior to the civil war, freedmen debated our status and objectives in colored people's conventions. The most notable figures of this period were Dr. Martin Delaney, who proclaimed we were a nation within a nation, Henry Highland Garnet, and David Walker, who both called for armed insurrection.

After the civil war, during reconstruction many Black leaders demanded land, 40 acres and a mule, the confiscation of the slaveowners' plantations to be divided up among the freedmen. Thaddeus Stevens proposed this in the Homestead Act. Violent battles occurred during the reconstruction period. This period lasted for ten years, from 1867 to 1877. In 1877 a compromise was drawn between the northern industrialists and the southern aristocracy. This compromise was that if Hayes, the Republican candidate, became president, the north would withdraw its troops from the south and leave the south alone. From 1877 to the 1950's a reign of terror existed in the south with the system of Jim Crow and Lynch Law prevailing. But the struggle continued.

In the 1920's the largest Black Nationalist Movement formed — called the Garvey Movement — which involved 5 million Blacks. Also, from 1900 to 1945 Dr. DuBois labored to develop a Pan Afrikan Movement through Pan Afrikan Congresses which became the base for the Afrikan Liberation struggle. In the 1940's there were several uprisings

in urban communities, and in the late 1950's under the leadership of the late Dr. Martin Luther King a massive passive resistance movement was created. Also, from 1933 to 1975 the Honorable Elijah Muhammad labored to create the nation of Islam.

The era of the 1960's saw a transition in Black people's struggle throughout the world. In this era Afrikan nations achieved political independence from Europe, and many were re-colonized. Black people in America changed their perspective from integration to Black Power.

As the next decade enters the scene we see our struggle becoming more nationalistic. Knowing our historical situation we should know who we are. *Who are we?* This question has been answered by our struggle; we are *overseas Afrikans, Afrikans held in captivity, captive Afrikans*. As the cultural revolution sweeps our people we are becoming conscious that we are not negro but Afrikan people in America.

We can see, as the later years of the 1960's showed, the enemy will resort to political assassinations, jailings and exiles in order to keep our movement from developing. The assassinations of Medgar Evers, the Birmingham Six, the murder of countless civil rights workers, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King and at least 30 Black Panthers, show us what the enemy will resort to. The 1970's will be marked by more attacks from the ultra-right government. As this begins to happen, our struggle will be forced underground. All public organizations and leaders will soon begin to feel the pressure and will fear for their lives as they exhaust the legal means of protest. Because the enemy lost the war in Vietnam and his economy faltered because of over-expansion, repression against our colonized nation occurred. This is when an all-out attack will occur, possibly being called a national emergency but not necessarily so. Blacks at random are being shot, picked off, bombed and beaten. This is an attempt by the racists to bring our movement to a standstill. But our people are more determined than ever to keep going.

*What are we fighting for?* Black people's objective must be a struggle for land. The land mass most feasible for seizure and maintenance as an independent nation is the southern states where we constitute a majority. The southern land mass can be fought for in the process of a protracted war, and it is feasible with the support of the population to hold given areas for periods of time. While the terrain is not mountainous, it is semi-rural with major urban areas. This land mass is Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama. The urban areas are the sensitive areas of the oppressor's nation. The great bulk of Afrikans occupy the urban areas in the nation. The southern campaign for land would very soon receive support of the majority of Afrikans, especially in times when the Black Nation

is under attack. But this phase will be the last stage of struggle when all the legal means of struggle for independent nationhood have been exhausted. Knowing what we are fighting for and knowing our nation is under attack, we must ask ourselves what must be done.

The first thing that has to be done is to prepare the black community for socialist revolution. This means the stockpiling of weapons, getting as many guns and weapons of self-defense as possible. The next is the mass training of Black people in the means of self-defense and survival. Our people need to be taught first aid, how to build underground shelters, how to preserve foods and how to survive with as little food and water as possible; also clinics need to be established in how to treat wounds from chemical warfare and also napalm. Defense guards need to be established everywhere. Our people's major pastime must become the martial arts like in the East. We must organize the Black Nation to struggle for national independence.

#### Chapter 4 The Black Internationalist Party

In developing a scientific international and class position that relates to the Black underclass (the vast majority of the people of the world; the workers of Asia, Afrika, New Afrika, South and Central America, Native Americans and Mexican/Chicanos), it is imperative that the Black underclass's interests of national liberation, self-determination and world people's government be protected and organized through the formation of revolutionary nationalist parties. Revolutionary nationalist/Black internationalist parties are the highest form of organization of the Black underclass in its drive for national and world power. In scientifically substantiating the historical role of the Black underclass, it is necessary at the same time to know that the Black underclass needs an independent political party and ideological framework in order to bring in the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a world communist society. Not only was this described in *World Black Revolution* in 1967, but since 1962 in the form of the movement of revolutionary action (RAM), revolutionary nationalists/Black internationalists have been laying the groundwork for developing such a party.

Of all the organizations created by the Black underclass, only a political party can give proper expression to the basic interests of the Black underclass and lead it to complete victory. While the basis of Black underclass struggle is through the organization into unions and peasant (farmer) organizations and immediate issue organizations, through those organizations alone the Black underclass will never

be able to defeat capitalism and the imperialists and build a socialist society. To do this, the underclass needs an organization of a higher type, an organization that does not confine itself to the struggle on just the current needs of the people but aims at bringing the people to power through a psychological, economic, political, and cultural revolutionary transformation of society. The organization best suited to bring a complete revolutionary transformation of society and to serve the ideological needs of the Black underclass is the revolutionary nationalist/Black internationalist party.

The main characteristics of revolutionary nationalist parties is that their goal is to replace capitalism with socialism. Black internationalists are in the forefront of Black underclass struggle for power because they believe that for revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, the Black underclass must seize political power and establish a dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat. Revolutionary nationalist/Black internationalist parties do not act blindly, groping in the dark, but are guided by the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism which scientifically expresses the fundamental interest of the people. The party is a voluntary union of like-minded persons united for the purpose of applying the Black world outlook and carrying out the historic mission of the Black underclass. The revolutionary character of the party determines its organizational principles, its unity, its identity of action and flexibility of its tactics. Black internationalist parties get their strength from the people; therefore, they must constantly guard against becoming parties of isolated individuals or narrow groups of professional revolutionaries as other once-revolutionary parties have become. Therefore, Black internationalist parties must be firmly grounded in the people, keeping constant contact with the people and learning from the people, and apply the principle *from the people back to the people*.

The Black internationalist party is the vanguard of the Black underclass; its advanced national-class conscious part, capable of leading the people in the struggle for the overthrow of colonialism and the building of national independence, self-determination, and socialism. The party of the Black underclass — the Black internationalist party — while being a national-class party, has deep roots not only among the workers but also among other sections of the people. Black internationalists are regular people only distinguished by their greater race/class consciousness, ideological consistency, and more intense revolutionary character and readiness to force any situation for the cause.

Their life is bound with the people, and they are deeply concerned with everything that agitates the people's minds.

History shows us that before becoming real

vanguards, revolutionary parties usually pass through several stages of political and organizational development. From the outset they are propagandist groups conducting most of their work within their own ranks. This is necessary to insure ideological unity, educate the membership and improve the organization. Then comes the time when the party goes to the people and begins to lead strikes and mass actions of the people. This period is very important, for it signifies the merging of the spontaneous movement with the ideas of Black internationalism and its transformation into a revolutionary movement. In the next stage, the party becomes a real political force capable of leading not only the majority of the Black workers, but the Black underclass as a whole.

The principle of the organizational structure of a revolutionary nationalist party is called democratic centralism. The interests expressed by a revolutionary nationalist party are not the mere sum total of the private interests of individual workers or groups; they are interests of the whole underclass and manifest themselves only through the common will which unites various isolated actions into one struggle. Only a centralized leadership is capable of uniting all the forces, directing them towards a single goal and unity to coordinate the uncoordinated actions of individual workers and groups.

The common will of the party cannot be created unless by democratically, jointly, collectively comparing the different opinions and proposals and then adopting decisions binding for all. The common will has the advantage in that it gives the fullest and therefore truest expression to the objective needs of the national-class struggle of the Black underclass. In practice, democratic centralism means all the leading party bodies from top to bottom are elected; strict party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority; a revolutionary nationalist is one who actively helps to carry out the program of the party and necessarily works in one of its organizations under its leadership and control.

The internal life of the party is organized to allow maximum participation of revolutionary nationalists in practical work. All necessary conditions are established for giving party members the opportunity to discuss all questions, to check the fulfillment of adopted decisions, to elect the leaders, and to know and check their activities. Broad discussion of all fundamental issues and collective elaboration of all decisions form one of the most important methods of party work. Each discussion involves extensive criticism, disclosing shortcomings, finding their roots, and submitting proposals for their elimination. Such criticism assists progress and properly educates the membership.

But the party always distinguishes criticism which strengthens it from that which weakens it,

which turns into criticism for criticism's sake; under all conditions, the party program, the decisions of the party, and its rules serve to determine its line. While granting rights to its members, the party at the same time demands loyalty to its program aims and objectives. It does not tolerate advocacy of anti-party views, considering them incompatible with membership in the party. Before a decision is adopted various views may be expressed and opposite points of view may clash in the party, but once a decision has been adopted, all revolutionary nationalists act as one person. This is the essence of party discipline, which requires subordination of the minority to the majority and makes the adopted decisions absolutely obligatory. Discipline supplies the party with the necessary organization and purposefulness of action. The strength of party discipline lies in the fact that it is a conscious discipline, and that it is based on the ideological unity of revolutionary nationalists and their conscious approval of party decisions in which they themselves have taken an active part.

Revolutionary nationalists can become a party only if they are closely linked with the people and enjoy their support. A party may declare itself the vanguard as much as it likes, and yet fail to become one. A party cannot force the people to follow it, nor can it win prestige by merely claiming a leading role in its statements to the people. There is only one way for the party to become a real leader and that is by convincing the people that it correctly expresses and defends their interests, by convincing them through deeds rather than words, through its policies, initiative and devotion. *The party must win the confidence and recognition of the people by its work. A revolutionary nationalist party has a program — a scientifically substantiated exposition of its aims which corresponds to the vital interests of the people. To win the leading position, the party must make the final aims of the struggle intelligible to the people. At the same time, the party must have a program of action to satisfy the immediate needs of the people.*

*It is possible to lead the people only by taking into account their experience and the level of their class consciousness, without losing touch with reality and without running ahead.* Otherwise, there is a risk of being in the position of a vanguard that has lost contact with the main forces and is lagging behind. The revolutionary nationalist party, which generalizes the experience of its class and the whole people, and interprets it in the light of the lessons of history and Black internationalist theory, is in a position to perceive the tendencies which have not yet fully manifested themselves, but which claim the future. A Black internationalist party does not invent circumstances; it proceeds from life, but marches at the head of the spontaneous movement,



showing it the way because it is able to propose, in good time, solutions for the problems that agitate the minds of the people. The party can lead the people and teach the people only if it itself *learns from the people, carefully studies all that arises out of the people's practical activity, and assimilates the wisdom of the people.* To learn from the people in order to teach the people is the principle of Black internationalist leadership that is practiced by the revolutionary nationalist party.

The activities of the revolutionary nationalist party are not just creations of the party leadership. They are the concrete expressions of the political line elaborated by the party on the basis of a scientific analysis of the given stage of the struggle in a given situation.

The people view reality from the facts they experience day to day and which directly affect them. Therefore, a revolutionary party can only become the vanguard of the people by leading the struggle for immediate economic needs and political interests of the people by putting forth and fighting for demands that meet the people's needs. An important aspect in the art of political leadership is the ability to *unite the efforts of all forces with whom it's possible to achieve unity, including those with whom there are fundamental differences.* The art of political leadership means having the ability to apply correct tactics for a certain period and the ability to change tactics when the historical situation calls for different tactics. The key to political leadership is the ability to find the proper tactics that will provide the people with victories.

## Chapter 5 Revolutionary Black Nationalism

The 500-year-old struggle of Afrikan people to liberate themselves from the system of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism has been hindered by the lack of a Black scientific ideology and organization. This ideological legacy is due to the oppressor's elimination of internal communications of Afrikan peoples and also because the colonial system produced a historical and cultural discontinuity among Black people the world over. As a result of destroying the historical and cultural continuity within the traditional Afrikan society, Afrikan peoples have found it very difficult to produce a comprehensive goal culture beyond the boundaries of the particular colonial oppressor.

Within the colonial system was the justification of cultural and historical castration. This justification or rationalization became a cultural more of European society known as racism. The cultural superstructure of European racism caused Afrikan people to negate and have an inferiority complex

towards their own ethnic heritage. Unlike other peoples, liberation for Afrikan peoples is a more difficult question due to the historical, cultural, psychological and physical dislocation of pre-colonial Afrikan society. The racist superstructure of colonialism says that no history, culture or civilized society existed among Afrikans before contact with the colonial oppressor. Therefore unlike other peoples who had their culture and society remain intact during the process of the colonial era, Afrikan peoples must engage in a cultural and historical rediscovery as they correctly engage in revolutionary action.

*This means in the process of struggling for revolutionary state power, Afrikan peoples in the U.S. must undergo a historical and cultural revolution at the same time or synonymous with their political revolution.* This means that Afrikan peoples must not only develop a revolutionary Black ideology but must also develop a transfer culture within their revolutionary movements. Transfer culture provides the rational dynamic or calculation within the developing strategy of revolution; strategies of revolution demand central organization and leadership and a tightly knit internal communications system. Afrikan revolutionaries must deal with first the formation of a goal culture — the formation of an internal society that sets goals and standards for the new society of which the people are to be molded. Simply stated, the revolutionary organization must set goals which the people can see and understand for the new society, if the ideology is going to be meaningful to the people. Transfer culture is symbols within the ideology that mold the people's minds in judging right and wrong group judgment and give the people the symbolic ABC's of the revolution.

The failure in the 20th century of Afrikan peoples to carry out successful colonial revolutionary nationalist revolutions has been primarily because the potential Afrikan intelligentsias have been alienated from indigenous cultural mores that could lead revolutionary nationalist ideology and party.

*Ideology is the systematic, scientific, cultural, economic, political, social and moral values of a people.* Ideology is the systematic views which are historically evolved by definite social groups in definite stages of social development and which vary according to their social origin. Ideology is essentially social rather than an individual product. In dealing with the development of ideology, we are dealing with the social development of ideas. In the course of social development there is change and development of ideology. One ideology replaces another. And in the same society, different and rival ideologies interest and clash with one another. Such is the case now with the ideological war going on between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism and also in the world between revisionism, white

power and Black internationalism. Ideology has no independent development just as there is no such thing as art for art's sake, or culture for culture's sake. All art, culture and ideology represents a political tendency, independent of the development of the material conditions of social life. The difficulty experienced by the Black underclass in becoming aware of the international, national and class interests is increased by the corrupting influence of white overclass (assimilationist-integrationist) ideology, of the propaganda that the white overclass conducts with the definite aim of misleading the Black underclass. *The best school of national, international, and class consciousness for the Black underclass is day-to-day struggle, including the struggle for immediate interests.* But that alone is not enough.

For the Black underclass to reach a high level of national, international, and class consciousness, a special ideological form of struggle is needed. The ideological struggle of the Black underclass involves, above all, the working out of a Black socialist outlook, *a scientific theory that uses revolutionary tactics which will show the Black underclass the path to liberation and power.* The struggle of the Black underclass for its immediate interests is not sufficient to give birth to socialist views. The doctrine of socialism is the economic theory of Black internationalism. *To play its part in the world liberation struggle, the scientific world outlook (Black scientific socialism) must become the possession, philosophy, and ideological weapon of the masses of Black people worldwide.*

Many think ideological struggle only takes place in political organizing, debates or at political social affairs. This is not true; ideological struggle is part of a dialectical process that is endless until the principal contradictions of the oppressed and the oppressor are eliminated. The essence of a political revolution is a battle (war) for the masses' minds. It is a constant and permanent struggle to teach and win the people over to the revolutionary ideological point of view. Daily organizing is an ideological struggle. The whole purpose of daily organizing is to win the masses to our political interpretation of world destiny. The organizer seeks to win the people over to his/her point of view, point by point. If the people will not accept his/her point he/she *wins them over by taking them through* various stages of development on popular issues. *Ideology is based on economics.* Black internationalism is based on socialism. Socialism is a complete system of Black underclass ideology and a new social system. The communist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; sooner or later revolution will take place and will win. The revolutionary nationalist movement led by the Black liberation party involves two stages at the same time. The Black cultural revolution is necessary in order to condition, re-educate and pre-

pare the people for the world Black revolution, which is political. The ultimate aim for all Black internationalists is to bring about a socialist society. *Socialism is the economic system of revolutionary Black nationalism.* Socialism is the system of non-exploitation of a people; an economic system by which the people own the means of production, property and farms (land). Socialism is a people's system eliminating the wage slave system; capitalism of the capitalist class. Capitalism was not an invention of Black people but rather is an invention by white bourgeois people to enslave and oppress people. Therefore capitalism cannot work for Black people because its roots, its history and nature are anti-Black.

*To talk of Black capitalism is to talk of wanting to enslave Black people just as the white overclass enslaves us; it is being a traitor to the race.* Socialism gives our people power over their lives. Socialism means collective ownership and cooperation. Socialism means collective economic Black unity. It means the pooling of resources working for the Black nation and not just for self. Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces. *The change-over from individual to socialist collective ownership is the objective of the world Black revolution.*

We are carrying out a revolution of the social and cultural systems, the change from private to public ownership, change in the political and cultural structures, from bourgeois democracy to Black peoples' dictatorship; from western hedonism to eastern values. We must have faith, first that the Black underclass is ready to advance step by step along the road of socialism under the leadership of the Black liberation party, and second, the party is capable of leading the Black underclass along this road.

Revolutionary Black Nationalism has an objective and that objective is self-determination of New Afrika. Unlike Black Marxists, revolutionary nationalists do not want to live under white rule whether it's called revolutionary or not. Revolutionary Black Nationalists seek to set up an independent government of our own in which Black people determine their own destiny.

*Revolutionary Black Nationalism is not just a bunch of phrases or slogans, it is a science of nationalist revolution.* Too many Black nationalists spend time selling wolf tickets instead of studying the ideology of nationalist leaders. *Revolutionary Black Nationalists must seek victories whenever they can get them. They must agitate within the system until they get a base from which a nationalist revolution can be launched.*

The struggle for Black studies is one of reforming or revolutionizing the racist educational system to where it will provide Black youth with a base for pride and dignity; a step towards Black nationaliza-

tion. Do not think that the educational system will teach revolution. This is not in the interest of the power structure. But we can work to get Black teachers teaching Black children and get a reasonable amount of community control of the schools. The teaching of true history and revolution must take place outside of the school system. *Revolutionary nationalists must set up liberation schools to train cadres.* We must control the educational process of New Afrika which is not only in the racist-class school system; it is through all forms of mass media and in the home and on the job. *If we concentrate on orienting this generation then we will have revolutionary Black workers in the near future.*

Revolutionary nationalists should set up revolutionary nationalist newspapers in their local communities to spread the word and to break the theory of revolutionary nationalism down into practical terms. Revolutionary Black Nationalism is the ideology of the Black revolution. It is the scientific application of Black Nationalism to obtain a Black independent nation state. It is the science of Black revolution and Black liberation. A revolutionary nationalist wants his/her own independent nation and he/she believes that nation cannot be established while in captivity of the colonial country. A revolutionary nationalist also believes that he/she must form a system — economic, political, and cultural — different from the oppressor's system. The ideology of revolutionary Black nationalism is a Black people's ideology; its economic system is socialism; its political system is centralized democratic people's government and its cultural system is Black dialectical materialism. The difference between a Marxist and a revolutionary Black Nationalist is, a Marxist believes the race problem will be solved after a class revolution, believes that socialist revolution will eliminate racism in America. A revolutionary Black nationalist believes that the question of racism, the exploitation on the basis of race, economically, socially, and politically, is an historical question and is the number one problem in the 20th century and must be eliminated before any humane society can be created. He/she does not believe just by changing the political and economic system that racism will be eliminated. He/she believes much more has to take place: the changing of racist values and people's relationship to people which for 500 years has been the Europeans' racist domination of the world. When this is changed and the vast majority of the world's people rule — the Red, Black, Brown, and Yellow — then racism will be destroyed; when those who have been racially discriminated against are in power and can enforce the law, there will be no racism.

As a result of European so-called propaganda (psychological warfare by the West) and all the con-

fusion prevailing among the Black underclass in various parts of the world as to the direction and objectives of the world Black Revolution, it becomes necessary for revolutionary Black internationalists to form a new context in which the Black underclass can see themselves. This means the formation of a "New" universal revolutionary science-philosophy, Revolutionary Black Internationalism, stemming from the reality of the present world situation and not holding on to the "white revolutionary gods" of the 19th and 20th century Marxism-Leninism. Revolutionary Black Internationalism is the philosophy of cooperation, unity of Black Nationalists throughout the world to bring about a world revolution in which Third World people's culture determines the course of humanity. It is the philosophy of a common international cultural heritage and identity among all non-European people, i.e., Afrikan, Asian, and South American people all have similar if not the same cultural histories and have a common destiny.

Dialectical humanism — the method of analyzing, planning, and developing the sociological and cultural motivations as related to the material factors which affect a person's psyche for the raising of his/her revolutionary humaneness towards mankind — is a vital part of Revolutionary Black Internationalism. Revolutionary Black Internationalists are not only concerned with the influence of the material factors' effect on people, but also with the sociological and cultural aspects, because as recent events have proven, the material factors may somewhat change (economic system) but if the basic core, roots of the bourgeois culture, is not changed then the counter-revolutionary tendencies will recur in the people and vestiges of the counter-revolutionary "revisionists" will tend to crop up again. It (Bourgeois Western Culture) must be destroyed to the very root.

## Chapter 6 The National Democratic Revolution

Black revolutionaries must realize that our struggle is not a classical class revolution but a national democratic revolution. In national democratic revolutions all classes of the colonized nation unite to liberate itself from the colonial country. The concept of self-determination means the right of the colonized nation to separate, break the bonds of union with the colonial country. It means controlling the land of the colonized nation by the people. Many Black revolutionaries are confused on the class and race (national) question.

Black people in America are an oppressed colony. The question of liberation for Black people in America is a national (race) and class question, one

of an oppressed nation seeking self-determination from the oppressor white nation. While there are class contradictions within the Black community, they are secondary to the national contradictions between the two nations, Black and white. *Black revolutionaries must understand the national aspects of our revolution or else they will divide the Black community and isolate themselves* (e.g., Black Panther Party and ALSC). *In national democratic revolutions the building of united fronts is key to victory in people's war.* In this stage of our struggle we need a strong disciplined Black united front. Only by uniting all the elements possible will the Black community be able to survive and move on to independent nationhood. Organizers must constantly project and work to build a national Black united front. *Whenever possible organizers must avoid unnecessary splits, divisions and arguments and attempt to unite different classes and political groupings in order to bring about unity.* The organizer must realize that in order to be successful he/she must win over the majority of our people. This means the organizer must patiently move our people step by step toward revolution and nationalism.

Before the sit-in movement of 1960 which occurred after the Cuban revolution of 1959, the Black bourgeoisie were the political leaders of the democratic revolution; the Black worker had not yet appeared on the political scene as an awakened and independent force but participated in the revolution only as a follower of the Black bourgeoisie. After the sit-in movement the political leadership of the New Afrika democratic revolution was no longer under the leadership of the Black bourgeoisie, but it still supports various appeals of the revolution. Being the bourgeoisie of a racially oppressed colonized nation, the Black bourgeoisie stays in touch with the masses of our people. The Black bourgeoisie has a revolutionary quality at certain times because it is a national bourgeoisie of a colonized nation which is victim of colonial oppression. Therefore *the task of the Black revolutionary party is to form a united front with the bourgeoisie against domestic colonialism.* Our people live in a dual existence: being the super-exploited "subproletariat" and as long as we collaborate with the racist U.S. imperialist government we are helping to exploit our blood brothers and sisters in Afrika, Asia, and Latin America. We are living in a paradox being the exploited and part of the exploiter at the same time. *One of the reasons for a lack of political consciousness among our people is that they can get a Cadillac, a television set and can think of themselves as doing good when compared to other oppressed peoples. Though very few can afford this and often these material gains are shortlived, they serve as examples to woo our people to sleep. The contradiction for Black people is that we think we have to give up something to get*

*freedom, whereas most other oppressed peoples seem to gain something and have nothing to lose.* But what Black people must learn is that we have nothing to lose but our chains.

Revolution is not just making a lot of noise, or getting on TV and radio being the baddest nigger alive. This was the mistake of our movement in the 1960's. It played to the ego, of seeing who could blast the hardest or could tell it like it was. That was all well and good, but it only set the movement up to be cut down. What the movement needs is sound minds, a good constructive program, and a well-disciplined Black revolutionary party.

Much work needs to be done, but to be effective this work cannot be seen or made public until the program is ready to emerge for mass involvement. All you have to do is study our history and you will see why we need an underground movement.

Many brothers and sisters study other peoples' struggles and try to apply theory of another country to this country. This is bad, because it leads to hard lessons. This country is different from others, and the nature of our revolution will be different.

In our revolution we can use the enemy's mass media but we must realize it is organized to twist the Black revolutionary's words and to confuse his/her message; therefore he/she should be very cautious as to what he/she projects. Revolutionary nationalists must become wise in their actions. *It is not necessary to prove our manhood/womanhood and how bad we are by having confrontations (premature) with the police for the sake of having a confrontation. But then there are times when confrontation can't be avoided; then give it your best and go all the way. Revolutionary nationalists have proven to the world they have heart; now they must prove they have minds.*

The movement must ask itself, is it ready to confront the enemy? If so, do whatever is necessary; if not, make a strategic retreat and regroup. More of us need to study the military and political situation as applied to America.

Among the historical factors of our struggle is the consistent line of protest over the years. This line has been of Blacks in the North rallying and protesting around the conditions of Blacks in the South. This is because our enslavement is more rigid, blatant, and clear in the South and because our sense of national identity is more clear in the South. The Afrikan in the South constitutes a nation residing on its national territory. In most of the Southern area we are in the majority in which we are denied the right to self-rule and self-determination. The historical question for our people in the South has been "land and self-rule." This has been the question ever since the civil war, where the promise for the Afrikan who fought on the side of the union was "40 acres and a mule."

While 50 percent or less of our people live in the North — primarily the ten major urban cities, though this trend is changing to smaller cities and the rate of migration into urban areas is a thousand a day — the majority of our people still live in the South in semi-urban conditions. Population-wise Black people are 49 to 51 percent of Mississippi, 45 percent of South Carolina, 35 percent of Louisiana, 31 percent of Georgia, and 32 percent of Alabama.

According to some analysts, one Southerner in five is Black. According to our analysts, the Black percentage is much higher. Also, the forced migration trend is from rural to Southern urban centers. As the large exodus from rural areas continues, Southern cities are starting to attract a larger share of the migrants. Atlanta is now 44 percent Black, New Orleans 41 percent, Memphis 40 percent, and Houston 23 percent.

Between 1950 and 1960, 493,000 Blacks lost their jobs in Southern agriculture. In 1950 some 492,000 Blacks in the South were classified as farm proprietors and managers; by 1960 only 167,000 remained in this category. There are fewer now, and if the trend continues unabated, almost none will remain by 1975. In the South in 1975, 12 percent more than in 1960 — about 3,900,000 — will be in the labor force, working or looking for work. The Southern educational system has left 33.5 percent of adult Blacks illiterate and thus unemployed.

Within the South we constitute a majority of the population and with the urbanization of the South we will eventually constitute an overwhelming majority. Also, the Southern conditions are more acute: the suppression of our Afrikan captive nation, being forced to live under the dictatorship of the KKK, coerced from voting rights, facing taxation without representation. This is the area in which our people fought for freedom from chattel slavery in the civil war, revolted against the slave system, and the area in which the unfinished (the Black agrarian) revolution remains incomplete. After the civil war was over, the demand of the freedmen was “40 acres and a mule,” land, the breaking up and dividing of the land owned by plantation owners and giving it to the freedmen. It was promised but never fulfilled. In demanding reparations from the colonial government, the Afrikan People’s Party of National Liberation is raising a historical demand, the demand for land. We demand Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina — granted for secession, separation, and for formation of an independent, self-governing Republic forenamed the Republic of New Afrika.

But for the Black people to obtain self-rule and self-government/self-determination, we will have to seize state power. Being a captive and enslaved nation, this can only be achieved through the estab-

lishment of a Black people’s government.

The key factor of mass mobilization will be organization of Black workers and Black women. While 90 percent of our people are workers, the vast majority, 2 to 1 or more, of our people are women. Black women have played a major role in every stage of our struggle but remain presently basically unorganized. Black women are in key positions within the labor force, as well as domestic workers, and could be instrumental in the carrying out of a national Black strike.

A “top priority” conspiracy is the United States (federal) government’s secret plot to destroy the Black Liberation Movement. In order to put a cloak of deceit to cover itself, the U.S. government is using local police departments and district attorneys to prepare and build a case to justify its final attack.

The first and second stages of the white power conspiracy have already begun. The first stage was the systematic framings of various Black power leaders and organizations. Then came the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Now it is provoked shootouts in which the government has first concentrated on crushing the Black Panther Party, and next year a stepped-up campaign to control the revolutionary sector of New Afrika. The only solution is forming Black defense guards, Black legal defense committees and forming a national Black united front. Only by having a united Black community will New Afrika be able to survive the waves of fascism.

## Chapter 7 The Party Organizer

*To be one with the people, the party organizer must be in harmony with the needs and wishes of the people. All work done for the people must start from their basic needs and not from abstract analysis.* In order to win the people over, the organizer must educate the people to the need for change. The organizer must patiently wait until the people learn the need to change a situation! If the organizer does not do this, he/she will be guilty of adventurism.

In going to the people we should learn how to learn from them. That is, we must learn how to take the people’s experience and formulate it into clearer and more scientific forms. Then we must work among the people to put these forms into practice.

Building a revolutionary organization is a difficult task, especially building one that weathers the encirclement campaigns of the enemy. The role of the organizer is to build as many revolutionary organizations in as many different communities as possible. He/she must constantly seek to find indigenous leadership, help build and guide it on the right path. The organizer must never be seen except

by different elements of the community. Once he/she is seen, the enemy will attempt to flush him/her out, projecting him/her instead of the indigenous leaders from the community; therefore the organizer must try to remain underground until his/her job is complete: the building of a cadre and the beginning of a base.

One of the basic conditions for expanding the political awareness and action of the people is by exposing them to the racist system. Training of our people for revolutionary political activity will come as they clash with the racist system. Demonstrations then play an important role in our struggle in developing a political consciousness among our people.

*People's attitudes come from their conditions. To change a people's philosophy the organizer must work on concrete conditions that affect the people.* Because the majority of our people don't read or have a low level of reading, much has to be left to actions taken within the community. This means that the revolutionary message must be delivered by word and demonstrations. But senseless demonstrations are meaningless and only help to retard our people. Demonstrations must be well planned in order to get the results desired.

The organizer must be a spark of revolutionary action. Everywhere he/she goes he/she must motivate people to become involved in the revolution. When he/she leaves a community there must be a permanent structure able to carry on. The main activity of the organizer is to organize the people into a people's organization — the party — and to move them to revolutionary agitation. The key to our struggle is national unity and national mobilization. Therefore the organizer should attempt to build bases in as many communities as possible.

*The organizer must study Black history in order to know what the people have gone through and to know how to apply lessons from the past to the present. Unless the organizer knows the people's history and knowledge of the present movement, he/she won't be able to correctly lead the people.* It is the duty of the organizer to be well informed so that the people can be well informed. The organizer must remember that he/she is a servant of the people, therefore he/she must constantly study, in between organizing, to learn and relearn, to improve in order to advance the people. If he/she doesn't do this then he/she is not serving the people. By applying practical knowledge with the history and theoretical knowledge, the organizer will be better prepared to solve the people's problems and therefore be more prepared to help the people. Being a people's servant is not a light task; it is a task that takes constant training and learning and practice. This is the process of endless cultivation that every revolutionary must undergo.

The organizer must learn the dynamics of lead-

ing our people to independent nationhood. Black nationalists must study the tactics of the integrationists; the tactics of the mass demonstrations and social dislocation. Black nationalism must exhaust all legal means of protest by starting a Black mass movement for land. This can only be done by revolutionary nationalists joining the ranks of the popular movement and moving these organizations and leaders to Black nationhood. In America the population has been brainwashed against revolution, therefore the organizer must spend more time on re-educating the population and winning it over to the concept of a Black republic. Constant propaganda along with mass action then plays an important role in stimulating our people's consciousness.

The organizer must organize the people and show the people how we can win. Since defeat has been consistent in our struggle for two hundred years, the organizer must constantly build our people's self-confidence that they can defeat their historical enemy. As our movement progresses and develops the concept of protracted people's war, lightning campaigns will become a major strategy for our struggle. The organizer must develop shock troops on various levels. These shock troops must be willing to dislocate the enemy's system at notice.

The organizer must strive to mobilize mass risings of our people. He/she must try to make the mass risings mass educators and organizers. The role of the mass rising is to intensify our people's emotions to our nationalist objective of separation and self-determination. The mass rising serves as a stage or step (base) leading to higher organization of our nation leading to permanent rising; total mobilization.

*The party organizer must attempt to build community cells; that is, cells located on the block level in the city in order to make the party a community party. Party organizers should be involved in block club activities and should participate in actions or demonstrations and struggles the people are concerned about at that time; they must patiently educate the people to the party's program, going over and over point for point until they thoroughly understand.*

In America in order to survive encirclement and destruction campaigns by the enemy, an underground party must be built first before a public party could survive; a well-seasoned cadre experienced in out-maneuvering the enemy is necessary if we are to win. The party must train people and send them into various sectors of the population, remaining underground until time for the national rising; then different sectors mobilize upon receiving a directive for complete mobilization of the black nation.

Organizers must not take revolution and revolutionary warfare lightly. Revolutions develop in

stages from passive resistance to active resistance to total resistance. In each stage more and more sections are mobilized to come over to support the revolution. It is not until a social revolution, revolution in social values and ways, comes about that the political revolution occurs. The organizer then must spend time preparing various layers of the population for political revolution. This takes time and is very difficult. The key to preparing the population is activity, demonstrations for the people's basic needs. The organizer may not lead these mass struggles but his/her role is to show the people their ultimate objective. The people will learn from the mass struggles and will move on to a higher level of organization.

*Hours of quiet organizing are worth more than years of senseless hell-raising. One of the most important roles of the organizer is the training of cadre.* Being that our nation is unorganized, the organizer must be concerned with training large numbers of cadre in a planned way. This means he/she must know how to guide cadre, evaluate and train them. He/she must let them have enough room to try their own methods of organizing, and must encourage independence and initiative. The organizer must be patient with his/her cadre and must use persuasion as a method of showing what is correct to do. The four basic principles for cadre to follow are:

1. Total devotion to the revolution
2. Contact with the people
3. Ability to work independently
4. Upholding of party discipline

*The ability to work independent of the organizer is very important because in order to develop a self-reliant movement cadres must know how to function through the course of crisis on their own, because the organizer may get flushed out and captured but the party must still function; therefore the cadre must take his/her previous training and apply it according to the new situation. No revolutionary party is organized around a personality but rather a revolutionary ideology and program.*

Revolutionary parties apply the principle of collective leadership, therefore cadres are a very important part of the collective (being the backbone). As long as the party has one cadre left, the whole party can be rebuilt again. This is especially true when the conditions are such that the party must function underground. Underground units must always function on their own. Operations on one's own ability enhances the mobility of the party.

Revolutionary nationalists are caught in a dilemma. To talk of wanting a nation and nation-building is not enough. The organizer must study the dialectics of making things reality and must work day by day advancing each step of the way. More nationalists need to take field trips, need field experience of

organizing people, then they can retreat back to the coffee houses and compare organizing experiences instead of egos.

## Chapter 8 The Public (Petit Bourgeois) Black Party

The movement for Black political power is slowly developing into the beginning of a Black political party. The victories of Hatcher in Gary, Indiana, Stokes in Cleveland and Gibson in Newark will encourage others to run for major political offices. The major emphasis of the drive for political power will occur in the South, where our people constitute the majority in many counties. The victory of Charles Evers as Mayor of Fayette, Miss., and the victories in Greene County, Ala., are signs of the drive. The public Black political party is a broad legal party whose stated objective is to achieve democratic voting power within the enemy's political system. The public Black party will include bourgeois intellectuals, respectable Congressmen, and other notable civil rights figures. Its goal will be to consolidate by bloc voting Black political power. Its big test will be in the South, where there are many counties where we constitute a majority. The Black party will exhaust all of the legal political means of protest. It will be an activist party which will polarize the contradictions of the system. As the struggle develops, its activity will be coordinated with the underground party. The repression waged against the Black Panther Party shows us it is not feasible to form a public mass Black revolutionary party. The power structure of our enemy is so organized and strong that it doesn't have to resort to a national emergency; it can just eliminate the leadership of a public Black revolutionary party through conspiracy indictments on the local or state level or by police raids, seemingly isolated assassinations. We should study the tactics the enemy used during the era of the 1960's. Through his infiltration and intelligence of public groups he gathered information on certain individuals in the organization and when these people became powerful they were systematically eliminated. Any public Black revolutionary party will be infiltrated from the beginning and it will be destroyed or discredited by agents when it reaches the point of mass mobilization. This means that overt organization must be tied to covert organization or its objectives are doomed to destruction by a computerized power structure.

## Chapter 9 The United Front

In order to win in our war of national liberation,

our people will have to be united. A united front represents different classes, people from various backgrounds with different objectives and goals. Being that our nation has been colonized and brain-washed, a united front can only come into being and continue when the Black nation is under pressure. The united front will develop as our nation experiences severe crises. It will be when the majority of our people realize that we are in a war that a united front will be created. This doesn't mean that a united front won't come about until actual war though.

Organizers must constantly propagandize and attempt to form a united front. But it must be remembered that a national front will have to come about when almost everyone is in general agreement on some kind of outlook and this usually only comes about in time of crisis. In recent years we have seen development towards establishing united fronts, through the formation of Black coalitions. But for the most part these coalitions have been the product of the enemy to contain the revolutionary element of our struggle. Many times the Ford Foundation or local banks, industry, and government supply the finance for such coalitions. The coalitions are actually "pacification" programs designed to legitimize and give the Black bourgeoisie a new image and control over the movement. This has not been the case of all the coalitions but is the case of some.

## Chapter 10 The National Black Liberation Front

A National Black Liberation Front is different from a united front in that it is composed of groups who believe in total resistance against the enemy. A National Black Liberation Front represents the broad section of an oppressed nation fighting for national liberation. In our situation a liberation front is more feasible than a united front, being that Nationalist and Black Power groups have more in common. The National Black Liberation Front is the coordinating body in liberation struggles. The National Liberation Front is the body that engages the enemy in battle. The Liberation Front represents the last legal stages of struggle. The Liberation Front is coordinated by a central committee which sets up local branches. The Liberation Front coordinates the activity of different liberation groups; when the legal aspects of the struggle have been exhausted, the liberation front organizes the people's army to carry out its objectives.

## Chapter 11 On World Black Revolution

1. In order for the World Black Revolution to be

successful, all non-white peoples must unite to destroy the existing white powers.

2. Revolutionary Black Internationalists must begin to prepare for a final showdown with the white imperialist oppressors and must begin to organize for a World Black Revolution which will create a "New World" order serving the interest of all humanity.

The race and class antagonisms in contemporary world society as a whole are more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps. into two classes directly opposing each other: the white overclass (haves) and the Black underclass (have-nots). The world revolution takes on a different character. It takes on a race as well as class character, being largely a world "Black" revolution that is primarily of the Black underclass. This World Black Revolution is a new democratic revolution of the world's majority rising up, seizing power and destroying the international race/class system created by the oppressor, at the same time destroying the foundations and systems of capitalism, the class system. This stage is the first stage for transformation into a world socialist society. This revolution is different from all others; it must be a revolution against the international race/class (European-American racial social-chauvinism) system, imperialism, capitalism, and neo-colonialism, waged by the non-white masses of the world under the leadership of the Black peasantry/working class element of the Black underclass. The World Black Revolution embraces in its ranks all classes within the Black underclass for a final showdown with imperialism.

In world society, the Black underclass, being the lowest stratum, cannot achieve national liberation, self-determination, Black Power without the whole of U.S., Western capitalist, European bourgeois society being completely destroyed. The first stage of the struggle for liberation of the Black underclass against the white overclass is a national struggle. The Black underclass must struggle against the particular imperialist power that is directly oppressing it nationally, but it must be remembered that the backer of all imperialism today is U.S. imperialism. Therefore, while waging war against its immediate oppressor, it must also wage war against U.S. imperialism internationally.

Revolutionary Black internationalists, revolutionary nationalists constantly struggle through various stages of their national movements against colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism but always emphasize that without the correct international perspective, national liberation movements can fall prey to neo-colonialism. Revolutionary Black Internationalism is the ideological arm of the Black underclass in guarding from falling victim to neo-colonialism. Revolutionary Black Internationalists are the Black "avant-gardes" of the Black



underclass in every country: they act as catalysts, vanguard, and theoretical clearinghouse in national revolutions. The immediate aim of Revolutionary Black Internationalists is the formation of the Black underclass into a powerful national liberation movement; overthrow of colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism; and the conquest of world political power by the Black underclass.

The question of a dictatorship of the Black underclass as opposed to the theory of a dictatorship of the proletariat (the working class) is an historical question. *To be a revolutionary Black internationalist is to admit the need for the dictatorship of the Black underclass.* The dictatorship of the Black underclass is the central issue of the ideological differences between revolutionary Black internationalists and reformists. The theory of the Black underclass dictatorship as the only means capable of putting an end to the universal slavemaster, the capitalist evil, cruelty, and his exploiting society, is the base of the socialistic aspirations of revolutionary nationalist movements and their leaders. It is not enough to simply recognize the race/class struggle; to be Revolutionary Black Internationalist is to see the necessity of eliminating entirely the Caucasian's rule, influence, and control over the world by the establishment of a dictatorship of the Black underclass. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between *Revolutionary Black Internationalists and others.* This is the birthstone on which real understanding and recognition of Revolutionary Black Internationalism is to be tested.

The question of the dictatorship of the Black underclass should occupy a special place in Revolutionary Black Internationalism because: without the seizure of political power, without the dictatorship of the Black underclass, there can be no victory for socialism. A revolution is a political war in which the oppressed class or nation comes to power using any means necessary.

## Chapter 12 The Underground Movement

When necessary, brothers and sisters involved in struggle must be convinced to go underground. The underground must become the password in the community. Enemy infiltration must be met with death once discovered. The underground movement must not be tied to any one organization. The underground network must be broad, including all organizations. The underground movement is the broad network that operates in cells to provide liberation fighters with supplies, food, guns, clothing, shelter, concealment and information. Every person in the underground doesn't have to agree with everything but will contribute his or her part. This is all that is

asked. Sometimes all that they may contribute is money. The underground movement broadens as more and more liberation fighters are hunted by the regime. The underground's big role is to provide liberation fighters with information about the enemy's activities. The underground helps the liberation fighter avoid encirclement and helps the liberation fighter wage campaigns. Underground activity is very broad and requires a unique imagination.

Revolutionaries must learn how to isolate the enemy from the population. Each step must lead to teaching the people of the reactionary policies of the regime and why the system cannot reform itself.

The underground psychology is developed under an authoritarian regime and system. An authoritarian regime is one that is inflexible to reform and one that crushes dissension; America is an authoritarian state. Conservatism is open racism and imperialism. The main contradictions between liberalism and conservatism are in method and not in content.

When a state attempts to crush a people's movement, that's when an underground movement forms. The underground is developed out of necessity for the people to survive the terrorism of the state. America is bordering on becoming an open "police state" because of its internal contradictions and because it is weakening and dying.

Repression against the Black Panther Party is only the beginning of open police oppression from the police state. As America goes into depression and continues to be defeated on the battlefield abroad, and as our people's movement becomes more organized, the state will attempt to crush all dissent in the states because the internal war is the state's most important weakness. It cannot wage imperialist wars abroad while the people's movement grows in strength at home. The state being an imperialist monopoly capitalist state must expand in order to survive, so it will attempt to crush the indigenous movement. In order to avoid the vast intelligence network of the oppressor, much of the movement must be underground. Only decoys should remain public. The movement must develop the tactics of above and below, meaning the movement or organizers must be ordinary people as well as being guerrillas.

*Revolution occurs when the people's expectations about democratic rights and status are continually frustrated by the regime and when peaceful democratic protest is repressed and yields inadequate gains.*

## Chapter 13 The Underground Party

The underground party is the most disciplined and trained of the underground movement. In many

cases they are the active liberation fighters, the guerrillas, but not all guerrillas are members of the underground party. The underground party is organized into secret cells. The cells are decentralized, only centralized on the local level, controlled by secret party intelligence. No person in the party knows who is in the party outside of their immediate cell. Only party intelligence knows party members. There are no written party documents, no membership cards; all rules are memorized, directives passed by word of mouth or typed form.

The underground party has no name. At different times it will use different fronts for public activity. When the enemy attacks our nation, the party will organize a broad front and function through the front to achieve its objectives. Leadership in the party remains unknown. The party at all times remains secret. All its activity is undercover. Party strategy is to get the nation mobilized so that there will be popular support for the war of self-defense and liberation. The party's main activity is to organize different groups to accept various aspects of its program. The party uses infiltration as a means of doing this. Party members should belong to at least one community organization to be able to gear the climate of the community. The party also has a para-military wing which is dissociated from the party. The party organizer when organizing para-military units will organize autonomous units that function on their own. The para-military units are New Afrika's Black Liberation Army (BLA). The para-military units when public will operate under different names.

## Chapter 14 Youth

The Afrikan Korean War baby generation is faced with a new dilemma. They are faced with the fact that this system so highly developed no longer needs them. The paradox the Afrikan must face is that he built this country off his sweat, blood, slave and semi-slave labor, only to be completely shut out of it (the society) when he was best prepared to be assimilated into it. This contradiction polarizes for Black youth since they are the generation that would have emerged as the assimilated Black petty bourgeoisie. But since America is both a racist caste and class society this is impossible. Black youth are now faced with nowhere to go but to the streets. Black youth are being forced by this society into becoming an unemployed mobile force in the wake of economic stability for white Americans. Due to the tightening of the automatized clamp, Afrikan youth have no alternative but to revolt.

The role of the youth is to serve as a catalyst or vanguard to bringing about a mass movement. Since

1967 the majority of cultural groups have been set up and thousands more involved in cultural activities. These activities have helped bring about a strong racial awareness and pride among the youth. *But cultural awareness alone will not bring about a revolution. There is a great need for political awareness and organization.* In order for this to occur, much agitation and action must take place. We need an Afrikan People's Party.

Overt social protest for the Afrikan student usually begins in the junior high school. By the time a Black youth reaches the age of 14, he begins to feel the contradictions of his relationship to this society. In school he is led to believe that he is white, can make it if he tries, and after school he becomes Black again and enters into the hip world. The feeling of being run smack into a brick wall by the educational system is being felt by junior high and senior high school students. In the South more and more junior and senior high students are leading the movement, whereas in 1960 it was the Black college student who was in the vanguard of the movement. We see, in the North, Black junior and senior high students who touched off the riots in Harlem and played major roles in other cities. If Black college youth are feeling that there is nowhere for them to go, then it will surely seep down to the Black junior and senior high schools. The only role left for them is to rebel.

Almost every Black community has gangs, but very few people understand the nature of these gangs and how they can be transformed into a constructive force for the benefit of the community. Black youth who have participated in gangs have had no outlet in this "white man's world" of racism and capitalism. Afrikan youth have no room for expression in this savage society. They have no image of manhood or womanhood that they can identify with. Black youth know unconsciously that they are not a part of this society. Thus, in contrast, the hip world develops.

The gang represents organization, identity, and power for Black youth. Living in a hostile world, they experience none of these things. The feeling of belonging, being a part of something "boss" is a big part of a gang. This sense of identity leads to organization of a gang, and from the gang's strength and influence comes its power. For Afrikan youth, especially boys, gangs are the only thing in the Black community that can give them a sense of power. This comes from the feeling of being powerless over one's destiny (the "man" has control of that) and of being less than a man. Gangs are the most dynamic force in the community. Instead of fighting their brothers and sisters, they can be trained to fight the oppressor. They can be developed into a blood brotherhood (Black youth army) that will serve as a liberation force in the Black revolution.

The revolutionary Black nationalists advocate a Black revolution that takes the power away from the white capitalist oligarchy and puts it into the hands of the Black proletariat. Our analysis is that there are two types of nations within the continental U.S.: oppressed nations and the oppressor nation. The Black nation is an oppressed nation which has been at war with the white oppressor nation for four hundred years.

## Chapter 15 Black Women

The role of Black women in the Black revolution is a very important one. Brothers who limit the sisters to just taking care of the home and not participating actively in the revolution are incorrect and still possess some of the oppressor's hangups about women. If we are to usher in a new social, cultural, political, and economic process that is non-oppressive, we cannot be oppressive towards our women.

Black women have played a very important role in our struggle. The Black woman has kept the Black family alive and somewhat healthy throughout years of hardship. During the civil war and slavery times, Black women were very active in slave revolts and acted as spies for the union forces. Besides being active on the battlefield, sisters are very necessary in developing the new values of nation-building. Black women are very good as teachers. Sisters can educate the children, provide the Black community with survival training, be nurses and doctors, also provide for much of the revolutionary administration or operation of local people's governments. In times of civil stress, sisters can serve as intelligence agents, getting information on the enemy that brothers can not get. Sisters work in the enemy's homes and offices; they can liberate equipment, find out valuable information, and plant bombs. If we study the enemy's weakness, we know he can easily be lured by sisters. Sisters should even be trained to mingle among the enemy, that is, those who can do it without giving themselves away or getting hung up. Sisters are also good as messengers. They can easily slip through the enemy's lines unnoticed and can more easily walk the streets during the time of curfew.

## Chapter 16 The Education of the Black Nationalist Child

The education of our children should be our number one concern. Our children are the Black nation's future. We must prepare a road for them and prepare them for the road ahead of independence, self-determination, and national liberation.

In order to get the necessary nationalist education to help our children survive in our ever-changing world, the Black child will have to be trained in the home and in independent community-controlled liberation schools.

*We must prepare our youth within the next ten years to be able to lead a nation of their own. We must train our youth in sciences and other technical skills. From the youth must come a generation prepared to govern an independent Black government and nation. Also our youth should be so trained in technical skills and political ideology whereas they could be a reserve for Africa — contributing to the building of Africa and helping to close the technological gap between Africa and the West within a decade.*

*Training should begin in the home and should start from the cradle. Children should be given original or revolutionary names. When explaining to them their names, they will be given nationalistic pride. They should be taught that they are Black and Black is beautiful. When possible, toys should represent Blackness and pride. Toys encouraging development of scientific skills should also be used. Children at an early age should be encouraged to speak original languages such as Yoruba, Swahili, and Arabic. This can easily be done by parents speaking of objects around the home in the mother tongues.*

Movies and pictures are good media for Black children. As often as possible the Black child should be shown Black nationalist films, slides, pictures, and plays and taken to Black cultural affairs and meetings. Black block clubs, women's organizations and civic groups should form Black homemade movie workshops to make 8mm and 16mm Black nationalist movies to be distributed, shown in the community, and also to be sold to individual families. With the inexpensive cost of projecting equipment, this can easily be done.

*This generation of parents cannot afford to waste a lifetime producing another untrained generation. Conspicuous consumption and foolish wasting of our time must be brought to a prompt end. Slaves have no time to party. All our time must be dedicated to building Black liberation and destroying our enemies. Anything or anyone in the way of Black liberation must go. We must spend the majority, in fact, nine tenths of our time preparing an organized, trained, skilled and together, united Black nationalist generation.*

*We must develop a careful, scientific, mass Black nationalist child training program. For older children (7-10), weekend classes should be held teaching Black history, arts and crafts. These classes serve to give the Black child pride and help make up for brainwashing they get in the white public educational system. Through these classes, children can be*

taught where their loyalty should be — to the Black nation — and the importance of studying the enemy and knowing current events.

All Black children should be restricted in the watching of T.V. The oppressor is very wise in projecting negative “Negro” images through his mass media, particularly T.V. Through T.V. the oppressor projects white supremacy in a professional and most subtle way. Even with the interjection of “Negro” actors and the so-called “New Negro” image, the Black man is projected as a loyal Tom loving his slavemaster and even at times shown betraying his people. T.V. projects negative nationalist symbols for Black people and projects no positive Black power symbols. All programs allowed to be watched should be explained as far as the brainwashing purposes of the program are concerned.

Prior to the age of six, much will depend on efforts by parents in nationalist education in the home. From seven to ten the Black child’s attitude will depend more on his/her peers and weekend classes. Children’s minds at this age are formative by involvement in group activities. Youth groups such as the Black scouts could be formed. These groups could practice war games and train in martial arts. From the age of ten to nineteen, intense nationalist education should be given Black youth both in the homes, groups, and in the streets. From the time the Black child can read, Black children’s and comic books should be purchased for them. Parents should read parts of history to them. Also recordings of Black nationalist leaders’ speeches should be constantly played and interpreted for children.

Good and evil for the Black child must be Black representing good and white evil and wrong. If a child or person does something wrong then they become white. This helps reverse the psychological (self-hatred) complex that Caucasian American society instills in Black Americans. By reversing the psychological conditions which are much closer to reality, Black Americans will be much healthier being able to channel their anger outward against their oppressor rather than inward destroying themselves.

The Black home, whether a two-room apartment or a complete house, is the center of activity for the Black family. Keeping this in mind, the Black home should always be dedicated to the liberation of the Black nation. The Black home can either be a constructive instrument for unity, strength of the family, building strong children for the Black nation, or it can be the destructive force causing families to be disunited, chaotic, and totally confused in purpose and future, creating an instability for the family’s offspring and not giving them any motivation for nationalist success.

Atmosphere is what makes a home pleasant or miserable. A pleasant Black home is when everyone

is dedicated to the liberation of the Black nation and when each member of the family respects one another as a Black person fighting for freedom.

The Black home, however small in space, should be designed for creative Black livability. The Black home should not be designed after the white home. We are two different nations fighting one another and this should be kept in mind when creating the Black home. One must always remember the Black home is the nerve center of the Black community and family. The Black home should be designed to remind us of our African-Asiatic heritage and our history. Every Black home should have a picture and writing or recording of Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X. In this way we are constantly reminded of Black people’s new values, the new way of life and our ever-going struggle.

In decorating we should use our nation’s colors of red, black, and green. In this way our whole home is dedicated to the liberation of the Black nation and we will soon find that our every thought will be the same. At least one room should be painted all Black or part Black. This room will remind us of our beautiful Blackness and that Black is beautiful. This also serves to re-educate ourselves of being afraid to decorate or use the color Black as a living color.

Every Black home should have some reading material for family and friends on Black nationalism. Magazines on the struggle should always be around. Carvings, curtains, and wall pictures should represent Blackness. Also, inexpensive furniture should reflect Black culture. If possible our homes should have an Afro-Asian setting using African or Oriental furniture. Black people should not have French provincial living rooms, Italian dining rooms. Their homes should reflect their cultural heritage. Music in the Black home should be message music or should reflect the movement in some way. There should be no picture of a white man as a hero or god in the Black home. *The Black home should be the living reflection of Black nationalism at all times.*

## Chapter 17 Black Literature and Art

Black writers have an important role to play in our struggle for national liberation and self-determination. One to start off with, Black writers should be a part of and function as the vanguard of the National Black Liberation Front. We are the symbol makers for both the developing Black intelligentsia and the vast majority of our people. Black writers must see themselves as part of the vanguard of a revolutionary nationalist elite of the colonized captive Afrikan nation seeking independence. *Black writers must create positive images that will*

*stimulate and move our people toward Black nationhood.* We are reflectors of the will of our people. We must take the collective will — the unsystemized ideas, symbols, and images as well as collective historical experience — and put it in a way that our people can understand that their only salvation is the formation of an independent Black republic.

*Our writings must be simple, clear, reflecting our experience; and above all, in all our writings we must reflect Black nationalism and victory of our people over their enemies.* We should never reflect defeat, compromise, or negativeness of decadent oppressive ways of white America; if we write about the oppressive counter-revolutionary ways of our people, it must show that we are throwing off these white hangups and are moving on up to Black victory, Black unity, and Black power. We will never reflect disunity; always our writings, poetry, essays should end with our people getting it or having it together. We as Black writers must be image builders or reflectors of Black success in the Black context, reflecting Black values in a Black world. Black writers must be prophets, foreseers, visionaries of a new Black world where Black people are in power and rule. We must reflect this in all our writings and must constantly be thinking of leaving a Black nationalist heritage or laying a Black ideological base for the next generation. Black writers must take the theoretical writings and ideology of the vanguard — Black Internationalism — and must reflect it in every way possible. *Black writers must realize that only a Black philosophy (ideology) coming from the historical experience of the Black underclass can bring our people to power.* Any other philosophy will lead our people to be controlled by someone else. Black writers must force all Black publications to express the line of revolutionary Black nationalism and be active propagandists for the Black cultural revolution. *Black literature and art at all times must serve to raise the political consciousness of our people. Black literature and art must portray and give examples of revolutionary Black nationalism in action.* All forms of Black art must be realistic and above all must represent the revolutionary Black nationalist viewpoint at all times.

## Chapter 18 The Cultural Revolution

*The present task of the organizer is to transform the Black mass pride movement into a Black revolutionary movement.* Forums and workshops must be established on the Black artist's direct contribution to the revolution and how he/she can serve as an instrument of translating Black pride to mean revolution. The Black pride movement is developing the

national consciousness of our people. It is a cultural revolution which prepares conditions for revolution. Now more than ever a clear statement on the objectives and purpose of the Black revolution must be made. There must be a definition of the goals and objectives of the cultural revolution. The role of the cultural revolution is to uproot and destroy the old oppressive Negro society and to bring in new values. Differences between cultural nationalists and so-called revolutionary nationalists must be spelled out. The cultural revolution is not an end in itself. *There are some cultural nationalists who place too much emphasis on culture and not enough on political organization.* There is a difference between bourgeois cultural nationalism and revolutionary cultural nationalism. Many cultural nationalists just adopt forms from Africa and put them on us here, calling this re-Africanization. *Re-Africanization is a living and protracted process which will come about from revolutionary political struggle.* Cultural values are produced by economic and political systems. As Black people struggle against the racist political system, they will lose the cultural values of that system and will create more humane values from the new political and economic system they try to establish. All cultural nationalists are not good. Some are. Some help the development of Black political consciousness, while others impede it. The counter-revolutionary element of cultural nationalism was represented by Ron Karenga, who thrived on the bourgeois concept of the "personality cult" and who made deals with the power structure and the ultra-right to get personal gains. Karenga's cultural tendency — though well-structured and organized, as most bourgeois fascist nationalists are — is a dangerous tendency for the cultural revolution. His tendency should be avoided and *isolated.* The cultural revolution while producing revolutionary heroes should not fall into the trap of bourgeois hero-worship, for this is a dangerous trend of a people's movement. *The cultural revolution should lead to a collective mind and the development of a collective leadership.* Revolutionary symbols will play an important part in the development of our revolutionary consciousness.

Black pride and having Black culture are not ends in themselves for the revolutionary Black nationalist. Though he/she knows that these things serve as instruments and symbols of pride and the new Black consciousness, he/she realizes that revolution is more than changing your looks and wearing different clothing. He/she realizes that it is changing what is in one's mind and changing one's ways and actions in order to change society as a whole.

*While the cultural revolution is a necessary pre-stage before our political revolution for an independent nation can take place, it is not the last stage. Many brothers and sisters mistake this and get too*

*hung up in the cultural bag.* More and more revolutionary nationalists, if they are sincere, need to take off the dashikis and cut their hair and go into the bars and pool rooms and talk with the brothers and sisters from the street. When we convince the ordinary brother from the street why we need a nation of our own, then the Republic of New Afrika won't be a long ways off.

The key move in this period for the revolutionary nationalist is to develop a popular movement inside Black America. The purpose of creating this popular movement will be an attempt to develop a national united front. This would mean attempting to unite all sectors of Black America under a common slogan led by revolutionary nationalists.

Most people deal with the question of Black unity very romantically. Somehow they feel that all the groups should unite or eventually will unite. What they don't understand is that these different groups represent different class interests, political interests, economic interests, and have different ideologies. We must also take into account that while the masses have an emotional unity, programmatically and organizationally they are confused and divided. The enemy has created this confusion and division on purpose in order to stay in power. So the question remains, "How to achieve unity in the face of varying differences and mass confusion?" The first step is for revolutionary nationalists and those who agree on basic principles to unite and form a Black United Front. This does not mean that any group dissolve its autonomy, but rather work in common agreement. But it must be realized that unity on a large scale will have to be forged ideologically. By forming a Black United Front, pressure can be applied in the community for Black unity. How can this be done? This can be done by further organizing youth cadres and organizing among the masses of our people. This means organizing for the Black United Front primarily from below and not from above (from above means relying on the bourgeois reformist leadership to come over to revolution or pushing them to that point). This organizing from below should be based on Black youth. In order to do this, a movement must be started to revolutionize the minds of our people to uproot ways and create new ways to cause an internal revolution.

The purpose of a Black cultural revolution is to destroy the conditioned white oppressor's mores, attitudes, ways, customs, philosophies, and habits which the oppressor has taught and trained us to have. This means establishing on a mass scale a new revolutionary culture. The cultural revolution is a revolution of one's values, and values determine one's actions. The reason why the Black nation is not prepared for political revolution is because its cultural values are tied to the oppressor's system.

Once Black America's cultural values are remade to benefit Black people, we will be prepared for liberation. *A cultural revolution is a reconstruction of a people's culture way of life, occurring in a short span of time very rapidly to move a people to a given objective.* What does a cultural revolution change? It changes the values of a people, the way they think, act and react to everything; changes the social habits of a people (informal mores); changes the people's relationship to one another; heavily influences the family structure of a people; changes the dress and language of a people (formal and informal); changes the religion or ideology of a people; changes the political and economic and cultural ideology of a people. A cultural revolution brings a

1. Historical interpretation — clear analysis; forms a new historical continuity; causes a re-evaluation of self, group, and others.

2. Political — presents a political system in which the group has power; in our historical experience, living under democracy has produced death, misery, and suffering for our colonial nation, therefore the concept of a Black people's dictatorship of the new society is the political system that guarantees that we will not be at the mercy of a racist or bourgeois element of the population.

3. Economic — the cultural revolution brings forth a new economic system that is beneficial to the Black nation. When Black people were kidnapped by the slave system and its developing counterpart, capitalism, the white man was living under a feudal system. The merchant class, slave traders, and port towns of Europe became rich from the slave trade and the slave system that produced cotton for the European textile industry, which was one of the first industries for the new economic system known as capitalism. As a capitalist class began to develop, they wanted to gain control over the U.S., then controlled by the slave-owner class. The slave system was the economic heart of America for some three hundred years. Once the merchants (middle-men) became rich from their textile industry in the North and began investing in other fields off the profits they got from the sweat and blood of our forced free labor, they decided that the slave system was of no more use to them so they began to challenge the slave-owners for power over the country. When they saw that they couldn't get control peacefully, they fought and defeated the slave-owner class. The civil war was a capitalist revolution. The capitalist class came to power. We have lived over 100 years under the capitalist system in America. Our plight is almost the same as it was under slavery. The capitalists betrayed us during the reconstruction period when they used us to gain political power and then left us at the hands of the KKK when they withdrew the union troops in 1878 from the South. During the civil war and early days of

reconstruction they promised us 40 acres and a mule, but reneged on their promise because they saw that giving the Black people land would give them power and would cause an agrarian revolution in which we would form a socialist system in which the people had control of the economy. The cultural revolution presents the concept of Black socialism, where Black people — working together for the benefit of the whole Black nation and not for the benefit of a few greedy uncle toms — control the economy of the nation.

4. Social and Cultural — the cultural revolution changes the social life of a nation. It influences the family structure, giving the Black family a purpose and a new direction that will help the group come to power. The cultural revolution changes all aspects of the people's culture, making it revolutionary and making it serve the interest of the world Black revolution; for instance, in the case of Black singers and musicians, they would dedicate their songs to the movement and lyrics of all songs would be about the drive for Black nationhood and would serve to heighten the people's nationalist consciousness.

## Chapter 19 Black Internationale

The European bourgeoisie, in order to pacify its own contradiction, developed the concept of racism, exploitation, and enslavement on the basis of race in order to justify its international system of exploitation of people. The system of capitalism later developed into imperialism, capitalism's highest stage of development; imperialism developed into neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism. The imperialist has spread the system of racism into Asia, has developed an international racial caste in which the European is on top — "white is right" — and has developed an international curtain based on color, limiting the areas of peaceful communication between the haves and the have-nots. The majority of the world has come to find that their common enemy is/has been the European and his younger wild brother, the white American. The dark majority has found the Europeans, especially the white American, unjust and unfit for world leadership and has found them to be barbarians to humankind and outlaws to universal harmony and peace. The European and European-American, by their own crimes and injustices to humankind, have set the stage for their own destruction.

The principal contradiction in the world is between imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and the colonies — between the haves and the have-nots. This contradiction is manifest on both a class and race basis. In the present situation, race is synonymous with the question of class in that the

exploitation of the have-nots — though initially perpetrated on class lines — as of the present maintains itself on racial lines. Class thus becomes the secondary and not primary manifestation of the principal contradiction. It therefore becomes necessary to analyze the present state and to draw a clear line for the future. In order for this contradiction to be resolved, imperialism, capitalism, and all that maintains the systems of exploitation must be destroyed by the have-nots. The destruction of these systems will mean the end of class exploitation and will also mean the end of racial exploitation. The line of revolutionary Black internationalists is that the Black underclass is the vanguard of the world revolution.

The European ruling class (bourgeoisie) duped the European middle class (petty bourgeoisie) and the European working class (proletariat) into believing that it was in their interests to oppress peoples in the colonies (Asia, Africa, South and Central America), enslave Africans in America in the form of chattel slavery, and commit genocide against the Native Americans. They did this so that the European middle class and European working class would not see the class contradictions and antagonisms in Europe and to keep them from uniting with the have-nots and seizing power. The European working class chose and continues to choose to reap the profits of super-exploitation of the colonies, both internal and external to the U.S. national borders. The European working class, in not dealing with the racial/class contradictions of the world, became a tool of imperialism, revisionism, and other counter-revolutionary forces.

The Black Internationale must form guidelines for all revolutionary Black internationalists the world over through a "revolutionary Black internationalist manifesto." This new manifesto must serve as a guide for revolutionary action in the present and forthcoming world situation. All Black revolutionary internationalists could then be organized into a central international Black Liberation Front. This Front in order to be successful would have to organize a people's liberation army on a world scale to complete the world Black revolution and to thoroughly defeat and annihilate all vestiges of counter-revolution.

## Chapter 20 On People's Leadership and Black Theoreticians

When studying people's movements we always come to the subject of leaders of the people. The questions that arise are how these leaders emerge, what makes a leader of the people, what is a leader, and what values these leaders create.

Marcus Garvey said leadership comes in pain,

death, and blood. The leader is the person who directs the group's energy — goes to the forefront and shows the group how to achieve its objective. The leader creates, molds, organizes, and materializes the group's program or objective. He/she coordinates, centralizes, and systematizes all group energy to work for the benefit of achieving the group's objective. A leader is a director, one who has a clear perspective of what is to be done and one who takes the initiative in attempting to make that perspective a reality.

Leaders of the people's movements emerge from the struggle of the people attempting to seize power. Most social theorists say history makes the leader, meaning that social conditions force a speaker for the people to emerge. The emergence of the mass leader is usually seen by the lay person as an individual arising to meet the occasion, a natural-born leader of the people, leading the masses on to victory. But history usually proves the contrary; we find that these leaders have been preparing for years, hovering in the wings of the people's movement, usually waiting for the opportune moment when their faction will get mass support. In each case study of a people's movement leader, we find a period of leadership development or rebirth. We can say this is the leader's period of self-analysis, when he/she asks himself/herself whether he/she should attempt to lead. This is the period of self-recognition and development. The leader becomes totally dedicated to the people: his/her ego — concept of self — becomes the group ego, concept of the group. The leader decides to sacrifice all personal gain for the people. This is when the leader is reborn. During this time the potential leader re-evaluates himself/herself and every value in society and molds his/her ideology, which is also the ideology of the people. Leaders are both made and born, that is, reborn.

A revolutionary leader is the people's unconscious mind speaking or reflecting back to them, voicing what they want to express. A leader, having totally submitted his/her will to the will of the people, becomes the living example of the people. If he/she expresses views or presents socio-cultural folkways the mass doesn't presently understand, it's because he/she is presenting the people with their unconscious (future, hidden, or suppressed) desires and goals, which take them time to learn or relearn at the conscious level. They learn these values consciously through struggle. Any people's leadership must base all its analysis, actions, and theories on truth and facts. All people's leadership must never be based on personal projection, interest, or ego; it must always be firmly based in the people, realizing the people will throw up any individual they desire to voice their opinions for that period and will move on if that person no longer serves them. The revolution makes the leadership, the

leader doesn't make the revolution. The people make the leader and if he/she doesn't serve them well, they will destroy him/her and create other leaders. Only by humbling ourselves — realizing that we are only one of the many peas in the pod, one pebble of sand on the beach — can we realize how insignificant we are compared to the people's will; in this way we will develop the concept of self-sacrifice and truly become the people's servants.

No people's leadership can be built on personal selfish (ego) leadership. All people's leadership should be built on the principles of collective leadership. This doesn't negate the principle of individual initiative but rather is a principle of developing continuous and organizational leadership. If a strong individual leader emerges, he/she is respected because of his/her courage, oneness with the people, respect for the people, spirit of unselfishness, lack of personal ego, self-sacrifice, and above all because of his/her correctness in analysis and leadership in leading the people to victory.

In this sense and in this sense only is individual leadership good and healthy for the group. But when strong individual leadership emerges, the organization (party) must beware that it does not become too dependent upon this person. If it does, the party will fumble and disintegrate if something happens to the leader. This is a dangerous tendency in all organizations, when second- and third-line cadres are not trained in the aspects of revolutionary leadership and instead worship the leader's personality. If the organization fails to recognize this, the leader — if he/she is to keep the revolution alive and create a continuous or permanent revolution — must stimulate a mass movement of reading of revolutionary thought. In doing this, it is hoped that a revitalization and stimulation of the people's ranks will take place, where the people become well-steeped in revolutionary thought and know the ideology of the revolution. The constant problem for revolutionary leadership is to spread or deepen the revolution among the ranks of the people. This means a total re-education of the people from their counter-revolutionary ways to revolutionary ways.

The people's history is important in this sense, of understanding their history or the history of the revolution before colonial subjection to the present. The colonial situation particularly calls for a re-education of the people because of the negative factors of de-culturalization — the systematic stripping of a people's national and cultural consciousness that the colonial system does to the colonized. *Reculturalization becomes revolutionary only when it has the political content of the new economic and political definitions of class systems and structure of the revolution.* National revolution or national liberation becomes a social, economic, cultural, and political revolution at the same time. If the cultural



aspects remain non-political, the people's ways are changed in the sense of cultural super-structure but their minds remain the same because the basic cultural context — "man's relationship to himself, his brothers and sisters" — has not been dealt with in a humane way, which is both social, economic, and political. So a complete people's revolution has within it social, economic, and political redefinitions that are beneficial to and come from the people themselves. This is the problem for every nationalist revolution; the people's leadership in order to move correctly spends the majority of its time remolding the minds of the youth, the next generation.

By creating a cultural revolution, a mass re-educational movement revitalized the nationalist consciousness of the people, stimulating them (especially the youth) in the values, contents, and ideology of the revolution, creating mass cadres and a social-psycho-political dynamic in which collective leadership is developed through mass cultural political mobilization. In the colonial context where the national culture of the people has been stripped or suppressed, a political revolution and the first phase of the cultural revolution can be synonymous.

The Black theoretician has a great responsibility of analyzing and foreseeing the people's problems, aims, contradictions and struggles before they do; and then he/she must develop a plan for the people to overcome these problems and move to victory. In order to give correct analysis, the Black theoretician must live with the people, be one with the people and be an activist of the people. This means that he/she must test theories through the laws of practice, of trial and error, until he/she develops, through struggle, the correct theory leading to people's victory. To be a people's theoretician is not to lay analysis from an abstract ivy tower, but to be involved in the vanguard of the people's struggle for power. In this sense, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Lumumba, Malcolm, and Robert Williams are examples for the Black revolutionary. The Black theoretician's role is to build an ideological framework in struggle, usually political-para-military struggle, giving the do's and don't's for the people in seizing control of the political institution known as the state, its economy and its army.

The Black theoretician becomes an outlaw of the colonial society, dedicated to its destruction, and, because of his/her involvement in the people's just struggle for national liberation and self-determination, is hunted by the colonial powers.

The Black theoretician is a revolutionary, living out his/her theories, putting them into action. By his/her actions, involvement in the people's struggle, he/she becomes the living example of the theories. His/her main objective is to serve as a catalyst, that is, an instrument for re-educating the people to the revolutionary ideology. His/her life is not for self,

but for the people. He/she is a firm believer that the people can make history, and that it is the people who make history. The Black revolutionary theoretician's main role prior to the revolution is to develop organization, movement, concepts, frameworks for the people to see and become involved in their struggle for national liberation.

Revolutions develop a national consciousness; the revolution begins to transform. This is when the people begin to realize their demands are not going to be met by the regime, or that the regime is unwilling to meet their demands at the rate of their rising expectations. Passive resistance is replaced by active resistance, usually first by a small vanguard; then through attrition between the vanguard and the colonial regime, the people make their choice: to live in slavery or sacrifice for liberation. Then and only then, when the people make the conscious decision to struggle until death, are the revolutionaries successful.

Revolution in America is a difficult question, because the most oppressed section of the population is an oppressed, captive, colonized nation, held within the boundaries of a colonizer nation that outnumbered the colonized nation in population. But revolution is difficult because of the previous brain-washings of the colonized nation having been so successful; they have had the effect of Pavlov's conditioning reflexes. The essence of people's leadership can only come through the process of trial and error, of working with the people, helping to organize the people, learning, teaching, and re-learning from and to the people.

Because the final stages of any struggle for power are determined militarily, the Black theoretician should be well-studied in military thought, science, and organization. Also, as a revolutionary, he/she should be physically fit and well-trained in all military arts. While he/she may not be able to do everything perfectly or better than everyone in his/her unit, the theoretician is capable of carrying out military or revolutionary actions, being able to function as an ordinary soldier or commander.

The Black theoretician is not just a bourgeois intellectual who sits aloft from the people's struggle, making his/her analysis from an arm chair, but is one who has been in the streets with brothers and sisters, attempting to re-educate, learn from and organize them into a Black liberation army. The Black theoretician is not a glory seeker; he/she may struggle for years seeing his/her work manifesting itself; but he/she does not attempt to take credit or project himself/herself, for he/she sees himself/herself as a catalyst for the emergence of a mass movement of revolutionary action, rather than as a charismatic individual among an unorganized group. Knowing this, the Black theoretician's main emphasis will be to teach the people how to survive,

teaching them the need to function organizationally and on a national level, which is a long and painstaking struggle. In this sense the Black theoretician is only a reflector of the people, making his/her theory, which gives a clear, systematic, scientific view of the people's history and their destiny as guerrillas, dedicated to seeing the day when the people are in power.

## Chapter 21 Classes in the Black Liberation Struggle

The most important class within the Black liberation struggle is the *Black working class*. The Black working class makes up 90 to 95% of Afrikan people in the United States.

Black workers face racist discrimination in employment and seniority and work assignments. They therefore do harder work for less wages. Afrikan people face national oppression in the form of economic and political discrimination as well as economic exploitation as workers.

The Black working class is the most important class in the Black liberation struggle because it is the most consistent class in terms of struggle, constitutes the overwhelming majority of our people, is the most stable element in the Black community with the most potential economic and political power base, and also because of its relationship to the point of production of the capitalist system. Black workers can be found in every industry.

There are approximately 30-32 million Afrikan people in the United States. Fifteen million are 18 years of age or younger. According to statistics, there were 8.6 million Afrikans in the labor force in 1972. Today there are some 12 million Afrikan workers. Out of this 12 million, 13% of the Black work force is unemployed.

An AFL-CIO spokesman estimates that 2 million out of the total membership of almost 14 million are Black. There are another 500,000 or perhaps 750,000 Blacks in unions affiliated with the 3 million-member teamsters, auto, and chemical workers unions, the American labor alliance. Two small unions, 6,000-member Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the 3,000-member United Transport Service Employees, are virtually all Black. The powerful 450,000-member Laborers International Union and the 50,000-member International Longshoremen's Association are about 40% Black. Some 45 AFL-CIO unions have a substantial Black membership — that is, a larger percentage of Black members than the 11-12 percent rate of Black participation in the labor force.

To give a few examples: the State, County and Municipal Employees (250,000), the merged Meatcutters-Packinghouse Union (499,000), Letter Car-

riers (168,000), Postal Clerks (139,000), International Ladies Garment Workers Union (440,000), the Building Service Employees International Union (398,000), the Laundry Workers (25,000), possibly the Steel Workers (1.1 million), and the American Federation of Teachers (140,000) are among unions with 20 percent or more Black membership. [Thomas R. Brooks, *Black Upsurge in the Unions*, pages 124-125]

The *Black street force/lumpen-proletariat* has a left, middle and right-wing section, or an advanced and a backward element. Of the 5.3 million Afrikans 16 years and older who are not part of the civilian labor force or in military service, many constitute the secondary supportive force to the Black working class in the Black revolution. Because of the Black street force/lumpen-proletariat's instability, due to their relation to the means of production — basically permanently unemployed — they cannot sustain revolutionary action for any period of time.

In the early and mid-1960's, because of the social mobility provided by the unemployment, the Black street force was more prone to armed rebellion/insurrection against racist and economic exploitation; but because of its materialist relationship to the means of production, and because it was economically dislocated and de-classed, it could not conceive of seizing the means of production, nor had it the material means (base) of sustaining a protracted struggle.

The Black street force was the most oppressed section of the working class in America, being the hard-core unemployed of the Black working class. So, while being the activating force or advance section of the Black working class it still was not the vanguard, because it did not consciously represent or reflect the overall interest of the majority of the Black working class because of its material relationship to the means of production and level of political consciousness. Therefore while the Black street force led in the beginning stages of armed insurrection in the Black liberation struggle, because of its instability (lack of organization) and its relationship to the means and point of production, it will not be able to sustain revolutionary action for any prolonged period of time and therefore will be a supportive class or strata to the actions of the Black working class in the next stage of armed insurrection in the Black liberation struggle.

“Why has the question of *lumpenproletariat* assumed such importance within the movement today? First must be mentioned the sell-out of the unions, a process which began during WWII (the ‘no-strike’ clause) and led to the abject failure of workers in this country to consciously assume a vanguard role in the class struggle against the dominant bourgeoisie. Second, it is true that throughout its entire, sordid history, capitalism has always

maintained an *army of the unemployed* for the purpose of squeezing out a constant, elevated rate of profit from its employed production workers. But what is different today is that the steady swelling of the ranks of this miserable army is the disastrous result of a qualitatively different technique having been introduced into the productive process: *cybernation*; a process which increases production and eliminates jobs, and therefore makes for a greater number of *potential lumpens*, without a doubt, but which by no stretch of the imagination results in the automatic *lumpenization* of the unemployed or even the 'disemployed' (permanently unemployed) any more than previously." [Ernie Mkalimoto, *Revolutionary Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, page 9]

In the last seven years because of the drug war waged against the Afrikan nation, much of the Black street force has been transformed into a lumpen-proletariat.

A Black mafia has developed, forming "gang families," fighting for control of the drug traffic. As the U.S. capitalist system entered into crisis in the early 1970's, the Black mafia was used by the U.S. government, through the F.B.I. and local police departments, as a right-wing military arm to discourage revolutionary Black nationalist development in the oppressed Afrikan nation.

Cooperation was developed through deals on both ends of the stick. Dope pushers who paid off the police would be notified beforehand when they were going to be raided. When arrested, pre-arranged bail settlements would be made and when before the court, they would often win critical cases.

The right-wing element was encouraged to develop and receive favorable publicity from right-wing politicians and newspapers. Its base of support was grounded in its development and infiltration into a section of the leadership of the Nation of Islam. Through the Nation of Islam, the Black mafia was able to secure a clean and respectable "cover" for its counter-revolutionary operations.

The right-wing element of the Black mafia has become counter-revolutionary and is a dangerous force against the interests of the people.

There are different sectors of the *Black middle class* (Black petit-bourgeoisie). There is the old, reactionary Black middle class and then there is the new, progressive Black middle class.

"The Black petit-bourgeoisie is divided into two fundamental categories, reflecting qualitatively different relations existing between the U.S. economy and the two sectors within this class. On the one hand we have the educated, black elite: technicians, scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, professional managers, and the like, who gain their livelihood through direct participation in the dominant economy. On the other we find owners of small ghetto

enterprise (generally, single-proprietorship): liquor stores, wig shops, grocery markets, restaurants, barbershops, pool halls, etc. . . . The old Black middle class is reactionary. It is the class which has obtained limited capital base through its accommodationist/assimilationist approach, that resists the struggle for national liberation though it reluctantly supports the struggle for national democratic rights. Though they are reactionary in a protracted dialectical sense, they cannot be classed as totally counter-revolutionary." [Mkalimoto, pages 4-5]

The struggle for national democratic rights is the principal contradiction facing Afrikans in this historical period. Because obtaining national democratic rights would enhance the old Black middle class-class mobility/power, they support struggles for more Black elected officials, civil rights. They will only support struggles within the legal confines of the system, the struggle for equality, because their class interest is invested within the capitalist system. But as the class interests of national democratic rights are achieved, the petit-bourgeoisie's class interest will expand, thus polarizing the race and class monopoly capitalist system.

The new Black middle class is different. The new Black middle class is the 1950-60 generation. This is the generation which was active in the sit-ins, freedom rides, mass voter rights demonstrations of the 1960's. Their activism was due to the contradictions of national exploitation as well as economic. The dual contradiction would not allow the new Black middle class to fulfill its class aspirations, therefore it had to resort to activism to reform the system. As the radical Black middle class expands in the 1970's, it will have to resort again to activism to achieve its class interest of bourgeois democratic rights. So while the old Black middle class has a tendency to resist radical development in the national democratic liberation revolution, the radical, new Black middle class is supportive of the Black working class interest of national independence.

## Chapter 22

### The Nature of Black People's War

Coordination of struggle and units in people's war only comes in the process of attrition. This means while the struggle is in its legal stages and our people's national consciousness is low, coordination on a national scale is not probable. But this is why the organizer constantly works on building the people's national consciousness, because when the people's national consciousness is aroused, one single incident can spark national mobilization and from that point coordination can come into being. The underground party in the process of national mobilization becomes the centralizing force, being

the most organized and best prepared group for attrition; it provides different layers of the population with tactics, assistance, and directives.

The underground party then develops the guerrilla force which becomes part of a broad underground movement that is outside of the party ranks. When this stage develops, the party expands the liberation front, which is a coordinated body of different groups. As the guerrillas wage successful battles, the front organizes a full-time army. But this is in the last stages of the war. Liberation wars usually last for about ten to twenty years. *The next ten years will be the first stages of our liberation war.* Liberation wars usually start from sporadic uprisings, small attacks on the enemy, and then develop into organized campaigns. The people learn from each organized campaign and try to advance in each stage. This is the first stage, which is the guerrilla stage. The second is mobile, striking at the enemy simultaneously in different spots and then moving out, retreating to another area.

Our war of national liberation will probably become more intense in years within the next decade. Liberation wars are successful because they drain the enemy's government from its population base. In our situation where the oppressor is so highly organized and mechanized, the people's liberation forces must put great stress on isolating the government from the population and draining the enemy's resources, forcing the economy into a state of depression. The war of national liberation must cost the enemy \$900 billion during each offensive in the next ten years, then the enemy's resources will decline.

*The organizer must realize that we are in a protracted war, meaning that because of our military inferiority we can only engage the enemy when the situation is best for us and we must always try and wear the enemy down. We should never engage in battle with minor (police) officials unless it is beneficial to us and our people.* This was one of the mistakes of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army. They had too many shootouts with the police and did not concentrate on the enemy's main weakness.

Again we assert the war of national liberation must cost the enemy not only in lives but also *capital*. *Capital, private property, is the base of the system.* The objective in war is to strike at the enemy's base and main weakness. Protracted war takes on a different character in the American scene. Liberation war in America would be basically urban, in the large cities, aimed at the destruction of property and would be blitzkrieg (lightning) in effect, having to be national in scope but coordinated on a local level. Underground units — whose role is only to strike during a movement offensive, strike and retreat back into the population, waiting to strike

again during another offensive — would have to be organized. At the same time, more subtle tactics of draining the enemy's effort must be used at times of lulls in the war. During lulls, organizers must be working to strengthen and improve the underground. Methods of coding and the safe keeping of secrets must be further developed.

Mobility is one of the key essentials in people's war. Guerrillas in America must be mobile to survive. When the enemy begins to close in, they move out; or when the enemy gets information on a unit or person, that unit or person ceases underground activity and becomes part of the general population until cleared as safe again. When a person in a cell is discovered or about to be discovered, he/she should cease underground activity and function in the public legal movement unless there are liberated areas where guerrillas function from, then he/she can join the guerrillas.

Liberation war in America must be unconventional and popular. This means that one of the key emphases of the guerrillas is political mobilization of the population. The liberation war has a dual character: lightning and protracted, the tactic being lightning and strategy protracted; it is this way because it will take some time to get a significant number of the Black population to resist the regime. But in the meantime, popular uprisings will heighten the people's national consciousness.

It is highly unlikely that bases can be established before rebellion or popular uprising establishing a people's government, because they will only be turned into zones again from the encirclement campaigns by the enemy. At such time, revolutionaries will either have to go back underground or retreat to another zone or base. *A zone is an area under heavy influence of the people's liberation forces.* So during the process of conflict revolutionary forces will emerge, be forced to retreat, disperse and go underground, will re-emerge and so on until through a protracted campaign the liberation forces smash the enemy's ability of encirclement. *In America different communities will be zones hinging on being bases, but it is not until the local military forces are defeated that the zone will become a base.* The government will re-enforce the local military force as quickly as possible; therefore it is only when several zones erupt and the government can't deploy forces to a given area that it will be a base. We must take into consideration that the enemy has a standing army of approximately 1.5 million men but not all of these men are mobilizable. Also within the white community there are approximately 55 million white males between the ages of 15 and 55. All of these will not be able to be mobilized to attack New Afrika.

In our revolutionary war, because of the question of open racist oppression, the enemy will not

be able to mobilize the entire white population. It will be difficult for him to engage a drafted army to suppress millions of Black people even if the enemy uses the force of a national emergency. Even if the enemy develops a volunteer army, it would meet severe morale problems in a protracted conflict, for each day of rebellion would give rise to the eventual success of the revolution.

*In order to unite the Black community, revolutionary Black organizations would have to be united into a Black Liberation Front.* This is revolutionary action, as is a Black General Strike to stop the oppressor's economy and disturb his social system. When all the Black servants are no longer there or cannot be trusted for fear they may poison, maim, or murder, the enemy will be faced with a social crisis. The Black General Strike will cause complete social dislocation with the American racist capitalist system. Youth, especially those in gangs, would have to be organized into a political Black Liberation Army. This liberation army would become Black America's regular guerrilla army that would become the "shock force" of liberation. All forms of revolutionary order would have to be established to keep superior community organization within the liberation forces' ranks. A revolutionary New Afrikan government would be established to govern the liberated areas. In non-liberated areas, it would exist in the form of instituting revolutionary justice. Organization would have to be structured on the cadre level.

Without mass communications and rapid transportation, this system is through. The millionaires who control this country would be isolated from their flunkies who do their dirty work. When war breaks out in this country, if the action is directed toward taking over institutions of power and "complete annihilation" of the racist capitalist oligarchy, then the Black revolution will be successful. Guns, tanks, and police will mean nothing. The armed forces will be in chaos, for the struggle of Black Revolution will be directed against the racist, imperialist white government. *Whites who claim they want to help the revolution will be sent into the white communities to fight the fascists and frustrate the efforts of the counter-revolutionary forces.* Chaos will be everywhere and with the breakdown of mass communications, mutiny will occur in great numbers in all facets of the oppressor's government. The stock market will fall; Wall Street will stop functioning; Washington, D.C. will be torn apart by riots. Officials everywhere will run for their lives. The revolution will "strike by night and spare none." Mass riots will occur in the day with Afrikans battling for human survival. Thousands of our people will get shot down, but thousands more will be there to fight on. The Black Revolution will use sabotage in the cities, knocking out the electrical

power first, then transportation, and guerrilla warfare in the countryside in the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless.

## Chapter 23

### The Call For The National Black Liberation Front

There comes a period in every great social movement when revolutionaries and progressives, regardless of their various ideologies and programs, find it necessary to unite their efforts against an oppressive regime. At no other point in our people's history is there a greater need for unity than now. Now is the time for us to establish the broadest and most scientific outlook possible. All brothers and sisters aspiring to liberate our colonized nation must realize that in order for us to progress, we as Afrikan people must approach ourselves with an objective attitude and not be subjective and narrow. We must constantly keep in mind that while we think our individual programs are correct, all of us who are sincere are attempting to find a solution to our plight. We must stop downing one another and eliminate completely personal and organizational egotism.

Egotism has been one of our biggest hangups and drawbacks. If we are true people's servants, we will transform ourselves into selfless people and humble ourselves so that we can truly reflect the will of our people.

Therefore it is imperative as we stand on the eve of a fascist massacre for all Black organizations to unite to form a National Black Liberation Front.

*Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!*