

For the Liberation of North America

The purpose of this book is to forge theoretical and political determination within the class and national liberation struggles. Such determination will destroy the lackadaisical and erroneous concepts many “leftists” hold about revolutionary armed struggle. My primary premise is that our struggle must become more militant, with a greater anticipation of armed confrontation with the enemy(s) of the poor and oppressed masses. I do not present an elaborate evaluation of the present political condition, nor an in-depth historical analysis of what has brought us to the present level of struggle. My intent is to discuss particular objective realities and circumstances that the class and national liberation struggle is now confronted with, and to provide the theoretical concepts, principles, and policies of revolution that have been tested in past revolutions as they are applicable to our situation today.

Many “leftists” in the class and national liberation struggle have labeled individuals or groups who advocated revolutionary armed struggle “ultra-leftist” or “leftist-reactionary.” These erroneous postulations have ill effects on the entire revolutionary movement. They tend to strip the revolutionary movement of its militancy and prevent certain measures of defense from developing with a greater participation from the oppressed masses on local, regional, and national levels. Thus, those who partake in armed actions are not only fighting monopoly-capitalist enemies, but are also isolated and abandoned by those claiming to be progressive political activists and revolutionaries. It is my belief for the most part that those who condemn revolutionary armed struggle are either in cahoots with U.S. imperialism, seeking to subvert and defuse the revolutionary development of the mass and popular movement, or lack understanding of the necessity of the revolutionary armed struggle and thus speak in unprincipled

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ways on issues they know little about. They fear the repression of the State in defense of its continued existence. In the mean-time, those who engage in revolutionary armed actions must struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries who negate armed struggle and postulate political theories from safe positions in “progressive” publications and closed-to-the-public sectarian meetings.

Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must establish a political and military strategy that embraces the political determination of the mass and popular movement, and it must forge such a movement toward class and national liberation struggle. Urban and rural guerrilla warfare must apply to such a politico-military strategy directly to the disenfranchised workers and oppressed nationalities’ struggle for socioeconomic and political stability. When the oppressed nationalities and workers strike, march, and demonstrate their discontent and dissatisfaction with racist, capitalist-imperialism, guerrillas must support such actions through revolutionary armed actions – especially when this can accentuate the oppressed masses’ discontent by attacking the various agents of oppression the oppressed masses are rebelling against.

This unification of political and military activity in the mass and popular movement will eventually develop a culture of armed resistance and intensify the struggle towards class and national liberation. It is this development of a culture of armed resistance which continuously intensifies the revolutionary struggle that will preserve the momentum and growth of the revolution. Thus, growth and development through a culture of armed resistance ensures the prospects of the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

In this book, I elucidate three types of organizational structures; these are not absolutes, but for the most part are the structures most relied upon and used in today’s revolutions. Thus, they do not exclude the creative imagination or ingenuity of the various nationalities in developing organizational structures that are culturally imperative or applicable to a particular time, circumstance or environmental situation. For instance, through the revolutionary international, there has been much debate on the advantage and disadvantage of the “foco” theory and “column” system of clandestine guerrilla formations.

Whether these organizational structures can be successfully applied in America have yet to be proven. The “foco” motor theory has been tested by several guerrilla formations in North America with little success. But whether failures have been due to

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structural defects or lack of politico-military strategy and correct leadership is still debatable. While I am unfamiliar with any attempts to implement the column system in North America, this clandestine organizational structure has gained significant success in Latin American and various European countries.

My major point is that a blueprint for building revolutionary armed struggle has not been developed. Thus, revolutionaries must be capable of constructing organizational structures that satisfy the needs, purposes, and goals of revolutionary warfare.

I would like to comment here on the right-wing thrust of racist capitalist-imperialism. Within the government, various right-wing forces are working toward an overt, military coup under the pretense that the democratic electoral process is failing. Past and present U.S. presidents have secured greater executive authority over Congress and legislative bodies of government, and have build closer relationships with the military. General Haig's brief intercession in the White House during the last days of the Nixon regime is but one example of terror. Jimmy Carter filled various cabinet and national security positions with old navy cronies, as he made frequent trips to his military retreat at Camp David and increased the already huge military budget. In light of the decline of U.S. imperialism throughout the world, the threat of a new world war looms as the only means by which U.S. imperialism can recover from its defensive posture as national liberation struggles of oppressed nations take the offensive in bringing to an end imperialist (Zionist, apartheid and fascist monarchical) neo-colonial domination.

U.S. imperialist warmongers are strengthening their positions with right-wing political forces in government and corporate-industrial, military-complex financial support. Fascism is broadening its capacity to emerge as an open policy-making force in North America. This development in government can be greatly compromised if revolutionary nationalists and internationalists begin to develop an anti-fascist political program within the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement. Such a program must stifle and prevent the attempts of Edward Kennedy to force the new Federal Criminal Code (the old Senate Bill 1) through Congress; it must prevent the military draft from being reinstated; it must call for Vietnam veterans to join the revolution and to infiltrate the U.S. military rank and file. It is my anticipation that the practical means to subvert the U.S. military is through its military prisons (which hold a disproportionate number of Black and Third

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World people, just as do the civilian prisons) and by bringing out the contradictions of racism and sexism that pervade the U.S. military.

In closing, I must state I am not a writer. But every word of this book is my own. This is how I view the development of the class and national liberation struggle at this stage of my personal development within the revolution being waged in North America.

This book is offered as a treatise for revolutionary nationalists and internationalists to discuss and develop in direct relationship to their own levels of resistance in struggle. Undoubtedly, it is not the last word on revolutionary armed struggle in North America. But it is hoped it will provide a beacon for the future course of politico-military action in the American revolution.

February 21, 1979

Auburn State Prison New York, U.S.A.

CONCEPTS OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The versatility of Revolutionary Leadership is based upon rational-empirical and acquired knowledge. Such knowledge through practice and understanding develops personal wisdom toward adhering to principles and laws which dictate governing policies of action (activity), according to the particularities of a given situation and environmental conditions. Working from the maxim "circumstances make men as well as men make circumstances" enables revolutionary leaders to make adequate analysis of various problems which confront them, and to overcome obstacles which prevent forward progress in either organizational development or the fulfillment of political programs, the direction and momentum of the struggle.

Revolutionary leadership varies in degree according to the responsibility and obligation of the individual. Most people have the potential to become leaders: from cadre-squad leader, to the committee, collective or commune leader, to the coalition-alliance leadership, to the party-front leadership, each level of responsibility dictates certain obligations and experiences of the leader, to maintain order, discipline, and conscious, deliberate

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political activity in relationship to a particular course of action. As soon as a person is thoroughly versed in the principles of revolutionary analysis (i.e. dialectical historical materialism) and the science of Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse Tung thought, and understands the historical dialectical experiences of such principles applicable to revolutionary nationalism and internationalism (Castro, Cabral, Malcolm X, Ho Chi Min) he/she is subjectively capable of taking leadership positions. But not until one is able to associate and apply these principles in direct relationship to the socio-economic and political conditions of class and national liberation struggle, will the objective base for determining the qualities of revolutionary leadership be established, and thus the integration of theory and practice.

Where is Revolutionary Leadership Found?

Leadership in revolution is found in the heart of the struggle, in those working amongst the workers and the masses, educating, organizing and mobilizing the poor and oppressed against racist, capitalism-imperialism. Amongst the masses we will find those men and women who have clarity of mind and understanding of a given situation (strike, demonstration, riots, street-fighting) and who will be at the core of building the resistance, of setting up means (underground hospitals, escape routes, safe houses, transportation, etc.) for combatants to continue the fight. These are the people who take control of spontaneous uprisings prior to the professional revolutionaries and/or party members entering the area. They are the people who establish cadres to patrol the community and watch the police and national guard, who develop food lines, house the homeless, and take up the essential block by block administration of the community in the height of revolutionary warfare and when the State has declared martial law in its campaign against the urban guerrilla. Such leadership is the most important throughout the struggle because it is the foundation from which the ill-trained, ill-experienced, ill-equipped will join the revolution, swell the ranks of the party(s) and armed guerrilla units, and assure the inevitable victory of the revolution. In the course of building the revolutionary movement, the majority of those individuals who join the struggle, who participate in the various organizations/parties/fronts and eventually, through contact work, hardships and self-sacrificing contribution to the

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revolution rise to leadership positions, will come from various segments of the working class.

One segment will be from lower and middle class students and workers, and the other will be from the lumpen-proletariat. The students and workers may join the revolution because of class and/or national aspirations of the struggle. The student and worker will search for alternatives to the existing mode of social order. Each has a particular and personal interest in the revolution. The students who learn of the inequities and disenfranchisement of class divisions and national oppression through their academic quest will seek reasons, causes and effects, and possible solutions to the problem besetting America's social order, all which will guide some to revolution.

Students will bring various political perspectives and concerns together, especially those that directly affect the educational system. For example, the "Bakke decision" forged discussions and debate about the ramifications of racism and so-called reverse discrimination in opposition to affirmative action. Just as the Vietnam war brought issues of colonialism and imperialism onto college campuses, the national liberation war in South Africa, Palestine, and various parts of Latin America are developing a political basis from which students will recognize that the world is in turmoil, and that this touches all aspects of American society. These internal and external phenomenons of social strife will cause students to gain a deeper insight into the historical foundation and present day working of the philosophical, socio-economics and political determination of U.S. imperialism. The political struggles taking root on college campuses, high schools, and elementary schools (especially as a result of desegregation and busing) will eventually cause questions to be raised as to why these problems exist, and how to overcome them.

Some students will seek to change the system from within; by acquiring socio-political government positions, they will present either legal reform and institute socialist philosophies as the means of breaking down the present racist (neo-colonial) foundation on which U.S. imperialism is based. This avenue of working within the system can foster philosophical-ideological change, and through reform, preservation and restoration of democratic rights, inhibit the government's continued practices of overt national oppression. But students can only do this to the extent that it does not affect the military-industrial complex's motive for profit. Thus, these students' mode will be of compromise and

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conciliation, maintaining the system by giving legitimacy to and becoming part of it.

Other students will reach towards the progressive, revolutionary elements in social struggle for the solutions of the American crises. These students, with their academic understanding of the socioeconomic and political development of government, will be a greater asset to the revolution once they have gone through a process of re-education. Most students will join the revolution because of their disagreement with the present government process, policies and social order. The necessity for their re-education comes from their lack of real understanding of the principles, policies, and political motivation of revolution. Many students who have studied Marxist-Leninism will attempt to enter the revolution with an academic know-it-all, elitist attitude either toward the present revolutionary leadership of the various progressive organizations/parties/fronts, or towards their lumpen-proletariat comrades whose academic life may be less than a student's real life experience. Because of the subjective realities, it will be necessary for the students upon joining the revolution to undergo a thorough re-education process alongside lumpen-proletariat and worker comrades. In this way, a basis will be provided for even development amongst all potential revolutionaries joining the ranks of the class and national liberation struggle.

Those workers who will join the revolution will base their activity primarily in the work-place and local unions, although many political activists involved in organizations/parties/fronts will be either part time or full time workers. Much of their activity will be divided between organ-party community work, and organ-party work-place organizing. The workers will first involve themselves on progressive-revolutionary activity out of sheer frustration with their class exploitation and with trying to eke out a living through the socio-economic crises of capitalism-imperialism. For the most part, Euro-American workers, progressive political activity will be solely confined to the class issue of their particular area of work. Not until these class war workers have developed a revolutionary consciousness of anti-imperialism will they become part of the overall class and national liberation struggle. Their development is dependent on those individual workers or organizations/parties/front members who are anti-imperialist, pro-national liberation and are educating, organizing, and mobilizing the general proletariat to become

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revolutionary in class consciousness and practice, demanding the destruction of capitalism-imperialism.

This also applies to those Third World workers who are not politically class conscious of the nature of their two-pronged class and national oppression. They will be vague about the conditions of class exploitation and class divisions. Third World workers will deem racism and national oppression as the primary aspect of their oppression, and will believe that if racism were destroyed such oppression would not exist. Of course, without national oppression, Third World workers would fare generally as well or badly as Euro-American workers, both being exploited and oppressed by the bourgeois ruling class. It is when Third World workers become class conscious and anti-imperialist in their understanding of their class exploitation that the proletariat class as a whole will begin to become part of the class and national liberation struggle.

People from the lumpen-proletariat will join the revolution because it will provide hope for their future, offering life some meaning and purpose devoid of the self-destructive cycle of hanging out on street corners, shooting dope, prostitution, and going in and out of jail/prison. Hence, it will offer an alternative to all the illicit activity of the lumpen-proletariat subculture, which usually amounts to no more than preying on their own kind and desperately aspiring the social values of the bourgeoisie, the accumulation of material goods by means of "illegitimate capitalism."

The organizations/parties/fronts of the revolution will attract members of the lumpen-proletariat at first as an escape mechanism in their hopes that the revolution will provide some comfort from the turmoil of the subculture. In joining the ranks of the revolution, the lumpen-proletariat will bring both positive and negative qualities to the movement. The positive qualities will be sheer determination of the individual to not only withstand hardships, but to strive to overcome obstacles that will confront him or her in the course of securing a position in the movement, bringing the political program into concrete realization amongst the masses, and generally building the revolution. They will utilize the same ingenuity, cunning, strength of mind, and courage as was used in their individual struggles to survive in the ghetto. The skills of "getting-over" will be forged to the benefit of the revolution. But along with these positive qualities the lumpens have such negative attributes as individualism, which hampers

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collective-organizational discipline and prevents them from taking and following orders. This subjectivity of personal motivations will manifest in many ways:

1. Unwillingness to do painstaking study, to learn the principles, history, and political determinations of the revolution;
2. Not wanting to take great responsibility and work that will tax the human will, seeking to do no more than is necessary to get over;
3. Undisciplined adherence to organizational policy.

These negative elements of individualism, subjectivity, and resistance to discipline found in the lumpen-proletariat will be purged once the individual gains an understanding of the principles of revolution. They gain an understanding and historical foundation from which all revolutionaries evolve and acknowledge the necessity of organizational development, as well as the collective interrelationship between the individual and the organizations/parties/fronts.

Once this understanding has been fully grasped, the lumpen-proletariat, now becoming politically-conscious, will strive to ensure that the relationship of the organization/parties/fronts have a political program that is united with the aspirations of the masses. When students, workers, and lumpen-proletariat all recognize the serious problems affecting U.S. imperialism that the socioeconomic crises of monopoly-capitalism reaches into their work-place, homes, and social circles in the form of disenfranchisement, exploitation, and national oppression, they will join the revolution. It will be incumbent on those progressive-revolutionaries who are affiliated with various organizations/parties/fronts to bridge the masses' discontent with the political aspirations of the revolutionary movement, providing revolutionary leadership to every class, sector, nationality throughout racist America.

Revolutionary Leadership

Political activists who are in leadership in progressive organizations/parties/fronts of a given nationality or class will

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have the great responsibility of building the revolution. Such revolutionary leaders often place greater emphasis on building and maintaining their groups than building the revolution. They subordinate the state of the revolution to the state of their group; when the masses struggle for socioeconomic and political change is the prime base from which revolution can be successful.

What we find is that many revolutionary leaders attempt to motivate their group with a dominating theoretical position. Such is the case with the vanguardist and organizational chauvinists, who usually isolate and alienate themselves from the masses. They are too busy jockeying and vying for position with other groups claiming to be this or that. In the meantime, the masses' struggles are co-opted, defused, and subverted into reformist settlements with government officials, the bureaucracy, union representatives or the capitalist owners of the means of production. The worst part of this is that the masses begin to depend on the (so-called) legitimate bargaining process and become distrustful of those who claim to represent the ideals of the revolution.

Revolutionary leadership should make the development and building of the revolution the first task of their organizations. To ensure that the organizational work is responsive to the needs of the revolution, "politics in command" must be a basic operating principle. They must be uncompromising in building the revolution in direct relationship with the masses' struggles. This also means they must not only guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitment, but they must:

1. Seek to establish the organization/party/front in direct relationship with the masses' struggles, having the masses' struggles become the groups' struggle, and have the organization/party/front's political determination become the masses' political aspirations.
2. Place politics in command. The political program and strategic objective become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the group establishing practical relationships with the masses, and build principled and congenial working relationships

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with other progressives and revolutionaries.

3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat revisionism and sectarian manipulation by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions, and United Fronts amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and to maintain every aspect which consolidates and pushes forward the revolution across the entire country. Revolutionary leadership in any given organization/party/front that is working to reach a particular goal must be knowledgeable of the organizational structure, the purpose of the organization, and criteria from which such an organization builds and develops its existence. The leadership characteristically must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice, and equality. They must be capable of judging whether the “means fit the ends” in their political determinations, employing tactical discretion in being persuasive, manipulative, or coercive in accomplishing a task or having the “means fit the ends.”

Being persuasive essentially means gaining consent in forging the organization’s purpose void of deceit, force or violence. It means being able to project the course of action and convince others it is for the good and advantage of all parties concerned. Persuasion can be verbal, through speeches in meetings, rallies, forums, or it can be by means of literature and the media. The art of persuasion bases its practice on appealing to the psycho-sociological and emotional fears, desires, and aspirations of those either involved in the organizational support of the masses’ struggle or against those hindering the progress of the organization’s purpose, goals and objectives. Therefore, it is necessary for such revolutionary leadership to understand the total psychological, socio-economic and political conditions of the movement, applying the necessary tool or persuasion to win an advantageous position.

Manipulation objectively manifests its means to secure an end when the possibility exists to maneuver around a formidable obstacle without having to confront such an obstacle on its own

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ground or terms. To play the end against the middle essentially means to work the subjective condition against the objective reality of the disadvantaged, by employing one's strength to seek a weakness in the obstacle, and work that weakness against the obstacle until it becomes one's own strength. Manipulation is for the most part an art of deception, parrying and feigning a direct confrontation while at the same time continuing to build towards the desired objective.

Coercion is to meet force with force and to overcome an obstacle by compelling it to submit to a will or force beyond its immediate control. Coercion for the most part is the last resort, when one is attempting to salvage what it is possible to gain by destroying all opposition and anything which hinders forward progress. Revolutionary leadership must be capable of intermingling these three principles as conditions dictate.

There should never be any hesitation to use any one of these three principles when an organization or political purpose is confronted with an obstacle. In this same regard, these principles prevent obstacles from becoming insurmountable in organizational development. The leader must care for the welfare of his/her comrades and the masses. This virtue will be clearly determined in the course of building the revolution. The leader must listen to the cries of the masses' despair, and establish political programs that will address themselves to the needs of the masses (food, clothing, shelter, medical care, employment, etc.). These political programs will not be an end, but rather a means to build the revolution and to gain the support of the masses in revolution.

The revolutionary leader must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the masses' discontent and addressing the imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of monopoly capitalism. To turn the masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspectives, analysis and proposals for socio-economic and political change is imperative. The revolutionary leader must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening discipline, consolidating the organization/group, and propagating and building the group's political program as a living part of the revolution. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the organization with the masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary leader who is "humanitarian in virtue,"

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a “statesman in character,” and an “administrator toward the organization/group,” while keeping politics in command in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of a professional revolutionary – to make the revolution.

The team/cadre or squad leader must be capable of following orders as they are given and of assuring the responsibility to him or her. Thus, this level of leadership must also have a moral foundation with personalities endowed with the necessary virtues for struggle, such virtues as strict discipline and regiment adherence to the implementation of the group’s political directives and policies. This personality is important because such a team/cadre-squad will have the closest association with the masses, and must be capable of presenting an image that will reflect the character of the group. These cadres must possess the intellectual foundation to grasp a struggle situation and apply the principled dialectics of the struggle to it. In this perspective the cadre must thoroughly understand the organizational guidelines to build the struggle situation, and to take control of the situation by implementing the political program and ideals of the revolution. Therefore, it is important for the team/cadre-squad to have the technical foundation, the skills, and the methods appropriate for organizing and mobilizing the masses in struggle and confrontation. Such methods include agitation-propaganda, street rallies, marches, strikes and demonstrations, which are the most relied upon means of mobilizing the masses. Thus, such leadership would be building upon revolutionary enthusiasm and fervor of the masses united with the political determination of the organizations.

The committee, collective, or commune leader must be capable of working as a team leader. By understanding the principles above, a committee, collective, or commune that comprise several teams or squads can employ such a body of progressives to move in different directions in team/cadre formations, or to work and move as a single collective body. The determining factors for a committee, collective or commune leader to uphold are the sheer grasp of the political program, and to implement the tactical initiatives of the organization/party/front strategic objective.

The coalition-alliance leadership is usually comprised of members of several different organizations, in principled working relationships, unified under the banner of the masses’ struggle for social change and justice. Such leadership must be capable of

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subordinating their individual group's political aspirations to the unified goals of the coalition-alliance. In this way, the collective purpose of the coalition-alliance determines the relationship of the coalitions-alliance with the masses' struggle. Its leadership must be capable of maintaining principled and congenial relationships under the guiding principles of democratic centralism, as these principles affect any member body of the coalition-alliance. It is important that the leadership recognizes the points of unity and the differences between each member/body of the coalition-alliance and secures the working unity based upon goals common to each member-body.

The party leadership is very much like the cadre or committee leadership, while the front leadership is compared to the coalition-alliance leadership. Each leadership has the overall responsibility of overseeing the factions of the party/front to present practical theoretical and ideological directives and to formulate statewide, regional, national and international strategies. Such strategies must include mobilizing the entire party/front or a particular segment by instituting a party/front directive which determines and explains an exclusive political aspiration of the party/front in implementing its political program in direct relationship with the masses' struggle. This leadership must have the entire revolution in perspective at all times, understanding the principles of anti-racist and anti-imperialist revolution, capable of employing such principles as conditions dictate. The core of the party/front leadership is based upon four points:

- A. The party/front leadership's personal rational-empirical and acquired knowledge of revolution, and the ability to apply such knowledge according to the need and condition in struggle.
- B. Comprehension of the principles of organizational structures and development, employing democratic centralism along with inter-working of the personality of party/front members.
- C. A clear understanding of the socio-economic and political conditions of the social structure of monopoly-capitalism, and the political motivations of the revolution.

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- D. Capability of building national and international strategies, and the tactical implementation of such strategies as part of the entire class and national liberation struggle.

It is the responsibility of every progressive and revolutionary to propagate and build the revolution. Every political activist should be capable of directing the masses toward political struggle, to confront the State bureaucratic repression, and monopoly-capitalist means to exploit and reap exorbitant profits, to promote the masses' hatred of racism, capitalism and imperialism, and move them to support armed struggle. They must show masses that it is in their interest to support and become a part of the revolution by teaching the techniques of politico-military warfare, how to engage the enemy in revolution, and in this way develop the masses' faith and self-confidence in maintaining their revolutionary fervor.

REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY

The establishment of revolutionary organizations is based upon the stage of the struggle and the needs of the revolution. Every organization has its own structure which determines the criteria from which the masses can be educated, organized and mobilized in struggle to confront and resist their oppressive condition. From the cadre, collective, coalition to the party and front, each determines its ability to serve a particular purpose in struggle. For the organized body to be functional, it must have a purpose and the ability to gauge its strength and weaknesses. Such a structure should fulfill every functional means of becoming self-reliant and have self-control in all of its operations.

There are essentially three types of organizational structures that will be discussed. The first structure is called the pyramid system. This structure is the most used and relied upon system. It enables a large body to develop and maintain its purpose, and to have control of its internal and external function. The pyramid system is based upon centralization of the organization's mode of operating at the top of the structure, with centralization reaching into every segment of the organization. All sections are accountable to those at the top of the structure for the implementation of

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all directives and policies pertaining to the criteria and extent of the organization's growth and its ability to continue to forge its purpose. Under the top position are subordinates who are usually the policy enacting officials who determine how the implementation of a given directive is to be carried out. The pyramid system further provides various bodies or representatives, whose primary function is to implement the directive in accord with the policies and purpose of the organization. Although this structure is usually organized from the top-down, the pyramid system can be structurally comprised of three functioning bodies or as many as fifty. The primary aspect of the pyramid system is that the centralization at the top of the structure, and the sole authority of the top official(s) or central committee to determine the direction and purpose of the organization.

The practical function of any system is based upon its purpose and the need for the structure to exist. The pyramid system has the ability to develop large and expansive organizations, which is close-knit in its structure. The top position of the pyramid system may be occupied by a single person or by a central committee. In most progressive and revolutionary organizations the pyramid system is established with a central committee and organized bodies, branching down to cadres and team formations. While the pyramid system of a progressive or revolutionary organization is the same type of structure as a government bureaucracy which delegates its authority through a process of dictatorial and/or totalitarian directives and policies from the top-down, the progressive/revolutionary organization establishes its authoritative function through a process of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is an organizational principle and which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central committee. All members and committees of the organization may discuss or constructively criticize a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members and committees must abide by it.

Another organizational structure commonly referred to is the three-three-three (3-3-3) system. This system is very similar in principle to the pyramid system, except that instead of a single top position (although a single person can operate the system), there are three top positions. Each official is responsible to educate and organize three other persons, to be a total of nine, and each of the nine is to educate and organize three, a total of thirty-six, etc.

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Each top official is responsible for the three he/she has educated and organized, and all subordinate members of the organization are responsible for the three they have educated, organized and recruited. The 3-3-3 system can maintain a security of operation for a clandestine organizational structure, since no single individual knows no more than the one individual who recruited him or her and the three individuals he or she recruited. In this system each top official can work in a specific area of responsibility, utilizing the resources of other areas as necessary, only having the members of either one of the three working parts together or associated with each other as conditions dictate for the purpose of the organization and the accomplishment of its task. Although the 3-3-3 system functions similarly to the pyramid system, in which directives are issued from the top-down, the maintenance of the 3-3-3 system is the responsibility of each member-body of the system, and the implementation of a directive or policy is filtered down the system from those who did the recruiting to the recruited.

The disadvantage of the system is that if a part of the structure is lost or communications are broken in any part of the system, the possibility of losing the lower level of the structure is increased.

The 3-3-3 system is most used in clandestine and military formations of irregular guerrillas. It allows each unit to develop independently of others and to build its field of operation as directed. Each unit is only subordinate to that person or unit that recruited and organized it, and is regimentally disciplined to adhere to all operational directives. The 3-3-3 system has sometimes evolved a liaison structure composed of each unit leader, in an effort to consolidate the organizational ability to forge operations using several units. This liaison structure can be no more than a single unit, of which the primary task would be the logistics and/or communication from the leaders of the overall system to each unit leader. This process, of course, ultimately leads towards the pyramid system in organizational structural development. The 3-3-3 system is best used when participants are supported by the populace in the area of operations. But if each of these participants operates in one particular area, the interrelationship of the three could preserve the entire 3-3-3 organizational structure. In a clandestine military organization, it is necessary that at least three units are maintained: the operational unit, the logistical and supply unit, and communication-intelligence/agitation-propaganda unit. These units are essential to any clandestine military organization, and the 3-3-3 system serve the purpose well.

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The third structure is called the 10-20-30 system. Unlike the pyramid system, the 10-20-30 system is organized on a horizontal platform, in which each group is equal to the group which organized and recruited it. The 10-20-30 is based upon those individuals first involved in the organization having the responsibility to recruit a new member, and that member recruiting another until the organization doubles, triples and quadruples in size. The 10-20-30 system is utilized for two primary purposes: 1) To build mass formations for rallies or organizations; and 2) To organize the populace into large sections or areas. When security is not the most important aspect of the organizing, the 10-20-30 system is essential for political organizations to reach large numbers of people in a short period of time. A political organization usually employs this system after its members have thoroughly secured a working relationship with the masses and have determined a particular direction in struggle based upon its political program.

Thus, when the political organization calls for the organizing and mobilization of the masses, this can be done through word of mouth, through the media or various other forms of communication. The 10-20-30 system can be used, disbanded and used again to organize a single formation, having that formation structured either in a pyramid system, or it can be utilized to develop another formation through the process of 10-20-30 until hundreds are organized. The major flaw of the 10-20-30 system is that it is subject to infiltration and provocateurism, and it is difficult to regiment or discipline unless structured into a pyramid system.

Each of the three systems has a particular *modus operandi* which makes it most effective in respects to its purpose. In the same vein, each system can be used intermittently by any one of the three systems. For instance, the pyramid system can branch at its lower levels into a 3-3-3 system, while the 3-3-3 system, after establishing an extensive structure, can consolidate the structure into a pyramid system or a 10-20-30 system. Or the 10-20-30 system can develop into a pyramid system, because of the open recruitment of its original structure.

Based upon these three systems, a revolutionary organization must build according to the realities of the mass and popular movement. The revolutionary organization will have a particular responsibility to fulfill based upon its political program in relationship to the masses' struggle. Such political

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programs must guarantee the revolutionary organization a close relationship with the masses upon which the political aspirations of the revolutionary organization will be wholly embraced by the masses, and the masses' struggle will become the revolutionary organization's total existence.

The organizational structure and political program of each organization/party/front will determine the extent of the group's relationship to the masses. A single revolutionary organization is likely to have a greater limitation in its outreach to the masses because of the nature of its organizational structure. The revolutionary party may have the capacity to render various cadre and services to the masses' struggle. The revolutionary front apparatus comprising several parties and/or organizations will have the greater capacity to offer a consistent, direct and prolonged relationship with the masses' struggle. The revolutionary organization, based upon its structure, composition, and ability to interrelate with masses, will determine the revolution's continued growth and development. Most revolutionary organization's compositions are based upon the motivating forces which brought them into existence. The various members would adhere to a single ideological political perspective that enjoins them to function in an organized body for particular goals to attain. Whether based on a pyramid system, 3-3-3 system or the 10-20-30 system, the revolutionary organization must provide the masses' struggle with the essential services and perform the necessary duties of the revolution. The revolutionary party will usually be structured in a pyramid system, consisting of various committees which are responsible for various obligations in relationship with the masses' struggle. These committees in the party would develop youth cadres, trade union locals, women's groups, cultural programs, prison survival support alliances, and revolutionary international solidarity coalitions. All of these are the active means and methods the revolutionary party employs to implement its political program in response to the masses' efforts to resist capitalist-imperialist oppression. The revolutionary front apparatus is also usually structured in a pyramid system although its composition is made up of various parties and organizations. Its ultimate function is to forge a single political program of national and international significance. Hence, the many parties and organizations can build in the greatest unity possible toward particular goals based upon common ideals and practical interrelationships, in their relationship with the masses' struggle

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for class and national liberation.

In the course of building the revolution, these revolutionary organizations must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be through the use of agitation-propaganda. The use of agitation-propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of the masses, to arouse the masses' hatred of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the enemy in struggle. Agitation-propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged within every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the revolution is protracted in nature, agitation-propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and distribution of literature – toward larger rallies, marches and demonstrations. Agitation-propaganda must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate the masses and propagate the revolution, to build the historical transition of the movement in establishing the criteria to sustain itself by forging a living culture of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the revolution. Thus, agitation-propaganda in totality is the education of the oppressed masses toward revolution, the organization of the oppressed masses in revolution, and the mobilization of the oppressed masses to confront the capitalist-imperialism in the course of building the revolution.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda, the revolutionary organization/party/front is responsible for establishing community liberation associations – such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, community day care centers, community liberation schools, and other organized forms of extending the political program. Community liberation associations must become politically motivated, and morally and culturally inspired. Their primary objective is to serve the community by instituting a means for community participation and involvement in community development. The community needs to become reliant on the resources (menial and skilled laborers, students and professionals, etc.) available within the community, and in this way control the growth and development of the community. The community liberation association leaders must know the subjective and objective realities to expose the wrongdoers; to support those who are working for the welfare of the community; to propagate the political mass-line of the

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revolutionary organization; and to organize the community to resist racist police brutality, economic exploitation, and cultural imperialism. Furthermore, each community liberation association must seek to have meetings and forums where the people can express their discontent and where grievances can be aired. Such grievances should be recorded and become a means from which members of the community liberation associations and the revolutionary organization devote attention to solving problems affecting the community. They must address these issues in a political campaign to organize and consolidate the community as liberated areas, by which the community becomes self-reliant in staunch support of the revolution. All community liberation associations are to forge a united organizational network in which information and intelligence can be exchanged for the welfare and protection of the revolution.

These community liberation associations are organized by the revolutionary organizations and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these community liberation associations, led by community representatives, ties both the masses' struggle and the representatives of the revolution together. It ensures that the political program of the revolutionary organization will be thoroughly supported by the masses' participation in the revolutionary movement.

These community liberation associations are the arteries of the revolutionary organization, establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary movement in the heart of the community. Essentially, they are part of the defensive mechanism of the movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure that the needs of the oppressed masses are being met as part of the revolutionary process. Eventually, these community liberation associations will develop into a network of community-service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being part of the revolution, is to establish alternative social services that the enemy government is not adequately providing. All of this is in effect the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary organizations, which must send collectives to rural areas and establish communes in townships and farm areas.

This course of development would also provide the infrastructure of the guerrilla front with the basic means to recruit personnel, gather information, intelligence, and supplies because a larger segment of the community will be organized in support of the revolution. The revolutionary organization must have the

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various community liberation associations thoroughly entrenched in the heart of both urban and rural communities. In this way, they would be establishing the political program and determination of the revolution in the various communities. This is termed the social development of the revolution, when the revolution becomes a social movement, culturally inspired and politically determined towards the destruction of racist capitalist-imperialism.

Another aspect of this development of the revolution and the responsibility of the revolutionary organization is the initiation of confrontation politics. Confrontation politics is the counter-offensive of the revolutionary movement. Confrontation politics is to engage the enemy in struggle in the course of representing the will of the masses. This is the highest form of agitation-propaganda possible for an aboveground political apparatus. What must be understood is that these above-ground political organizations must be more capable of integrating the legal organization-building of the social development of the revolution with the illegal concepts and purpose for the revolution: to overthrow the State. These legal and illegal methods of building the revolution are developed by the process of establishing a struggle-line of confrontation politics. It is when the issues of repression and oppression have been clearly defined, and the agents of the maintenance of such oppression have been identified, that confrontation politics will be employed.

The most effective time to confront the enemy is when agitation-propaganda has been used to educate, organize and mobilize the masses concerning their oppressive conditions. Hence, it has been determined that a struggle-line must be employed to effectuate change, or to heighten the contradiction until it has become antagonistic, and a clear demarcation has been drawn between the oppressed masses and the nature of their oppression by the State.

Confrontation politics is in many cases illegal because its objective is to disrupt the working order of those responsible for the oppressive condition, to prevent the State from fulfilling its expectations and from instituting programs and projects that are against the will of the masses. Confrontation politics takes the form of strikes, picketing, boycotts, occupations/sit-ins and other forms of civil disobedience. They may include such actions as disrupting a racist, capitalist-imperialist function by developing a counter-protest or demonstration, throwing objects-missiles, heckling the speaker at rallies, and attracting attention towards the

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political aspirations of the revolution. These acts of confrontation politics in effect support armed struggle, bridging the gap between peaceful resistance (marches, rallies, demonstrations) of organization-building and the military means to annihilate the enemy. Confrontation politics is the means by which revolutionary organizations develop the masses' political consciousness to a greater determination to resist racist capitalist-imperialism, and to defend themselves against attack. It is when seemingly peaceful marches and demonstrations turn into street fighting against the police and racist vigilantes, and when rallies turn into riots, that the militancy of the masses builds to a point of supporting the armed overthrow of the State. Thus, the revolution will take on the character of being an insurrection supported by and participated in by the masses. Thereby, confrontation politics lends its greatest strength as a tactical initiative by the above-ground political apparatus moving the revolution to victory.

In preserving the social development of the revolution, various revolutionary parties may involve themselves in government status quo politics, to have socialist and revolutionary social democratic activists elected to political positions. Their goal is to preserve the revolution by getting elected into political positions within the government, in order to ensure the government finances community programs and social services, rather than the industrial-military complex and monopoly-capitalist ventures. The aspiration to stifle the government's means to continue its oppressive stranglehold on the masses from within the system, may seem politically correct in theory. But pragmatically, such efforts by progressive activists are liberal and reformist, in effect recognizing and providing credence to the system, preserving the system rather than destroying the system. For progressive activists to engage in status quo politics, directing the masses' political consciousness to the electoral process, is to substantiate an ill-conceived idea that the political and socio-economic conditions of the oppressed masses disenfranchisement can be altered through the gradual, peaceful electoral process. This notion ultimately stifles the militant social development of the revolution and inhibits the primary objective of having the oppressed masses control the means and mode of social production.

Those revolutionary activists who want to direct the oppressed masses toward the electoral process, should instead exert energies to building the social development of the revolution, toward undermining the security of the bourgeoisie capitalist-class means

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of appropriating wealth and continued exploitative relationships with the masses. This security is based upon several factors:

1. The means from which the ruling class continues to propagate its ideas, philosophy and culture through the various media;
2. The maintenance of class divisions, national oppression, the interrelationship and struggle between nationalities competing as wage earners in the labor market, and the struggle between laborers and managers as the means of production;
3. The maintenance of the threat or use of force by the police departments and the judicial process, with the power to take life or liberty, when the bourgeoisie ruling class laws are threatened.

These three essential aspects of ruling class security can be aptly understood in similitude to the power to persuade, to manipulate and coerce the oppressed masses in control. The revolutionary organization/parties/fronts leadership must direct its membership in their agitation-propaganda activity and in confrontation politics to call for the defection of civil service workers from the police, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency and the National Guard. These agents of the State should be encouraged to furnish information and intelligence on how the government is attempting to destroy the revolution, by employing counter-revolutionary and insurgency tactics. The revolutionary organization, parties/fronts must have trustworthy and disciplined political activists infiltrate (just as the government does our movement) and disrupt the domestic and international security forces of U.S. imperialism.

The revolution will be secured in its cultural and social development when a clear demarcation has been drawn between revolutionaries and the government's counter-insurgency forces. The same consideration must also be applied in respect to the U.S. military, who will be used as the last resort by the government to stifle the revolution.

In conclusion, revolution is a conspiracy, and all revolutionaries are conspirators to overthrow the State. All

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revolutionary organizations must understand the subjective criteria from which the revolutionary movement can be preserved in marking the historical course of development. All conspirators of the revolution, in their planned activities and political programs, must realize that legal and illegal methods must be employed to support the revolutionary armed forces, and the inevitable violent overthrow of the State.

Although some political activists still believe the social transition from capitalist-imperialism to social democracy and socialism can be peaceful, the truth of the matter is that the protracted struggle of class and national liberation has been marked by the violence of the State against the revolution. Violence and terror perpetrated by the State, such as assassinations of revolutionary leaders; midnight raids on political party offices and the homes of party members; the killing, persecution and imprisonment of supporters of the revolution; ongoing infiltration and disruption of the revolutionary movement; and various acts of counter-insurgency have determined the extent to which peaceful resistance to State repression can be successful. Furthermore, the State has devised various national security laws to repress the means and method by which the revolution can be organized, virtually repressing the ideals of democracy that the State hypocritically and demagogically espouses.

These acts by the State in the preservation of its existence, foreclose any possible means for a non-violent transition of the State. Any prospects of gaining the support of members of the ruling class elite in our protracted struggle, such members as scientists, intellectuals and military advisors, is based upon the ruling class' unmitigated measures to repress the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed masses. Thus, it is when the contradiction between the bourgeoisie's accumulation and appropriation of surplus value of material goods, and ownership of the means of production, has become antagonistic to the oppressed masses' will to unburden itself of this exploitative and oppressive relationship, will the revolution gain the greatest support of the entire working class. When the revolution threatens the monopoly-capitalist exploitative means of social production, the bourgeoisie ruling class will employ every means to preserve its existence even to the extent of consolidating right wing imperialism against members of the bourgeoisie who recognize the inevitable victory of the revolution.

Thus, it is essential that all progressive and revolutionary

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forces build the revolution toward the development of the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeois ruling class. It is this antagonistic contradiction that draws the demarcation between friend and foe in the revolution, and allows the revolutionary movement to strengthen its capacity to engage the enemies of the revolution in political and military warfare.

Hence, revolutionary organization/parties/fronts must forge their political programs towards the social development of the revolution. To employ tactical initiatives as agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics, with the understanding that the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed masses and the bourgeois ruling class, is the principle basis upon which the revolution will grow and develop towards the violent overthrow and defeat of capitalist-imperialist world domination.

THE MASS AND POPULAR MOVEMENT

The United States is an imperialist empire of monopoly-capitalist domination. The country's existence is based upon the domination (colonization) and exploitation of internal (domestic) and external nations. The acquisition of North America by Europeans was by use of force and genocidal slaughter of Native Americans, and the Europeans' ability to forge a nation into its present economic and technological condition has been based on hundreds of years of racist exploitation of Africans, Asians and Mexicans, along with the plunder, colonizing and controlling the natural resources, human labor and institutions of commerce of various Third World countries.

The U.S. empire is now being threatened with the loss of such colonies, as natives of these colonized countries develop national liberation struggles and fights for their independence. The external colonies' struggle for national liberation causes the empire to seek alternatives in its capacity to continue to acquire enormous profits from cheap labor and the control of valuable raw materials essential for U.S. imperialist development. As these national liberation struggles succeed in their independence movements against imperialism, the loss of profits from those colonies eventually affects the socio-economic and political condition of U.S. workers and neo-colonies. This loss of profits leads to the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. Thus, the value of

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American-made products is lost in the world market because the old markets are closing their institutions of commerce to American trade, industry, corporations, etc. The only alternative the U.S. imperialists have to preserve the accumulation of high profits is to cut back the production of American goods at home, establishing industries in Third World countries where labor is cheap, by importing the finished product rather than exporting it. This develops energy crisis (petroleum, coal, natural gas), which ultimately raises manufacturing costs in industries that depend upon these resources. At the same time, increasing productivity while maintaining high unemployment in the U.S. leads to a greater competition in the work-place, causing cuts in salaries and give back by workers. This inevitably leads to inflation in the American economy, with products costing more than the limits of standard living wages, since U.S. monopoly-capitalism has cut back workers' employment while the cost of products rise.

When this situation develops to the point where the American public is unable to buy American products at inflated prices, the capitalist system develops a recession in an attempt to balance the economic disparity of inflation and keep some degree of stability in the economy. This manipulation of interest rates and bond prices, serves as an attempt to ensure that monopoly-capitalists continue to reap exorbitant profits, and the American public can continue to consume/purchase products. Thus, the maintenance of the system is achieved. But this economic condition affects various nations in the American populace differently.

Because America is comprised of the neo-colonialization of Third World nations, the minorities of the American populace are affected by inflation and recession more harshly than the majority of Euro-Americans. The primary reason for this uneven effect of monopoly-capitalist economic affliction on Third World nations, in comparison to the majority of Euro-Americans, is due to neo-colonial socio-economic domination of these Third World nations and the racist national oppression.

This socio-economic and political condition of racist national oppression and domestic neo-colonial domination of Third World nationalities by U.S. capitalist-imperialism, along with the continued disenfranchisement of Euro-Americans by either the closing of foreign markets, the moving of industry to Third World countries, and/or higher competition internationally between capitalist countries for dwindling markets, alongside the continued struggles of U.S. domestic neo-colonies against their

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super-exploitation and racism, virtually determines the essential aspects of the mass and popular movement within the borders of North America. The class and national divisions between the American population preserves every condition from which the revolution will be tested, molded and developed into a mass movement for the destruction of capitalist-imperialism. The class struggle of Euro-Americans, united with the class and national determination of Third World nations in the U.S., will ensure the victory of external colonies' independence movements against U.S. imperialism.

But it is necessary that the mass and popular movement in the U.S. become cognizant of its own force and power. This power of the people is based upon workers of all nationalities developing a political movement against racism and the neo-colonization of oppressed nations, and for the end of class divisions, exploitation, ruling class appropriation of profits from workers labor, toward the end of monopoly-capitalist ownership of the means of production. Once these political determinations have been forged into a struggle for socio-economic, political and cultural change in the U.S., the character of the revolution will have developed a personality toward the collective ownership of the means of production, with each nationality having the eternal right to determine their own destiny.

In recent years the mass and popular movements have made strides in socialization. The various domestic nations have developed united actions and mobilizations over such issues as the Bakke decision and so-called reverse discrimination, support for the equal rights amendment, class-war worker support of miners strike, and against such repressive bills as Senate Bill 1 (or its derivative federal bill that includes 57 death penalty sanctions), and other opposition to higher taxes. Also, the anti-nuclear movement grows in momentum and gaining in anti-imperialist perspective. Furthermore, such anti-racist and anti-imperialist mobilizations as those on college campuses and in various ethnic communities against U.S. support of the apartheid government of South Africa, against zionism of Israel, against fascist regimes in Latin America, in support of the struggle for liberation of Puerto Rico, all provide strength to the entire mass and popular movement, ensuring an anti-racist and anti-imperialist perspective within the class struggle of Euro-Americans. In the same way, various domestic national liberation efforts are forged with an international perspective in solidarity with the national liberation

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struggle of external colonies fighting for independence against U.S. imperialism.

At present, the mass and popular movements are characterized by the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and equality amongst the various nationalities and sexes. Although this present stage is progressive, the movement has not taken the initiatives to call for the end of monopoly-capitalist ruling class control and ownership of the means of production. Therefore, it is the responsibility of all progressive and revolutionary organizations and individuals to build the mass and popular movement toward class and national liberation struggle. To build upon the present level of the mass and popular movement, progressives and revolutionaries must analyze the socio-economic base of the masses' discontent and disenfranchisement, starting from the economic and political crisis of U.S. capitalism-imperialism. This analysis must evolve a political program that addresses the problems besetting the masses. As racism and monopoly-capitalism divide the oppressed masses on class and national lines, and further divide each nation into classes, such a program must build the oppressed masses' struggle for the preservation of democratic rights and forge the popular movement towards the revolution. Thus, the oppressed masses' struggle must be defined in terms of strategy and tactics, with specific goals and objectives to be attained. Each goal must heighten the contradiction between the oppressed masses and the ruling class bourgeoisie, and strengthen the criteria from which the struggle for the preservation of democratic rights transform into an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement.

The transformation of the masses' struggle from a defensive posture demanding civil rights into an offensive popular movement for social democratic change is conditioned on the popular movement's being responsive to the heightened oppressive conditions of the crisis of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism. It is when this crisis develops at greater levels that the oppressed masses are unable to maintain a stable livelihood, and Third World peoples' disenfranchisement will be at an intolerable level of subsistence being the norm of survival. Such is the case when transformation of the popular movement becomes qualitatively different in form from the civil rights demands for the preservation of democratic rights and equality.

The qualitative difference is depicted by the demands of the popular movement, when the demands are not only for the

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preservation and restoration of democratic rights and equality, but also the end of national oppression and neo-colonialism; calling for the collective ownership by the workers of the means of production, equal distribution of the wealth of the country to relieve the unjust tax burden on the lower and middle classes, and the end of racism and national oppression, will the popular movement take a significant qualitative change and become revolutionary in character.

It is the responsibility of progressive and revolutionary organizations to comprehend the subjective conditions and objective reality of the mass and popular movement. With this understanding, these organizations will be capable of developing national strategies and political programs that accentuate the character of the oppressed peoples' struggle, developing the means by which the popular movement can be transformed. The subjective conditions are that the masses' struggle is determined by the socio-economic crisis and the extent of the crisis as it affects the oppressed masses' livelihood. The oppressed masses' struggle for equality between the sexes and the end of racist domination of Third World people are determinative factors of the subjective conditions. Also, unemployment, inequality in education, expensive and/or intolerable health care, deteriorating housing conditions, lower standard of living because of the socio-economic crisis and low moral/social values of cultural significance all form the motive base for revolutionary transformation. The objective reality is that the socio-economic crisis tends to polarize issues, classes, and national-minorities as the crisis develops. This polarization of classes and national-minorities has a two-fold effect in the popular movement. This two-fold effect is consolidation of both left and right-wing forces simultaneously, while the divisions between nations and classes become more acute. The oppressor nation of Euro-Americans will be most affected by the right-wing racist politics for the maintenance of national oppression, while left-wing, Euro-Americans will attempt to divide the prospects of continued national oppression by developing the class struggle within the oppressor nation.

Essentially, the Euro-American left-wing forces will have two objectives: 1) To develop the contradiction in the class struggle of the oppressor nation to become antagonistic, and to concentrate the contradiction between oppressor nation classes on the destruction of capitalism and 2) To forge the most progressive elements of the oppressor nation classes to support the national

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liberation struggle of domestic neo-colonies to combat racism and national oppression, and to call for the independence of these neo-colonies in support of their fight for autonomy and sovereignty.

In the same vein, Third World left-wing forces must develop an anti-colonial movement which is anti-imperialist in nature. They must also recognize the necessity for international solidarity amongst the various Third World nationalities, oppressor nation progressives/revolutionaries, and their class struggle. Also, the anti-colonial movement has two aspects to develop: 1) The class struggle within the oppressed nations to destroy the colonized mentality within the quasi-class divisions of the oppressed neo-colony. Individuals who have gained influential status in the domestic neo-colony and are recognized as spokespersons of the neo-colony by the imperialists must become responsive to the aspirations of the national liberation movement; 2) To arouse the Third World populace to confront monopoly-capitalism from an anti-imperialist political perspective.

Once the mass and popular movement gains momentum in its struggle against capitalist-imperialism, and the polarization of the left and right-wing forces has substantially drawn the lines between contending political forces, the masses' struggle will have reached its nodal point, transforming from a civil rights movement into a human rights movement of revolutionary significance with international ramifications.

The question of human rights raises the mass and popular movement to a qualitatively higher level than when it was concerned only with civil rights, as civil rights are the minimum political objective. The oppressive relationship between the neo-colonies of the Third World nations and ruling class, and the ruling class relationship with the Euro-American oppressor nation must be altered, since they concern the basis upon which a livelihood can be maintained for all peoples. The relationship of the workers to the means of production must be changed until the workers gain collective possession of the means of production. Also, the various Third World nations must be able to determine their own destiny, based upon their socio-economic and political aspirations as expressed during the course of the revolution. Therefore, the question of human rights embodies the collective human will to be free from racist, capitalist-imperialist oppression and domination.

To transform the popular movement for the preservation and restoration of democratic rights into a mass struggle for human

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rights is therefore a revolutionary concept. The aspirations of the oppressed masses' struggle are taken out of the context of allowing the imperialists any basis for shadowing the determination of the oppressed masses to control their own lives and destiny, recognizing the inalienable rights of all humanity. The call for human rights within the mass and popular movement provides impetus towards international anti-imperialist solidarity.

Once the mass and popular movement has developed a revolutionary character, the means from which progressive and revolutionary organizations can build the movement will be greatly enhanced. The political program of national organizations in the mass and popular movement will ensure and support the course of the class and national liberation struggle. These political programs must highlight national goals and objectives, accentuating the anti-colonial, anti-capitalist-imperialist demands of the popular movement. Such demands as national health care and service, full employment for all workers, the end of national oppression and racism, all of which are civil and human rights issues, give credence to the demands for the end of private ownership of the means of production, and the right of Third World nations to become independent and sovereign. Thus, the political programs of national significance of progressive-revolutionary organizations in the mass, popular movement must change the character of the movement in the direction of the class and national liberation struggle.

It is imperative that these political programs project solutions onto the socio-economic and political crisis of monopoly-capitalism and address themselves to specific disenfranchised people within the class and national liberation struggle. The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting women must be thoroughly developed in a political program of national significance. Distinction must be made between the level of oppression between oppressed-nation women and that of the oppressor-nation women. This distinction must be further clarified in developing provisions of redress in the oppressed masses' struggle. For Third World women, their national condition of oppression must first be addressed on local grassroots levels, with the establishment of Third World women community liberation associations, independent of the oppressor nation's women's movement. These Third World women community associations must uphold the demands of the class and national liberation struggle. In this way, national aspirations of Third World women

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can realize their goals as part of, and take a leading role in, the national liberation struggle.

The conditions of disenfranchisement and oppression affecting youth must be addressed in a national political program. Hereto distinctions must be made between youth of the oppressed and oppressor nations in respect to the nature of their oppression, and the criteria for developing a solution in a political program. Essentially, the question of education and unemployment affects all youth. But for the oppressed nations, it is imperative that alternative education be established in the Third World communities. Such educational institutions as community liberation schools would have the responsibility to develop youth's skills in reading, writing and mathematics, and would also broaden their cultural and political consciousness of their relationship to the class and national liberation struggle. These liberation schools will be responsible for the development of future leaders and the organization of youth to be more responsive to the needs of the community. Therefore, an essential part of the curriculum of these schools will be the development of skills for building and preserving the community(s), such as plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, as well as printing, typing and agitation-propaganda work.

The political program must address the needs of the proletarians of all nations, especially in the trade unions. Trade unions have the responsibility of confronting the owners of the means of production with the needs of the workers. It is the responsibility of workers to be sure that their trade union representatives develop the issues which define and depict their disenfranchisement and restore equitable working standards and wages.

But it is the responsibility of progressives and revolutionaries to move workers and trade union representatives toward the ideals of revolution. The prospect of integrating the trade union revolt in the mass and popular movement depends on the masses' arousal (class consciousness). Such an arousal, through agitation-propaganda and confrontation politics by progressive-revolutionaries must be responsive to concrete conditions of union workers' socio-economic and political instability. The issues will include rising taxes affecting workers and continued tax cuts for big business, the demands for greater productivity from the employed (without considering the criteria by which the unemployed may obtain work), the huge military budget and cut-

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backs in social services, imported products flooding U.S. markets because of cheap labor in U.S. external colonies, while exports decrease. All of this, along with concerns of the huge federal deficit that has made the U.S. a debtor nation, must be addressed in a political program. These issues will serve as an impetus to motivate workers to seek change in the economic system. The political program must demand that the taxes of workers become stable and big businesses taxes be used to subsidize social services, that shorter hours be established at wages comparable to living standards, that the unemployed be able to gain employment meeting the needs of productivity, and that a low ceiling must be imposed on imports so American consumers could purchase American-made products and an export quota towards a more equitable trade balance could be established. These demands would serve to induce the ultimate demands of the end of capitalist-imperialism, the nationalization and workers' ownership, and the control of the means of production.

Finally, the mass and popular movement must be directed toward understanding the various aspects of the judicial process – the police, courts and prisons – and their functions in a capitalist social structure. The demystification of the judicial system will provide the mass and popular movement with an understanding of how they are being controlled and manipulated by the courts, congress and legislative bodies of government for the benefit of monopoly-capitalism. As poverty begets crime and social revolution, it is imperative that the judicial process be exposed as an instrument of controlling the oppressed masses along lines of class divisions and national oppression. Most laws serve the continued mode of national oppression and class exploitation. Thus the police, courts and prisons preserve this system of domestic monopoly-capitalist domination (federal death penalty sanctions, COINTELPRO, etc.). Also, it must be exposed how the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and the Department of Defense operate, and how the various branches of the judiciary create laws which undermine justice and equality and uphold the existing system of national and class oppression.

Domestically, the police, courts, and prisons are the primary institutions used to repress the social democratic and socialist aspirations of the mass and popular movement, prisons being the last rung in the ladder of judicial coercion. Political programs must, therefore, support the prison movement, calling for the

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release of political prisoners of war, the end of torture of captured revolutionaries, the abolition of capital punishment, and the end of prison slavery. They must further explain how the judicial process is inequitable, indicating how most laws serve to suppress the will of the oppressed masses' aspirations for social democracy and socialist freedom, and show how the police, courts and prisons are coercive bureaucracies of monopoly-capitalism. This will ultimately demystify the judicial process and will forge mass and popular consciousness to become fearless in confronting the State.

At this time the mass and popular movement is fractionalized on various issues subject to the socio-economic crisis, and the relationship of the crisis to a particular class or nationality. Such issues include: the struggle in the trade union industry; miners, farmers, teachers, social services, and industrial workers strikes; anti-nuclear issues; unemployment, the ERA, prisoners' involuntary servitude strikes, and various other civil rights issues. All of these are substantial concerns to many progressives and revolutionaries in many different ways. But factionalism tends to drain the oppressed masses' enthusiasm in struggle, ensuring their participation in struggle only when their livelihood is being jeopardized. This reaction to struggle can preserve competitiveness that will create and maintain divisions between classes and nationalities.

To remedy factionalism, the progressive and revolutionary forces must build national campaigns and mobilizations that develop anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, working class solidarity amongst the many progressive elements within the mass and popular movement. It is this revolutionary internationalist solidarity amongst the most progressive and revolutionary forces combating racist, capitalist-imperialism that will provide the impetus for greater unity through the entire mass and popular movement.

The mass and popular movement must evolve a national concept of itself, and become mobilized nationally towards specific goals and objectives. This concept and understanding should urge the class and national liberation struggle to confront the socio-economic and political crises of capitalist-imperialism. The struggle for the preservation and restoration of social democratic and civil rights must evolve towards a struggle for human rights.

Inevitably, the revolutionary struggle for human rights will

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develop the class and national liberation struggle toward the final and complete destruction of capitalist class exploitation and racist imperialist neo-colonial oppression.

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Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation

Author's Preface

In the last several years from many corners of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, there has been a clarion call for the building of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation – a revolutionary nationalist front to establish a movement for national independence, to free the national territory of Kush from the colonial (U.S.A.) government. This call has mostly come from BLA-POW's and their supporters who recognize the need to resurrect a militant resistance to continued national oppression, identifying the basis of our peoples' colonial subjugation as part of the anti-imperialist struggle being waged by Third World peoples in many parts of the world. Of course, this means we have to once again develop a militant political organization that would challenge U.S. colonialism and organize New Afrikans to offensively pursue the ultimate objective of national independence. This task has to be greater than a survival program pending revolution, as all survival programs are in essence defensive in posture, based on the ideal that to survive is to defend against attacks. But survival programs do not forge a movement, only sustain an existence.

Therefore, to build FROLINAN is to push forward the quest of national emancipation, as FROLINAN's national strategy is not based simply on survival pending revolution, but rather on building the revolution to survive. This position on survival is

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not relegated to a defensive posture, but develops an offensive Program for Decolonization, establishing a revolutionary theory and program to militantly fight for national independence.

I have taken the initiative to write this proposal and treaty for our numbers and revolutionary nationalists to build upon, for us to unite our forces under a single program and national strategy. Since the destruction of the Black Panther Party, our movement has fallen into the hands of passive resisters, losing its vitality, momentum and revolutionary fervor. It is now necessary to rekindle the spirit of militant resistance and rebuild our nationalist front, comprising the needed national organizations and programs that will ensure not only our survival, but also, our inevitable victory in establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

This document is presented for revolutionary nationalists to discuss and seek the means and methods to create conditions to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN. Of course, this is my conception of what needs to be done based on varied discussions amongst comrades, and basic analysis of the general situation of opportunism, liberalism, and sectarianism affecting our overall struggle. Therefore, this document is not all conclusive or inclusive of our needs in struggle; rather, it seeks to forge the basis to establish a durable foundation by which we may unite our talents and resources to build FROLINAN. Hence, this document is offered as a pivot to create the needed center of gravity from which we can rally our forces, and move forward in unity and struggle.

Based on the foregoing, I'm requesting of those receiving this document and who are able, to make copies and redistribute to those you believe might be interested in building FROLINAN. Furthermore, I'm requesting all authentic revolutionary nationalists to do the following upon review of this document:

1. Submit proposals to strengthen the basis to build FROLINAN, i.e., organizational structure, ideological format, political programs, etc.;
2. Establish a FROLINAN organizing cadre to build one of the Programs of Decolonization in your area, adopting FROLINAN's National Strategy;
3. Discuss this document with others, and contribute

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financially, materially, and personally to the National Strategy of FROLINAN.

In the near future, an effort will be made to organize a national congress/conference of revolutionary nationalists who have expressed an interest and commitment to build FROLINAN and support a particular aspect of the Program for Decolonization, to come together, and develop this revolutionary nationalist front.

Introductory Note

FROLINAN is initially a cadre organization of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, whose primary objective is to evolve a united strategy and direction amongst the many New Afrikan nationalist formations. This objective is to further enjoin New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists to accept a position within the front, to develop greater principled unity of action in the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM), in accordance with the National Strategy of FROLINAN.

There are many progressive and revolutionary organizations/parties/fronts in the NAIM of local, regional and national significance. FROLINAN recognizes each organization/party/front has a specific and general role in the NAIM, but it is our faith this role must be formulated in unity and struggle amongst our oppressed New Afrikan masses under the guidance of a single national strategy and program. We believe that with the tactical implementation of a national strategy, which embraces the specific and general cause of NAIM in theory and practice, the various organizations/parties/fronts will greatly enhance the overall development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

FROLINAN is characterized as a revolutionary nationalist front, recognizing the human and inalienable rights of New Afrikans to be free from racist colonialism, genocide, and imperialist national oppression/exploitation. It recognizes that New Afrikan "human rights" encompass the right to be self-governed and independent of the U.S. colonial government, thus, national rights in accordance with international law and politics.

The prerequisite for becoming a member of FROLINAN are as follows:

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1. Recognition of the existence of the New Afrikan Nation as an oppressed nation within the colonial government of the United States of America in the western hemisphere;
2. That the Republic of New Afrika is the name and government of the New Afrikan Nation, a government in exile, struggling for the liberation of the National Territory of Kush;
3. Acceptance of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, Creed and Code of Umoja;
4. Recognize and support the New Afrikan People Liberation Army (NAPLA) as the armed front of the New Afrikan Nation;
5. Support and work to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN as the legitimate representative of New Afrikan Independence Movement, and work to support all groups in alliance to FROLINAN;
6. Must be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist/fascist, pro-national independence, and willing to participate in the class and national liberation struggle for land (Kush) and social democracy;
7. Believe and have faith in the creative ingenuity, spiritual quality and humanity of our New Afrikan people and the historical, cultural, socio-economic, and political productivity of our struggle for national independence.

FROLINAN National Strategy is based on the Three Phase Theory for National Independence. It is our faith; this revolutionary theory is the criteria from which our revolutionary movement is to be organized. FROLINAN's National Strategy is exemplified in our Ten Point Platform, Theory, organizational Program for Decolonization, Strategy and Practice and will serve to manifest in reality the Ten Point Platform, a program accepted

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in principle by all members of FROLINAN.

We anticipate and work toward FROLINAN to develop into a mass-based revolutionary nationalist front, comprising national organizations and groups, to organize and mobilize our oppressed New Afrikan people for our inevitable independence.

HISTORICAL CONCEPTION AND OVERVIEW

We accept all aspects of our history from the beginning of civilization on the Afrikan continent, to the present stages of technological development of Afrikan nation-states, and the continued struggle of Afrikan people throughout the world against tyranny and imperialist oppression.

With this conception of history, we view the material basis in which history evolved to its present and ongoing developing modes of history, as Afrikan people relate and interrelate with one another, other people of color in the Third World, and the European races. This understanding and materialist outlook of history notes that dialectically, our present condition and struggle is based on our past experiences in a continuing development of an Afrikan history. The New Afrikan experience in America is not separate from the Afrikan experience on the continent; rather, they are linked in a chain of events which imposes socio-economic, political, and historical realities encompassing the criteria by which New Afrikan struggle for independence must be developed.

We call ourselves New Afrikan because of the degree of force breeding and miscegenation we as a people have suffered, as well as cultural imperialism – the psychological plunder and rape of our affinity to Afrika – stripping away our Afrikan language, art and world outlook and national oppression, which in our efforts to combat have created a national heritage rich in resistance based on two ideals of integration and/or separation.

These experiences left us stripped of our Afrikanist perspective despite miscegenation and cultural imperialism, encompassing those experiences into an Afrikan national heritage in diaspora, creating the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

This conception of history in a dialectical materialist perspective provides the means to formulate a program and strategy to conquer racist oppression and national subjugation, utilizing the truth of our entire history as a guide to enlighten our

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practice. For instance, in terms of a (foreign) policy of Afrikan intercommunalism with our people on the Afrikan continent, it is essential to know what our relationship had been in history – providing a substantial foundation to develop principled relations today. For New Afrikans it is important to know that slavery did not begin as an American phenomenon; rather, American chattel slavery of Afrikans is a direct outgrowth of Afrikans enslaving Afrikans on the Afrikan continent. Many of our ancestors had been enslaved by Afrikans due to internecine struggles, border wars of territorial imperative amongst tribes and wars of aggression between Afrikan nation-states. The prisoners of war, and/or because of debt, were placed in bondage and often sold or traded. When the Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, British, etc.) made contact with Northern and Western coastal areas of Afrika, they not only raided villages and kidnapped Afrikans, but more often and productively (numerically) brought already enslaved Afrikans from Afrikan chieftains and traders. Hence, for the most part, our existence in the western hemisphere is as much a consequence of Afrikan history as it is of European history.

Thus, as we conceive ourselves in history, we must place responsibility of our condition in context to the actual historical development leading to our present situation. In this regard, we don't expect assistance from our Afrikan brother nations simply because we are of one people – only separated by distance – but because history demands recompense for a people (New Afrikans) whose existence and suffering is based on our unfortunate relation in the history of slavery mutual to us all, and the commonality of our fight against a mutual enemy: imperialism. This same conception and relation to history is binding on any relationship established with other past enslavers, such as the Dutch, Portuguese, British, Spanish, etc.

As we struggle against continued U.S. colonization, New Afrikans must have a determined sense of history in regard to the New Afrikan Nation relationship to the world. Without this common national consciousness and perception of our existence, based on history, our practice will continue to be confused and chaotic, without historical continuity which serves to give practical guidance on the road to independence. As an oppressed nation, we have a rich history of resistance to bondage: revolts on slave ships during the middle passage; revolts and rebellions for hundreds of years on slave plantations; fighting for freedom in the War of Independence, War of 1812, and the Civil War; and fighting in the

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U.S. Army in the name of U.S. democracy (hypocrisy) can also be considered part of the national determination to be free.

We preserve four epochs in our history as indicative of our struggle to be free of U.S. national subjugation and colonial domination. After the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the 13th Amendment in 1865, and the Civil War having ended barbaric chattel slavery, the 14th Amendment stripped Afrikans in America of their land (provided by Field Order No. #15) and imposed American citizenship on these Afrikan nationals as this country entered a period defined as reconstruction and the industrial revolution. This was a period when the slavocracy gave birth to mercantile capitalism; the gross surplus of such commodities as cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., produced from slave labor in the South provided economic-textile-industrial growth and development in northern states. Reconstruction found millions of New Afrikans either re-enslaved by the vestiges of the Black Code-Law to sharecropping, unemployment, and landless, or migrating north in search of educational and employment opportunities. But the Hayes-Tilden agreement restored racist national oppression and colonial domination prevailed with terrorist KuKluxKlan raids, race riots (white against Blacks), mob violence, lynching of New Afrikans in the north and south.

In 1905, the Niagara Movement was consummated. We recognized the Niagara Movement as a significant epoch in our continued struggle for independence. The Niagara Movement was not the first time New Afrikans organized themselves, as there had been many abolitionist groups comprised of "freedmen" of Afrikan decent. But the Niagara Movement marks a stage in which, under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois, they developed a concept and an organization which prevails today. The concept of integration comprehensively evolved during the Niagara Movement by DuBois, and is adamantly held today by the NAACP, which came into existence out of the Niagara Movement in 1910, with DuBois as a founding member and incorporator. It was DuBois who forged the conceptual appeal of Pan-Afrikanism during this time; while the NAACP up until 1940 had campaigned for anti-lynch legislation, and from 1950 to present campaigned for desegregation, integration and civil rights.

The second epoch of historical importance was the 1920 Marcus Garvey "Back to Afrika" movement. This movement which has yet to be surpassed, appealed to and organized millions of New Afrikans, and established national pride and dignity

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directly associated with the Afrikan continent. Although the Back to Afrika movement only lasted until 1925, when viewed in juxtaposition and in historical continuity to the Niagara Movement and Pan Afrikanist ideas developing at the time, the thread of struggle and our peoples' conscious determination to be free of colonial domination becomes very significant.

The third epoch is divided into two distinct and interdependent parts as they actualized the first and second epochs in character and content. The Elijah Muhammad Nation of Islam movement, which came into existence in the 1940s but had not come into national prominence until the 1960s, developed many of the separatist ideals held by the Marcus Garvey movement; it generally appealed to those who had been adherents of the separatist movement of Marcus Garvey. In the 1960s, Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik Shabazz) brought the Nation of Islam separatist movement into national attention, recruitment reported to be approximately 1 million "Black Muslims" by some estimates. Elijah Muhammad called for the separation of Blacks (New Afrikans) into a government of their own in the South Black Belt, basing his program on mystified interpretation of Islam and Black "self help" economics (the principle now adopted as Black capitalism).

During this same epoch, in 1955, the so-called civil rights movement was launched, with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. as its primary leader and spokesperson. Given the political character and objective of Martin L. King, Jr.'s movement, it ushered the line and principle of struggle first established in the Niagara Movement. The principle organizations of this course of struggle were SCLC, NAACP, Urban League, CORE and SNCC – all working in a united front strategy for desegregation, integration and civil rights. Politically, this movement could actually be defined as a negro-bourgeoisie-democratic revolution. It attacked and did battle with the essential foundation and cornerstone of colonial domination of New Afrikans in America – racism and national oppression. The civil rights movement sought the fruition of democratic civil rights guaranteed to whites to be equally administered to Black people. It was a nationally organized movement, which put in motion masses of people in freedom rides, sit-ins and marches, which precipitated the eventful call for "Black Power," a nationalist political consciousness, resulting in riots and rebellions across the country.

The dialectical (unity and struggle of opposites) relationship

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between the Elijah Muhammad separatist and Martin L. King, Jr. integrationist movement, preserved in historical continuity the ideals of both the Marcus Garvey separatist and W.E.B. DuBois integrationist movement, forging the cause of struggle toward a synthesis of ideals first espoused with the cry and birth pains of "Black Power."

The fourth epoch, an outgrowth of the proceeding era, adopted the synthetic conception of Black Power, uniting the symbolic determination of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Malcolm X Black Nationalist ideas in the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was established in 1966, and in 1967 Black Panthers captured national attention by entering the California state capital hearing on gun control, carrying rifles and shotguns, calling for community control of police, self-defense, and Black political power. Even though, during this period, there had been other Black nationalist groups and formations (ie., RNA, JOMO, Deacons for Defense and Justice, RAM, APP, etc.) that evolved out of the negro-bourgeois-democratic revolution, none made such an indelible historic impression on the developing struggle like the Black Panther Party. From its inception, the BPP had considered the necessity for armed struggle to wrestle Black power from the U.S. white power structure. The BPP developed the Black underground which evolved into the Black Liberation Army – a clandestine network of armed urban guerrillas. It had been the BPP that first raised the concept of class struggle, introducing and infusing the ideology of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung thought with the Black nationalist ideas of Malcolm X in accordance with the concrete realities of the struggle taking shape in Black (New Afrikan) ghettos/communities across the country. With its Ten Point Platform and Program, the BPP attempted to manifest Black political power on the basis of community control as a tactical objective toward the strategic goal of total independence.

By 1967, the colonial government (U.S.A.) had directed its attention and COunter INTELLIGENCE PROgram (COINTELPRO) on the BPP/BLA and other nationalist formations as the RNA. This counter-revolutionary action by the government was implemented with the intent to discredit, disrupt and destroy the BPP with murderous raids, infiltration, and provocation. In a four-year battle with the police, by 1971, the BPP had been significantly subverted on a national level, whereupon by 1973, the BPP was in all actuality defunct. This inevitably led to the defeat and decimation of the BLA as a fighting clandestine urban

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guerrilla network.

It is these four epochs in the continuing struggle of New Afrikans for political power and independence that are of great significance. They had the greatest influence and impact on New Afrikans nationally in juxtaposition with our relationship to the enemy colonial (U.S.A.) government. We accept these four epochs as the foundation in which current and future development in the New Afrikan Independence Movement will be objectively molded, shaped, and forged to victory.

History shows us that there are two basic direct and distinct lines and influences in the New Afrikan peoples' struggle for political power and self-determination. Our oppressed people have fought for integration and civil rights, and we've fought for independence and human rights. It is these two directions that characterize any real differences in our peoples' aspiration to be free of racist colonial domination. Furthermore, it will be integration verses independence that will be a determinative aspect for the building of national unity amongst New Afrikans to engage the colonial (U.S.A.) government for political power and self-determination in the future. This understanding of history and the ideological-political forces that have shaped our struggle, provides conscious and deliberate activity to combat national oppression and colonialism, with the continuity of preserving history and the mode of struggle toward independence. We of FROLINAN must take a stand on the side of independence, and in doing so, give recognition to those forces who are currently making history in building the independence movement. We recognize the organization of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika for its contribution, but not necessarily to subordinate ourselves to its current strategy and program in the movement. We therefore reserve the right to formulate a revolutionary theory, strategy, and program to educate, organize, and mobilize New Afrikans toward national emancipation, and unite our strategy and program of action with other New Afrikan revolutionary forces who are also fighting for independence, not excluding the present Republic of New Afrika Provisional Government.

FROLINAN recognizes and understands the history of resistance our oppressed nation has fought in both the integrationist and separatist movements. But because we believe in our inalienable human rights, as a nation of people, to be self-governed; and because we are anti-capitalist-imperialist, we find

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no practical basis, in accordance to our history, to integrate in this colonial (U.S.A.) government. Therefore, we will concentrate our energies in preserving our nation peoples' history to separate, to establish an independent self-governed socio-economic, political and cultural-sovereign nation in the western hemisphere.

A REVOLUTIONARY CLASS PERSPECTIVE

In Refutation of Black Capitalism

Since the advent of the government-sponsored Economic Opportunity Commission and the various poverty programs instituted as a result of the Black insurrections during the 1960s, the quest for Black capitalism as an integral part of the freedom struggle surged as the political, socio-economic alternative to White capitalism and exploitation – and established a unique obstacle before the New Afrikan revolution. By 1970, the U.S. government managed to consolidate a national bourgeoisie neo-colonial class comprised of Black businessmen, civil rights leaders and elected officials. In the process of this development, evolved a Black middle class whose political alliance remained with the oppressed Black masses and who recognized a political responsibility that in essence contradicts the economic realities of Black capitalism. They now find themselves at a loss to the real ideals, programs, and objectives of the Black struggle. While the national bourgeoisie aspires integration and assimilation into the mainstream of monopoly capitalism, the Black middle class, petty bourgeoisie are split in their socio-political aspirations, although economically, the Black middle class can't afford to negate their tie to the system of national oppression without forfeiting material advantage and livelihood. But as the crises of monopoly capitalism worsens (inflation/recession), the existence of the Black middle class is threatened, as the national bourgeoisie intensifies their integrationist program on the deaf ear of the U.S. conservatism. The overall roll-back of affirmative action and economic programs that served the needs of the Black masses during the late 60s and throughout the 70s, provides the basis in which the New Afrikan (Black) revolution will be mounted; the socio-economic contradiction between the owners of the means of production (ruling class imperialists) and the laborers (managers and manual labor) becoming antagonistic – the principle ideal of Black capitalism in juxtaposition in capitalist imperialism is

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refuted.

From a New Afrikan revolutionary nationalist analysis of the developing struggle, dialectical historical materialism must be the basis in which such an analysis serves to manifest an ideology, theory and political program that will strengthen the socio-economic and political determination of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. In this way, the New Afrikan revolution will not become short-sighted and bend to reformist concessions the national bourgeoisie neo-colonialist, in behalf of their class interest and the interest of colonialism, may throw in the path of the revolution via the Black middle class (petty bourgeoisie and working class). Hence, this New Afrikan revolutionary nationalist analysis must be a class analysis of national significance. It then becomes first to identify the classes of neo-colonial oppression: the national Black bourgeoisie, neo-colonialists are identified as those business people/corporations such as Johnson Publication and Products, Motown music/movie industry, etc. whose economic policy in class collaboration and collusion with monopoly capitalism serves as financiers to political entities/individuals who espouse the neo-colonialist dictates of integration and assimilation. Those socio-political personages of the national bourgeoisie are identified as the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Rev. Benjamin Hooks, Rev. Leon Sullivan, Ron Brown, Clarence Thomas, Kwasi Mfume, Colin Powell, Percy Sutton, Coretta S. King, Dorothy Haight, Eleanor Holmes-Norton, and other such national neo-colonist representatives.

These individuals and organizations maintain direct ties to the colonial (U.S.A.) government in their relationship to the oppressed neo-colony and espouse the socio-political illusion of integration-assimilation and non-violent struggle for Black survival in racist-imperialist America. They are the bulwark of neo-colonialist leaders who serve the colonial government by institutionalizing the concept of gradualism, reformism, and Black capitalism as the socio-economic policy for political struggle by the oppressed New Afrikan masses. Their entire program is based on acculturation, assimilation and integration on a monopoly-capitalist platform. Such a program has influenced the established Black middle class-petty bourgeoisie skilled laborers in their efforts to gain material wealth and status in the colonial system of oppression. In many cases, the petty bourgeoisie comes face to face with racist institutions and standards (ie., housing, employment, promotions, etc.) that cause them to reconsider

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socio-politically the aspects in which acculturation, integration and assimilation are realistic. But because of their socio-economic ties to the system of oppression, they aren't totally able or willing to sever their relationship and join the oppressed New Afrikan masses in the national independence movement.

Hence, the Black (upper) middle class attempts to employ a *cultural identity* to the development of Black capitalism, which is progressive in form and reactionary in content. This bourgeoisie cultural nationalism has evoked socio-economically an exploitative relationship to the oppressed neo-colony by developing Black business, employment, etc., in the Black community but taking the profit out of the community, while politically they espouse Black community self-control in which Black capitalists and politicians will overwhelmingly benefit. Their most recent scheme to enhance this development is the building of a National Black Independent Political Party.

The question of a National Black Independent Political Party as elucidated by the Black bourgeoisie cultural nationalists (upper and middle class) would consolidate in a program for independent Black Capitalism and conformity to white capitalism/imperialism, thus a neo-colonial relationship to colonial (U.S.A.) rulers. The political determination of the National Black Independent Political Party as developed by the National Black Political Assembly, would seek to compete with the Democratic and Republican Party (s), running Black politicians for various local (mayoral, governor), regional (congress, senate), and national (President) offices and fight for federal funds, laws and policy in response to the needs of the New Afrikan neo-colony, and/or against U.S. foreign policy to Afrika. Whereupon, the need for such a National Black Independent Political Party is real, the political goal and direction of this party cannot be based on the development of Black capitalism nor hold to a concept of co-existence to imperialism. The Black middle class, petty bourgeoisie cultural nationalist, economic and political aspiration as currently forged is progressive in form by collecting and consolidating our talented, educated, and skilled Black people in a national formation to supposedly represent the interests of the oppressed New Afrikan masses. It is reactionary in content by developing Black capitalism intricately tied to U.S. monopoly capitalism, since Black capitalism would rely on capitalist-imperialism for its own growth and development, strengthening a neo-colonial relationship to the oppressed New Afrikan masses

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who are a colonized nation. Hence, Black capitalism perpetuates class division, exploitation of New Afrikans, and neo-colonial subjugation to U.S. imperialism.

It can hereby be determined, the Black middle class petty bourgeoisie cultural nationalist can be allied to the New Afrikan working class upon realizing Black capitalism is a tool of the colonial ruling class oppressors, utilized by their neo-colonialist agents, the national Black bourgeoisie. Furthermore, where Black capitalism is tied to monopoly capitalism and imperialism, its existence and development is based on the existence and development of imperialism, and imperialism is based on colonial domination of oppressed people-nations. Thus, socio-economically and politically Black capitalism is a neo-colonialist institution demanding continued Black exploitation and colonial oppression domestically and U.S. imperialist expansion in the Third World.

THREE PHASE THEORY FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

With a full understanding of our history in relationship to the colonial (U.S.A.) government and its economic system of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, we are then able to develop a practical theory to formulate a decisive working strategy by which to educate, organize and mobilize our oppressed New Afrikan Nation for complete sovereignty and independence. It is important that recognition is given to our task for a social, political, economic and cultural perspective. That we totally commit ourselves to an arduous struggle for national emancipation and liberation, allowing absolutely nothing from preventing our success and freedom from racist colonial and neo-colonial subjugation.

Our Three Phase Theory for National Independence is based on the historical manifestation of our national oppression in racist-capitalist America. This theory negates nothing from our history although it establishes its pragmatic foundation on prevailing conditions, and moves from these conditions, building conceptual understanding of how our practice must conform to given realities, if we are to be free. The Three Phase Theory for National Independence is based on the principles of dialectical materialism, determining the need of both class and national struggle.

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1. We recognize we are a subjugated and oppressed colonized nation in the imperialist government of the United States of America;
2. That racist national oppression and monopoly-capitalism are the two all pervasive means in which U.S. imperialism maintains a colonial stranglehold on the New Afrikan nation, with miscegenation, acculturation, assimilation, individualism, sexism and competition being the character of control and our super-exploitation;
3. Our colonial condition is reinforced by the institutionalization of class-divisions and neo-colonial control by members of the New Afrikan Nation;
4. That the New Afrikan Nation is entitled to restitution-reparation from the U.S. government for four (4) centuries of colonial domination, including monetary compensation, land, machinery (industrial and technological), and military equipment to establish our sovereignty and security to defend against future aggression;
5. As an oppressed nation of colonized people, we are the third largest nation of Afrikan people in the western hemisphere. We have a population of 30+ million with a purchasing power of \$250 to \$350 billion and must be afforded international recognition and status in both the United Nations and the Organization of Afrikan Unity.

FIRST PHASE

Class Struggle for National Unity

It is first important to identify the various classes in which national unity is to be brought. We recognize the fact that the New Afrikan people are a colonized nation in the United States. We also recognize that New Afrikans' colonization is one of race

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and class oppression. The division of oppression between Euro-Americans and New Afrikans is buffeted by a system of neo-colonization established and maintained by members of the New Afrikan Nation who are in essence neo-colonialist agents of the oppressor nation government.

These neo-colonialists are the National Bourgeoisie of the oppressed New Afrikan Nation. The national bourgeoisie are Black politicians and business people (capitalists) who are integrationist and assimilationist. They aspire (by policy-making in organizations) to have the oppressed New Afrikan people to integrate and assimilate into the government of oppression. This ideal, as it has been historically manifested, is in essence an illusion in which it is the national bourgeoisie who benefits, with token concessions from the colonial government, rewarded for their efforts to maintain order and control of the New Afrikan people. The national bourgeoisie are identified as leaders of the NAACP, PUSH, National Urban League, Congressional Black Caucus, Johnson Products, Motown, etc. All of them work in the interests of the colonial government and in their own interests, aspiring integration and assimilation into this system of capitalist-imperialism; and by seeking to stifle the militant struggle of the oppressed New Afrikan people for independence.

The political wing of the national bourgeoisie is financed by Black capitalists and liberal White institutions (ie≠. foundations) and corporate groups. Essentially they epitomize the structure of the colonial government by seeming to represent the interests of New Afrikan people. They attempt to persuade New Afrikans what is in their interest to struggle for or against in relationship to the policies of the colonial government. Their policy and interests are that of neo-colonial capitalists and intergrationists in relation to the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

Under the national bourgeoisie are the petty bourgeoisie (cultural nationalist) middle class. These are the skilled Black professionals and marginal small business people which can be divided into two segments in a socio-psychological conception, but are equally Black capitalist. On the one hand, there are assimilationists and integrationists who are in every way like the national bourgeoisie, and on the other hand there are the cultural nationalists. The middle class cultural nationalist attempts to maintain a Black social consciousness in terms of identifying with the New Afrikan oppressed masses, but because they are in essence capitalist, their aspirations as pseudo-nationalist is forsaken. They

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are economically and materially tied to the system of oppression, and these ties are manifested politically as they tend to support and enhance the prospects of neo-colonialism, ensuring Blacks are the representatives of Blacks, who are the representatives of the colonial (U.S.A.) government. As an example, they seek to establish an independent Black political party to compete with other capitalist (ruling class) political institutions. They work to broaden and secure their class and national interest, working within the legitimate confines and avenues the colonial government allows for a given class or nationality to address their problems and seek redress to disenfranchisement and aspects of colonial subjugation. Hence, they are in actuality social and political reformists, utilizing the oppression of the New Afrikan masses as stepping stones to assure their own security and survival as capitalists. They also support upward mobility of other aspiring Black capitalists from the lower classes, building and strengthening their class status in competition with white middle and upper class capitalists. They are the bulwark supporters of the national bourgeoisie, even though as social reformers, potentially, they are capable of developing national Black social consciousness to motivate and influence the New Afrikan peoples' struggle for the end of colonial oppression, if they were to confront the colonial government for national emancipation and independence.

The majority of New Afrikans are of the lower class, workers and laborers, the proletariat class. They are the semi skilled and manual laborers, the office and factory workers, etc., whose standard of living is just above or at poverty level, many of whom subsist on a combination of work, welfare (medical aid, social security or veterans benefits, etc.), and hustling. The Black proletariat suffers from the brunt of the socio-economic oppression of capitalist exploitation and are most politically disenfranchised by the system of colonial domination. In juxtaposition to neo-colonial class divisions within the New Afrikan Nation, the capitalist system employs racist national oppression as the primary mechanism to keep the aspirations of the Black proletariat in check. This racist national oppression is found in every vestige of a Black proletariat existence: in housing, employment, health, and social institutions. The colonial government maintains the policies and regulates when and how such living means are to be dispensed in the New Afrikan community and/or to the benefit of the Black proletariat. Racist national oppression and class division, serve to trap the Black proletariat in a socio-economic condition and

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level of subsistence where poverty is always close at hand. But, socio-politically, the Black proletariat aspires to an end to colonial domination and racist oppression, and not for such conditions to be covered up in Black face. They are not in essence capitalist, but rather, they recognize they live in a capitalist society, and thereby must live in accordance to the norms by which a livelihood can be maintained. When such conditions of oppression become unbearable, the Black proletariat and youth are more likely to rebel (riots, strikes, boycotts, etc.) and demonstrate their frustration and anger to continued exploitation and racism.

Beneath the Black working class are the subculture lumpen-proletariat, the unskilled and menial laborers whose primary means of subsistence is based on hustling (stealing drugs, thievery, prostitution, etc.), marginal employment, and welfare. For the most part, the socio-economic provisions within the subculture are maintained by the "illegitimate capitalist" activity of the lumpen-proletariat. In accordance with their aspirations to fulfill the social values of the bourgeoisie, they employ business acumen in criminal activity for subsistence and profit. As they seek material wealth and social status of the bourgeoisie within the confines of the subculture, they are in many cases politically reactionary, unconcerned with anything other than personal survival and individual gain. It is only when the lumpen-proletariat are educated and become politically aware of their socio-economic condition, that the possibility exists for them to become staunch supporters of the revolution, recognizing their dire standard of living is based wholly on the system of oppression they are desperately trying to emulate.

This brief description of the class breakdown of the oppressed New Afrikan Nation provides some indication as to why it is so difficult for the oppressed Black masses to challenge the government of oppression in unity and struggle. This also determines why the first phase of FROLINAN theoretical position is one in which struggle must commence within the class divisions of the neo-colony, before New Afrikans can adequately challenge the colonial government to bend to the will of the New Afrikan Nation for complete independence and sovereignty.

By comprehending the class divisions within the neo-colony, we find the particularity of the principle contradiction that exists between the neo-colony and the colonial government with its national and international ramifications. Essentially, the particularity of the contradiction is one between the direction of

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the liberation movement; is it for integration or independence from this capitalist-imperialist system of oppression? It is this contradiction within the movement that determines the necessity for class struggle within the New Afrikan Nation. Such a struggle is necessary to evolve unity toward a single and principled revolutionary program and strategy to confront the colonial government. The contradiction as it presently exists, between the forces of integration and the forces for independence, is one in which each is building ideological, political programs and direction within the objective reality of the fight for civil and human rights. At this point, the contradiction is not antagonistic, but rather one of co-existence and in some cases mutual cohesion and accountability. It is this aspect of mutual accountability, if continued in unprincipled class collaboration, that will prevent the forces for independence from building and sustaining a revolutionary movement for complete independence.

Thus, class struggle for national unity must begin by understanding the aspects of the particular contradiction existing between two contending forces within the neo-colony, and how these forces in unity and struggle dialectically attract and repel one another politically, and determine the basis of this relationship with the oppressed New Afrikan people in building and sustaining their aspiration to fight for independence. Here it can be said that the struggle must commence by drawing a line of demarcation between programs and objectives of the two forces in relation to the oppressed New Afrikan masses.

This line of demarcation must be forged through ideological and political struggle, as well as socio-economic programs addressing the concrete realities of the oppressed disenfranchisement. Where the forces of integration fight for civil rights, the forces for independence must fight for civil rights as minimum objectives to attain within the process of building towards complete emancipation. In so doing, the forces for independence must at times call on the forces of integration to do more, to fight harder, to make greater demands on the colonial government (ie., for Black community control) and when they fail to do this, to condemn them for national betrayal, class collaboration and collusion with the enemy government. When such demands are made on the national bourgeoisie, for them to become responsive to the demands being made by revolutionary forces (especially the working class), they will either have to capitulate and show the oppressed masses their true political

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nature, as boot-licking lackeys, or antagonize the principle contradiction existing between the neo-colony and the colonial government, leading to confrontation. This is the point in which class struggle for national unity broadens and strengthens the capacity for revolutionary forces to organize and mobilize the oppressed New Afrikan masses to support and fight for national liberation.

At this time, the forces of integration (ie., National Bourgeoisie) have for the most part the greater influence over the New Afrikan people, because they are recognized as the official leaders and speakers of the neo-colony by the colonialist, while the oppressed masses are, for the most part, politically-integrated into the working mechanism (Democratic and Republican Party or building a National Black Independent Political Party and as wage earners) of the system of oppression, and thereby provide the neo-colonialist a semblance of legitimacy as representatives. Hence, the purpose of class struggle within the neo-colony is to erode this ideal of legitimacy the neo-colonialist wields, expose their relationship as it exists. To expose the means and method in which the colonial government maintains control over the oppressed New Afrikan Nation, by causing the contradiction between the neo-colonial integrationist and the colonialist to become antagonistic.

The momentum of the class struggle for national unity is for revolutionary nationalist forces to build support of the independence movement by dissecting the prospects of integration into this capitalist system. Class divisions within the structural foundation of capitalism determine the essential basis by which the particular contradiction rests, which in and of itself indicates integration in this system would be to perpetuate class division and exploitation of the neo-colony. Thus, class struggle for national unity also holds the principle contradiction, whereby to end class divisions within the neo-colony would be to end the means and method of control and national oppression the neo-colony suffers by the system of capitalist colonial imperialism.

The class struggle will inevitably cause a contradiction to arise amongst the neo-colonialist and their supporters, and it will heighten political consciousness and combativeness amongst all classes within the neo-colony. The various segments of the middle class will split for and against the course of development between the national bourgeoisie of the neo-colony, and the revolutionary nationalist working class as epitomized by the forces for

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independence. The working class will gain a better understanding of the political determination of the movement, gaining a class consciousness that will reinforce their nationalist fervor. The lumpen-proletariat subculture will also gain a class consciousness in which they will come to understand that their survival and development are based on the fulfillment of the revolutionary nationalist direction of the independence movement. In this way, national unity can be attained and evolve to a level where a greater number of the oppressed New Afrikan people will support the endeavors of the forces for independence and become staunch supporters of the independence movement. In this way, national unity can be attained and evolve to a level where a greater number of the oppressed New Afrikan people will support the endeavors of the forces for independence and become staunch supporters of the independence movement.

It must also be stated, during the course of the class struggle for national unity, the enemy government will seek to preserve the legitimacy of the neo-colonialist. They will afford them greater amounts of visibility in the media, become more politically friendly, give larger concessions and authority to command the mode and direction of the struggle. This is why it is so important that revolutionary nationalist forces make their programs for Black community control known amongst the New Afrikan people (especially the working class). They must diligently, relentlessly and vigorously challenge the national bourgeoisie civil rights program as minimum demands, insufficient to the needs of the New Afrikan Nation.

At first, the class struggle may appear to be divisive, but only until lines of demarcation have been drawn between two contending forces and directions in the neo-colony struggle for self determination and independence. Thereby, class struggle for national unity becomes an essential part of the liberation movement, a fight for Black community control, a part in which the particularities of the contradiction of class divisions within the neo-colony become a motivating factor by which the principle contradiction between the neo-colony and the colonial government becomes acute and antagonistic, and separation/independence become the ultimate goal to attain in a revolutionary nationalist struggle between the nationally-oppressed and the national oppressor.

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SECOND PHASE

National Unity for Self Government

Within the development of the first phase lies the seed of the second phase, the phase whereby national unity has been attained for the ideals of the independence movement. It then becomes possible to challenge the colonial government with a single national program to make concrete our immediate demands as expressed during the first phase in terms of civil and human rights. The concrete social and political struggle of the New Afrikan peoples' fight for self determination is characterized in economic and political terms of self government.

Hence, it can be established that the first phase is one in which the revolutionary nationalist forces fight to win the oppressed New Afrikan masses to support Black community control in the independence movement. The programs and struggle for civil and human rights are tactical initiatives to build and sustain the movement on the socio-economic level, while ideologically and politically the class struggle evolves political class consciousness on a national level to the ideals of independence and self government.

Thereby, the New Afrikan Nation has become educated and organized into a national liberation front, a united front in national unity, and in the second phase, they are mobilized for self-determination and self-government. Our national unity is decisive; it is our strength and foundation for the future, and our fight for self government is pre-requisite to total and complete independence. Encompassing this theory for emancipation is the objective and concrete realities of the fight for civil and human rights as expressed in the first phase. It is manifested, and the fertilization of the seed for independence as planted in the first phase – class struggle for national unity – is then cultivated in the second phase, national unity for self government, and will be harvested in the last phase.

The political programs of FROLINAN in national unity for self-government is to cement the struggle for independence. To demand of control of the socio-economic and political institutions in the ghettos/barrios of the urban and rural areas where New Afrikan people comprise the majority, independent of the federal colonial (U.S.A.) government control. To strengthen and intensify the political struggle between the nationally oppressed and the

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national oppressor and to socio-economically consolidate the prospects for national independence are the basic conditions by which the movement will evolve qualitatively in both the national and international political arena. This leads to the principle contradiction of two antagonistic, contending political forces and national wills. The demand and struggle for complete control of institutions, resources and the wealth of the oppressed nation will be the character of the second phase. It then becomes essential at this phase to call for the assistance of FROLINAN international supporters, to support and assist in the socio-economic and political objectives in building New Afrikan communities independent of the colonial government. But at the same time, it will be incumbent upon the colonial (U.S.A.) government to preserve a practical relationship with the New Afrikan Nation, a relationship of economic and political co-existence and interdependence. Hence, we see the dialectics of unity and struggle of opposites in the principle contradiction, between two contending forces and nationals.

Thus, this second phase is a prerequisite to national independence. It is a phase in which the New Afrikan Nation begins to formulate the means and method of self-government in the geographical areas where New Afrikans constitute the majority: to control and direct the resources, labor, institutions and wealth which determines the extent of their livelihood. The demands of civil and human rights as applicable to these social, political, and economic conditions will preserve the growth and development of the liberation movement, as New Afrikans become self-determinative in manifesting their future on all fronts. The federal colonial government will be called upon to relinquish taxation on New Afrikans so that this tax money will be redistributed in accordance to the needs of the New Afrikan Nation communities, and for the establishment of the New Afrikan sovereignty. It will also be called for the building of the New Afrikan security force/military; for the construction of New Afrikan industries in the national territory of Kush, building a national economic system to support the autonomous regions (New Afrikan communities) across the country and developing economic ties internationally; to demand the release of New Afrikan prisoners to support the building of the New Afrikan Nation in both rural and urban areas; to organize a national plebescite and vote for independence; to be monitored by the United Nations and Organization of Afrikan Unity; to demand reparations for slave labor of over 400 years

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and damages for colonial exploitation and domination at cost of \$500 million at 6% semi-annual interest, since 1865 to the present. These and other aspects of FROLINAN's national political program will become the predominant objective to raise in confrontation with the colonial government in national unity for self-government.

In this way, the New Afrikan people will consolidate their national aspirations to be independent of racist, national oppression and capitalist-imperialist exploitation. While the first phase is to win the minds of New Afrikan people in national unity to the concept of Black community control, and an end to class divisions and neo-colonialism; the second phase is to mobilize the body of New Afrikans to become self-determinative, self-governed, and bring an end to colonial domination toward the ultimate goal of national independence.

THIRD PHASE

Self Government for National Independence

The first two phases were for building the movement and consolidating it – where New Afrikan people comprise the majority geographically – establishing a national political consciousness, socio-economic and cultural development for national independence. The third phase, Self-Government for National Independence, is to fight for the national territory of Kush, to win the war and free the land.

It can be easily determined based on this proposition that the third phase depends much on the success of the first two phases. Once FROLINAN has established a revolutionary nationalist social consciousness amongst the oppressed masses to want and fight for control of the Black community and further consolidate this social and political consciousness toward self-government, the prospects of substantiating the ultimate goals of national independence become more realistic and plausible in the overall scheme of this undertaking. Each step is a tactical initiative within a national strategy, each tactical initiative being strategically developed to formulate the necessary socio-economic, political, and cultural ingredients into a national program in which the various segments of the independence movement can fulfill.

The third phase is the final stage, to mobilize the entire nation to free the land, employing all the resources available to the

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movement in challenging the colonial government for complete independence. The goal is to recover the territory the oppressed nation once occupied and controlled by its labor and ownership of the land granted by the government when it first freed New Afrikans from chattel slavery in 1863. This is the phase in which the national aspirations of New Afrikans, as determined through the course of the struggle, will be called to task to wrestle the national territory from the colonial government. The mobilization of New Afrikans will be in national demonstrations, and strangling the economic development of the colonial government, as well as intensifying the guerrilla war in both urban and rural areas, gaining international support on the specific objectives of national independence.

This is a time when the call will be made for mass migration to Kush and where economic, social, and political development will concentrate in the national territory. The transferring of economic and political resources and finances from out of the autonomous regions to the national territory will create a social, economic, and political upheaval for the colonial government, greater than the struggles created in the first two phases. It will cause a major shift in the relationship of the autonomous regions with the colonial government in each area, diffusing and disrupting what may have been tentatively secured economic and political areas of co-existence between the colonial government and New Afrikan communities (or Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and FROLINAN).

Of course, this fight for Kush cannot be fully developed until the course of the struggle for self government has evolved the mechanisms and institutions for governmental organization of national magnitude with international recognition; providing the essential tasks of a government in all socio-economic and political fronts, such as in agriculture, industries (for food and employment), for national security, etc. It cannot be expected of New Afrikans to sacrifice beyond the exercise and expectations of a government to provide stable livelihood for its nationals. Hence, the reasons for the first two phases, in which New Afrikans will be organized in national unity and self government, utilizing the skills and resources within the oppressed nation, establishing a national social consciousness and political determination for the inevitable fight to free the land. Thereby, the first two phases line up the social, economic, and political aspects of the struggle in a strategic position to challenge the colonial government

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weaknesses. In so doing, FROLINAN will establish the criteria by which the sacrifices for the fight for national independence will be minimized. It will then maximize the prospects of securing a liberated New Afrikan government in the national territory, having the government of New Afrika function with as much efficiency as possible arising out of the national liberation struggle.

Thus, self-government for national independence, the third phase of this theory, strategically is the phase in which all others work to accomplish: the point in the national liberation struggle where New Afrikans are in a position of strength beyond the capacity of the colonial government to destroy the independence movement. The seed of independence planted in the first phase and cultivated in the second phase will have blossomed in the third phase in which national independence will become an accomplished reality.

In conclusion, this theoretical proposition determines the need of the national liberation struggle, first by recognizing and organizing the New Afrikan Nation on the ideal of national independence, having our talented, skilled and educated return to the Black communities; then by having them to live, work, and build the political and social movement in the Black community under the guiding principles of class struggle for national unity; and finally by developing a political and socio-economic foundation toward self sufficiency and self reliance amongst the New Afrikan people on the principle of national unity for self government.

This course of struggle will assure the independence movement will not become subjugated to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. FROLINAN will not hold the class and national struggle of New Afrikans in abeyance or subject to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. FROLINAN maintains the New Afrikan Independence Movement is independent of and held in juxtaposition to the class struggle of Euro-Americans. Thereby, the fulfillment of this proposition does not negate a relationship with the class struggle of Euro-Americans, but rather bases such a relationship on the political determination of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and not in reverse. Furthermore, FROLINAN holds that building the national liberation struggle is to free New Afrikans socio-psychologically, socio-economically, politically and culturally from neo-colonialism as a particular aspect of the principle struggle to end colonial domination. The course of the struggle for self-government for national

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independence is to free the land – the national territory of Kush.

This theoretical proposition is not all encompassing addressing the current direction and sectarian condition of the national liberation struggle as it exists at this time. What is elucidated herein, is the position of FROLINAN to provide a motivating factor in which to play down sectarianism and heighten the prospect of united action amongst the many revolutionary nationalist organizations across the country. Such united actions that will embrace the New Afrikan Nation in national unity toward the objective goal of self government as prerequisite to national independence. Therefore, it is FROLINAN's position, this theoretical proposition attaches to the national liberation movement a concept for the development of a national strategy. A national strategy which all authentic revolutionary nationalist organizations must embrace and fulfill under the auspices of FROLINAN in unity and struggle. It is this concept for the development of a national liberation strategy which will build, strengthen and fortify the national liberation struggle. It is based on the revolutionary principle that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

Here rests the theoretical proposition to build and sustain a revolutionary movement – the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

NATIONAL STRATEGY

Basic Aim and Objectives Program for Decolonization

The national strategy's basic aims and objectives are to establish a Program for Decolonization that encompasses the strategic and tactical goals of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It is within the development of a Program for Decolonization that national liberation will be accomplished. The Program for Decolonization must afford a tactical initiative attacking the social, political, economic, and cultural manifestation of disenfranchisement New Afrikans suffer as a neo-colony, and it seeks the means to rid New Afrikans of oppression, strategically leading to national independence.

The Program of Decolonization is a program for national liberation and a strategy in the independence movement to be fulfilled tactically by the various members of FROLINAN and New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists across the country. We therefore

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call for the establishment of several national organizations to be constructed under the auspices of FROLINAN.

NATIONAL UNION OF NEWAFRIKAN WORKERS

The National Union of New Afrikan Workers (NUNAW) is a national network of New Afrikan political activists in urban and rural areas, who function on the organizing principle of FROLINAN in the work-place (industries, companies, manufacturers, office workers, etc.). Their primary goal and objective is to raise the political consciousness of New Afrikan workers to the socio-economic condition inherent in the system of monopoly capitalism. In so doing, they will organize New Afrikan workers into labor federations, who will call for the implementation of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization at the workplace.

It will be the responsibility of NUNAW to address the problems of affirmative action in the work-place, to call for owners of the means of production to relinquish profits for the development of New Afrikan communities, and have them not engage in economic ventures in reactionary Afrikan countries. NUNAW will also be responsible for establishing a national body of workers in a union formation to fortify the political thrust of the independence movement in the economic sphere. On the rural front, NUNAW will be responsible for organizing agrarian collectives and co-ops, and for establishing rural industries.

Eventually, it will be the responsibility to NUNAW to develop a national economic system as a foundation for the liberated national territory of KUSH and the establishment of the New Afrikan Nation. Hence, NUNAW is the backbone of the independence movement in building and strengthening the class struggle for national unity, by organizing the Black proletariat under the auspices of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization.

Furthermore, because of the role NUNAW will play in support of New Afrikan workers, it has the potential to become the most powerful sector within the New Afrikan communities across the country. As New Afrikans are victims of inequality in the economic system of monopoly capitalism, they have often organized separately on the job to advance their interests and protect their rights. New Afrikan workers in general, and those who are employed by multi-national corporations in particular,

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should be organized around demands that more jobs be made available to our people by cutting back in the use of cheap labor abroad. New Afrikan workers should be organized against state and federal government sanctions allowing multi-national corporations to hire foreign workers abroad at less than the national minimum wage required by state and federal law in the U.S. There should be a minimum wage hiring act that applies to all U.S.-owned business and corporations and that applies to all employees on their payroll regardless of territory. These aims can be furthered through the following demands:

1. Call for rank and file democratic & control of the unions currently in existence and for the elimination of all racial practices in the labor movement. Equal rights for all New Afrikan workers.
2. Call the preferential hiring and advancement of New Afrikan workers and free access to apprentice training programs, the skilled trades and higher paying supervisory posts in affirmative action.
3. Call for an escalator clause in all union contracts to assure automatic wage adjustment to keep up with the rising cost of living (inflation/recession).
4. Call for a shorter work week at standard living wages allowing the means for unemployed to gain employment, preserving the need of productivity.
5. Call for speedier grievance procedures and safety inspection with no restrictions on the right to strike.
6. Call for the complete independence of unions from government interference. Repeal of all anti-labor laws. End prisoners' slavery and uphold their right to unionize.

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7. Call for the establishment of a national import quota on products made by foreign corporations outside the U.S. territory, a balance in import/export trade.
8. Call for workers' control of industry through factory committees elected by the workers on the job.
9. Call for big business taxes to subsidize New Afrikan community projects, ie., health clinics, child day care centers, drug rehabilitation programs, prisoners parole training programs, senior citizen day care programs, etc.
10. Call for multi-national corporations in conjunction with the U.S. government to give reparations to the New Afrikan Nation by subsidizing industrial construction and agricultural development in the New Afrikan Nation.

These democratic demands within the Program for Decolonization build the foundation in which FROLINAN political activists can organize New Afrikan workers in NUNAW, and have NUNAW become a motivating factor in building the class struggle for national unity in the independence movement.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF NEW AFRIKAN STUDENTS

The National Alliance of New Afrikan Students (NANAS) is a national network of New Afrikan student groups and activists functioning under the auspices of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization. It will be the responsibility of NANAS to formulate a national direction on school campuses across the country, to support the development on the New Afrikan Independence Movement; to have New Afrikan history programs established, taught and maintained by professionals who are in support of the independence movement; and to have New Afrikan students become more aware of their responsibility in the independence movement, by organizing tutoring courses in high school, and building liberation schools in the ghetto/barrio.

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It is important that New Afrikan students know they are the future of the independence movement and essentially are the principle leaders of the movement. With this understanding, they will be able to apply themselves in education and in other extracurricular activity to the well-being of the movement and the security of the Nation. Students must recognize that their education is not solely for individual gain and pleasure, but rather, for the building of minds to serve the movement and the Nation. They must become politically aware of their relationship to the Nation, and it is the responsibility of NANAS to assure New Afrikan students are organized in support of FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization. This program dealing in the area of education will allow NANAS to become the motivating factor in assuring its development and success. The following are the NANAS program:

1. Election of community control boards to supervise schools in the New Afrikan community.
2. Establish an educational system and curriculum which meets the needs of New Afrikan children, prepares them for the future in economic and technical skills and technical security of the New Afrikan Nation, and gives them a knowledge of themselves and an understanding of the true history and culture of Afrikan people.
3. To involve parents in every phase of school life as part of the development of community involvement in the political life of the independence movement.
4. Under the direction of FROLINAN to support a program to train Black academicians, historians (so-called) intellectuals, and administrators in the principles and policy of class and national liberation struggle, and the objective of community control of the education system.
5. To support FROLINAN's position that community groups should be entitled to use school facilities to promote activities for the benefit of the community and the independence

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movement.

6. In support of FROLINAN's direction, to call for the dismissal of all school officials who victimize or insult students or racial groups, or are found to be directly in cahoots with the colonial government efforts to suppress FROLINAN's education Program for Decolonization.
7. Support the establishment of community liberation schools to introduce special tutoring programs for all students who have fallen behind in their studies and to offer a full program of adult education to teach the political motives and direction of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the prospect of a national social democratic society.

For High School Students:

1. Establishing student policy-making boards to run student activities in the high schools, handle disciplinary problems and participate in the general supervision of the schools.
2. To hold regular school assemblies to discuss school problems and ascertain the will of the student body in conjunction with the independence movement.
3. Maintain the rights of all students and teachers. These include the freedom of expression, freedom to organize and to pass out literature, freedom from censorship of school newspapers, freedom of assembly and the right to invite outside speakers regardless of their political views.
4. End disciplinary expulsions and suspensions. If there is a problem with a particular student, it must be brought to the policy-making board, for

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them to deal with the problem, without having the student lose in education.

5. Special tutoring for all students who fall behind in their studies, and for the development of a study program teaching New Afrikan history and the real nature of monopoly-capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism. To further upgrade job training programs and adequate preparation for all students to attend college.

In this aspect of the Program for Decolonization, NANAS will be able to organize students on both the high school and college levels, working in conjunction with one another in support of FROLINAN's political program. In this way, the political development of the independence movement becomes a total part of the education process of students, each working for the benefit of the other for as long as New Afrikan students must attend schools controlled by the colonial government.

The primary objective is to control the schools in the ghetto/barrios and within the development of the class struggle for national unity, to have New Afrikan educators become responsible to the needs and development of the independence movement. It is in the process of freeing our minds of cultural imperialism that our oppressed nation will be able to free ourselves from national oppression and colonial domination.

The building of NANAS will be the forging of a youth movement on school campuses under the auspices of FROLINAN. This youth movement will have a practical program to develop directly in relation to education and the political development of FROLINAN. Hence, NANAS is the spirit of the independence movement, New Afrikan youth organized in a national network of groups and activists to establish FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization in the heart of the New Afrikan community, strengthening foundation of the New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE ACADEMY

The building of the New Afrikan Independence Academy (NAIA) is the essential tool with which FROLINAN broadens its organizing ability in the New Afrikan community. The New

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Afrikan Independence Academy is the needed liberation schools established for the purpose of teaching and training New Afrikan youth, adults and members of FROLINAN in the political direction of the independence movement. These liberation schools will be organized in a national network by New Afrikan members of NANAS, NUNAW, political educators and activists in support of the independence movement. It is FROLINAN's position that the New Afrikan community should have universities which are in support of New Afrikan independence struggle and against national oppression, cultural imperialism and colonialism; where such universities do not exist, the New Afrikan Independence Academy will serve this program.

These academies will be education centers, established in urban and rural communities to forge education in Afrikan history, political and social science, economics, business and organization administration, and technical training conducive to the preservation of the independence movement. The curriculum of the academy will be divided to serve youth and adult education, specially developed to evolve leadership quality amongst New Afrikans and fulfill the needs of the national program and strategy of FROLINAN. The New Afrikan Independence Academy will be established by a national education board consisting of progressive Black academicians, historians, intellectuals, FROLINAN political activists and students, who will be responsible for developing a national curriculum instituted in all academies across the country. This national curriculum will serve to assure those involved in the independence movement understand the ideals and practice of the struggle in a single or similar viewpoint, which also assists the struggle against sectarianism and narrow nationalism that retards the growth and development of the liberation struggle.

PANTHER YOUTH CORPS

The Panther Youth Corps (PYC) is FROLINAN's pre-teen and young adult youth organization whose primary activity is to learn the foundation in which the independence movement is being organized. Similar to PLO's Fedayeen youths, Simba, the PYC will serve to develop the young minds of our oppressed nation of the ideals, principles, concepts and fortitude of nationhood.

In the course of the liberation movement, the most courageous brothers and sisters that have ever organized the New Afrikan community were those members of the Black Panther

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Party. This history must not be forgotten, but rather maintained in a principled and dialectical fashion that will preserve that spirit of resistance in the liberation movement. Thusly, FROLINAN will use the name Panther as the foundation in which the spirit of resistance will be taught to our young. They will become young Panthers progressively forging this determination of our history of struggle toward the finer and better modes of struggle embodied in the socio-economic and political program of FROLINAN.

The PYC will also serve the aspirations of the elementary grade school children in conjunction with NANAS in establishing a national curriculum conducive to their education and development. As essential part of their activity will be field trips to sites of noted interest to New Afrikans, community recreation activity, history classes and other programs to strengthen their impressionable young minds in disciplined understanding of their responsibility and place in the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN CHILDREN CENTERS

The New Afrikan Children Centers (NACC) are child day care centers established by FROLINAN and operated by members of the oppressed New Afrikan community and FROLINAN organizers. These day care centers will operate to serve the needs of working parents and political activists who need someone to look after their children, while they are out securing a livelihood and/or fulfilling the political objectives of the independence movement.

These centers depending on location, will also serve free breakfast for school children in the neighborhood, and generally be supportive of the development of the community in respects to the growth of children in conjunction with the PYC and other student related programs. Although the New Afrikan Children Center will mostly be responsible for children from the age of one to five years of age, these children will be taught basic skills and practices that will enhance their intelligence aptitude and understanding of the world around them.

It is in the development of the New Afrikan Children Centers that will further the building of FROLINAN and forge its program in the heart of the New Afrikan community, fulfilling a need and concern that affects most families. Having the community support the centers would be to have New Afrikan families support the

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political motivation by which FROLINAN seeks to build the independence movement.

NEW AFRIKAN COMMUNITY HEALTH CLINICS

The New Afrikan Community Health Clinics (NACHC) are institutions established in the New Afrikan community for which preventive medicine will be the primary method of operation. These clinics will serve the New Afrikan community in regard to dentistry, abortion, drug rehabilitation, rape crises, acupuncture, hypertension, stress and other forms of physical and mental complications New Afrikans suffer and find common in their communities. It will also be the responsibility of the health clinics to formulate Sickle Cell Anemia research and HIV-AIDS prevention programs as a central health awareness campaign in the New Afrikan community, in conjunction with the overall political program of FROLINAN.

These New Afrikan Community Health Clinics are essential tools by which FROLINAN serves a particular interest in the community, and as part of the campaign to combat genocides in health care New Afrikans suffer across the country. It is FROLINAN's position that we as a nation must have responsible, trained, professional doctors and medics to fill the various positions that these clinics will serve. Upon the development of the class struggle for national unity, these medical professionals will be organized to serve the needs of New Afrikan people and the independence movement. Thus, the establishment of NACHC is a necessary part of FROLINAN's organizing platform, building its program for the survival and inevitable liberation of the New Afrikan Nation.

NEW AFRIKAN FOOD CO-OP PROGRAM

The New Afrikan Food Co-Op Program (NAFCOP) is a FROLINAN project to organize members of the New Afrikan community to unite in cooperative economic planning in securing wholesale produce and food stuff. With the development of food co-ops and the socio-economic interaction of members of the community, the community will formulate working relationships for the improvement of the entire group. This also is the basic

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means in which FROLINAN educates New Afrikans of the ideals of community responsibility, development, and survival during the course of the independence movement. Efforts will be made to develop farming cooperatives, whereby agriculture will be used in the supplying of food co-ops in urban areas. The establishment of food co-ops will ensure the growth and development of FROLINAN's national program and strategy.

These food co-ops will strengthen the political determination of the need to free the land as an essential and recognized objective, as New Afrikans understand the need for us to feed ourselves. The food co-ops will become a practical organizing tool both politically and organizationally, a central foundation to serve other aspects of FROLINAN's national strategy, such as the free breakfast program for school children. It is when New Afrikan Food Co-op Markets are established, comprising hundreds of community co-op groups through the New Afrikan community, that FROLINAN will be able to gauge the strength of its political determination in organizing New Afrikans under the auspices of its national program towards self government and independence.

THE NEW AFRIKAN COMMUNITY ALERT PATROL

The New Afrikan Community Alert Patrol (NACAP) will become a network of New Afrikan men and women organized for the defense of the New Afrikan community. It will establish security patrols against vigilantes, killer cops, racists, and black on black crime. These New Afrikans will be trained in police tactics and codes to protect the New Afrikan community in patrols as security guards. They will compile information and intelligence of high crime areas that are frequented by outsiders; they will be responsible for the protection of our senior citizens and youth, as well as various political programs, demonstrations, etc. Members of NACAP will be trained in martial arts, weapons, drilling, police science, crowd control, and military science encompassing guerrilla warfare.

One of the primary objectives of FROLINAN's political program is to have the colonial government occupation army (police) withdraw from the New Afrikan community. But in order to gain the support of New Afrikans in this endeavor, it is essential that community residents feel safe and confident. The folks in the

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community must believe their lives will not be in any greater danger once the occupying army is forced to withdraw from the community. It is important that the community understand that the police occupy our territory primarily to protect the property of the capitalists, who for the most part do not live in our communities. FROLINAN's call for community control and self government will become a motivating factor by which the establishment of NACAP is an essential part.

It must also be put forth that drugs and black on black crime is a problem that causes the occupying (police) army to be called to stay in and around the New Afrikan community. It is with the liquidation of the distribution, selling, and consumption of drugs and black on black crime, and when New Afrikans become responsible to each other in respect to the independence movement, that the community will be organized in its highest operative development. Eventually, NACAP will be organized into a peoples' militia to serve the development of the armed struggle for national liberation. These community alert patrols will be the means in which members of the New Afrikan community will gain experience in working in a disciplined security conscious apparatus. They will gain with the high ideals and responsibility of protecting the New Afrikan community.

NEW AFRIKAN P.O.W. ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The New Afrikan P.O.W. Program (NAPOWAP) will be developed to assure that New Afrikan captives are assisted in their efforts to be released from prison. Such assistance will be formulated in legal support in defense of our captured, pre-release programs for those about to be released on parole or discharged, political assistance in building programs and campaigns of national impact concerning the prison movement, and when possible, financial aid for the family of captives. In the past, the prison movement has lent significant political support to the general independence movement. Many of those captured had been principle leaders in the movement on the streets. Where they might be able to continue to give leadership and enhance the development of the independence movement, it will be the responsibility of NAPOWAP to ensure they are provided the essential assistance in mutual regard to the independence movement and FROLINAN's Program for Decolonization.

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Emphasis will be given to the development of national campaigns for amnesty and/or exchange of political prisoners of war, the ending of prison slavery and repeal of the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution as it upholds prison slavery, call for the unionization of prisoners' labor and minimum wage remuneration for their labor, call for the release of New Afrikan prisoners nationally, for them to return to the national territory of Kush and support the agricultural development of the New Afrikan Nation, for the immediate end of the death penalty, and for the release of New Afrikans in military prisons. All of this is part of the Program for Decolonization and Ten Point Program.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN

The National Organization of New Afrikan Women (NONAW) will become a national network of New Afrikan women organized under the auspices of FROLINAN's political direction. The express purpose of NONAW will be to fulfill the Program for Decolonization, and to address the problems affecting New Afrikan women in general. We do not separate problems affecting New Afrikan women from the major problems confronting the oppressed nation. We must differentiate the problems besetting New Afrikan women from those expressed by women of the oppressor nation and their movement. It is important that New Afrikan women recognize that their responsibility in the New Afrikan Independence Movement is wholly encompassing their liberation from sex discrimination, which is an essential aspect of colonial oppression. Once this understanding is reinforced in the political matrix of the independence movement, New Afrikan women will take leadership roles and responsibility in the independence movement.

Furthermore, FROLINAN holds dearly to the ideal that our women are the backbone of the New Afrikan Nation. They nurture our young, providing them with wisdom of life, and further secure a household and family, the very fabric of the nation. It is the women of the New Afrikan Nation and their staunch support and participation in the various Programs for Decolonization who will ensure the independence movement is victorious. In their support of the Programs for Decolonization, they will become liberated by working for the liberation of the nation. They will establish the basis for unity and equality among gender roles while working in

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their responsibility towards the oppressed nation.

We hold that our women can become fighters for independence at whatever level of the struggle they wish to attend or are needed. We also maintain that the establishment of secure family households is the foundation in which women are most needed. We hold to this position because over the years and due to slavery and vestiges of colonialism, the New Afrikan household has become disunited and fractionalized. Historically, it has been the women who have held what family structure we now have together. It is most necessary that this development does not erode, but rather becomes stable and grows stronger, as families become a part of the independence movement.

In this regard, particular ideological and social questions need to be addressed by our women, such as the ideal of polygamy, monogamy, and the effects of homosexuality; how to combat prostitution; the building of viable educational institutions and development of positive images for our children in our communities; and the establishment of health and day care centers, rape crisis and sterilization/abortion centers, etc. These are issues of social and political significance that have particular effects on women, and affect our oppressed nation. We therefore call upon our women to lead the fight against these social and political problems that have disastrous effects on our family structures in particular, and the social mores of the New Afrikan Nation in general. These and other areas of concern embodied in the Program for Decolonization are where women will take leadership responsibility, encompassing the struggle in the home, in the community, at the work place, and within the political development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

These ten organizational programs are the essential determinations by which FROLINAN will build its Program for Decolonization, establishing a national strategy within the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The emphasis is placed on organizing New Afrikans, and in doing so educating them on the ideals of independence, to build toward national liberation by employing the Three Phase Theory for National Independence, and the manifestation of the Program for Decolonization. It is with the fulfillment of the Three Phase Theory, in conjunction with the Program for Decolonization, that FROLINAN will build the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Each organizational program compliments the other, broadening the prospects for unified and even development across the country.

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While these organizational programs are of socio-economic and political significance of strategic magnitude, there are tactical political issues that need to be addressed. For instance, the question of voter registration, as well as when and where time and energy may be exerted to register New Afrikans to vote. This issue must be considered in respect to electing politicians within the framework of the colonial government.

It is held within our theoretical outlook that those who work within the structure of the colonial (U.S.A.) government do not necessarily work in the interest of the independence movement. For the most part, elected officials comprise those New Afrikans who are in actuality neo-colonialist bourgeois agents. It then becomes a matter of principle in organizational and political development to engage or not to engage in voter registration and the electing of New Afrikans to function in the colonial (U.S.A.) government. The principle involved is one of not comprising our theoretical and political understanding of the nature of our national oppression. In this regard, we hold that where voter registration for the election of New Afrikans may have short range tactical significance, strategically, it is of no value. It is the strategic development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement we are concerned with foremost. Therefore, FROLINAN will not seek to elect political candidates for office within the colonial government. It is our position the colonial government can do nothing other than relinquish to our demands for national independence to relieve our condition of national oppression and colonial domination. If a political party within the New Afrikan Independence Movement seeks to have a member of their organization elected to a position within the colonial government, we will give critical support to them when it can be assured their aspirations do not conflict with the interests of the independence movement.

The only exception to this position is when voting for positions or direction within the independence movement and the development of a struggle for community control. In this respect, it is important that New Afrikans take part in the development of the movement, such as a plebiscite vote, or voting for supervisors to maintain control of the schools, the health institutions and police in our communities. Many of these political electoral positions are relative to forging social and political consciousness toward substantiating the building of the independence movement under the auspices of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation.

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FROLINAN TEN POINT PLATFORM

1. We want National Independence and the power to determine the destiny of the New Afrikan Nation. We believe that New Afrikans will not be free or able to determine their own destiny until they have ended neo-colonial and capitalist-imperialist domination. It hereby becomes essential that our struggle commences with the fight for Black community control, a fight that will be the first step toward self-government, which is a prerequisite to national independence.

2. We want full employment of our people. We believe that the federal government and this system of monopoly-capitalism is responsible for the abject poverty and the basis for unemployment existing in the New Afrikan community. This provides the basis for under development in the New Afrikan community, giving rise to socio-economic and political disenfranchisement of New Afrikans. Thereby, the fight for Black community control encompasses a fight for community development in which the federal government and multi-national corporations provide economic incentive to produce jobs in the New Afrikan community. This is the major formulation in which revolutionary nationalists are to establish a relationship with the colonial (U.S.A.) government, to assure federal funds are allocated to the New Afrikan community for constructive development and jobs.

3. We want the end of capitalist exploitation of the New Afrikan community, national liberation of the national territory of Kush, and reparations for over 400 years of national oppression. We demand all tax money expropriations from New Afrikan people be appropriated for the development in the national territory of Kush.

4. We want decent housing and control of the land in which New Afrikans reside. In the past, the landlord who owned the property of New Afrikan residences usually lived outside the community and did not care for the land and housing dwelling. Based upon that experience and the struggle for Black community control and self government, we demand ownership of the property in which we reside, to be developed in cooperatives and communal control.

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5. We want education for our people that not only exposes the true nature of monopoly-capitalism and imperialism, but also provides the historical foundation in which our cultural development is based in this country in relation to other people of color throughout the world; such an education that provides our youth with the essential skills and incentive to become a part of the independence movement. As we demand control of the community in which we reside, the development of academic institutions becomes a fundamental part of the security of the independence movement, to build leaders for the future, in preserving the prospects for self determination. Hence, education is to evolve understanding of the development of the struggle for self determination, but also the historical and practical academic foundation in which the New Afrikan Nation is to preserve its destiny.

6. We want all New Afrikans to be exempt from military service in the colonial (U.S.A.) government, as it is our position that all wars by the colonial government are wars of aggression for the colonial domination and imperialist exploitation of lesser developed nations/countries, and other people of color victimized by the same forces of racism and capitalist exploitation New Afrikans are currently under subjugation. We demand exemption from military service in the colonial government and call for the building of a New Afrikan Peoples Liberation Army to fight for and establish the security and well being of New Afrikans.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of New Afrikan people. We believe that the police of the colonial (U.S.A.) government acts as an occupation force to maintain control and order for the benefit of the colonial government. We believe that the police motives are not in the basic interest of New Afrikans and their community, but rather, in the interest of the capitalist class who have business and own property in the New Afrikan community. In the course of establishing Black community control, we call for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation police army from our communities, and for New Afrikans to establish their own security system. We also maintain the right of self-defense against racist police repression and brutality, to bear arms, and organize self-defense groups to preserve the security of the New Afrikan community.

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8. We want the immediate release of all New Afrikan people held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails. We believe that the system of national oppression has not provided New Afrikans with fair and impartial trials or hearings, in which the bias and prejudice inherent in the system served to assure their imprisonment. Furthermore, the judicial system is one of the major tools by which the system of oppression uses to stifle the fruition of the national liberation struggle and every aspect in which New Afrikans fight for civil and human rights. It is therefore held that the police, courts, and prisons are all a part of the system of oppression and are unable to dispense justice and impartiality towards New Afrikans who might come before them for a trial or hearing. We call for all New Afrikans, when brought to trial, to be tried by a jury of their peers or people from their New Afrikan community, and if found guilty for them to be sentenced to areas of confinement in or near the New Afrikan community. We maintain the colonial (U.S.A.) government has no right to try any New Afrikan for as long as a state of war exists between two nations and colonial domination persists, and that all captive members of NAPLA or the Black underground be recognized as political prisoners of war and afforded Geneva Accord status.

9. We want the right to be free of colonial domination, capitalist exploitation and national oppression. We demand full control of the New Afrikan community where we are a majority, for the express purpose of self-government toward national independence. We call on the United Nations and the Organization of Afrikan Unity to recognize the existence of a nationally oppressed New Afrikan people and nation in the United States and for them to conduct a national plebiscite for the purpose of a vote of independence, giving recognition to the New Afrikan Nation in the western hemisphere.

10. We want the right to migrate to the national territory of Kush and establish an independent nation separate from the colonial (U.S.A.) government of the United States of America. We believe New Afrikans have had enough of over 400 years of national oppression and are willing to establish their own nation employing the resources and labor inherent in the New Afrikan Nation. We claim the five states of the black belt as our national homeland in this country having named the national territory Kush and are bound to liberate this territory in a national liberation struggle,

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to eventually migrate to the national territory and establish the government of the Republic of New Afrika.

Author's Note: Since the original writing and distribution of the National Strategy of FROLINAN, on August 17, 1995, revolutionary nationalists organized the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF). The NALF adopted the Three Phase Theory for National Independence, and the various member formations of NALF are developing and implementing Decolonization Programs in forging a national strategy. For more information on NALF, contact the following:

**NALF – Administrative Office
P.O. Box 340084
Jamaica, NY 11434**

What Color is Your Blues?

Blues, what is that?
is it a feeling or the color
of a fact?

They say all peoples gots the
blues, is yours like mine?
it might be Azure or Powder,
possibly Aqua or Navy.
What is the blues to you?

Mine?
My Blues is Black,
like the color of night
when the sun sets,
after the stars illuminate the
sky in contrast to the moon.

My Blues is Black,
darker than Navy,
thicker than brown gravy,
it ain't even shady,
it is plain 'ole Black.

You know, like Black like that, Black
cat crossing your tracks, like it knew
it'll make you blue.

My Blues ain't like Jazz,
improvisation and syncopation,
a freewheeling rhythm
of anticipation.

What Color is Your Blues?

Naw, Blues is like slow
dancing in the rain
with no umbrella to protect
you against the pain.

My Blues is Black
As in shades of despair,
Like Afrikans herded in
Bowels of ships,
lives in disrepair.

Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner blues,
the kind of blues white people run
away from when they see it coming.

It is deeper than Harriet
Tubman's underground railroad!

Ya know what I'm saying.

Blues – Black Blues, no good news,
just plain 'ole blues. That down South,
Jim Crow blues, when you can't chose
the color of your blues, 'cuz color is
segregated into Black and White.

Yeah, that kind of blues, the only kind
you can choose, because it is imposed
upon you. That white supremacy blues.
Black blues that won't cure you when
you thought you had the flu, but it was
white oppression stressing you, depressing
you, breaking you down to tears of a
clown, scratching where you don't itch,
got you fetch'in when you should have
been step'in. Ain't that a bitch?

My Blues is Black, like kinky hair and
smooth skin, the flavor of melanin.
Darker than charcoal and get twice as
Hot when ignited by the passion of desire.

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Beyond a flaming fire, torrent emotions
resonating from deep within, blacker than
my skin, like onyx.

Blue-Black that shines in the sun
when wet or dry, you can see my
blues before I arrive, like heat rising
from how black asphalt at noon my
blues will make you swoon.

Make you think you're seeing a mirage
of paradise, disguised as an unexpected
surprise, when actually it's nothing but
white lies.

My Blues is Black faces locked in places,
where razor wire and gun towers denies
escape without traces to a past of fugitive
slave laws and middle passage, where living
free could mean the death penalty.

Cast down eyes, souls repressed, despised
by lies, a living waste, where the only haste
is to die a man and be born a slave.

Yeah, my Blues is Black. Like the
assassination of Martin and Malcolm,
dreams not deferred, but denied in a
conspiracy of white pride.

Like Cointelpro acts, that trapped the B.P.P. cats,
because they were too Black, set
freedom back to another millennium.

Are ya feel'in me?

But, Yo! While my Blues is Black, it
doesn't mean it is going to stay like that. In
fact, I'm going to change my Blues into Red
and Green, and keep my Black in tact.

Like the flag that Marcus Garvey brought, to

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ensure our memories aren't caught in
psychological destruction. He wanted us to
function towards a Pan-Afrikan
reconstruction, turning our blues into Black
Gold we can use.

The Red, Black and Green has to become
more than a dream. We must make it our
living reality by working in teams,
defending the means, propagating,
educating, organizing the scheme, turning
the blues into precious Black Gold, we
standing bold, never to be sold, so the world
will behold the magnitude of our role as
revealed in divine scrolls.

Yeah, my Blues was Black, but that was
before the New Afrikan attack on
imperialism and white supremacy.
Black Gold standing bold, to restore the red,
Black and Green! Ya'll know what I mean?

Now, what color is your Blues?

FROLINAN Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres

As we rebuild our movement for national liberation under the auspices of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation (FROLINAN), a revolutionary cadre organization, many of those who are discussing it will never get beyond the point of discussion. While those who are actually beginning to organize, only a minority will be around a few years from now, but for the serious revolutionary nationalist, they will succeed in forging a durable national liberation front and revolutionary cadre organization. It is extremely important that we begin this process without delusions of the task before us, that it will require much sacrifice and determination to fight for and win our national liberation.

This is because it is not at all easy to build a revolutionary cadre organization. It takes a lot of time, patience, a lot of hard work and struggle; a continuing relationship from and to the revolutionary and progressive social forces within our society; a continuing expansion and enrichment of our own revolutionary vision and that of the revolutionary social force; the ability to think independently as well as to accept discipline cheerfully; and unrelenting self-criticism struggle to overcome our own shortcomings. This work and struggle, this time and patience, this continuing relationship, this self criticism, can only come from continuing relationship. This self criticism can only come from a continuing commitment in theory and practice to the conviction that at the heart of every great revolution is the urgent need to transform Man/Woman into a new and more advanced form of human beings by means of struggle. The only justification for a revolution is that it accelerates the evolution of man and

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womenkind, particularly that of an oppressed nation fighting for national liberation.

The first thing you need for such commitment is an unshakable conviction that correct ideas matter; and that once the correct ideas are grasped by the great masses of people, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. In a country like the U.S. where there is so much respect for material things and so little respect for ideas, the number of people with this conviction is still very small, and the number whose convictions cannot be shaken is even smaller. When your friends and associates accuse you of having too much faith in ideas or in the "spirit of human nature" it takes a pretty strong person to hold firm. This is especially true when it comes to building our Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation towards freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The foregoing will be the fundamental dialectical principles and some of the most important concrete practices of a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization as a developing reality. If the members of a revolutionary cadre organization are not constantly striving to internalize the dialectical principles motivating their practices, the organization sinks into routinism. On the other hand, if they are not constantly striving to externalize the dialectical principles in concrete practices, the principles turn into empty rhetoric. Many of those reading/studying this handbook may vigorously disagree with what it sets forth. Others may draw from it the conclusion that a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization is necessary if there is going to be a successful revolution in the United States. Not all those who arrive at this conclusion are ready to propagate the principles, build or join such a national liberation front. Some may be against a revolution altogether. Others may say that they agree with the ideas theoretically, but that building or joining such a revolutionary nationalist front is a job for someone with the patience and the capacity to think more grandly.

There are those who have been active and operating in an organized formation of local, regional and national significance; they have been functioning as an individual group and organization, with vanguardist ideals, unwilling to become part of a revolutionary nationalist front. Essentially, they are contributing to sectarian politics in the New Afrikan independence movement, attempting to raise their individual organization to an elitist

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position above and beyond the movement in general. They believe their contribution to the movement has established themselves as the most forward and leading trend or tendency, yet, have failed to forge a national strategy or agenda or national unity amongst the various revolutionary nationalist forces in NAIM. This kind of individualism, opportunism, liberalism perpetuates sectarianism, and must be identified, exposed, and rooted out of NAIM as it inhibits and prevents the building of a revolutionary nationalist front.

On the other hand, some revolutionary nationalist formations and activists decide that they do want to commit themselves to a collective and protracted struggle, they probably know one or two or a few other groups/formations and people who have arrived at the same point. These few revolutionary nationalist formations and people need some way to arrive at some kind of basic agreement on fundamental ideas and some knowledge of one another, thus the purpose of this handbook.

One way to do this is to form a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, in order to study previous revolutions and the specific contradictions in the United States which require resolution by revolution. The study of the theory and practice of previous revolutions is for the purpose of learning from them what is and what is not relevant to the specific contradictions of the United States [i.e., the relevance of a party and revolutionary organization] towards a national liberation front. Through study of previous revolutions, we can gain an appreciation of the way in which revolutions have advanced the evolution of humankind, and therefore, a profound conviction that [our] revolution must also advance the evolution of New Afrikan men and women towards national emancipation. At the same time, through the study of previous revolutions, it should become clearer to us that every revolution is unique, the specific product of specific energies of specific masses of people, specific organizations and specific leaders in a specific country under very specific conditions, all of which have been developed over a number of years, at a particular time, in a particular historical period, and which therefore can not possibly be repeated at another time and in another place.

This general truth is of crucial importance in seeking to determine the specific contradictions requiring resolution in the United States. The U.S. capitalist-imperialism face problems posed by economic abundance, whose population is the first people in human history to have discovered from their living

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experiences that material well-being does not necessarily bring happiness. This is especially true for the majority of New Afrikans whose existence is subject to dire impoverishment, and therefore the people who have the privilege of pioneering the great revolution of the twenty-first century.

In forming a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, the purpose, procedures, schedules and responsibilities of each member, should be clearly worked out and accepted by all the participants at the very first meeting. It is never a good idea to leave your purposes and procedures fuzzy in the hope that you will keep some people with you who might otherwise be scared off by a straightforward statement of your goals and what will be expected of every participant. Nine times out of ten, this kind of liberal attitude does not prevent the eventual breakaway of the person or persons involved; it only postpones the crisis and makes it more painful.

A FROLINAN revolutionary study group should not be organized for the sake of study alone, but for the purpose of laying the basis for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, and national liberation front. Therefore, participation in the group should be restricted to those ready to do the systematic work required for such a study, including reading, leading and recording discussions, disciplined attendance at regularly scheduled meetings, criticism and self-criticism, over a period of approximately six months. During this period some members are bound to raise the question of getting involved in struggle over some burning topical issue. This will be one of the group's first test as to who, if anyone, in the group really accepts the principle that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice," and that without commitment to collective and protracted struggle, there can be no successful revolution. Anyone who is not able to refrain from involving the group in topical struggles until it has at least worked out some minimum ideological understanding of FROLINAN National Strategy and Program for Decolonization, of some structure and standards, is not likely to be much good for the protracted struggle.

One of the most difficult hurdles that a revolutionary study group has to overcome at its first meeting (and often at subsequent meetings) is the feeling among those present that there must be something wrong with them because they are so few. In a country like the U.S., where it is normal and natural to judge the value and importance of everything according to the size (the bigger the

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better), it is not easy to grasp and hold firm to the historical fact that every advance that has ever been made by humankind was started by a few people, often, to begin with, by only one individual, since every beginning can only be a beginning. Someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to use a piece of stone as a hatchet or hammer or ax; in other words, to take the first step in tool-making [two million] years ago, which has now led to the machine age of latches, punch presses, computers and dynamos. Similarly, someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to mold a pot out of mud... Elsewhere on earth, maybe another continent, or maybe only a few miles away, another man or woman at approximately the same time may have been doing the same things. But the first man or woman to take this first crude step in tool-making or pottery did not know this. Nor did he or she stop to speculate why only he or she or just a few others were taking this step.

The practice of judging a step forward in humankind's productive or political evolution by the number of people involved is a modern, western and especially Amerikkkan prejudice. When a handful of people met in 1921 to organize the Chinese Communist Party which now governs nearly one billion people, they knew, of course, that the party had to become much larger before it could lead the Chinese revolution to victory over imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. But those present did not look around at each other and ask, "Why us rather than anyone else?" They knew that anything which men and women create, any advance which humankind makes, must have a beginning and that every beginning must be made by those few individuals who chose to begin something because they feel it should be begun. Such was the case in Oakland, California, when in October 1966 Huey P. Newton and Bobby Scale started the Black Panther Party, and when March 29-31, 1968, 500 Black nationalists met in Detroit, Michigan and began the undertaking of organizing the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Hence, before something can grow, it must first be.

In this way, not only the material studied, but the way it is studied, is itself a preparation for the revolutionary cadre organization and that of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation – FROLINAN. Let us begin!

**A. THE ROLE OF FROLINAN REVOLUTIONARY
CADRE ORGANIZATION!**

Building a revolutionary cadre organization is enormously difficult, but there is no mystery about the essential functions of such a revolutionary cadre organization. Just as the human being requires a mind to synthesize the many varied experiences which it receives through the sense, so the revolutionary social forces in a revolutionary period requires a revolutionary cadre organization of such a individual and national liberation front. (The term revolutionary cadre organization and Front will be used interchangeably so these ideas can be made applicable as they pertain to a single cadre formation or a network of cadres, and the entire Front operations comprising various organizations and groups.)

Just as the mind acts as a center for the senses giving and receiving impulses, so the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization acts as a center for the revolutionary social forces. Neither can replace the other; nor can either develop without continuing interaction with the other. They are the two poles of a developing and dynamic relationship, continually enriching one another in a never ending spiral process of “from the masses to the masses.”

The dialectical concept is the key to the building of a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization. The first task of a revolutionary cadre organization is theoretical analysis and synthesis. That is to say, the revolutionary cadre organization must first reflect upon the specific social realities within which it is operating, with the aim of arriving at a clear conception of:

- A. How this social reality has developed historically;
- B. Of the contradictions within this reality, which are the basis for further development. The revolutionary cadre organization must then,
- C. Define which of these contradictions are the principal and major ones, requiring solutions if the revolution is to advance; and

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- D. Develop a vision of what kind of new reality will be created by the resolution of those principal or major contradictions. Finally, the revolutionary cadre organization must,
- E. Determine which sectors of the society have the greatest potential for the struggle necessary to resolve these contradictions and create this new reality.

These theoretical concepts together constitute the ideology of the organization (i.e., FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory). After deriving its ideology from reflections upon the social realities, the revolutionary cadre organization must devise concrete programs (i.e., Program for Decolonization) to go to the revolutionary social forces (masses, people) in order to mobilize them in struggles to create the new reality through the struggle of resolving major contradictions of the society. In devising and projecting these concrete programs, the revolutionary cadre organization must be concerned not only to increase the momentum of struggle and the physical power of the revolutionary social forces. It must also be concerned to bring about a transformation in these forces initiative, their critical political consciousness, their sense of collective work and responsibility towards national unity, and the structures with which they can not only bring about the collapse of the existing oppressive society, but also create a new society, by freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The revolutionary cadre organization, in other words, must be concerned not only with the quantitative but also the qualitative development of the mass struggle and of the revolutionary social forces. It must take seriously the fact that all of the people within a given society, including the revolutionary social forces, are shaped by the dominant values of society of which is overwhelmingly racist. In the light of the revolutions that have taken place all over the world in the past half century, beginning with the Russian Revolution of 1917 anyone claiming to be revolutionary must be willing to look beyond the question of power to what happens after the taking of power (building the Republic of New Afrika). Hence, s/he must be concerned not only with increasing the anger and militancy of the oppressed but also their determination and

capacity to transform themselves. Otherwise, willfully or not, s/he is only preparing them for despair and hence for the leadership of demagogues, and himself/herself is not a revolutionary, but a rebel or a demagogue.

At the same time the revolutionary cadre organization is also providing the framework within which the revolutionary members themselves can be constantly transforming themselves into more conscious, more responsible, more creative and more critical human beings... to whom the revolutionary masses can increasingly look for leadership because they can recognize in them actual, living witnesses to the possibility of creating new men and women and freeing the land establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

If the ideology of the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization is sound; if its program meets the needs of the revolutionary social forces; if the revolutionary nationalist formations themselves are in a close and continuing relationship with these social forces, then the revolutionary social forces will begin to struggle around these programs.

In turn, these struggles will bring about new situations, involving new contradictions and new conflicts. This means that the revolutionary cadre organization must be continuously prepared to reevaluate its ideas of the social reality and to devise the means in which the Programs for Decolonization can be implemented to take to the revolutionary social forces.

Thus constantly deepening and enriching both their ideas and their relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the revolutionary nationalist never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization. It is the center from which they go outward and to which they return. It produces the framework within which they can be continuously reevaluating their theory and practice and continuously transforming themselves so as to be better able to live up to the historic task for which they accepted responsibility.

B. THE AMERIKKAN POLITICAL BACK GROUND

The difficulty in understanding the role of the revolutionary cadre organization does not stem from an intrinsic mystery in this role. Rather, it stems from the lack of experience of New Afrikans

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in the political process of continuing commitment to the kind of systemic, collective, dialectical, theoretical and practical struggle which is at the heart of a revolutionary cadre organization. For historical reasons, the approach of most New Afrikans to social problems has always been a pragmatic or problem solving approach which is essentially anti-intellectual. In what has been described as the "headache syndrome," they react to and try to resolve each problem as it arises, as if each were a sporadic, isolated or accidental problem in a system which is fundamentally sound, and therefore capable of quick and easy solutions.

In the recent period, confidence in the soundness of Amerikkkan institutions has plummeted, chiefly under the impact of the revolutionary struggles throughout the world and New Afrikan revolts (i.e., L.A., Chicago, Liberty City, NYC - Crown Heights, etc.). The result is that a great many people, New Afrikan, Latino, Asian, Native American and Euro-American, no longer think of Amerikkkan problems as isolated or accidental. They have traced their roots to the "system" of "capitalism and racism" and concluded that a revolution is necessary in the U.S. They have further identified the chief revolutionary social forces to make this revolution as the New Afrikans and other nonwhite (so-called) minorities.

However, for the most part, the majority of progressive people still strongly resist the ideas of committing themselves to the kind of collective and protracted struggle in the dialectical relationship to the revolutionary social forces outlined above. They no longer look at the problems of this society in a piecemeal fashion, to be solved one by one. But they still regard the revolutionary struggle as a series of isolated events, "happenings" and "experiences." The result is that they do not have a framework within which to do the continual evaluation that is necessary, and their angry attacks on the system turn into abstractions and rhetorical denunciations. They are without national revolutionary leadership and a national strategy.

Always "on the go," attracted to whatever or whoever turns them on, they jump from one activity or group to another, judging the revolutionary content of that activity or group by its militancy or by the excitement and relief which it offers from boredom, frustration and the immediacy of national oppression, i.e., quantitatively and subjectively. In the past, as an example, Euro-American youth, rebelling against materialism and individualism of their middle-class parents, drifted in and out of communes

and collectives. They claim to be seeking a collective life style but they were unwilling to make the long range commitment to any one group which is the prerequisite to collective struggle and collective learning. The exception would be right-wing skin heads/aryan/nazi/klan youths groups linked to parent organizations. As a result, the collectives and communes that sprung up and disappeared all over the country were little more than aggregates of subjectivity in which each individual were still doing his or her "own thing." The same is applicable amongst the various trends and tendencies in NAIM.

These young New Afrikans are functioning from a pragmatic, anti-intellectual attitudes, a new anti-intellectual attitude which is the unique product of the post Vietnam War and civil rights struggles. Raised in a world of unceasing novelty and mobility, of revolutions in production and abundance in consumption, of instant communication and space ship transportation. They have been culturally deprived of the experience of engaging in a protracted struggle, which was the good fortune of the previous generation who were involved in the civil rights movement during the 50's and 60's, since the 80's thoroughly inverted this development. As a result, they have an existentialist and nihilist philosophy or the conviction that life consists essentially of momentary experiences, much of which is expressed in "gangster rap" and the "hip-hop" subculture.

In the 1960's, the youth's lack of experience in protracted struggle was not a serious handicap. In fact, in retrospect, it was an enormous advantage since it enabled young people to leap frog the old radical organizations with their obsolete theories and programs (still stemming from the experience of 1917 revolution in Russia) and to create instead a new and unique style of politics. This "new style of politics" centered around dramatization of confrontation politics which were then carried into every living room through television. Staging these confrontations and using the mass media with enormous skills, the civil rights movement leaders of the late 50's and early 60's New Afrikans and Euro-Americans, were able to overnight bring home to the entire society the barbarism of U.S. racism and the genocidal war in Vietnam. Radicalized by these methods, young New Afrikans exploded in the streets of practically every major city in the country, creating by the late 60's a social crisis of unprecedented magnitude within the entire society, much of which is being revisited across the country today, but without the political determination of the 60's.

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However, while the social crisis was obviously maturing, the Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Panther Party, SDS-Weather Underground Organization, and the Republic of New Afrika, as revolutionary organizations, were evolving to engage the new reality and to give direction to the emerging social forces. The U.S. government engaged these revolutionary organizations and decimated their fighting capacity via Cointelpro counterinsurgency operations. The result is that today the great majority of Amerikkans, both those who are oppressed by the system and those who support the system because of the benefits they receive from it, are completely bewildered. They feel as if they were being tossed about in the eye of a great storm with no idea where they should go or how to get there.

Likewise, in the absence of a durable militant revolutionary cadre organization, most people who played such an important role in creating the movement of the 60's have been without any framework within which they could collectively evaluate the situation, and make new projections towards national liberation. They were unable to transform themselves into more responsible, more conscious, more dedicated and more critical revolutionaries. Left to their own individual devices, the great majority of them have drifted out of the movement or have gone the way of left or right opportunism, making claims against the BLA, WUO, SLA, etc.

Arguing they had become pure adventurers, making isolated and desperate attacks on the power structure or anyone who they think supports the power structure. Other "drop out's from the struggle" have become careerists, "on the go" in one way or another, as consultants, project directors, or staff persons supported by federal, city and state agencies and by church and universities in order to co-opt the "heavies" of the movement, those who we would identify as "sell outs." While, a few others continue to work in support of political prisoners of war, and various civil and human right issues confronting the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

What this indicates is the need for building FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization to learn the lessons of the past, to unite the various existing formations within a national strategy and push forward the struggle for national independence.

C. COMMITMENT IS KEY

Against this background, it should be clear why the first step of any group of people seeking to build a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization, must be the decision of each individual in the group to commit herself and himself to a collective, protracted struggle in a dialectical developing relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the oppressed masses. The group must contain those who are convinced of the need for revolutionary social change and who – out of sober reflection on the concrete experiences of the recent past – have become convinced that spontaneous rebellions, revolts and confrontations – no matter how many or how spectacular – lead not to revolution but to despair and confusion unless an organized group takes the lead, and is ready to make this commitment out of their own volition.

If, among those who have come together to discuss the question, only two groups or people are ready for this commitment, these two must resist the temptation to continue meeting with the others in the hope or illusion that by doing so, they will persuade the others to stop wavering and make a commitment. If they succumb to this temptation, they will discover in the end that they are left either with the same two people, or that they themselves have begun to waver, since the waverers are the ones who have behind them the pressure of the way things are, rather than of the way things should be.

The decision by a group of revolutionary nationalists, no matter how few, to commit themselves to this collective and protracted struggle to build FROLINAN and to reject “on the go” politics, shapes everything that follows. If their commitment is to become more than rhetorical “testifying,” they must now embark on the concrete steps necessary to create a collective out of their separate selves. As it is, they are still individuals, with their own very different ideas about what is and what should be, what they should do and how they should do it, what they can expect from each other now and what they should be able to expect from each other as they begin to struggle together.

In order for the group to start transforming their separate subjectivities into collectivity, they must first arrive, through organized discussion and an agreed upon method of decision making, an agreement on the following:

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1. Their ideology (the Three Phase Theory);
2. A program or programs for activity within a prescribed period, long enough for them to complete some projects, and yet short enough so that they can see the end at the beginning (the Program for Decolonization);
3. A structure within which they can carry out these programs and which will also provide for the continuing growth and developing of the group as a whole and for every member in it;
4. Standards of membership (see below);
5. Methods for continuing evaluation of their activities and themselves.

Some or all of these may be modified in the course of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's continuing development. Particularly in a revolutionary period, situations change very rapidly, and the ideas of the revolutionary cadre organization must change accordingly. As situations change, different views over what should or should not be modified may at such time lead to such opposing proposals that those holding these opposing views cannot continue to co-exist in the same organization, and a split becomes unavoidable. But unless these differences have developed in relation to an original set of basic ideas, they cannot be dealt with as political differences, but will instead be interpreted as subjective or personality differences with all the bitterness that usually accompanies such interpretations (opportunism, liberalism, sectarianism). An effort must be made to overcome personal and political differences that hinders political work and building FROLINAN.

A-1: Ideology

For the last 50 years most radicals/militants in the United States have thought that it was sufficient to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in terms of Marx's 19th century analysis of European capitalism and Lenin's pre-World War I analysis of

European imperialism, simply adding to these the analysis of Amerikkkan racism, usually interpreted either as a manifestation of capitalism or of domestic imperialism. In the past 20 years, New Left radicals have continued to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in these terms. However, in recognition of the post-Vietnam War struggles of Third World peoples inside and outside the United States and the increasingly middle-class character of the Amerikkkan workers, they have simply substituted Third World peoples for the working class which Marx and Lenin regarded as the revolutionary social force to destroy capitalism and imperialism.

Only a few of these radicals/militants, either in the past or recently, ever took seriously the fact that Marx and Lenin were both developing their theories in systematic reflection upon their specific historical reality, a totally different historical reality from what exists in the United States today. Marx was writing at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe 100 years ago, and Lenin in backward Russia over 50 years ago, in periods when rapid development of the productive forces were the urgent concerns of Europeans and Russians respectively. Today the United States is the most technologically advanced country in human history, producing goods and developing the productive forces with such rapidity that every politically conscious, socially responsible person is trying to think of how to slow development down, especially technology that displaces workers. Far from being in material want, even the poorest layers of the population are constantly being courted by capitalism to buy, buy, buy; and state agencies, to some degree, subsidize these layers so their publicly financed purchasing power can keep the economy going.

Yet, instead of analyzing this new social reality with the seriousness with which Marx and Lenin analyzed theirs, most radicals/militants and those claiming to be revolutionary nationalists have simply reacted to the revolt of Third World peoples by casting them in the role which Marx and Lenin gave to the working class. Subsequently, as if vying for the leading role in the social movement, women, youth, and prisoners have begun to substitute themselves for New Afrikans workers, stratifying the struggle into levels of competitive politics and resources. Now, some radicals/militants and revolutionary nationalists, reacting to the chaos and absurdities into which this kind of rivalry to take the center stage is plunging the movement, have fallen back on

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the working class as hero, hoping against hope that spreading unemployment, inflation, taxes and other economic miseries may yet turn the working class into the revolutionary class that Marx's 19th century analysis called for.

Instead of just reacting to rebellions and to each other in sectarian and opportunist ways as these progressive organizations are doing, FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization must make its own serious analysis of the unique historical development of the United States and of the material development of struggle in their area and nationally (See: National Strategy of FROLINAN). It should then be able to recognize that the major contradiction in this country is as much an economic one, as it is a contradiction between this country's extremely advanced technological development and its extreme political and social underdevelopment, of which is generally characterized by racism and national oppression.

This contradiction is manifested in the preoccupation of its people with their own private pursuits and responsibility, competition in the job market, as well as of genuine self governing institutions that encourage the development of political consciousness and social responsibility toward the status quo, especially neo-colonial agents of the national Black bourgeoisie. It can then be seen that the chief purpose of the national liberation struggle is to accelerate the rapid growth of political consciousness and social responsibility amongst New Afrikans so that they can put politics in command of economics, instead of being ruled by economics as they are today. Hence, the Three Phase Theory puts forth an analysis that correctly determines the political reality and method by which national liberation struggle should commence.

A-2: Program

Most movement groups in NAIM are reactive, issue-oriented groups who are constantly plunging into activity around the innumerable issues, usually legal defense issues, which are constantly surfacing in this period, such as "Free All Political Prisoners of War" or "Free Geromino Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Sekou Odinga and Mutulu Shakur," and "Free the NY-3," to name a few. The result is that many of them disappear as rapidly as they appear. What usually continues is:

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- A. either one of the older militant organizations, or
- B. cliques of individuals, or one who is a charismatic individual or one who is particularly gifted in fund raising or
- C. social groups of alumni or veterans of various struggles of the 60s and 70s.

Few of these, if any, have ever set down to work out a program that a half dozen people could carry out over the period of a year, in order to build themselves into a viable organization with their own collective identity and specific contribution to the overall independence movement. The exceptions of course are the current trends and tendencies, who more often than not, compete with one another, rather than uniting on a national level in NAIM. By uniting they would be in a better position to continue seeking the means and method to contribute to the overall struggle to free the land. Most of the folks who claim to be revolutionaries in the U.S. can rap about the need for a planned economy, for the reorganization of the entire United States from top to bottom, and for freeing the land. But they rarely take the time to think through a PROGRAM for even a small revolutionary cadre organization, a clear conception of the PURPOSES the group is trying to achieve the METHODS by which they propose to achieve these programs, and the specific step-by-step PROCESSES. In this regard special attention should be given to the Program for Decolonization.

When a revolutionary cadre organization works out clearly such programs, it also establishes a basis for the evaluation of its programs. Thereby it does one of the most important, yet deceptively simple things that a revolutionary cadre organization can do: learn from experience or develop its theory from social practice. Nowhere more than in the U.S., is it so necessary to recognize and emphasize the importance of learning the development of theory through a continuing relationship of theory and practice. This is the only way to combat the powerful tendencies in this country toward empty rhetoric (or talk without practice), and mindless activism or reactionary militancy – such militancy that serves no more than to prove one’s militancy or because it is fashionable to be militant. Rather, one should apply militant acts when one has some deeply felt convictions about the way New Afrikans can and should advance the struggle, realizing

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that these convictions can only be tested in social practice towards national independence.

Therefore, in the initial period, the main program of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization should be internal programs. That is to say, they should be consciously aimed at transforming those who have come together on the basis of commitment into a national liberation front and collective, with a powerful sense of their developing and continuing collective identity and purpose toward national unity. The first-year programs of a revolutionary cadre organization should center chiefly around the following:

- A. The theoretical strengthening of the members (political education);
- B. The development of the literature of the national liberation front and the skills of the membership to enable them to take the ideas of FROLINAN to the New Afrikan masses (propaganda);
- C. The increase of the revolutionary cadre organization's members (recruitment);
- D. Developing principled unity and consolidation among the various trends and tendencies in the NAIM;
- E. Establish the means by which to implement the Programs for Decolonization.

The propaganda program of the organization is crucial to the development of the revolutionary struggle since as it cannot too often be repeated, once the correct ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. Particularly at this stage in the struggle, the major emphasis of the revolutionary cadre organization's propaganda must be on expanding the vision and increasing the critical political consciousness of New Afrikans, to inspire them with the broad purposes of the struggle and developing their capacity to de-mythologize and de-romanticize the U.S. colonial government. To mobilize the masses in struggle or to increase their militancy without at the same time expanding their consciousness of their

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responsibility and capacity to become “new men and women,” is only to lay the groundwork for their despair. The use of a newsletter, an official publication, and applying tactical initiatives by way of agitation-propaganda would support the propaganda program.

In mapping out the recruitment program of the revolutionary cadre organization, great care should be taken to make the process of recruitment a selective one. The aim must be towards slow and qualitative growth, and not rapid expansion, taking care not to judge the growth of the revolutionary cadre organization by the numbers of its members. Membership should be determined by their commitment to the theory, ideology and programs of the FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In the matter of recruitment, the revolutionary cadre organization has few models to go on. In the past it was ridiculously easy, particularly for a worker, student, or black person from the subculture, to acquire membership in the Black Panther Party or the Republic of New Afrika. They had little contact with workers, and so few workers were attracted to these organizations, the image of these organizations inhibited black worker membership.

Since the 70s and 80s, on the other hand, thousands of young New Afrikans have been attracted to new political organizations of all trends and tendencies, ready to drift into (and out of) these organizations with a lack of commitment, particularly if the mass media has given these organizations any publicity. In turn, these organizations, living for the moment and for the spotlight, have recruited furiously in order to give the impression of a large public following. In the recent past we have had some instructive experiences with organizations who have expanded rapidly for the sake of and with the help of the media. Often they have discovered that they were recruiting many reactionary political agents. Even when this was not the case, they have still been at the mercy of their new members, most of whom were attracted to the organization in the first place by the image of confrontation politics which they got from the mass media and who have therefore led the organization into confrontation after confrontation, until its entire energies and resources were exhausted in defense activities.

For all these reasons, it is important that FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organizations seek to avoid both rapid expansion and any kind of publicity. In this way, they are giving full recognition of the fact that any rapidly expanding or publicity oriented organization has no chance to do the learning and

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developing which are absolutely essential to preparation for rapid growth at a later stage of the protracted struggle.

For the same reasons, a revolutionary cadre organization must acquire its basic finances from dues paid by its members and from the strictly political activities of the revolutionary cadre organization (sales of literature, public meetings, etc.) and not from grants or funds from private or public agencies. The danger is not that these agencies will put direct pressure on or try to dilute any militant activities which the organization may want to engage in. The corruption is much more insidious, arising from the fact that external funding deprives the revolutionary cadre organization and its membership the opportunity and the responsibility to develop and test their own commitment and their own ideas.

A-3: Structure

Regular meetings at least once a week and always starting on time, the keeping of minutes at every meeting and the reading of these minutes at the subsequent meeting, and a clearly-organized agenda for each meeting, are the elementary structural requirements for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization. If it seems strange to emphasize what should be obvious, it is because these are not at all obvious in the "on the go" topical political atmosphere of today's movement. They are more likely to call meetings when the spirit moves them, to disdain the keeping of minutes and to regard presentation of an agenda as incipient bureaucratization or elitism. This is often the case with the defense committees of political prisoners of war.

Through regularly scheduled meetings, each member begins to internalize the structure of the group as part of his or her own living routine. Through the promptness with which every member arrives at the meeting, the unity of everyone starting together is established. Through minutes a group takes responsibility for its programs and procedures from week to week and begins to get a concept of its own development as historical. Through a clearly organized agenda, the essentials of which should be the same from week to week, every member can prepare between meetings for his or her participation at the next meeting, thus creating a framework for the maximum participation of each member.

At the beginning of each meeting, the Chairperson is the

one responsible for preparing the agenda. This can then be revised by the membership, who must accept the agenda in its final form before the meeting proceeds. This apparently simple situation is an example of the leadership-membership relationship which is essential to the development of a revolutionary cadre organization.

The establishment of structure within which leadership and membership can be developed is a very difficult problem inside the United States. On the one hand, there is a strong tendency in ordinary non-political working people to hold back and wait for direction from those they may consider to be more capable or experienced, i.e., to see themselves as permanent rank and file. Coupled with this is the tendency to rally around and rely upon charismatic leaders to lead them out of the wilderness of class and national oppression.

Movement people, including young New Afrikans, also tend to be caught up in this "cult of personality." But there is an even more widespread tendency among young people to regard any leadership as "elitist" and "bureaucratic" and to insist instead on what they call "participatory democracy," or the uninterrupted rule of the rank and file. Although apparently contradictory, both the "cult of personality" and the "ultra-democracy" of young people actually stem from the same existentialist, ad-hoc approach of movement people to revolutionary struggle. Constantly on the go from rally to rally, living for the psychological impact of each meeting on their feelings, they are not concerned with development of collective struggle, but rather with their own momentary feelings as individuals.

The structure of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, is created to develop a dialectical, i.e., a developing relationship between the leaders of FROLINAN and members of the revolutionary cadre organization analogous to that between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces. The important difference is that the members of the revolutionary cadre organization elect their leaders out of their own ranks, choosing those they believe to be the most capable of guiding and directing the revolutionary cadre organization, and holding them responsible for giving such guidance and direction in accord with directives and policies from the National Coordinating Council/Committee of FROLINAN.

This is one of the many ways in which the revolutionary cadre organization is constantly making creative use of the dialectical

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interplay and tension between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism, for its own collective development. Or, to put it another way, it is precisely because collective development is so critical to the essence of the revolutionary cadre organization that it is able to make conscious and creative use of the interplay between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism.

Most New Afrikans find it difficult to understand the principles and practices of Democratic Centralism because New Afrikans, generally speaking, proceed not from the concept of roles but from the concept of rights, privileges, and prerogatives. This concept of rights, embodied in both the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, predisposes New Afrikans to regard any relationship between individuals and leaders as an antagonistic contradiction and to look at every situation from the viewpoint of the individual preserving his or her right from external infringement. The concepts of roles, on the other hand, involves looking at the relations in terms of the development of the collective, whether this be the revolutionary cadre organization, the New Afrikan Nation as a whole, or any institution in the social order of the colonial government. At the heart of Democratic Centralism is the ideal: "All functions must be performed by each part of the structure if the collective is to be able to act as a continuum to develop into a strong nucleus of revolutionary leadership and as a framework for the continuing development and transformation of every member."

It is necessary to have leadership within the structure of a revolutionary cadre organization because it is necessary to have some persons or a National Coordinating Council/Committee (NCC) playing the role of projecting and generalizing, unifying and coordinating. If there is no chairperson within a particular committee, or no NCC within a national network of revolutionary cadre organizations (i.e., FROLINAN), who is acting in this role as "center," then there is only the plurality, the specificity and the variety of the members in the constituency. On the other hand, if the various members and the various committees or groups of the Front are responsible for specific programs and are constantly developing their operations, increasing their contact with the revolutionary social forces, discussing issues and programs of the revolutionary cadre organization, and developing their ability to think collectively, then the unity of the revolutionary cadre organization (FROLINAN) turns into homogeneity.

Thus, Discipline and Democracy are both part of the principles

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of the daily practice of a revolutionary cadre organization not because they have been imposed or because they are guaranteed by statute, but because of the deep conviction of each member that these are both necessary to the development of the FROLINAN on local, regional, and national levels. Every member is bound by the decision of the revolutionary cadre organization because every member realizes that without discipline, everybody and anybody could go his or her own way, do his or her own thing, and FROLINAN would fall apart. On the other hand, the leadership is constantly encouraging and seeking to create situations in which there is full discussion by the membership. They know that if decisions are arrived at without the full democratic discussion and even debate of the members, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot penetrate to the issues involved in any decision or the dualities that are implicit in every unity. Leadership knows that agreement reached through a process of full discussion and debate is always more effective than agreement reached through unquestioning ascent. Leadership and membership both know that liveliness of mind must go hand in hand with Unity of Will if the revolutionary cadre organization is to develop. Structure should be the basis of flexibility, not rigidity.

Both leadership and membership in the revolutionary cadre organization are an art, in the sense that both leaders and members must learn to play creative roles in the development of their mutual relationship. There must be exact rules for the behavior of either leaders or members as there is in a scientific experiment, or in learning an athletic skill, where uniform conditions can be artificially set up and repeated again and again, and derive the same results after each test. However, experience has shown that certain procedures and attitudes can be immediately recognized as contrary to the general dialectical principles of Democratic Centralism. (Democratic centralism is an organizational principle which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority, and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central coordinating committee. All members, committees, and groups of the national liberation front may discuss or constructively criticize and contribute to the development of a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members, committees, and groups must abide by it.)

For example, the “rotating chairperson” (which is often proposed in the name of “participatory democracy”), destroys the

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possibility of leadership playing its essential role as “center.” The chairperson must hold office for a period of a time long enough so that s/he can develop the responsibilities of this role. On the other hand, a chairperson who is not constantly listening to the members of his or her committees will soon be speaking only from her or his limitations and will be unable to project to the members a unity which has the richness of variety embodied in it.

A chairperson must be not only efficient at running meetings, but she or he must also be willing to do “propaganda work” among the members of the committee individually in order to develop a common language with them. A leadership which resorts to agitation and exhortation of the membership is usually one which has failed to fulfill its responsibility of projecting programs and positions which embody the relationship between what the revolutionary cadre organization is doing from day to day and the long range role of the FROLINAN in the acceleration of the evolution of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. If the leadership does not fulfill its role of projecting, creating and innovating but is only reacting to the membership, then the tendency is for weaknesses of individual members in FROLINAN to surface, i.e., for individual members to “act up.” In this situation leadership, feeling threatened, is tempted to overact, reminding the members of their duties and of its rights, i.e., of the chain of command, and sometimes even to mobilize those members whom it considers more loyal and supportive against those who are “acting up.” But this type of administrative, disciplinary, commandist, and subjective behavior on the part of the leadership cannot possibly restore the moral authority of leadership, since by definition the role of leadership is not a defensive but a creative one.

The revolutionary cadre organization must be constantly on guard against the tendency of members on all levels to self-cultivation, i.e., the use of the FROLINAN resources only for the development of the individual groups. On the other hand, if the leadership is not playing its proper role of encouraging the independent creativity of the membership, the tendency of membership is to slip into passivity, merely receiving and supporting instructions from the leadership. As the revolutionary cadre organization then begins to stagnate, leadership again is tempted to exhort the membership to greater efforts and liveliness. But this exhortation is futile, since by definition, agitation of the members is contrary to the role of leadership.

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The revolutionary cadre organization leadership should make the development and building of the independence movement the first task of the cadre. To ensure that the revolutionary cadre organization work is responsive to the needs of the independence movement, “politics in command” must be a basic operating principle. Such revolutionary leadership must be uncompromising in building the independence movement in direct relationship to the oppressed New Afrikan masses’ struggles. This also means they must guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitments.

1. Seek to establish FROLINAN in direct relationship with the New Afrikan masses struggles having the oppressed nation’s struggles become the revolutionary cadre organization’s political determination to fulfill those aspirations;
2. Place “politics in command.” The political program and strategic objectives become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the revolutionary cadre organization establishing a practical relationship with the New Afrikan masses, and build principled and congenial relationships with other progressives and revolutionaries;
3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat sectarianism and revisionism by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions and the consolidation of FROLINAN amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary cadre organization leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and maintain every condition that serves to consolidate and push forward the independence movement across the country. The revolutionary cadre organization leadership must work to reach a specific goal acknowledgeable of FROLINAN structure, the purpose of

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FROLINAN and the criteria from which FROLINAN builds, develops and manifest its existence. This revolutionary leadership must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice and equality. They must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the oppressed masses' discontent, addressing the U.S. imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of neo-colonialism. They must be willing to turn the oppressed New Afrikan masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspective, analysis proposals for socioeconomic and political change. This revolutionary leadership must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening, disciplining and consolidating the revolutionary cadre organization, to propagate the building of FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory and Program for Decolonization as a living part of the NAIM. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the revolutionary cadre organization with the New Afrikan oppressed masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary cadre organization leader who is "humanitarian in virtue," a "statesman in character" and an "administrator toward the revolutionary cadre organization" keeping politics in command, in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of professional revolutionary – to make the New Afrikan independence movement.

In all these ways, through living and often painful experiences in the correct and the incorrect handling of the very demanding relationships between leadership and members, the leadership and members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization as a whole will begin to internalize the rhythms of the dialectical as contrasted to the administrative method. This internalization becomes decisive towards handling contradictions between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces, both in the struggle for power and in the even more important and awesome responsibilities that ensue after seizing power and freeing the land.

A-4: Standards & Procedures

Every collective, whether an organization, a class, a race, or

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a nation, must establish standards, i.e., those values and patterns of behavior which all members are expected to strive to embody in their daily thinking and practice, chiefly in order to advance the collective and national unity. A FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, establishes its standards not only to advance the national liberation front, but in full consciousness of the national liberation front's responsibility to advance the evolution of the New Afrikan Nation.

Starting from this fundamental premise, FROLINAN, as a revolutionary cadre organization in the United States, at this time must establish its standards in the light of two major realities:

1. the particular and contradictory character of the chief revolutionary social forces, subject to conditions of neo-colonialism, and;
2. the protracted struggle that will be necessary to bring about the revolutionary transformation of this society, securing New Afrikan independence.

These realities make it essential that the revolutionary cadre organization adopt as its standards those values which have proved to be most durable and universal in the course of humanity's millennium of development. Such values must include: love and respect for one's own people, not for their sake alone but as a springboard to love and respect other peoples; respect for ideas; dedication; dependability; discipline, self-reliance, and accountability; and care and development of one's body as well as one's mind.

Young people in the United States today, particularly New Afrikan, are potentially the chief revolutionary social force for the overthrow of the present society and securing New Afrikan independence. They are the ones most hostile to the present system and the ones with the maximum energy for fundamental social change. At the same time, these young people both New Afrikan and Euro-American (the latter especially insofar as they have become alienated from their communities and are imitating New Afrikan youth "hip-hop" subculture), are the ones most deficient and lacking in the above values. They are "now" people for the most part, standardless and valueless. Hence, their "revolutionary" energies are most likely to explode in rebellions

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and rebellious activities of the most negative kind: dropping out, copping out, freaking out, “ripping off” and other helter skelter, individualistic and adventurous actions. Rebels without a positive cause, they have no vision of what the struggle must be for and therefore no concept of the “new woman/man” who must be created through the revolutionary struggle.

Typical of their inability to put the development of the New Afrikan Nation and humanity at the center of their thinking is their endorsement and encouragement of “ripping off” each other (black on black crime), people, and merchants (as representatives of the capitalist system) – as if this could possibly leave unaffected the humanity of those doing the ripping off.

The result of these negative rebellions (gangsterism) is that large sections of the population are becoming completely alienated from the perspective of revolutionary social change, either becoming passive and despairing, or in many cases, actively counter-revolutionary. Thus, instead of increasing the revolutionary potential, these potentially revolutionary social forces are actually decreasing its potential. Most liberals, and these young rebels themselves, are reluctant to face the new reality which is being created by these negative rebellions. Instead, they excuse these rebels by saying that their attitudes and actions are “only” or “in the final analysis” the product of objective and historical conditions and therefore outside their control. They point to the abundance in a capitalist society and electronic media which have provided instant gratification of every physical and psychological want to the youth generation. They point to the barbarism of racism and the genocidal wars in various parts of the world, which have demoralized young people by exposing the dehumanized character of Amerikkkan capitalism, imperialism, and political-economic-academic power structure; and they point to the failure of the older generation over the years to resist this barbarism and inhumanity.

However, in citing objective and historical conditions as an excuse for the negative rebellions and rebelliousness of young people, these liberals and the rebels themselves are evading the crucial contemporary contradiction, which is that on the one hand, these young rebels in their rebellion are the most complete expression of a corrupt valueless society. On the other hand, they and the working class are the ones with the greatest potential to bring this system to an end. In other words, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot wait upon the revolution to change

the objective conditions that have produced these social forces as they are. It must find ways and means, within the present, to bring about revolutionary transformation of these young people in order to make the revolution, i.e., in order to bring about changes in the objective institutions and conditions.

One of the most important ways that the revolutionary cadre organization can do this is by projecting and embodying its own ideas and practices. These values which have proved most universal and enduring throughout the development of humankind, the revolutionary cadre organization itself must insist on the indivisibility of politics and ethics.

This indivisibility of politics and ethics is indispensable to the development of the revolutionary cadre organization for the protracted struggle which lies ahead of it. Without the above standards, it is impossible for those within the revolutionary cadre organization to develop trust in one another and those whom they seek to lead. Without trust, no protracted struggle can possibly be successful.

In affirming the indivisibility of politics and ethics, the revolutionary cadre organization is breaking consciously with the political tradition which has dominated western thought since Machiavelli, 500 years ago, created the science of politics as a question of strategy and tactics. Marx did not challenge this Machiavellian concept chiefly because politics was secondary to what was happening in the process of production. Marx believed the very development of the productive forces and the struggles of the workers against exploitation were creating in the workers the highest standards of collectivity, discipline and social responsibility. For Lenin, politics was much more important than it had been for Marx, but Lenin had conceived the revolutionary party chiefly as a means to increase the hostility of the masses to the system as a whole so that they could then be mobilized in struggle to overthrow the system.

Today, however, in the United States, our historical conditions and therefore our responsibilities can not be the same as Marx and Lenin, just as was the case for Samora Machel in Mozambique, or Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau. Among the revolutionary social forces with whom we are the most concerned, there is no lack of hostility and antagonism to the system as a whole. What they lack is a concept of:

A. Transformation of man/woman, which must be at

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the center of revolutionary struggle; and

- B. Of the protracted nature of our struggle for national independence.

Together these require a new concept of the indivisible relations between politics and ethics.

The Standards and Procedures on recruitment are to ensure the revolutionary cadre organization meets with maximum success in this endeavor to construct an effective and highly sophisticated organizing and fighting force capable of sustaining the forward motion in the New Afrikan independence movement. They are also designed to guard against enemy penetration and the irreparable harm which defection and betrayal engender when rooted in ignorance.

The prerequisites for becoming a member of FROLINAN are as follows:

1. Recognition of the existence of the New Afrikan Nation as an oppressed nation within the colonial government of the United States of America in the western hemisphere;
2. Recognition that the Republic of New Afrika is the name and government of the New Afrikan Nation, a government in exile, struggling for the liberation of the National Territory of Kush;
3. Acceptance of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence Creed and Code of Umoja;
4. Recognition and support of the New Afrikan People Liberation Army (NAPLA) as the armed front of the New Afrikan Nation;
5. Support and work to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN as the legitimate representative of New Afrikan Independence Movements and work to support all groups in alliance to FROLINAN;
6. Must be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist,

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anti-racist/fascist, anti-sexist, pro-national independence, willing to participate in the class and national liberation struggle for land (Kush) and social democracy;

7. Believe and have faith in the creative ingenuity, spiritual quality, and humanity of our New Afrikan people, and the historically cultural, socio-economic, and political productivity of our struggle for national independence.

STANDARDS

1. Potential members must have demonstrated (or should) an inclination to break with or shed the mentality of the slave, and bourgeois neo-colonial aspirations.
2. Potential members must have displayed a basic understanding of the need for unity in their daily dealing with others.
3. Potential members must have demonstrated a conscious love of humanity in their practice.
4. Potential members must have displayed a conscious desire to emulate the conduct and ethics of the revolutionary cadre organization known to them.
5. Potential members must have outgrown the lust for coveting of material goods.
6. Potential members must have proven record of honesty, integrity, and generosity.
7. Potential members must submit totally to guidance, rules, and policies of the revolutionary cadre organization.
8. Potential members must be prepared to serve

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and function in any capacity or geographical area designated as required of them in the revolutionary cadre organization.

9. Potential members must be made to understand that the struggle demands a total commitment, a lifestyle, transcending all social levels.
10. Potential members must be able to understand to never speak of FROLINAN internal business or affairs without prior authorization from those in a position of trust, except for that information that is for the general public.

PROCEDURES

1. All recruitment must begin with a sponsor, and that sponsor must be a member of FROLINAN.
2. A sponsor recommending an individual for possible acceptance within the ranks of the revolutionary cadre organization must provide a verbal and/or written background report on the potential member and the nature of that sponsor's past and present relations with the potential recruit.
3. Those in a position of trust are to delegate three cadre members to function as a screening committee to investigate all background information and relevant data provided on the potential recruit by all sources.
4. The screening committee is to have full latitude in the nature of its questioning of a potential recruit and the manner in which it conduct its investigation.
5. Background data is to include a personal history, schools attended, prior places of residence, arrest record, family background, and present and past

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political and organizational ties.

6. The screening committee, for all functional purposes, is not a decision body, but instead is an investigating body. Thus, at the end of its investigation, it will render to those in a position of trust, its findings and recommendations.
7. In its determination of its recommendation, the screening committee need not be unanimous in its vote; the majority rules.
8. Those in a position of trust are bound by this determination unless it can be proven to have been arrived at outside the bounds of FROLINAN's principles.
9. In those cases where the screening committee's recommendation is favorable, all investigative findings are to be forwarded by those in a position of trust to the higher authorities for final decision. If that final decision is affirmative, this information will then flow into organization structure to the revolutionary cadre responsible for the maintenance of FROLINAN's active and inactive files.
10. In the case of considering the inclusion of an organization as a front member, such decision will be the responsibility of the Central Coordinating Committee of FROLINAN.

A-5: Methods of Evaluation - Criticism & Self-Criticism

After the completion of every project, no matter how small, there must be a thorough-going evaluation of the project by the revolutionary cadre organization.

Were the purposes of the project fulfilled? Were they clearly defined and understood by everyone involved in the first place – and were they kept in mind throughout the project? Were the methods effective? Were they the best methods or the only ones

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that could have been chosen? Were schedules maintained and was every step of the process carried out? If some steps of the process were left out, was this harmful to the project or were some of them superfluous from the beginning? What were the achievements and shortcomings of the project, and what lessons can the group learn from it? What were the reasons for the breakdown or failure of the project at any point? Which of these were outside the control of the group and which might be anticipated and prepared for in the future? What were the expense and income from the group as part of the final evaluation? Was every member clear about his/her responsibilities at every stage of the project? Were the resources of the group (skills, contacts, equipment, time) adequate to the project as planned, or did the group exhibit over-confidence and impatience in the planning?

This kind of methodical evaluation is a concrete manifestation of politics in command. In other words, it stems basically from the philosophical conviction that in all relations between human beings and their environment, human beings must assume conscious responsibility for their actions. They must do this to stop the vulgar rationalization of always blaming others or outside conditions and thus seeing themselves as passive victims.

All this may seem very elementary and common sense, but it is far from being obvious either in the general overall political atmosphere of this country, or in the particular atmosphere of the movement's helter skelter, "on-the-go" politics. Amerikkka generally tends to have a technical approach to every project, to try to overpower those whom they are seeking to influence or to defeat by the sheer weight of their analysis, equipment and technology. Or they have a "new frontier" approach. If something doesn't work out so well, or things go bad, they just abandon the project, or the place, or the people involved in it, and go onto something, somewhere, or somebody else. They are always running off to a new beginning.

Because the majority of "movement" people have failed to make a serious examination of Amerikkkan history or its philosophical environment, they have carried these same attitudes into their own activities, simply adding their own special contempt for ideas. Their love of rhetoric, their predisposition to spectacular confrontations, and their hunger for continuing emotional excitement inhibits the development of a thorough analysis and a national strategy. Engaging in activities for the sake of activism, and not in order to test clear convictions in revolutionary social

practice, they have rarely worked out clear programs with purposes, methods, schedules and processes, clearly defined, and therefore capable of careful evaluation. Hopping from one issue to the next, they have not even stayed together long enough to develop a sense of commitment to one another or to a particular constituency, which is prerequisite to the practice of evaluation. Reared in an economy of abundance, they have little or no idea of how many New Afrikan workers have to sweat for every dollar, that over half of all New Afrikans live at or below the poverty line.

Hence, we can judge a political organization by the seriousness with which the organization handles the question of socio-economics and finances. When one realizes how deeply ingrained these helter skelter attitudes and practices are in the objective environment and historical tradition of revolutionary social practice, one realizes how futile it is to depend on rebukes and reprimands to correct them. Rather, through understanding the historical and philosophical roots of these practices, the revolutionary cadre organization can arrive at a firm appreciation of why, by contrast, it must build itself step by step on completely different philosophical foundations, based essentially on the dialectical method of development through collective and protracted struggle.

The theoretical acceptance of this dialectical method, however, by no means guarantees that the attitudes and practices so deeply rooted in the history of NAIM will immediately disappear. To uproot and correct these attitudes and practices on a continuing basis, the revolutionary cadre organization must include a place for constructive criticism and self-criticism on the agenda of every meeting.

The concept of constructive criticism/self-criticism has become a popular phrase in the "movement" when it was integrated into the practices of the Black Panther Party, as a result of the BPP adopting this concept from Mao Tse Tung principles as applied in the protracted struggles leading to the victory of the Chinese Communists. It continues to play a role in the building of a new society in China and in revolutionary struggles elsewhere in Asia, Afrika, and Latin America. Conversely, when the revolutionary movements all over the world were dominated by the D-Day concept of revolution (which had been borrowed mechanically from the example of the 1917 Russian Revolution), criticism used to take the form chiefly of post-mortem analysis. For example,

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one group or individual would insist that a particular setback in revolutionary development in a particular country was the result of a mistaken policy and therefore of the group or individual sponsoring the policy. Simultaneously, the claim would then be made that if those in charge had pursued the policy of the critic instead, then there would have been success rather than failure. This kind of arrogant subjectivism and hypothetical after thinking is completely foreign to the concept and practice of revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism.

Revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism is based, first and foremost on the dialectical concept of development through collective and protracted struggle. It involves the clear recognition that in every situation there is a contradiction which requires a choice between two roads. It involves the recognition that no one is immune from making a mistake or wrong choices, but that the entire group, the individual making the mistake, and indeed everyone concerned with the revolutionary struggle, can learn from the mistakes and wrong choices that have been made by the individual or the group. Moreover, the recognition, the examination, and correction of mistakes and weaknesses all provide additional energy for the advancement and acceleration of revolutionary struggle. This is the dialectical concept of the “dynamic of error.”

In order for this “dynamic of error” to develop, the group must be united by certain common principles and ideas. All the members must be committed to common perspectives or a common ideology. They must share common standards, they must be committed in time, and they must share a fundamental recognition of the role that struggle itself plays in developing people and social order. Without these common principles, constructive criticism/self-criticism cannot rise above subjectivity and get to the essence of what is wrong in any particular situation, i.e., the objectivity of the mistake. Essential to the concept of objectivity is the recognition that a mistake is not just an accidental one, i.e., that it is not unique to the particular individual or to the particular occasion. On the contrary, it probably relates to the particular historical environment or to the social background of the individual involved, e.g., bourgeois cultural nationalism and intellectualism, technocratism, male chauvinism and sexism, sectarianism, elitism or permanent rank-and-file-ism. This objectivism enables the entire group to raise its consciousness and helps others with the same background to be on the alert against

these specific weaknesses.

On all levels of the social and political environment it is very difficult to make this kind of objective constructive criticism/self-criticism a real part of daily life and social practice. This again is for the very deep historical reasons already referred to, especially the tendency of New Afrikans to look upon problems as nuisances and headaches, to be gotten rid of by some external means (i.e., alcohol, drugs, pills) rather than as challenges from which one can learn. Therefore, the tendency is to cover up mistakes rather than to admit or grapple with them.

New Afrikans are also very preoccupied with their own personalities or individualities and incline to develop guilt feelings about their own mistakes. For example, an individual may apologize for making a mistake because s/he feels guilty, thinking that s/he is criticizing himself or herself when s/he is really just expressing subjective or personal feelings. Often what is put forward as self-criticism is simply self-protection against further examination of the mistake by others.

Subjectivity and liberalism assumes many different forms, e.g., the protection of one's feelings or those of others; fear of hurting feelings or discouraging people by pointing out their mistakes; attacking those who hurt your feelings by criticism; fear of taking issues with others; and not pointing out the person who makes a mistake or not pointing out mistakes at once, but waiting until the persons involved are less emotionally caught up in their mistakes and then revealing the mistake to absolve them from responsibility.

It is extremely important to not allow one's personal feelings to interfere with the quality of work and commitment essential in maintaining a durable revolutionary cadre organization. Subjectivity and liberalism erode the quality of work and principled relationships amongst revolutionary cadre members.

Embracing Chairman Mao's concepts on combating liberalism as adopted by the former Black Panther Party, FROLINAN must stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization in the interest of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Every revolutionary should take up this weapon. Liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude, and bringing about political degeneration in certain cadres and individuals in FROLINAN and the revolutionary

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organization. Liberalism manifests itself in various ways:

1. To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship, when a person has clearly gone wrong, and to refrain from principled argument because s/he is an old acquaintance, a fellow "homie" (towns person), a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate – or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, to keep on good terms. The result is both the organization and the individual are harmed.
2. To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces, but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for principles of the collective life, but to follow one's own inclination.
3. To let things drift as if they do not affect one personally. To say as little as possible, while knowing perfectly well what is wrong. To be worldly wise and play it safe, and speak only to avoid blame.
4. Not to obey orders, but to give pride of place to one's own opinions, to demand special consideration from the organization and reject its discipline.
5. To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress, or getting work done properly.
6. To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary views or remarks without reporting them, and instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened.

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7. To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries amongst them, and instead to be indifferent to them, and show no concern for their well being, forgetting that one is a revolutionary and behaving as if one were ignorant of the principles and concepts of being a revolutionary.
8. To see someone harming the interests of the New Afrikan masses and not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him/her, or reason with him/her, but to allow him/her to continue.
9. To work half heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along, believing that "so long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell."
10. To regard oneself as having rendered great services to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignment, while being unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study.
11. To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself.

More could be named, but these eleven are the principle types. They are all manifestations of liberalism. Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary cadre organization. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs FROLINAN of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through, and alienates the revolutionary cadre organization from the New Afrikan masses. Liberalism stems from petty bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interest first and the interest of the New Afrikan independence movement second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism. Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with

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dialectical historical materialism and revolutionary principles.

CONDUCT

Rules of conduct are merely guidelines to disciplined conduct of every member of the revolutionary cadre organization. Discipline is very necessary if our objective is to be achieved. If revolutionary nationalists followed and adhered to strict self-discipline, rules would not be necessary. But to be disciplined to a certain concept, one must know what is required, i.e., rules for principled action. These rules should not conflict with chosen lifestyle, that of being a revolutionary, for revolutionary nationalists have chosen a course whereby if their conduct conflicts with these rules, they could not possibly be working in accord with the philosophy of revolutionary nationalism, or be carrying out the work of national liberation. Therefore, to safeguard and advance FROLINAN, each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible to him/her self and the national liberation front for maintaining and following the rules of conduct:

1. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is a potential leader and must at all times work toward obtaining those qualities that will make him/her the best and most efficient leader, learning when, where, and how to take the initiative.
2. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must develop and maintain consistent study habits of the political and socio-economic area (any and all publications available: books, newspapers, and magazines that will help to give social consciousness), and all materials dealing with the science of struggle and the enemy.
3. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must be selfless, sharing and providing assistance to comrades in the need of basic necessities and outside contacts if at all

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possible. Commendation and recognition is to be given for selfless acts. Taking undue advantage of comrades or New Afrikan people must be disciplined.

4. Physical fitness is a must. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must maintain an exercise program. Group practice is desirable and if possible, should be systematic and punctual for cohesive effect.
5. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to refrain from cursing, unnecessary loud talking, screaming, bragging, and boisterous behavior as much as possible.
6. Discussions of pertinent value are desired. There can be no discussion between antagonists; therefore discussions of this nature are discouraged unless it is for the purpose of enhancing one's ability to destroy the enemy.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to fear constructive criticism. Constructive criticism is the critical view or remark(s) backed by evaluation, knowledge, investigation, propriety, and concern.
8. Among members of the revolutionary cadre organization, there shall be no egoism, vanity, intentional dishonesty, intemperance, and intolerance. We recognize that there are people with different religious, racial, and political views, but members of FROLINAN will always seek to persuade others to the correctness of the revolutionary cadre organization's objectives.
9. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization will diligently struggle to attain the goals, objectives, and general policies to their fullest capacities. They will always be mindful of the quality and quantity of their service,

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dedication and determination, and to always be willing to do what is required to bring an end to injustice, racism, terrorism and national oppression.

10. Any member of the revolutionary cadre organization in violation of rules must be disciplined according to the violation, and no punishment is to exceed the offense.
11. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must make an effort to teach non-members suffering from a lack of self-confidence and/or fear of the national oppressor and its neo-colonial agents, to over-come these obstacles. "Educate to liberate" is the motto for this purpose. To lead through the success of one's practice, leadership must be decisive; without sacrifice or participation in revolutionary activity, there is no leadership.
12. Each revolutionary cadre may establish additional rules in its environment to enhance the harmony in their area, keeping in mind nature of human behavior. such as, maintain respect of female comrades, and the personal relationship between comrades.
13. No rule supersedes tactical purpose, and to facilitate specific plans by design, may be broken.

A-6: Organizational Development

In a revolutionary period like this, when large sections of the population have lost faith in existing institutions, the prevailing tendency in NAIM is diffusion. This is the organizational tendency to form all kinds of groups. Some groups spring together as a result of spontaneous eruption or in order to make the struggle over a particular burning issue more effective. Others are formed chiefly in order to give individuals a sense of belonging to some

collective because they have lost faith in the US government. Others exist for no other reason than that the power structure needs them as channels of communication to the potentially rebellious sections of the society, i.e. agent provocateurs.

Because of this general self-structuring by the masses which is going on all the time, and because this self structuring gathers momentum in a revolutionary period, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's relations are basically not with single individuals and never with abstract general masses. Instead they are usually with particular groups of various kinds which can range from political to recreational to ethnic to economic. Usually most of these groups are going in their own separate directions which may be parallel or diverging, but rarely converge. However, again because of the revolutionary character of the period, there are many reasons these groups should or could converge to go in a particular direction together, rather than conflict on a particular issue. Usually a particularly raw issue is enough to bring them into conflict, although sometimes a counter-revolutionary or revolutionary group may, for reasons of its own, seek to bring about a clash and cause a split. On the other hand it is unlikely that the many groups which have within them the potential for united action in a revolutionary direction will work for any extended period of time without being under the open or quiet leadership of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

Therefore, the more rapidly various sectors of the population are in the process of self organization, the more important is the role played by FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In anticipation of this increasing momentum toward self organization as the crisis deepens, it is never too early in a revolutionary period for the revolutionary cadre organization to begin the painstaking task of organizing. In fact, all previous history (including that of the U.S. in the 60s) shows that once the dam of public confidence in existing institutions begins to break, the diffusion tendencies in the population far exceed the revolutionary cadre organization's ability to provide leadership. In anticipation of this development, it is important that the revolutionary cadre organization forges the means and method to develop alliances, coalitions, and the national liberation front.

Relations between the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization and other organizations fall into several distinct categories:

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1. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can simply join with other organizations in an alliance or coalition as a representative of FROLINAN. This usually happens over a single, limited, momentarily very popular mass issue, usually a defense issue. In this kind of united action, the alliance or coalition usually disappears as rapidly as it appeared, i.e., it is a sporadic or episodic unity that usually does not require the leadership of the revolutionary cadre organization.
2. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can take the initiative of bringing together a number of various organizations into a united front [FROLINAN] to carry on an extended struggle for positive goals, e.g., the community control of schools in a particular district and eventually over a much wider area. In this case, because the united front has extended resources, membership, and geographical perspective, the revolutionary cadre organization must undertake to build the united front [FROLINAN]. It is only after it has conducted careful advanced propagandistic preparation of a political constituency and has carefully trained revolutionaries who will be able to influence members of united front [FROLINAN], that they keep the struggle from disintegrating, without assuming actual leadership positions.
3. Individual members of the revolutionary cadre organization can be assigned to join one or more of these organizations, not to take over the leadership, but to influence them in a revolutionary direction. To struggle with them in combating liberalism, opportunism, and sectarian practices (particularly if they are not playing a progressive role in the general movement) they persuade groups to join in a principled way the revolutionary cadre organization practices under

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the auspices of FROLINAN.

4. Individual members can sometimes be assigned to help form a group for a particular purpose, e.g., for revolutionary study or to act as a revolutionary current within the general movement of NAIM. In all these relations, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre members are always conscious of their interpenetrating role, i.e., “from the masses to the masses.” They are using their contact with these groups to get a better idea of the stage of development of the social forces as well as to influence the direction of the social forces. In this interpenetrating dialectical relationship, they never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization and the protracted struggle of NAIM, no matter how pressing may be a particular issue or how desperately a particular community or organization may want to turn over to the revolutionary cadre members the main responsibility for leading that particular community or organization.

In the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the revolutionary cadre organization must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be thorough use of agitation propaganda. The use of agitation propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of New Afrikans, to arouse their hatred of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the U.S. colonial government in struggle. Agitation propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged in every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the New Afrikan independence movement is protracted in nature, agitation propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and literature toward large rallies, marches, and demonstrations. It must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate New Afrikans and propagate the NAIM, to the historical transition of the movement establishing the criteria to sustain itself, forging a living culture

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of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Thus, agitation propaganda in totality is the education of New Afrikans in revolution, and the mobilization of New Afrikans to confront capitalism/imperialism in the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation propaganda, the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible for establishing the Program for Decolonization, such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, day care centers, community liberation schools and so on. These Programs for Decolonization are organized by the revolutionary cadre organization and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these Programs for Decolonization, led by community representatives, ties both the New Afrikan masses and the representatives of the New Afrikan independence movement together, and ensures that the political program of the revolutionary cadre organization will be thoroughly supported by the New Afrikan masses' participation in the revolutionary independence movement.

These Programs for Decolonization are the arteries of the revolutionary cadre organization [FROLINAN], establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary independence movement in the heart of the New Afrikan community. They are essentially part of the defensive mechanism of the independence movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure the needs of the New Afrikan masses are met as part of the revolutionary independence process. Eventually these Programs for Decolonization will develop into a network of community service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being a part of the New Afrikan independence movement is to establish alternative social services which the enemy colonial government is not adequately providing. All of this is the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary cadre organization in the New Afrikan community, complemented by establishing collectives in rural areas, and develop communes in township and farm areas.

The revolutionary cadre organization must have the various Programs for Decolonization in support of the New Afrikan Independence Movement thoroughly entrenched in the hearts of both urban and rural communities, establishing the national strategy and political program of FROLINAN. This is termed the "Social Development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement," when the revolution becomes a social movement,

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culturally – inspired and politically – determined toward liberation of the national territory of Kush.

CODE OF ETHICS:

The purpose of this Code of Ethics is:

1. To develop a clear line of the revolutionary cadre organization expectations;
2. To develop a clear line of organizational and political precepts for FROLINAN cadre members to adhere to;
3. To develop clear and just methods of revolutionary cadre organizational discipline, and to facilitate the enforcement of FROLINAN policies and rules;
4. To combat and eradicate unprogressive patterns and attitudes among members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization;
5. To develop ideological and political cohesion within NAIM;
6. To bring the people and the revolutionary cadre organization to a closer and more harmonious relationship in unity and struggle toward freeing the land.

The success of this Code of Ethics rests with each and every participant in the New Afrikan independence movement. If the independence movement is to move forward, correct its mistakes, and fortify the revolutionary cadre organization, then it is essential all revolutionary nationalists carry out their revolutionary duties at all times, and seek to promote FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

1. Under no condition will there be any fighting between members of the revolutionary cadre

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organization and FROLINAN.

2. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will show respect to all New Afrikans in word and actions.
3. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization should attempt to be polite and courteous to all people, regardless of race, creed or color.
4. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will place any material commodity above or before FROLINAN, the people, or the New Afrikan Independence Movement.
5. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will display or have an arrogant, disdainful, belittling or chauvinistic attitude.
6. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is permitted to use, produce, distribute, process, fund, or take part in the sale of heroin, cocaine (in any form), LSD, or PCP. Nor will they take any type of pill for the purpose of getting high (uppers or downers) and no member of FROLINAN will distribute such pills or take part in the sale of such pills or other illegal drugs.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will engage in the sale of marijuana, or the funding or solicitation of marijuana operations.
8. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will ever appear in public intoxicated or under the influence of marijuana, alcohol, or any other illegal drug.
9. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization shall lie about his/her position

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within the revolutionary cadre organization to another member, nor shall any member divulge his/her position (or the position of another) to a non-member.

- 10.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will reveal FROLINAN secrets to anyone.
- 11.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will use the influence or reputation of FROLINAN for his/her personal interest.
- 12.All cadre leaders are to set up decolonization programs and/or classes in political and physical education, first aid, weaponry, and other topics such as nutrition and horticulture which will enable New Afrikans to better survive, and to be able to contribute to the survival of the revolutionary cadre organization.
- 13.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are expected to take part in the established decolonization programs and classes.
- 14.All cadre leaders will see to it that all members of the revolutionary cadre organization know and are taught how to defend themselves, and how to fire, break down, and clean firearms.
- 15.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will carry out orders given to them by their cadre leader or staff member.
- 16.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are potential leaders and are expected to take the initiative and develop themselves to the utmost, so as to be capable of taking the initiative and providing leadership whenever it is needed.
- 17.All members of the revolutionary cadre

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organization will read FROLINAN's Handbook, and put to memory the code of ethics, rules of conduct, ways to combat liberalism, and points of attention as part of their everyday lives.

18. When a cadre leader is not available, members will vote and appoint one, on the merit of knowledge, experience, dedication, and courage.
19. All cadre leaders are to make available an avenue through which members can air grievances. There must exist a conscientious effort on the part of the cadre leader to resolve these grievances in a humane, patient, and sensitive manner.
20. Cadre leaders are to send dispositions of all grievances to the coordinating council or committee for review.
21. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization who are imprisoned will report immediately upon release to a designated cadre leader or other instructed location.
22. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will take part in any type of gambling or betting or lotteries.
23. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will participate in national elections pertaining to the development of FROLINAN and the government of the Republic of New Afrika.

Points of Attention:

- A. Speak politely.
- B. Pay fairly for what you buy.
- C. Pay for what you damage.
- D. Do not hit or swear at New Afrikans or other oppressed people.

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- E. Do not damage the property of the poor oppressed masses.
- F. Do not take liberties with women or men.
- G. Exert the maximum efforts to eliminate drinking, marijuana, drug, and tobacco products.
- H. Practice nutritional diets, fasting, and eating less.
- I. Learn to make bread from scratch, and how to preserve and can foods.
- J. Learn to grow and raise crops and produce.
- K. Decrease the time in which you watch TV; increase study time.
- L. Uphold organizational discipline. Tell people no lies; claim no easy victories.
- N. Listen to New Afrikan and other oppressed people to know and meet their needs.
- O. Show compassion and understanding to the oppressed New Afrikan masses who have suffered from the womb to the tomb.
- P. Try passionately and relentlessly to educate the oppressed New Afrikan masses and to learn from them.
- Q. Exercise your mind and body each day.
- R. Always set a good example for others to follow, adhering to the principles of FROLINAN.
- S. Popularize and act in accordance with the slogan, *If you will do nothing for liberation, then do nothing against liberation* – always applying theory and practice to break the chains of national oppression.

The rules, standards and procedures, methods of combating liberalism, code of ethics, and points of attention must be internalized, for they are vital to the development of revolutionary consciousness amongst New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, and to setting the proper example for the New Afrikan Nation.

It is hereby offered to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, FROLINAN's Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres, in hopes that all revolutionary nationalists will establish study groups and study the National Strategy of FROLINAN. We hope that revolutionary nationalists will begin the necessary dialogue to bring into existence the national liberation front, applying the principles and concepts here

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elucidated, toward freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

"Theory and Practice to Break the Chains of National Oppression"

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