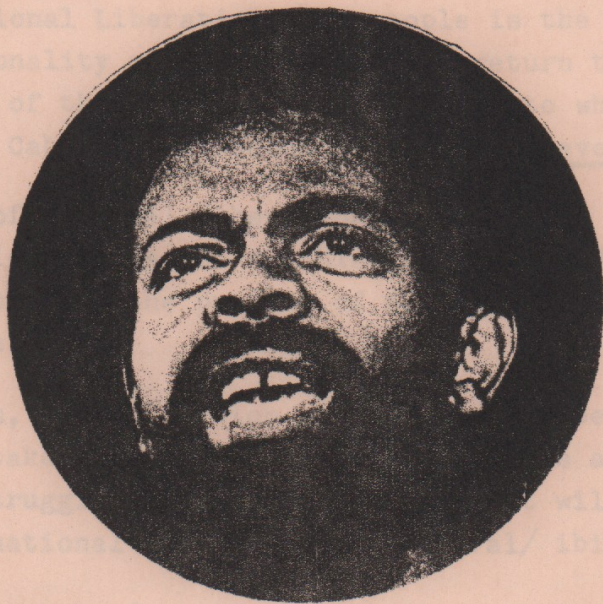
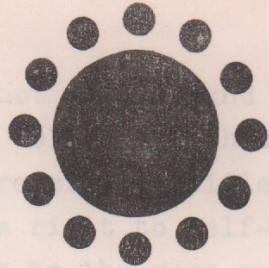


National Liberation & Politics



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What Is National Liberation:

"The National Liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it has been subjected." - Cabral/"The Weapon Of Theory", Revolution In Guinea

"The objective of national liberation is to regain this right" (the right of a people to have its own history), "usurped by imperialism, that is to say to free the process of development of the national productive forces.

"For this reason, in our opinion, any national liberation movement which does not take into consideration this basis and this objective may certainly struggle against imperialism, but will surely not be struggling for national liberation." - Cabral/ *ibid* p.103

"The principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism. Furthermore, if we accept that national liberation demands a profound mutation in the process of development of the productive forces, we see that this phenomenon of national liberation necessarily corresponds to a revolution. The important thing is to be conscious of the objective and subjective conditions in which this revolution can be made and to know the type or types of struggle most appropriate for its realization." - Cabral/ *ibid* p.103

"It is necessary for the Communist Parties to render direct aid to the revolutionary movements in the dependent and subject nations (e.g., in Ireland, the Negroes in America, &c) and in the colonies.

"Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation---and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing more nor less than the recognition of the right to self-determination---but they must render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their rebellion---and if need be their revolutionary war--- against the imperialist powers that oppress them."

From "The Socialist Revolution and the Right
of Nations to Self Determination" -VI Lenin

"To separate internationalist content from national form is the practice of those who do not understand the first thing about internationalism".

- Mao/ "Study", Selected Readings

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To achieve National Liberation it is necessary to create two distinct political formations:

- A. The small "vanguard party"
- B. The larger "mass party"

Basically this method is conceived as relating these two critically needed political formations:

A. The ideologically, politically, and organizationally independent vanguard party or cadre, organized around clearly revolutionary lines (in the case of CAP)--but there are other small parties that will exist, and naturally so. This type of party is characterized by rigid discipline, clear developing ideology, tactical mobility, and commitment to struggle.

B. The larger "mass party" formation is of the United Front characterization. It is able to bring together around concrete programs and issues a diversity of smaller political tendencies and formations, including the revolutionary or national liberation movements. In such a United Front formation it is necessary to stress both the union of all parties and the relative independence of each. We must also realize that in our National Liberation struggle we must sometimes

subordinate incipient class struggle in our national community to the overall interests of struggling against the principal enemy, tho, and this is also critical, we cannot refuse to point out overt opportunism, or worse, collaboration, with the enemy by political tendencies represented in the front, nor the differences between all the parties in the front.

(CAP represents an example of formation A. National Black Political Assembly and Afrikan Liberation Support Committee represents two types of the B formation. Two types because ALSC is organized on a higher level politically hence it is not an "absolutely broad" cross-sectional Black United Front, tho a thoroughly effective one.)

Both these parties may work around similar issues, tho the A formation in a finally more disciplined and concerted manner.

According to Maulana Karenga, who defined Politics, as "the gaining, maintaining & use of power" there are 7 functions of a Black Political Party and the basic ingredient of such party is firstly:

Ideology (which teaches identity purpose and direction) & also Organization, Communications Resources.

Revolutionary Movement is impossible without the development of a revolutionary ideology. Our understanding of a revolutionary ideology for the black liberation movement is that such an ideology must be based on history & current conditions + World revolutionary experience: it must include 1. Revolutionary Nationalism: The belief that our people make up a nation. A nation without power, a cultural nation, i.e., a people with a common past, a common present, and hopefully a common future. Our task is to gain, maintain, and use power for National Liberation, the freeing of our people from foreign domination. We do this through the internalization of a revolutionary value system and the development of alternative institutions, the most basic of which is the Revolutionary Afrikan Nationalist Cadre.

2. PanAfrikanism: The global expression of Nationalism. The belief that Black People all over the world are Afrikans, with a common struggle and a common enemy and that we must unify Afrikans all over the world to struggle for the unification and independence of Afrika under socialism, and for the self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense of Afrikans all over the world.

3. Socialism (Ujamaa): Familyhood. An attitude of mind. Cooperative economics: to build and maintain our own stores, shops, and other businesses and to profit together from them. To struggle for cooperative economics (communalism, socialism) as a scientific world system for the reorganization of world society and the redistribution of the world's wealth.

The 7 functions of the party according to Maulana Karenga:

1. Voter Registration
2. Mobilize
3. Organize
4. Politicize
5. Run Candidate (Meets 5 criteria of Black Politician:
 - a. responsible to black community
 - b. expose system as corrupt and unworkable
 - c. alliances to increase power
 - d. raise controversial issues
 - e. Support National Liberation Movements)
6. Make Alliances
7. Third World Relations

How does electoral politics fit in with a revolutionary party or progressive black united front?

As Maulana Karenga defined the 4 areas of Political Power (1. Public Office, Elected or Appointed 2. Community Organization 3. Alliances and Coalitions 4. Disruption) so a political party must be able to work in all four of those areas in a militant uncompromising manner. We run candidates not just because we might "win", but to constantly propose the revolutionary alternative to the masses of our people.

Opportunist and collaborationist neo-colonial negro politicians must be constantly exposed and isolated from the movement. They must not be allowed to be confused in the minds of the people as some "political vanguard", tho we must work together with any progressive tendencies, even black elected officials where that is possible. But we will not obscure our more revolutionary work.

The National Black Assembly is the prototype for a national political front, in which opportunism is shrinking and the need for

strong black liberation organizing is evident. The stars and platform revolutionaries that minced across the stage at Gary in 1972 were not all absent in 1974 in Little Rock, but radically diminished. 1976 is a critical year in America because the government will ostensibly change hands, what it will really do is surge very openly to the right, fronted off by the democrats, complete with negro co-pilots, in abject collaboration. What will be the state of Black Union?

Afrikan Liberation Support Committee is a growing black united front of a more radical nature than the NBPA, therefore it is smaller but more aggressive and militant. The needed mass party will combine the dynamism of the ALSC and the mass scope & proposed organization in all 4 areas of political power of the NBPA.

CAP aims at being a vanguard party, a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the black masses to the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of both a pre revolutionary & a revolutionary situation and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks on the way to its goal. We must feel what the masses feel but act in a way consistent with our being armed with revolutionary theory.

Projects to be undertaken:

- 1) Opening of New C.A.P. cadres
- 2) Forming of New or strengthening of Old State Assemblies, National Black Political Assembly
- 3) Involvement in ALSC, support of its programs

Imamu Amiri Baraka

CAP Midwest Regional March 1974