

**On the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of  
Our Glorious Party  
Raise High the Banner of African  
Internationalism and Build the Revolutionary  
Party of the African working class**

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At various times during our history we have declared the significance of building the African People's Socialist Party. At no time has this declaration been more true and urgent than today.

Not only is building the Party a crucial task of the African People's Socialist Party and our members, it is also the fundamental task of the African Revolution at this critical historical juncture.

Our Party was first organized forty years ago in the wake of a crushing military defeat of the African Revolution in Africa and within the U.S.

When our Party was founded in May of 1972 the U.S. government was confident its years-long efforts to crush our struggle for liberation had been successful.

In the latter part of the 1960s the U.S. had unleashed a bloody wave of political repression that left some of our most outstanding leaders imprisoned, overthrown or murdered and our most significant organizations enfeebled or destroyed.

The list of known victims includes such notables as Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and ultimately Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, founder of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, who was imprisoned following the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960 and, after years of imprisonment and other harassment, subsequently died in 1978.

However, even as an era of struggle was being brutally brought to a close and the dreams of freedom and happiness of millions of our people were being subordinated to the whims of imperialism, another era was being born with the founding of our Party.

That era is fully upon us. It is one we have defined as the era of the Final Offensive against imperialism. Typically one thinks of a final offensive as the strategic culmination of a military engagement. However, when we speak here of the Final Offensive we mean this in historical terms. We mean the achievement of a point where historical conditions have resulted in the emergence of the oppressed peoples as the determinant social force, actively reversing the verdict of imperialism.

Europe is staggering from one unity-fracturing economic crisis to another. As the declining dominant imperialist state, the U.S. is seeking a face-saving retreat from bloody military engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq even as it is spreading carnage throughout Africa and intrigue in South America and other areas in an attempt to forestall its inevitable downfall.

After a decade of costly colonial expeditions in Afghanistan and Iraq that were designed to remake the Middle East in the image of the U.S. and establish the U.S. as the permanent global imperial power, an unintended political reconfiguration of the area has resulted in the opposite.

Developments in the Middle East have isolated Israel, the U.S. strategic military outpost and white cop on the regional block. U.S. satellites that include Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Yemen have been severely undermined by mass uprisings while its anti-imperialist opponents have grown in strength and influence.

Iran is now a burgeoning force in the region despite U.S. attempts at destabilization and "regime change" and notwithstanding the immediate success of the U.S. and European imperialists in overthrowing the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and sowing havoc in Syria.

U.S. troops that entered Iraq with great fanfare and bombast were forced to sneak out like thieves in the dead of night. One writer (Tim Engelhardt) wrote of the U.S. withdrawal thusly:

"Still, set aside the euphemisms and the soaring rhetoric, and if you want a simple gauge of the depths of America's debacle in the oil heartlands of the planet, consider just how the final unit of American troops left Iraq. According to Tim Arango and Michael Schmidt of the New York Times, they pulled out at 2:30 a.m. in the dead of night. No helicopters off rooftops, but 110 vehicles setting out in the dark from Contingency Operating Base Adder. The day before they left, according to the Times reporters, the unit's interpreters were ordered to call local Iraqi officials and sheiks with whom the Americans had close relations and make future plans, as if everything would continue in the usual way in the week to come.

"In other words, the Iraqis were meant to wake up the morning after to find their foreign comrades gone, without so much as a goodbye. This is how much the last American unit trusted its closest local allies. After shock and awe, the taking of Baghdad, the mission-accomplished moment, the capture, trial, and execution of Saddam Hussein, after Abu Ghraib and the bloodletting of the civil war, after

the surge and the Sunni Awakening movement, after the purple fingers and the reconstruction funds gone awry, after all the killing and dying, the U.S. military slipped into the night without a word.

“If, however, you did happen to be looking for a word or two to capture the whole affair, something less polite than those presently circulating, ‘debacle’ and ‘defeat’ might fit the bill. The military of the self-proclaimed single greatest power on planet Earth, whose leaders once considered the occupation of the Middle East the key to future global policy and planned for a multi-generational garrisoning of Iraq, had been sent packing. That should have been considered little short of stunning.

“Face what happened in Iraq directly and you know that you’re on a new planet.”

The “new planet” is actually a new day, a new era, one that our Party has participated in creating for forty years. It is our day, our era. It is the era of the Final Offensive against imperialism!

However, the full measure of the shifting balance of geopolitical power cannot be fully understood without considering other areas of the world where U.S. imperialism is experiencing a tucked-tail retreat. In South America the advent of the governments of Hugo Chavez, Evo Morales, and Daniel Ortega of Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua, is representative of dwindling U.S. influence on that continent, derisively considered the U.S. “backyard” in the past.

In Asia U.S. bluster about a nuclear-armed Korea is partially designed to cloak U.S. moves in the Asia-Pacific Basin to contain the rise of China as the most obvious challenge to the political, economic and strategic hegemony of U.S. and European imperialism.

Significantly, China’s emergence as the fastest, most significant external economic force in Africa is squeezing the U.S. and Europe’s

capacity to continue hegemonic extraction of economic and political resources and removes Africa as a guaranteed strategic, U.S. geopolitical resource.

### **Party of the African working class organizes to win power**

Our Party was born of the brutal repression that destroyed our movement for happiness and the return of our stolen resources. Our mission was defined in part by that repression. We were the living embodiment of the words of Fred Hampton, Black Panther Party leader murdered by U.S. agents on December 4, 1969:

“You can kill a revolutionary but you can’t kill the revolution.”

So as revolutionaries were jailed and assassinated throughout the U.S. and the world, the birth of our Party actually constituted an organization pointing of the way forward.

It was necessary to move beyond the era of protest and organize to win and wield political power. This required the existence of a political party, the highest expression of the will to acquire power. Moreover, the founding of our Party was an explicit statement of our recognition that we were not fighting for just any kind of power, but revolutionary power in the hands of a revolutionary class – the African working class.

During this presentation I will say more about the significance of the Party’s emergence at this critical time. The Black Panther Party was the only revolutionary political party of consequence prior to the emergence of the African People’s Socialist Party and it bore the brunt of much of the counterinsurgent repression, leaving its remnants in a state of retreat.

Most other remaining African political groupings preferred to shun designation as a party and avoided the internal dynamics necessary to shape and define the class character of a revolutionary

organization. This resulted in ambiguity that most often allowed militant, nationalist petty bourgeois organizations to hide their class content behind radical sounding names.

However, we were clear that we had to have a revolutionary party rooted in the African working class and committed to African liberation, unification and socialism. We were also convinced that the tendency of some groups to move toward coalition-building as the central component of their work was wrong—we needed a revolutionary party to lead the revolutionary African working class to power.

Political parties exist in class societies and always serve the interests of particular classes. This also true of “coalitions,” “movements,” “conventions” and the like. An examination of their programs usually reveals what class is being served by a particular organization. Our objective was to create a party explicit in its class content and its mission to liberate Africa and African people under the leadership of the African working class.

The Black Liberation movement of the 1960s was crushed before the various contending political and ideological lines within the movement could develop fully and play themselves out on the political battlefield of revolutionary ideas.

Our Party represented a revolutionary continuum, linking the immediate past of defeat with the present and future. We were never a part of the defeat. We were born as a revolutionary organization that simply moved from one level of struggle to another, higher, level of struggle.

The imperialist U.S. colonialist State never succeeded in driving us underground and out of active political life. While one Party co-

founder was assassinated and I was frequently imprisoned, we were never pushed out of political life.

The ideological questions left littering the bloodied battlefield of counterrevolutionary repression did not go unattended. We rescued, resuscitated and resolved them through the ongoing work of our Party.

Consequently the development of our theory and political line was continuous and benefited from our uninterrupted practice in solving the real problems of the revolution.

### **Party solved key theoretical questions**

The political and theoretical issues that were roiling our movement and the struggles of peoples of the world at the time of our founding included the questions of the relationship of class to race and the place and role of white people in history and in our struggle.

We were also consumed by the need to achieve national identity that challenged the false identity imposed on us by our colonial oppressors. What were legitimate tactics and strategies for liberation and was violence or armed struggle a viable option?

While today there is an academic industry that pretends to speak to these issues, it does so without the benefit of revolutionary social practice. Generally speaking it is an industry that has separated theory from practice and offers up for public consumption the pristine ideological products emanating from efforts to explain the world without being engaged in, or concerned with, the practice of changing the world.

Another lesson that was consolidated in the founding of the Party is the fact that the African Liberation Movement, in Africa and abroad, had run into its limitations when fought within the imperialist-defined borders. Civil Rights were given and taken back with little afterthought in the U.S. and flag independence in one neocolonial enclave after the

other only served to obscure the imperialist origin of our continued misery.

We were experiencing the brutal defeat of our movement on different continents by a united imperialism that had no regards for borders. We understood that the inherent strength of a revolutionary anti-colonial movement based in several continents could only be realized if it were a movement conscious of its connection and its historical mission.

We rejected the notion of Africa and African people as permanent charity cases, locked in poverty and despair by a fate reserved for black people.

In the 1960s, the Soviet Union, presumed by many to be the leader of the international struggle against imperialism, declared that the recipients of its anti-colonial support on the continent were the only six legitimate revolutionary forces in all of Africa. They were referred to by the Soviets as the Authentic Six.

These were the organizations that received resources and organizational, military, political and ideological training from the Soviet Union in our struggle to overthrow white colonial rule. A condition for becoming one of the authentic designees was having the "correct" political line and meeting needs of Soviet foreign policy objectives.

We recognized that Africa should be able to define its own interests without concern for meeting the objectives of some non-African force, whether Soviet socialists or U.S.-supported European capitalist-colonialists. Hence in 1981, at our First Congress held nine years after our founding, we passed a resolution calling for the creation of the African Socialist International (ASI).



The ASI put the struggle of our people and our homeland squarely in the hands of Africans ourselves and, more explicitly, in the hands of the most revolutionary sector of the African nation, the African working class aligned with the poor peasantry.

With this resolve the Party transformed our individual poverty and powerlessness into our collective wealth and strength. Today the African Socialist International has some capacity on at least four continents. We are in Europe, Canada and the U.S., Colombia and the Bahamas and West Africa, with growing influence in East and Southern Africa. To coin a phrase of the 1970s, popularized by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), "We are our own liberators!"

**Party advances understanding that colonialism is primary problem**

We are the Party that brought science to our defeated African liberation movement at a time when it was generally bogged down in racial and cultural nationalism that revolved around candle-lit ceremonies, religious obscurantism and nostalgia for an African past that was often imaginary.

We discovered the material basis for the exploitation and oppression of Africans and others in this world. We determined long ago that defining our movement as a struggle against racism was a self-defeating waste of time and that what is called racism is but the ideological foundation of capitalist imperialism.

Race is a colonial invention that originated from the enslavement and colonization of Africans and Africa that gave birth to capitalism and, simultaneously, to the European nation. And, rather than defining the system of our oppression, racism is a concept that denies Africans our national identity and dignity and relegates to us the Sisyphean

task of winning acceptance from, and often of becoming one with, our oppressors.

The Political Report to the Third Congress of our Party quoted a passage from a presentation I made in 1978 in San Francisco that elaborated on our views on racism and explained the ideological departure that helped to distinguish our Party in the struggle for revolutionary science.

Here is an extract from that presentation. It is a presentation that acknowledged unity in defining our struggle as being against colonialism by a variety of African leaders and intellectuals that included Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Toure), but clearly shows how our Party developed and advanced the discussion beyond previous understandings:

"...[W]hat our Party did discover that made for a qualitative leap in understanding how to move toward liberation is that in the U.S., colonialism represents the relationship of class to race. Prior to this discovery our Party was one with most of the pro-independence movement in describing ours as a struggle against racism at the same time we were also calling it a struggle against colonialism.

"That is to say, our movement, still under the ideological influence of the primitive-petty bourgeois Civil Rightists whose colonial mentality often equated freedom with their proximity to white people, incorrectly used the terms racism and colonialism to define the same set of circumstances and oppressive structures responsible for our condition.

"However, at the moment we were able to understand that what we had been describing as institutional racism was the same thing we meant by the term 'colonialism,' and that these same set of circumstances and oppressive structures imposed on our people were

also defined as colonialism historically throughout the world, our ideological and political development increased a thousand-fold. This understanding of colonialism helped to place the responsibility for our oppression squarely on the shoulders of the North American ruling class.

“Our Party was able to discover that our main or primary struggle is against colonialism, which is an imperialist form, therefore necessarily having class connotations, and which utilizes the ideology of racism to justify and obscure the fundamental relationship that African people within the U.S. have with the capitalist-colonialist ruling class state.”

This was a major theoretical advance made by our Party. It was one whose further elaboration in the same document clearly helped to move our struggle forward in a manner that undermined imperialism and initiated practice that would contribute to the crisis of imperialism being experienced today.

“We discovered that colonialism is the condition we suffer from as a people and that racism is the ideology that justifies or obscures that relationship,” I stated. “Colonialism is real and concrete. It is a human-made condition that can be struggled against.

“On the other hand, we discovered that racism is the ideas in the heads of North Americans: racism is the attitudes displayed by North Americans which makes you [whites] dupes, allies, and collaborators with your ruling class in its attacks on us which reinforce and maintain our *colonial* relationship to the U.S. North American State...

“Our understanding of colonialism as the relationship of class to race within the U.S. has also revealed for us the inherent reformist character of a struggle by black people against racism. For ultimately the struggle against racism, when it is given material form, boils down

to a struggle for 'equality' with the exploited North American working class, that is to say equality within capitalism." (*Izwe Lethu i Afrika*, pg. 75, 76)

I cannot overstate the significance of this contribution to the body of African liberation theory. While all of this is now obvious to members of our Party and followers of our movement, during the period of our founding and for many years later, it was not so clear and many were trapped in an ideological quagmire.

Among the practical benefits of this theoretical development was the response by our Party to the issue of the role of white people in history and in the overall struggle against capitalist-imperialism. I will not attempt to explore the various positions that attempted to address this issue.

Suffice it to say that they ranged from the religious assumption that white people are the devil to the politically useless pseudo-scientific declaration of whites as genetic mutations. According to both these views the behavior of whites was a natural result of these presumed realities.

At best these were attempts to explain the world with the great defect of being unable to change the world. At worst they were an adoption of the bourgeois concept of race as a permanent dividing line separating humanity into different camps that are ultimately defined by biology, leaving questions of class exploitation and national oppression unaddressed.

In each case they were imperialist-serving positions that left the dominant social system and relations of power untouched.

**Theory of African Internationalism's influence in today's crisis of imperialism**

The reality of the day clearly shows an imperialism in deep crisis that neither religion nor genetics can resolve. Even the thinking representatives of the imperialists are beginning to say so.

Writing in 2007, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor for U.S. President James Earl Carter, felt it necessary to alert the U.S. ruling class of impending peril for an America that refuses to recognize the shifting balance of power in the world that favors the rise of the oppressed.

In his book, *Second Chance*, Brzezinski tutored the U.S. ruling class:

“Global political awakening is historically anti-imperial, politically anti-Western, and emotionally increasingly anti-American. In the process, it is setting in motion a major shift in the global center of gravity. That in turn is altering the global distribution of power, with major implications for America’s role in the world.

“The foremost geopolitical effect of global political awakening is the demise of the imperial age. Empires have existed throughout history, and in recent times American paramountcy has often been described as a new global empire...

“Imperial stability has historically depended on skilled domination, superior military organization and – ultimately most important – political passivity on the part of dominated peoples... The more recent Western European empires grew predominantly through superior transoceanic navigational capabilities motivated by trade and greed for valuable minerals. Modern imperialism is thus largely a Western emanation.

“In any case, the combined impact of global political awakening and modern technology contributes to the acceleration of political

history. What once took centuries now takes a decade; what took a decade now happens in a single year...

"Global systemic instability, moreover is likely to be prompted in many parts of the world by challenges to existing state frontiers. In Asia and Africa especially, state borders are often imperial legacies and do not reflect ethnic or linguistic boundaries. These borders are vulnerable to increased pressure as heightened political consciousness leads to more assertive territorial aspirations...

"The largely anti-Western character of populist activism has less to do with ideological or religious bias and more with historical experience. Western (or European) domination is part of the living memory of hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans, and some Latin Americans (though in this case its sharp edge is pointed at the United States)... In the vast majority of states, national identity and national emancipation are associated with the end of foreign imperial domination... This is true in such large and self-confident states as India or China as it is in Congo or Haiti.

"Anti-Westernism is thus more than a populist attitude it is an integral part of the shifting global demographic, economic, and political balance."

Patrick Buchanan, an imperialist ideologue, opponent of Brzezinski, and former speechwriter for U.S. President Ronald Wilson Reagan, is even more pessimistic and alarmist in his assessment. Writing in his book, *Suicide of a Superpower*, Buchanan laments:

"Not one nation of Europe or North America, save Iceland, has a birth rate sufficient to replace its population. All have been below zero population growth (2.1 children per woman) for decades. Who will inherit the Western estate? Between now and 2050, Africa's population

will double to 2 billion and Latin America and Asia will add another 1.25 billion people...

"...The great European powers fought two great wars. All lost their empires. All saw their armies and navies melt away... All are undergoing invasions from formerly subject peoples coming to the mother country to dispossess their grandchildren. All of their welfare states face retrenchment even as they face tribal decline and death...

"The conquest of Europe by peoples of color from the old colonies is well advanced. The numbers of those lined up waiting to come, and of those lined up behind them, stagger the mind...

"People of European descent are not only in a relative but a real decline. They are aging, dying, disappearing. This is the existential crisis of the West..."

Certainly this is *an* existential crisis of the West. However, long ago we discovered *the* existential crisis of the West. That crisis is one that both Buchanan and Brzezinski refuse to understand. It is a crisis born of the very foundation of the imperialist West. Put another way, it is the pedestal upon which the fortunes of the West have rested since its cankerous emergence on the body of humanity.

### **Party's theory of "Primitive Accumulation" exposes basis of imperialism's crisis**

Capitalism's foundation was characterized as "primitive accumulation" by Karl Marx who declared its function as playing "in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology..."

Marx went on to say, "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production..."

And again, "Whilst the cotton industry introduced child slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world."

Herein lies the basis of *the* existential crisis. The motion of the oppressed peoples of the world is fast snatching the pedestal out from underneath the "Western" or white parasite that has feasted off the life and blood of much of the world for the last few centuries.

Europe has existed as a parasite upon the rest of humanity and what Buchanan and Brzezinski do not want to understand and what Marx did not anticipate is we are now facing a world system in existential crisis because the parasite is losing its host due to the growing resistance of the world's peoples and the unexpected economic competition from some of those who previously functioned as hosts to this parasite.

Even Marx was unable to fully understand the importance of this question. Although Marx declared that this "primitive accumulation" is the historic equivalent of "original sin" and given the fact that he was characterizing earth-shaking events that resulted in the theft, sale, forced labor and enslavement of hundreds of millions of African human beings, Marx's position on the pedestal of our oppression prevented him from seeing the centrality of this question.

What Marx so clinically termed primitive accumulation was in fact the deadly European assault on Africa, North and South America and Australia, and the extinction and the near decimation of whole peoples. It was the brutal rape of much of Asia and the Middle East, the numerous internecine wars between European states and the



growth in wealth that overturned European feudalism and ushered forth capitalism and the European nation.

A real understanding of “primitive accumulation” would have required Marx to center most of his work on an examination stemming from this reality.

But, objectively Marx was himself a beneficiary of “primitive accumulation.” Like others his consciousness was shaped by this material relationship to imperialism during his lifetime. The libraries and universities he used for his research were filled with books and philosophy that were informed by this parasitic relationship. Historical necessity did not require Marx to understand and center his work on this reality.

However, we are required by history to understand this parasitic historical process that has from the beginning linked Europe, capitalism and the rest of us in the embrace of death from which we are now disengaging and about which Buchanan and Brzezinski are crying copious intellectual tears. This is the task that our Party willingly undertook and, to the dismay of the Buchanans and Brzezinskis and all the defenders of the imperialist status quo, our success in this area constitutes a fundamental component of the existential crisis of imperialism.

**Party’s theory represents the rising voice of the “objects” of history**

Up to now, since the successful rise of imperialism, Europe and white people have been the subjects and Africans and others have been objects of what can only be described as imperialist history for the last 500 years.

We have been voiceless and reduced to invisibility in stature and significance. We have already mentioned how Karl Marx characterized

the slavery, rape, pillage and genocide associated with our current status and the emergence of white power, as “primitive accumulation.” In another instance, he referred to slavery as “an economic category of the greatest importance.”

In my Political Report to the Fifth Congress of the Party I commented on what that meant: “...Here the relationship between peoples and countries is also obscured and mystified. Marx attributes European “development’ solely to the ‘genius’ and productive forces inside of Europe. He is thereby covering over or liquidating the origin of such ‘development’ in the parasitic impairment of the capacity of independent development in Africa and other places victimized by Europe.”

In another place in the Political Report I ask the rhetorical question:

“...Would capitalism and the resultant European wealth and African impoverishment have occurred without the European attack on Africa, its division, African slavery and dispersal, colonialism and neocolonialism?”

The answer is obvious to anyone with even a smattering of historical knowledge. But Marx didn’t get it, most of our movement still doesn’t get it, revolutionaries around the world have missed this crucial understanding of the foundation of imperialist existence.

In fact the most erudite practitioners of the superstition called capitalist economics don’t get it. This is one of the reasons nothing they say about the extant economic crisis of the imperialist world makes any sense.

Our summation of this imperialist dilemma is reflected in this quote from my Political Report to our Fifth Congress:

"The North Americans, like most Europeans, assume they have some idea of the basis of the contradictions because of the fantasies passed on to them historically about the source of their comparative wealth and 'good fortune'...

"Nevertheless, those are resources stolen from others that have become increasingly difficult for them to afford in their malls and supermarkets. It is somebody else's oil, wrenched from the earth with bloody consequences, for which they now have to pay more.

"The bauxite, coltan, gold and diamonds along with the cocoa beans, cotton and cheaply produced clothing have cost the rest of us dearly and our combined struggles to seize control of our lives and resources are affecting the ability of North Americans and other Europeans to enjoy a parasitic economy that requires global misery for an oasis of white happiness."

The inconsistent materialism of Buchanan and Brzezinski allows them to recognize some relationship between the decline of imperialism and the rise of formerly subject peoples, but, like the imperialist economists, they are blinded by philosophical idealism, the assumptions of white superiority that will not allow them to see the dialectic between Western or "white" success and African impoverishment. They cannot accept that the changing relations of power are exposing the real dependency, which is the dependency of the colonizer upon the colonized and of whites on Africans.

In reality the essential feature of capitalism is parasitism. This is as true of the capitalism of Adam Smith as that of Karl Marx. Wage labor, commodity production, private ownership and control of the means of production, are features of capitalism that function on the foundation of parasitism, "primitive accumulation," that Marx correctly identified as the equivalent of "original sin." This is the starting point

of capitalist accumulation and production, of the capitalist system itself.

This is not to say that everything that Marx said was wrong, but it is to say that everything he said must be reevaluated based on a materialist appreciation of the centrality of capitalist parasitism, of what he called primitive accumulation. Otherwise we will continue to be duped by those who verbally claim to oppose capitalism, but who cannot oppose *parasitic* capitalism.

We are not Marxists. We are historical materialists. I have taken the historical materialism of Marx, the science of investigating and analyzing society, to investigate and analyze our reality as Africans. Indeed, we are a part of the 'primitive accumulation' mentioned by Marx in his works. Malcolm X, a materialist of sorts in his own right, has been quoted as saying how someone watching another sitting on a hot stove would describe the experience differently from someone actually sitting on the stove. This is true. The spectator is not required to have a full understanding of the experience. The victim of the hot stove is provoked by his reality; it becomes a historical necessity to understand the question.

Using the collective experience of African people as a starting place, I was able to use the science of dialectical and historical materialism, cleansing it of its Marxist metaphysics and idealism, to investigate and analyze our relationship to the world.

For us the rise of capitalism in the world is not based on some purely abstract Marxist theory on the development of human society. It is not a theoretical question. "Primitive accumulation" is not a theory. The rape of Africa, the enslavement of our Continent and our people, the forcible dispersal of Africans throughout the world as a

means of rescuing Europe from a place of disease and poverty giving rise to capitalism, is a matter of record.

Marx, the spectator, did not have to understand this. The person sitting on the hot stove, this living, breathing, thinking, “primitive accumulation,” would either understand this question or perish. I chose to understand. More than that, I chose to develop a worldview stemming from this understanding. This is the origin of African Internationalism. African Internationalism is simply the worldview stemming from an historical materialist investigation and analysis of the world with its starting point being the experience and role of Africans and Africa in the advent of capitalist-imperialism as the rise of white power.

*Parasitic* capitalism is the real issue. It is this reality that ultimately distinguishes African Internationalist socialism from the struggle for “white rights” that usually characterizes most movements of Europeans worldwide. It is the difference in real socialism, resulting from overturning the pedestal upon which all capitalist activity occurs, and some variation of the National Socialism achieved by the Nazis of German infamy.

Today the crisis of imperialism has thrust a number of Europeans into motion—from Tea Partiers to Wall St. Occupiers in the U.S. They have been mobilized by the inability of capitalism to live up to its expectations for Europeans. This is also true in Europe, where thousands of militants are in the streets of Greece. They are demanding that they be restored to their rightful place atop the pedestal of capitalist prosperity.

The only problem is that this can only happen at the expense of the wellbeing of the historical victims of capitalist prosperity, the subject and colonial peoples of the world who are currently fomenting

crisis with our struggle for the recapture of our resources, our sovereignty, dignity and our history.

It is an error to assume that this “primitive accumulation” is simply something that happened a long time ago with no implications for today. The truth is that current capitalist-imperialist structures, the ones being challenged in a thousand different ways today, are structures with their origin in the very genesis of capitalism as it emerged from the primordial sludge of backward and disease-ridden Europe.

The reality is these understandings of African Internationalism, our Party’s theory that *requires* action is the only body of political understanding that can make sense of what is happening in the world today.

My African Internationalist theoretical contributions served to break the shackles historically imposed on revolutionary theory perceived through the lenses of intellectuals from the oppressor nations whose worldview was determined by their existence on the pedestal of our oppression.

African Internationalism for the first time allows for Africans and the oppressed of the world to become the subjects of history, something that Marx, his contemporaries and followers were incapable of doing.

Now the conditions of the real world in the context of the crisis of imperialism are beginning to confirm what African Internationalism has so long predicted.

The reality of primitive accumulation of capital and the fact that capitalism was born at the expense of the suffering of African and Indigenous peoples and is therefore parasitic, the reality of Africans as one people dispersed around the world who are colonized wherever we

may be located, the understanding that African people live under a policy of U.S. counterinsurgency in this country—these are some African Internationalist ideas whose time has come.

For example, Bloomberg.com, the online ruling class finance journal, recently ran a story on a book being published by scholars from Harvard and Brown universities called “How Slavery Led to Modern Capitalism.” This article uses terms describing enslavement such as “commodified human beings” and “capitalized labor,” concepts whose objective reality, long exposed by African Internationalism, is now being forced onto the consciousness of the bourgeoisie.

Other current writings being circulated within the white population reflect the influence of the theory of African Internationalism – books such as Michelle Alexander’s *The New Jim Crow, Slavery by Another Name*, by Douglas Blackmon, the book *Complicity*, by Ann Farrow, and even a recent article by Mike King on the left blogs analyzing the police attack on Occupy Oakland protestors in the context of the policy of counterinsurgency in the city.

### **We must struggle against colonialism not racism**

We understand the material forces at work in the movement of history. We can clearly see the shift in the balance of power between the oppressed and the oppressor, between Europe and the rest of us, between the “white man” and the “black man.”

The struggle has always been one for *power*. Not against racism. And to the extent we win power the “racism” of others is irrelevant. Power is the great equalizer, the fundamental “aphrodisiac” that is capable of turning a racist of yesterday into a fawning sycophant of tomorrow.

“The struggle against “racism” is the struggle of the petty bourgeoisie fighting to integrate into the white capitalist world, to

board the Costa Concordia of white power. It is a diversionary struggle reliant on failed philosophical assumptions that must be cast aside as a precondition for moving forward.

This is not an innocent issue of semantics. The way this is understood will inform our practice. The struggle against “racism” presupposes one approach and the struggle against imperialist colonialism, another.

Hosea Jaffe, quoted in my Political Report to the Party’s Fifth Congress, expounded on the historical emergence of “race” as an issue in his book, *A History of Africa*. Offering a materialist analysis, Jaffe had this to say:

“...Before the slave trade in Africa there was neither a Europe nor a European. Finally, with the European arose the myth of European superiority and separate existence as a special species or ‘race’; there arose indeed the myth of race in general, unknown to mankind before—even the word did not exist before the lingua franca of the Crusades—the particular myth that there was a creature called a European, which implied, from the beginning, a ‘white man.’

“Colonialism, especially in Africa, created the concept and ideology of race. Before capitalist-colonialism there were no races; but now, suddenly and increasingly, there were races; once born, the myth grew into reality.’ ”

We are not a race, but a nation of people, scattered across the globe and defined out of history by our imperialist oppressors, partially through the concept of “race.” Our national homeland has been occupied in various ways for millennia. Our people have been captured and forcibly dispersed around the world and our labor forcibly extracted to build the European nation and world capitalist system that



define our reality and the contours of the struggle we have been engaged in for the last 500 years or so.

The struggle against AFRICOM cannot be characterized as a struggle against “racism” any more than the liberation of our people in Haiti and the necessary unification to fight the further rape of Africa and the theft of its resources.

In fact, the material conditions Africans suffer worldwide have their origin in the attack on Africa that led to the capture of our national homeland and our people. Our poverty and susceptibility to ignorance, violence and material want throughout the world, including the U.S., UK and the rest of Europe are all extensions of the subsequent material conditions of existence extant in Africa!

Are the Iraqis and Afghans fighting against racism? What about all the people of South America and the Caribbean? Certainly, the bourgeois ideology of “racism” serves to unite the vast majority of whites and even some of us in support of imperialist agendas, but increasingly this ideology is running up against the material reality of a global power shift, where the oppressed are clearly the locomotive of history. Increasingly more and more whites are themselves running from their “racial” designation.

Patrick Buchanan, whose worldview is informed by assumptions of white superiority that we recognize as racism, is himself alarmed by the growing evidence that the shifting power relations is chasing whites away from their solidarity with their “racial” identity.

Apparently this phenomenon has achieved such significance that Buchanan has conceptualized it as “ethno masochism.” In *Suicide of a Superpower*, Buchanan laments, “...Questions about the future arise. If the end of white America is a cultural and demographic inevitability, ‘What will the new mainstream of America look like—and what ideas or

values might it rally around? What will it mean to be white after 'whiteness' no longer defines the mainstream? Will anyone mourn the end of white America? Will anyone try to preserve it?

"One reaction professor Hsu reports is that, among cultural elites, some are shedding their white identity. '[I]f white America is 'losing control,' and the future will belong to people who can successfully navigate a post-white, multicultural landscape—then it's no surprise that many white Americans are eager to divest themselves of their whiteness entirely...'

"The day after Obama's inaugural, television host Larry King blurted out to an uneasy Bob Woodward a secret desire of his son. 'My younger son Cannon... is eight. And he now says that he would like to be black. I'm not kidding. He said there's a lot of advantages. Black is in. Is this a turning of the tide?'"

Indeed, black *is* in. The tide has turned and it is the future—not because of some defeat of "racism" but because Africans are a part of the dispossessed, the wretched of the Earth that are overturning a world social system whose ideological foundation is racism and that is unable to withstand the tide of history sweeping all forms of capitalist parasitism into the proverbial dustbin of history.

The anti-racists would have us fight for a place in a dying system; they would have us objectively uniting with our oppressors; they would transform us into "House Negroes," fighting to save the master's burning house, as Malcolm X would put it.

### **Counterinsurgency waged against African people**

For the forty years of our Party's existence we have been the bulwark of the African liberation movement in many ways that must be understood by Party members if we are to have the necessary insight, enthusiasm and confidence to complete our mission to lead the

struggle for the liberation and socialist unification of Africa and African people worldwide.

After the military defeat of the black revolution of the sixties, it was our Party that played the pivotal role in the organizational, political and ideological battles to defend and rebuild the struggle for liberation and independence.

The assassinations, imprisonments, organizational destructions and political coups all occurred with the accompanied mission to undermine the struggle for independence and liberation. They all supported the politics of neocolonialism, assimilation and various forms of accommodation in opposition to revolutionary national liberation. They were designed to reinstitute passivity on the part of the oppressed recognized by Brzezinski as necessary for successful empire.

Killing Patrice Lumumba was not sufficient; it was also necessary to replace Lumumbaism with Mubutuism. Similarly, while the political objective of the U.S. was the removal of Kwame Nkrumah from power, the ideological objective was to replace Nkrumahism with neocolonialism, not just as a political reality but also as a clear, acceptable ideological alternative.

In the U.S., Malcolm X was killed to remove him as a political presence in the world, but he was also murdered because of the power of his ideological effectiveness in raising the issue of and organizing around revolutionary independence in opposition to religious obscurantism and pacifist assimilationism.

Martin Luther King Jr., himself an Assimilationist of sorts, was murdered because of his growing ideological advocacy of anti-imperialist resistance as opposed to the opportunism within his own organization and tepid anti-racist legalism of groups like the NAACP

and others whose analysis limited them to a struggle for acceptance within an imperialist U.S.

When the U.S. domestic counterinsurgency program to crush our movement was formalized within the Federal Bureau of Investigation as COINTELPRO, it clearly identified those who rejected pacifism and demanded liberation and independence as those to be discredited and neutralized as “Black Nationalist Hate Groups.”

Attacking the pro-Independence sector of our movement was not only designed to remove us as political agents within the U.S., but it was also designed to elevate the stature of pacifists, Assimilationists and liberals of every stripe and nationality, including many who characterized themselves as communists.

***The Burning Spear* forwards understanding of the counterinsurgency**

When the influential newspapers of the Black Panther Party and Nation of Islam had been effectively neutralized it was *The Burning Spear* that projected the ever-developing aims of our movement, not as eulogizer of the fallen but as the primary advocate of the basic ideals that the U.S. counterinsurgency was designed to silence.

*The Burning Spear* pre-dated the African People’s Socialist Party by several years, having been founded as the political organ of JOMO, one of the founding organizations of the Party. *The Spear* served to keep the masses connected to the ideals and surviving organizations of the pro-Independence movement.

Through *The Spear* we were able to fortify the morale of our people who were suffering a vicious counterinsurgency defeat resulting in political assassinations, mass police roundups of militants and imprisonment of some of our leaders, including this writer.

*The Burning Spear* reported on the victories of the people of Viet Nam and the ongoing struggles throughout the Americas. We exposed our people here to the struggle in Zimbabwe and its connection to the movement within the U.S.

The New Jewel Movement of Grenada, the resistance of the people to the U.S.-imposed dictatorship of the Shah of Iran, were all kept before Africans in the U.S. and other areas of the world where our newspaper was distributed. We wrote of the continuing battles of the besieged leaders of the Black Panther Party and the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa as well as those we were involved in ourselves.

*The Burning Spear* was the primary organ used to convey to the world the ideological developments of our Party that pushed our struggle forward, moving it beyond the stagnation imposed on it by the repression that resulted in many who survived the assassinations and imprisonment, being forced into exile or into often inactive underground existence.

It was our Party that understood and identified the war being waged against our people and movement as counterinsurgency, a counterrevolutionary response to struggle that utilized every conceivable method of suppression—economic, psychological and political, but rested on a military foundation.

We studied, understood and explained the science of counterinsurgency—its motives, its goals and objectives and its main strategy of resource and population control. We saw it employed in every aspect of our lives as colonized African subjects. We showed how the Protected Villages and Strategic Hamlets used by the British in Africa and Asia and by the U.S. in Viet Nam were brought to the housing projects of the U.S.

Drugs—first heroin from Southeast Asia where the U.S. was fighting to keep the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and the so-called “Golden Triangle” under imperialist domination—and then cocaine from South America, where the U.S. was waging a brutal and bloody counterinsurgency against the Sandinistas of Nicaragua and other revolutionary projects, were used by the U.S. as counterinsurgency tools against the African Revolution in the U.S.

It was our Party that exposed the fact that the U.S. government was the real drug pusher that denied Africans the right to employment in the legal capitalist economy as a method of maneuvering us to economic dependency on the illegal capitalist drug economy. This was during a time when other African “liberation” organizations had succumbed to and joined with the counterinsurgent imperialist attack on the African working class.

It was our Party that exposed the fact that Africans were not fighting a drug problem, but a drug *economy* that was used to keep a faltering U.S. economy afloat, push African people out of revolutionary political life and justify a counterinsurgent war-without-terms on an oppressed and colonized community now successfully demonized as pathological, drug-crazed and criminal.

“The White House is the Rock House and Uncle Sam is the Pusher Man,” became the Party mantra embraced by the African masses throughout the U.S. One Party-influenced militant Rap group launched a successful album that revolved around the U.S. drug-imposed counterinsurgency.

This aspect of counterinsurgency resulted in totally disrupted families and communities, thousands of violent deaths and millions of mostly-young Africans shuttled into a burgeoning colonial prison

system that also brought revitalized economic life to dying, rural white communities.

The fact that we continued struggling against U.S. domestic colonialism after our movement had been crushed by the counterinsurgency meant that we were obliged to solve many of the problems of the revolution as they revealed themselves in the real world.

This is how we came to recognize that colonialism pure and simple—the ubiquitous presence and authority of the “white man,”—shifted its essential form in the U.S. just as it has done in Africa and other areas of the world.

### **The struggle against neocolonialism**

When the movements for liberation grew to an extent that masses rose up with the blood-curdling cry of “kill the white man” it became impossible for white power to exercise its rule directly.

Indirect rule, neocolonialism, white power in black face—where an obvious transfer of political power from the white colonizer to the black colonized serves to obscure the fact that the white colonizer continues to dominate the colonized through control of the economy and hence control of the politics of the colonized—became necessary.

Neocolonialism is the concept developed by Kwame Nkrumah to define the new face of colonialism. Nkrumah taught how the continued control of African economies allowed for indirect rule by the same powers. However, it was our Party that defined African *neocolonialists* according to their *class* character. It was we who recognized the role of class in the implementation of neocolonial rule. This had not been previously done.

We saw how the Kenya model used by the British against the anti-colonial struggle in East Africa was being played out in the U.S. In

Kenya after the legitimate revolutionaries were murdered by the British in a horrendous bloody affair of mass torture, mass imprisonment and unspeakable, near-genocidal mass murder, the British promoted the idea that a pliant, neocolonial surrogate was the legitimate revolutionary to whom they transferred the appearance of political power.

In the U.S. this is done mostly through elections. After many Africans had been won to the idea that political power could be won through the ballot box, many of those who had opposed the real black power advocated by Malcolm X, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panther Party and a host of others fighting for self-determination, including militant Assimilationists like Dr. Martin Luther King, were raised up by the white ruling class as representatives of black power. They were helped into political office after the revolutionaries were murdered and revolutionary organizations crushed by counterinsurgency.

On the rare occasions that representatives of the legitimate aspirations of our people were elected to office, the counterinsurgency worked with skilled, brutal efficiency to undermine and eventually initiate electoral "regime change" to replace them with adherents of capitalism, colonialism and patriots of the white nationalist state.

Various loyalty tests were devised to determine the trustworthiness of African candidates for office. If they refused to denounce certain designated African leaders they invited the wrath of the white ruling class, media demonization and diversion of campaign monies to more amenable candidates.

Although the electoral process became the primary method of designating and vetting neocolonial leaders it was not the only method. Various leaders of mass organizations functioned as



neocolonial surrogates as well. Obvious examples are Jessie Jackson becoming the Africa representative for U.S. President William Jefferson Clinton and the current role played by Al Sharpton as water carrier for Barack Hussein Obama, his latest, least obvious display of neocolonial fealty to imperial white power.

### **Formative years of Party work based on theory of African Internationalism**

We were born as a Party of theory and practice, recognizing that practice is primary and that all theory must meet the test of practice for its development and validation. We did not sit around contemplating the universe and creating various theories to explain the world. We were engaged in the struggle to change the world and it has always been this struggle from which our theoretical work was born, informed and tested.

Our Party has always recognized the centrality of practice. We have engaged in campaigns that helped to educate our movement on how to advance struggle and that helped to enhance the capacity of our people to struggle. It was the struggles in defense of our Party and its leaders that is partially responsible for our surviving the terrorist counterinsurgent repression that defeated our movement.

The struggles to keep me out of prison, the struggle to free Connie Tucker and Dessie Woods and to defend Katura Carey, one of the founding members of the Party, were popular struggles that involved thousands of people throughout the world. Our reputation for struggle is what led the Florida State leadership of the NAACP to call on our Party to provide leadership in the months-long campaign in Pensacola, a north Florida backwater, after the 1974 police murder of young Wendell Blackwell.

Our years based in Gainesville years in the early seventies were important formative years for our Party. It was during this time that under the leadership of Katura Carey we began our work with the Zimbabwe African National Union, the ruling party now in power in Zimbabwe. From Gainesville we organized the first ZANU Support Committee in the U.S. We toured ZANU members throughout the U.S. and played a major role in assisting the organization in raising funds for the sustenance of the organization and their organizers. We actually put staff in ZANU's UN office in New York.

Our Party came under political assault in many ways in Gainesville. Katura Carey was an elementary school teacher in the county. FBI harassment and other counterinsurgent activity resulted in her losing her teacher's job. In addition to the other work we did in defense of Katura Carey, we ran her for school board with a progressive education program.

While we had no expectations to win the election in this politically backward county that was under the economic and political thumb of the University of Florida, we did use the campaign to hold off some of the attacks on Katura, expose a history of sexual extortion of African women teachers and to raise up the possibility of better education for the masses of our people.

Shortly after the initiation of our Zimbabwe work that began in Gainesville, Florida, our Party began assisting the Pan African Congress of Azania, at the time engaged in struggle against the apartheid state in South Africa. For many years PAC members had a ubiquitous presence at Party-held events throughout the U.S. We were regular organizers of PAC support actions and spoke in its behalf at the United Nations on more than one occasion.

It was our Party that printed most of PAC's propaganda in the U.S. and gave the organization material support in the face of the wealthier African National Congress that was supported by the international European left because it was a favored Authentic Six beneficiary of the Soviet Union. Our Party participated in the various debates within the PAC, opposing the negotiated settlement that led to the dismantling of apartheid as the form of the capitalist state in South Africa.

We met with several of the PAC leaders when they were in the U.S to participate in U.N.-related affairs and even recruited a PAC member into the Party who appeared to understand the arguments we were making with the PAC about joining the African Socialist International and its need to become a class conscious political Party under the leadership and serving the interests of the African working class and poor peasantry.

Obviously these were struggles we did not win. The fact is that after Zimbabwean independence in 1980 and the capitulation of the apartheid state in South Africa in 1994, most of the militants based in the U.S. from both territories returned to their respective birth lands, ending our relationship for many years to come.

The Pan Africanism of both organizations appeared to have been convenient ideological adaptations used to win African support for their efforts in the struggles to evict the white minority regimes from power. With this accomplishment they both focused primarily on exercising or winning power within the parliamentary system left in place by the colonial powers they replaced.

While still holding on to "Pan Africanism," by the late 1980s ZANU officially abandoned its designation as "Marxist" and left behind

all pretense of being a socialist organization presiding over a socialist state.

### **The building of the African People's Solidarity Committee**

In 1976 our Party worked with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and an assortment of African and North American activists to build a July 4 mobilization in Philadelphia termed, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies." This was to take advantage of the hoopla initiated by the U.S. bourgeoisie to build patriotic fervor among the North American population on the bicentennial anniversary of the bourgeois American revolution.

We saw this as an excellent opportunity to win support for the U.S.-based African struggle against colonialism and mobilized our members and supporters from the U.S. to participate. We also used this anti-colonial momentum to identify many North Americans who had indicated friendship with our Party over the years and win them to an organizational relationship.

In September we pulled these North Americans together in St. Petersburg, Florida and launched the African People's Solidarity Committee, an organization of North Americans or so-called white people who worked directly under the leadership of our Party in the struggle against our colonial oppression as we defined it.

Although for years the creation of APSC was met with a barrage of criticism—most of which was done surreptitiously, sometimes in the form of slanderous whisper campaigns from North American leftists and black nationalists—history has proven us correct in building this arm of our Party.

I do not say this simply because many of the APSC comrades have proven themselves strong African Internationalists, opening up another, heretofore unavailable black power front within the North

American community, something that is valuable unto itself. But also because it was another means of challenging the empty race nationalism that inadvertently contributed to the overall weakness of our struggle against U.S. colonialism and imperialism in general.

The creation of APSC helped us to end the counterinsurgent isolation imposed on our movement by the U.S. secret political police. It gave us an avenue through which we could break through the information quarantine blocking the ability of our movement to engage in political struggle outside our colonized community.

The existence of APSC has also forever changed the limitations North Americans and Europeans have imposed on how genuine solidarity should be defined. Now, it is not they, but we who define solidarity with our struggle for liberation.

It is also true that nearly all the value extracted from our colonial communities throughout the world is in some white community or another. APSC has assumed its responsibility to do concrete reparations work, achieving its own capacity as an organization of whites to contribute to our just reparations demand and also winning other North Americans and Europeans to contribute to reparations with material support for our liberation struggle.

The work of the Party has resulted in APSC members having to confront police repression in a number of campaigns from New York City, to Oakland, California, to St. Petersburg, Florida. APSC has also been custodian of assorted Party-owned institutions for a number of years and its members have experienced arrest, kidnapping, and various forms of repression as arms of our Party.

Today many of those who attacked us in the past for the relationship with APSC, a relationship that is principled and above

board, have been forced to abandon previously held rigid racial views that disallowed the development of non-African allies.

### **Party's history characterized by mass political campaigns**

The Party-led campaign to Free Dessie X Woods became the signature campaign for the U.S. Front of the African Liberation movement of the 1970s. Not only did the campaign help to resurrect and reunify a nearly-dormant movement within the U.S. but it also mobilized Africans and democratic forces throughout Europe in a massive display of solidarity with the struggle against U.S. domestic colonialism.

The story of the Dessie Woods' campaign is told with some elements of accuracy in a 2010 book edited by Dan Berger entitled, *The Hidden 1970s Histories of Radicalism*. The title of the book is itself a statement of the times, when revolutionary activism was the exception in the wake of the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties that was the engine driving most progressive struggle within the U.S.

Briefly, Dessie Woods was an African woman associated with the Nation of Islam who killed a white man, Ronnie Horne with his own gun after Horne attempted to rape her and a friend, Cheryl Todd at gunpoint. In a struggle for their lives Woods successfully wrestled the gun away from Horne and shot him.

In the face of a weakened African liberation movement the case was initially jumped on by an assortment of pseudo-communists who, inebriated with their sense of self importance and in their attempts to build themselves, were fast demoralizing Africans attracted to Woods' defense with esoteric Marxists' phrase mongering in the campaign meetings.

Our Party was so successful in turning the struggle around in the campaign meetings and advancing the fight against colonial terror represented by the case of Dessie Woods that one of the self-defined African Marxists exclaimed in exasperation that someone white had to be involved in a major campaign event, "even if it's Rockefeller!"

The campaign to free Dessie Woods became the organizational and political model for how such work should be done. A passage in the Berger book partially described the impact of the Dessie Woods' campaign as led by the Party-created and led National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods (NCDDW):

"...Damesha Blackearth, Chairwoman of the NCDDW, traveled through Europe, speaking about Woods's case and the systematic human rights violations of black people in the United States. Blackearth's tour garnered increased international attention: every July 4 until her release, protests demanding Woods's freedom were held throughout the United States and Europe, with thousands of people marching, holding aloft drawings of Dessie."

The African People's Socialist Party defined the struggle to free Dessie as one directed against colonial violence. This went against the grain. At the time the bourgeois feminist movement fought to define Woods' campaign as one supporting the right of women to self-defense. The bourgeois feminists played a big role in the struggle to free Joan Little just a few months earlier, another African woman who had killed a white rapist jailer in North Carolina.

However, we were determined that the case of Dessie Woods would be properly defined as part and parcel of the historical struggle of African people against colonialism. We knew that the struggle to free Dessie Woods must advance the total struggle of our people for

self-determination, something much of the white movement fought against.

The anti-colonial definition of the Dessie Woods work was especially important during this period when the Party was determined to rebuild the anti-colonial movement after its devastating military defeat by the U.S. government that received ideological support from North American leftist opportunism.

Created and led by our Party, the National Committee to Free Dessie Woods invited and won participation of thousands of people around the world in the campaign, many of them as members of the committee. The Dessie Woods Campaign impacted on the white bourgeois feminist movement, helping honest forces to begin a process of class suicide by abandoning the self-serving interests of the white-rights bourgeois feminist seeking success at the expense of African people, and joining the struggle to free Dessie and defeat the colonial domination of African people. Several of those forces are working with the movement under our Party's leadership today.

It was precisely because of our correct line around the defense of Dessie Woods that remnants of the Black Liberation Movement were able to become reinvigorated through uniting with the campaign. Through the Free Dessie campaign the Party was able to organize national mobilizations that contributed to the revitalization of the entire struggle against colonialism.

Through the Dessie Woods' campaign we led the first significant African-led national mobilizations against U.S. domestic colonialism since the defeat of the black liberation struggle of the 1960s. These mobilizations, which gained national and international media attention, occurred in Atlanta, the Georgia state capital, in Hawkinsville, the site



of Dessie's trial and in Plains, Georgia, hometown of then-U.S. President James Earl Carter.

Virtually all elements of the U.S.-based African anti-colonial movement participated, if initially somewhat reluctantly. For the first time in years the terms had been set for principled participation by various North American left organizations to demonstrate solidarity with our aspirations for total independence from U.S. domestic colonialism. Revolutionary Puerto Rican and Mexican nationals, themselves representing struggles against U.S. colonialism, also expressed practical solidarity with these mobilizations and with the struggle for our national liberation.

### **Dessie Woods struggle spurs African National Prison Organization**

The apparent unity of the U.S. front of the African Liberation Movement that was spurred by the Dessie Woods' campaign had a direct impact on the decision of the Party to build the African National Prison Organization (ANPO). We initiated ANPO after discussions with leaders within the pro-independence movement with the intent of building on the unity that was expressed during the Dessie Woods' campaign.

Our expressed intent was to take on the prison question as a joint project since our whole movement was concerned about this question, especially the issue of our political prisoners who had fallen during the defeat of our revolution of the 1960s. We saw ANPO as a vehicle through which the anti-colonial tendency of our movement might unite around practical work through collective leadership. In this way we felt we could establish working unity so our line differences could be struggled around and resolved through practice instead of debates around abstract questions.

The founding conference of ANPO was convened in Louisville, Kentucky in 1979. Attendance was high and comprised of mostly-enthusiastic Africans who were relieved to see our movement functioning as such a high level of proficiency and resuming control and leadership of our own struggle for national liberation.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the attending organizations were enmeshed in political line differences with the movement of the African working class led by our Party. Their differences revolved essentially around whether the prison question would be targeted in the context of an anti-colonial struggle or whether it would be taken on as a single issue within the status quo of imperialism.

For example, one argument put forward at the conference was that ANPO should be run from prisoners behind bars, suggesting that the prison question was separate from the total colonial reality and could be resolved independently.

We recognize that these forces were petty bourgeois, often adventuristic forces who at the time were strongly supported by the radical oppressor nation white left that rose up after the U.S. defeat of our movement of the sixties and who substituted "white and male supremacy" as the enemy rather than U.S. and European colonialism.

These forces refused to acknowledge that the terrorized masses of African people were under the siege of the U.S. counterinsurgency being waged against the entire African working class in an attempt to keep it from rising up again.

This was such a critical issue of this period that our Party waged serious struggle for many years within the pro-independence movement, publishing a book based on articles that had appeared in *The Burning Spear* newspaper.

The book was *Black Power Since the Sixties: The Struggle against Opportunism within the U.S. Front of the Black Liberation Movement* in 1991.

In introduction to this book I wrote, "For us in the African People's Socialist Party this is not just an abstract discussion to demonstrate our paranoia concerning the North American colonial State or to prove that we are knowledgeable about counterinsurgency. We initiated this discussion, this struggle against opportunism, as part of a process to solve the outstanding problem of the Revolution..."

Nevertheless, ANPO did succeed in raising the issue of prison as a tool of colonial control of our people and created an organization that, though short lived, organized Africans in and outside the prisons into a dynamic organized resistance.

Nineteen seventy-nine is also the year that our Party was thrust into the international limelight. It was in January, some twenty years after the U.S. overthrow of the elected government of Mohammad Mossadegh, that the people of Iran took repossession of their sovereignty by overthrowing the Shah that maintained Iran as a U.S. military forward operating base in the Persian Gulf.

The success of the Iranian revolution and the capture by the Iranian people of the U.S. embassy that functioned as a nest of spies in Iran, inflamed the patriotic passions of the U.S. North American population, threatening the possibility of direct U.S. military intervention.

Within the U.S. North Americans began attacking all Middle Easterners, Arabs as well as Iranians. North American students were holding rallies on university campuses that were punctuated with cries of "Sand niggers, go home!" and "Send the Klan to Iran!"

Our Party had already developed a working political relationship with Iranian exiles and students, particularly in Gainesville, Florida. We participated regularly in the demonstrations they held demanding the ouster of the U.S.-imposed Shah. The North American students on the campus of the elite University of Florida in Gainesville where we had a significant presence began holding some of the rabidly anti-Iranian and white nationalist demonstrations.

It was in the face of this knee-jerk clamor, in the government and on the streets and campuses throughout the U.S., that we organized a mass mobilization in defense of the Iranian people in Gainesville that was attacked and disrupted by hundreds of flag waving, "America" chanting white people.

However, they were all mistaken if they thought frothing at the mouth patriotic white mobs could silence this Party. On the following week, to the dismay of the police department and the Negro ministers of the local churches, who advised the African community not to join us, we marched again, behind the Red, Black and Green.

This time, because our first demonstration and its disruption were reported all over the world, the Gainesville Police Department came out in full force to escort our march. When we were greeted by thousands of beer drinking, flag waving, "America" chanting whites, some of which were members of motorcycle gangs, we marched right into the mob and faced them down with chants of "Africa! Africa! Africa!"

I took the platform in the middle of the city hall plaza and announced to the crowd, "The Sand Niggers are here!" Then, to their own amazement, the crowd was stilled while I read a statement from the then-prime minister of Iran. After this we began to march away. The police informed us that they were supposed to accompany us only

as far as the plaza. Using an explicit expletive I told the police to leave and led the African marchers away from the city hall plaza with mobs of whites following, chanting and waving their American flags.

The rabid white mob attempted to threaten us only until we reached the African community. At this point Africans rushed out of their homes and the bars and rushed forward yelling, "You're not in America now!" This display of unity and support for our movement proved to be dissuasive enough to send the whites scurrying back to the politically rancid America with which they were so conditionally enamored.

### **The Party made reparations a household word!**

Our Party gave life and definition to the movement for reparations for African people and colonized peoples worldwide. While we did not initiate the contemporary demand for reparations we definitely made reparations a mass issue with the goal early on to make reparations a "household world."

Prior to the involvement of our Party, the issue of reparations essentially involved efforts to win some kind of legislative or judicial recognition in U.S. courts or by the state or federal government. There was no real mass involvement.

We recognized that reparations had to become the property of the masses if it was to be a significant political question. In 1982 we held the World Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. in Brooklyn, New York.

The Tribunal found that the U.S. owed African people in the U.S. 4.1 trillion dollars for stolen labor alone, the first empirical quantification of the value of capitalized African labor.

Immediately after the conclusion of this historical event we organized the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO) whose

sole objective was to win the reparations demand in the consciousness of African people.

Shortly after the World Tribunal I toured Europe with the reparations message, going first to London and Ireland, and then to France and Germany, meeting with hundreds of Africans in different settings and winning explicit support from the Irish Republican Socialist Party, which at the time was locked in a life and death anti-colonial struggle with colonial England.

There were other trips to Europe, especially to England to promote the reparations campaign. In the U.S. ANRO held subsequent reparations tribunals in various cities over a 12-year period, allowing for the presentation of testimony and evidence supporting the reparations demand and winning more mass consciousness to the issue.

Following the first Tribunal in 1982 we published the book, *Reparations Now! The Abbreviated Report from the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S.* A few years later African Socialist International Secretary General Luwezi Kinshasa was recruited to the Party after he found and bought the book in a Paris bookstore.

Our Party's work to raise the question of reparations to African people laid the foundation for the popularity of the reparations movement throughout the African world. It was a forerunner and catalyst for the historic 2001 UN-sponsored Durban, South Africa Conference on Racism, Xenophobia and Other Intolerances that resulted in slavery and colonialism being declared a crime against humanity and reparations a legitimate response.

The Party's participation in the reparations work also expanded the issue beyond the question of slavery. Slavery was the main issue

for which reparations compensation was being demanded by most others prior to our involvement.

We exposed the fact that the rate of exploitation of Africans has been greater *since* slavery. Moreover, we determined that reparations are due to Africans for colonialism and neocolonialism and for the extant differences in the conditions of existence between Africans and Europeans.

Our view of the reparations issue has always been informed by our understanding of parasitism or primitive accumulation as the essence of capitalism that was born of our enslavement and colonization. We have always understood that almost all the resources of Europe and North America owe their existence to the forcible expropriation of value from Africa, Africans and others upon whom Europe depends for sustenance and vitality.

Our work to build the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO) in the early 1980s was also motivated in part by an urgent need to unite the pro-independence sector of the U.S. Front of the African Liberation Movement.

Often considered a lunatic fringe by African liberals and white leftists because of our demand for reparations, our Party's campaign to raise the demand for reparations to African people indeed struck many of these forces as lunacy in this period. Like the imperialist bourgeoisie they were unable to concede the fact that the U.S. had built itself off enslaved African labor and other resources, both human and material. Or, when able to concede this fact, were incapable of believing in the efficacy of a reparations demand.

For our Party ANRO was an opportunity to promote the united leadership of the pro-independence tendency that had met a counterinsurgent defeat by the U.S. state and opportunistic white left

whose political lines have always been in contention with the struggle for African liberation under our own terms.

ANRO was also seen as a means of winning the masses of our people to the reparations position, by raising a question that the imperialists cannot answer and thrusting the colonized African population back into active political life independent of the capitalist Democratic Party.

In a near repeat of the African National Prison Organization experience, various nationalist groups saw the Party's leadership as a the rise of the African working class and a threat to the prevailing outdated petty bourgeois nationalist outlook around the issue of reparations and revolution. While the Party recognized reparations to be a function of the revolution, most of the others saw reparations as a *payday* to be achieved within the context of the existing colonial relationship.

Our difficulties with various elements within the U.S. front of the African liberation movement were primarily based on contradictions left unresolved prior to the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. The presumed, tenuous, unity of the movement of the sixties was being frayed even before the defeat of the revolution, but the defeat of the revolution resulted in an ossification of positions that did not have the benefit of development from practice.

Party attempts to build ANPO and ANRO were efforts to unite our movement in practice while creating a forum of struggle within which ideological positions could be struggled around and developed. The intent was to move the revolutionary process forward despite ideological differences that we felt could be resolved through the test of practice.



However, that was not to be. In fact, the process of building ANRO and ANPO served to illuminate and better define the contradictions. It was the test of practice in building these organizations that exposed the chasm of class differences separating the Party from most others.

The general unity extant within the liberation movement was based on the issues of self-determination and independence. All agreed that Africans should be independent of the U.S. white nationalist state power. However, questions of class and social transformation were generally unaddressed. In fact, their position on these issues is what had previously drawn most criticism against the Black Panther Party from many nationalists.

The New Africanist tendency of our movement only began to identify itself as socialist after a blistering series of African People's Socialist Party polemics directed against a leading proponent of the tendency. Our polemics were initiated after the group was publicly celebrating unity and complicity with the U.S. counterinsurgency "war against drugs," actually political cover for a war on our community that focused primarily on the African working class. The working class was the source of the militant anti-colonial resistance that had shaken the U.S. imperialist domain to its foundation and the "war against drugs" was simply a part of the counterinsurgent mopping up process.

Almost everyone is clear on this point today. However, it is the fact that ours is a Party of the African working class that distinguished our position at the time. Like every Party we are simply the advanced detachment of a particular class and since we have always been clear that ours is the Party of the African working class we have always defended the interests of the class even after the class had suffered

severe defeat and pushed into a morass of demoralization and drug use.

Another tendency within our general anti-colonial movement was Pan Africanism primarily in the form of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). Unlike the New Afrikanists the AAPRP shouted its socialist credentials to the skies. However, while proclaiming themselves "Scientific Socialists," the "science" of the AAPRP never characterized their "socialism" as the ascension of the African working class to the position of ruling class and custodian of the independent, united socialist state. Instead the "socialism" of the AAPRP identified students as the critical social force for the socialism they were seeking from secure classrooms in various places in the world. Theirs was a middle class or petty bourgeoisie socialism.

These were some of the ideological barriers that undermined all our efforts to unite the U.S. front of the African liberation movement. Similar barriers would reveal themselves with our work throughout Europe and in Africa. These were ideological barriers that had their bases in class outlook or worldview. These barriers of differences in class outlook severely frustrated achievement of a strategic aim we had established to unite our movement after its military defeat and in the face of the ideological assault launched against it by the opportunist North American left.

It was not until 1989, seven years after ANRO's founding, when Ronald Wilson Reagan decided to grant a pittance of reparations to survivors of the U.S. concentration camps imprisoning Japanese in the during the second imperialist war that some of the same organizations became believers in African reparations and decided to build their own coalition around the issue of reparations.

Nevertheless, ANRO did succeed in putting the reparations demand on the political agenda for Africans within the U.S. and around the world. We took the question of reparations out of the classrooms, organizational conferences and limited discussion groups and built a genuine mass movement around the issue. We popularized the reparations demand with common struggles, such as the numerous instances of police violence and murder people were familiar with in our various occupied communities.

### **InPDUM pushes back the counterinsurgency**

Obviously I cannot use this occasion to review the entire forty years of Party history, although it is truly impressive. But I do need to touch on some other critical struggles and issues that are necessary for our understanding of our historical significance and our ability to take on the critical issues of today.

The impact of the counterinsurgency led us to build the People's Democratic Uhuru Movement in 1989 in Oakland, California. By 1991 we transformed this organization into a national organization and, ultimately, it became the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, our primary mass organization today.

InPDUM was built to win the African masses back into political life and to expose and defeat the counterinsurgency. From its inception InPDUM has led critical struggles around the various attacks on our community—political, economic, cultural, etc. In cities as distant and diverse from one another as London in England and Washington, D.C., and Oakland, California in the U.S., InPDUM has taken on issues of police terror, political prisoners, educational reform, inadequate housing, etc.

Today InPDUM has shed its defensive character and developed a Revolutionary National Democratic Program. The changing conditions

in the world, the rising motion of the masses demanding return of resources and liberty from a crippled imperialism and the consistent work of our Party, have all contributed to a strategic difference in how InPDUM must move.

Today InPDUM is leading mass struggle with the intent to raise up the revolutionary national democratic forces within our colonized community to power. It has assumed an offensive, as opposed to a defensive, posture.

The Party's leadership of the masses reached a critical stage when on October 24, 1996 the St. Petersburg, Florida police department shot down an 18-year-old African, TyRon Lewis, in broad daylight in front of scores of witnesses in the African community.

The police murder, which took place three blocks from the National Office of our Party, resulted in a fierce response from the African community. Police cars and corporate news vehicles were torched by the rebelling masses. Liquor stores and other white-owned businesses notorious for their unfair extraction of capital from an impoverished community were also targeted.

The police and media used the ubiquitous presence of our Party as a public rationale for blaming us for the uprising. This was especially because Party members were correctly carrying out our responsibility to provide on-the-spot political education to the masses that explained the role of the police as the occupying army of a colonial state. This gave the people's uprising a political character that unnerved the police and the bourgeoisie, both locally and within the federal government.

Occasional spontaneous mass uprisings, although annoying are generally not something the bourgeois colonial state cannot handle.

Sometimes these uprisings are actually helpful to the bourgeoisie as justification for greater repression against revolutionary movements.

However, uprisings with political consciousness are different. This is because it is political consciousness that generally distinguishes spontaneous uprisings from revolutionary precursors. This was clearly a mass uprising with political consciousness.

The bourgeoisie began an intense media campaign that targeted our Party for repression. Police harassment directed at our movement became endemic. Organizers were arrested for selling our newspaper and for distributing political leaflets and pamphlets to the people.

In a futile attempt to prevent our communication with the masses of our people, archaic laws were resurrected and new laws created to abrogate constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of assembly and expression.

On November 13, 1997, three weeks after the police murder, hundreds of various military forces associated with the state and city, along with an assortment of neighboring police organizations assaulted an InPDUM community meeting at our headquarters.

In an attempt to silence our movement during a pre-announced meeting to expose the meaning of a grand jury report exonerating the police for the murder of TyRon Lewis, all the teargas in the city's arsenal was unleashed on a roomful of women, men and children by armed police that surrounded the building.

Several people, including some of our leading Party members were trapped in the teargas-filled building. Teargas canisters were purposely shot in the trees in the back of our center, setting several trees afire. The police also attempted to burn the building by shooting the incendiary teargas canisters onto the roof.

Hundreds of Africans from throughout the community were doing battle with the militarized police in defense of our building and entrapped leaders. When the police deployed a helicopter over the building the people, conscious of the same police tactic used against the MOVE organization in Philadelphia in 1985, resorted to an armed response, bringing the helicopter down by gunfire.

The intensity of the resistance, clearly informed by political consciousness, alarmed the federal government. As a result U.S. President William Jefferson Clinton sent a cabinet member to the city to attempt to resolve the situation before it might become a generalized model for resistance throughout the colonized communities within the U.S.

In the process of this resistance the Party initiated a broad-based coalition involving sectors of the African primitive petty bourgeoisie that were motivated by the prospect of acquiring federal funds to appease the resistance.

This was an important development because the coalition became a wall of black respectability surrounding our Party and movement that made it difficult for the state to effectively employ a military solution against us with impunity.

The coalition also became a part of the method through which the Party locked the colonial state in political struggle. We defined this struggle as a contest between a pessimistic public policy of police containment of our people versus an optimistic public policy of economic development for a population suffering economic quarantine by the government and capitalist financial institutions.

During this process the Party also organized constant mass mobilizations to push the colonial state back and to bring greater

organization and political consciousness to our people, enhancing the relative position of power occupied by our Party.

The Party exposed the limitations of the state and ruling class and galvanized the African working class. Through its media and political mouthpieces the bourgeoisie had claimed the African working class was an inarticulate, uneducated mass without consciousness of its interests and aims. These same forces also claimed that our Party and movement did not represent the masses of African people.

With the political demands of our movement, recognized by everyone as the voice of the working class masses, however, it became clear that the masses were very articulate and quite capable of spelling out our interests and aims.

Through the mass mobilizations and armed defense by the people of our movement and its leaders, it became recognized by the world that not only did we represent the people but that the masses were willing to engage the most powerful military force available to the colonial state in our defense.

In the following weeks and months and, indeed, for several subsequent years, our movement created a situation of power in the city, where there was an actual balance of power between the bourgeois colonial state and the Party and Uhuru Movement.

It was in the wake of the enhanced political consciousness, mass organization and influence of our Party and movement that the city of St. Petersburg hired its first African police chief in an attempt to employ a neocolonial solution of white power in black face.

It is testimony of the growth of our influence and enhanced political position that the chief of police immediately united with our demands for replacement of the public policy of police containment

with a public policy of economic development for our occupied and exploited community.

To the consternation of the police department and much of the white population and city council, he also initiated radical reform of the police department, firing many of the notorious initiators of violence against our community and disciplining all police who were disrespectful to our people.

Situations of power are never permanent. They are fleeting and temporary. We were not able to win all power to the people and consequently the state has been able to reassert its general authority over our colonized community with a vengeance.

However, because of the leadership of our Party the power of the colonial state has been forever compromised and its limitations permanently etched into the consciousness of the people. We were so effective that it was eight years after the 1996 murder of TyRon Lewis before the police would kill another African in the city of St. Petersburg.

The example of the Party-led St. Petersburg resistance is extremely important. The resultant impact of our Party's character and identity, forged in this resistance, is profound. We were able to affect every form of struggle in this resistance, from mass mobilization, armed struggle and the electoral process. This is who we are or, in the vernacular of a certain sector of the community: this is how we roll.

These are just some of the cases and struggles that exemplify the organizational, political and ideological work that helped to forge the DNA of our Party over the 40 years since our founding.

It is also a reminder that this history of struggle for our liberation was forged in contention with the various and sundry organized representatives of the imperialist white ruling class as well



as with components within what has generally been considered the African Liberation Movement.

### **Building the African Socialist International**

In September 1981 at our First Congress, our Party passed an historic resolution calling for the founding of the African Socialist International (ASI) that would assume the responsibility for:

“1. Liberating and uniting all of Africa under a single, all-African socialist state;

“2. Uniting, coordinating, and giving general assistance and direction for the revolutionary struggles of all African people wherever they occur and whenever the aims of such struggles are consistent with the aims of the international socialist association;

“3. Achieving the objective consolidation of African nationality for all African people wherever we are oppressed and exploited throughout the world due to the machinations of imperialism.”

The first meeting to build the ASI occurred in Brooklyn, New York the following year immediately after the World Tribunal on Reparations for African People and the founding of ANRO in its wake. From that time onward much of the energy of the Party was directed at the mission of building the ASI.

It became our strategic mission to win the recognition that whatever we did in the U.S. against our oppression we would never win our liberation until we created the African Socialist International that organically connected the struggle of Africans in the U.S. with those of Africans worldwide and especially in Africa, our national homeland.

From our First Congress in 1981 the strategic direction of our Party revolved around building the ASI. A considerable portion of all our resources went to this project. Much of this work occurred within

the U.S., especially with attempts to win ZANU and the PAC through their expatriate militant organizers and, in the case of the PAC, through occasional meetings with its primary leaders.

We also worked to establish a relationship with Grenada under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement and sent an organizer to meet with Thomas Sankara, leader of Burkina Faso before his assassination. It was our hope to win unity with the ASI project and launch a founding ASI Congress in either Grenada or Burkina Faso. The fate of both these revolutionary projects was further proof of the urgency of our task to build the ASI >

Our ASI work quickly extended to regular organizing trips to Europe, especially London, where many Africans from throughout European colonies were living or through which they were in transit for any number of reasons.

A general resistance from many organized Africans to *revolutionary* organization and ideology complicated our initial work in London. This was especially true of Africans who were not born on the continent of Africa and preferred to identify themselves as "Black" with a strategic mission to create what they characterized as "Black and Asian" unity. Although some of them considered themselves "Pan Africanists," they saw their function as "solidarity" with the people and struggle on the African continent, not as an integral part of the same struggle or the same nation.

Nevertheless, after many years of work we were able to organize a base in London through Comrade Luwezi Kinshasa, a member of an organization we had been attempting to unite with the ASI for years prior to Kinshasa's arrival in London.

Comrade Luwezi's entry into the Party allowed us to change the general strategy for building the ASI. Instead of an effort to locate and

win existing groups to the ASI, our strategy now shifted to building the Party in England and wherever else possible as the primary method of organizing ASI component organizations.

With the consistent work that has been done over the years in England and Europe and with major ASI conferences being regularly conducted in London, the ASI was also able to extend its reach to South, West and East Africa. The London ASI conferences attracted forces from West Africa, allowing us to establish a base in that region, and from South Africa where we reestablished contact with the Pan Africanist Conference of Azania that eventually proved unfruitful.

We have also reached into South America and the Bahamas and are now a growing factor in defining and leading the struggle of our liberation throughout the world.

### **Black is Back stands against imperialist peace**

On September 12, 2009 the Party played a major role in pulling together the Black is Back Coalition for Social Justice, Peace and Reparations. This is a diverse group of anti-imperialist Africans that opposes U.S. imperialism throughout the world and within the U.S. itself.

Mostly advocates of African self-determination, the group is comprised of individuals that are motivated by different ideological and political beliefs, but were disturbed by and opposed to the ongoing wars in the Persian Gulf and the wars that were not being addressed by the traditional white, anti-war or peace movement.

This contradiction was spoken to in the proposal I presented to the coalition to organize the successful, groundbreaking National Conference Against the Other Wars that occurred on March 26, 2011, in Washington, D.C.

"The Coalition's interest in this political intervention in the peace movement is based, in part, on our unwillingness to allow the white left to monopolize the definition of what the struggle for peace is about. Our Coalition is opposed to an imperialist peace, one that does not disturb the relations of power between the oppressed and the war-mongering imperialist oppressor.

"It is this historical defect of the U.S. left that prevents it from giving genuine practical and material solidarity to the national liberation struggles of Africans and other peoples within the U.S. Indeed, the U.S. white left has been generally incapable of supporting any struggles anywhere that it did not benefit the leftists organizationally and/or politically or that did not revolve around issues that appear to present an immediate or future challenge to their material interests as U.S. North Americans.

"Thus, millions of Africans have been dying in the Congo, most recently since 1998, with little or no alarm by the white left. Similarly, the bloody U.S.-induced deadly mayhem in Somalia, Sudan, Ivory Coast and other places in Africa receives no attention by the white left in the U.S., and Haiti is dealt with essentially because of the current crisis related to the earthquake and characterized primarily as responsive to "natural disasters"

"Nor are Africans the only ones who are marginalized by the U.S. white left agenda. The same is true of Mexicans suffering U.S. settler colonialism within the U.S. Immigration raids and special police concentrated in border areas that separate the Mexican people from each other and their occupied lands, along with imposed poverty, a host of social contradictions and massive incarceration are the norm for this oppressed people.

"The Native people or 'Indians' are, like the Mexicans, another indigenous people, who suffer the consequences of settler colonialism. Even now, these survivors of a U.S. policy of genocide as despicable as that of Hitler, the imperialist bogeyman used to deflect genuine criticism of imperialism, are living in horrible conditions in concentration camps euphemistically referred to as reservations."

Additionally many of the founding members of the Coalition were motivated by the fact that Obama's presidency was for the first time ever giving a black face to U.S. imperialism. Because of this some felt a special responsibility to show African opposition to this African imperialist stooge, especially in the face of the overwhelming public support shown to Obama by the masses of Africans in the U.S. and throughout the world.

Some felt we had to demonstrate permission to the world's peoples, oppressed and threatened by U.S. imperialism but sympathetic to the struggle of Africans within the U.S., to fight back against the U.S. imperialism of Obama just as vigorously as against the imperialism of Bush and others.

Since its founding the BIBC has helped to change the face and character of the anti-war movement within the U.S. and has, with help from our Party, extended its organizational reach and influence to the Caribbean and Europe.

On November 7, 2009, the Coalition held the first national demonstration at the White House against the war-mongering regime of Barack Hussein Obama and the only African-led demonstration against the U.S. government since Obama's installation as the public face of U.S. imperialism.

In January of 2010 the Coalition held a consolidation conference that laid out its general direction and in February launched a national

mobilization in Miami in support of our people in Haiti following the devastating earthquake there. The mobilization, with much participation from the expatriate Haitian community, demanded reparations from the U.S. and France to Haiti for the centuries of ruthless exploitation and the return of Jean Bertrand Aristide who, with French participation, had been forcibly deposed as president and exiled by the U.S.

As recently as August 2011, the Coalition sponsored an International Day of Action Against the Wars on Africa and African People. This resulted in actions of varying sizes and significance throughout Europe, the U.S. and in the Bahamas.

In many ways the Coalition is one of the most important developments by our U.S.-based struggle for self-determination since the 1960s. It is a coalition that has won many people to political life, providing their first real involvement in the movement. Some of these people have even come into our Party.

The Black is Back Coalition has also challenged the sectarianism that has impacted our movement for decades, since the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. It has provided the ability of individuals and groups with ideological and political differences to overcome an inability to work together against U.S. imperialism in a common formation.

Many of the people who participate in the Coalition were genuine anti-imperialists before the creation of the Coalition. However, generally speaking they were working in isolation from each other and denied the advantage of collective genius and action.

It was the Party that was capable of pulling us all together, something that is further testimony of the significance of being in place with organization, experience and enough political maturity to

advance a genuine revolutionary national democratic program that speaks to the diverse revolutionary national democratic interests within our colonized community.

**The Party is the highest form of national liberation organization**

We are a revolutionary Party and we have the responsibility to lead around every question. In the pamphlet, "Build and Consolidate the Party," published in 1984, we were very clear about what it means to be a revolutionary African Internationalist Party:

"Today the Party has come to terms with the fact that not only must we not be apologetic for leading, it is our absolute responsibility to lead.

"The Party must help the mass organizations, the community organizations, prison collectives and campus groups to work out the correct political line and to properly direct their activities toward political independence, African liberation and socialism.

"This is the Party's task because all the Party's work prepares it best for this responsibility, and because the Party is the most perfected and highest form of black working class organization and the highest expression of the people's will to struggle.

"Within the ranks of the Party are the most advanced, most conscious representatives of the colonized African population, the black working class and the toiling masses, the representatives upon whose shoulders rest the ultimate responsibility for raising up the revolutionary scientifically-guided consciousness of the black working class.

"It is clear that the liberation of our people and the emancipation of our class cannot be won by just any kind of organization. It is even clearer that many existing organizations have absolutely no interests

in making revolution and that even some of the radical nationalist organizations are only willing to go just so far.

“However, the role of political leader can only be fulfilled by the Party as the highest form of organization for national liberation and the emancipation of the black working class...

“Political leadership is a science and an art. It is not something that one has automatically. It requires skill and the capacity to quickly choose and change forms of struggle.

“V.I. Lenin, the successful Russian revolutionary, correctly, declared:

‘We are the Party of a class, and therefore almost the entire class should act under the leadership of our Party...’

“However, with the victory of the struggle for democratic rights, which came as a concession to the black petty bourgeoisie and at the expense of the Black Revolution of the Sixties, the black petty bourgeoisie realized its fundamental political aim and lost any historically derived progressive character it once had.

“Thus the mantle of leadership—both for the struggle for national liberation and socialism—has fallen upon the shoulders of the most despised and feared black working class

“Therefore, as the advanced detachment of the black working class, the African People’s Socialist party assumes the leadership not only for ‘almost the entire class,’ but also for ‘almost the entire people.’

“Therefore, we resist any efforts to reduce the activity of the Party to that of a passive recorder of spontaneously developing events in the manner of some so-called ‘revolutionary’ organizations whose theory or program does not require intervention in the practical struggles of life.



“Our entire mission and the basis of our existence are to become actively involved in life. Our task is to mold the consciousness of the working class and all the toiling masses and to permanently lead the revolutionary struggle of the masses for political independence, African liberation and socialism.”

### **Self-determination institutions distinguish the Party**

Leading the struggle of the entire people places the responsibility for the liberation of the dispersed African nation on the shoulders of the African working class through its fighting, revolutionary class organization, the African People’s Socialist Party. Concretely this means that the Party leads the struggle for national self-determination.

One of the things that has distinguished our Party from Assimilationist organizations and put us firmly in the camp of Marcus Garvey is our history of building self-determination institutions. Mostly this has happened within the framework of our strategy of building dual and contending power as part of the contest with the existing colonial power.

Assimilationist organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) do not have any such obligations because for them the ultimate aim is to integrate into the existing capitalist-colonialist system.

Our quest for dual power is also different from the self-reliance, do-for-self institutions of the Nation of Islam because our intent is not to build a movement of petty merchants.

For our Party the work for self-determination and self-reliance is an integral part of the struggle for national liberation under the leadership of the revolutionary African working class.

We are an organization of professional revolutionaries, which means among other things, that we have always sought an ability to sustain our organizers. This has meant everything from going into the orange groves for collective orange picking, to holding the traditional car washes and dinner sales. We have lived in collectives where one or more persons would take turns working regular jobs in order to pay the way for the group and the work.

We purchased and operated bookstores and record shops in Louisville, Kentucky and Gainesville, Florida and started the first commercial African-owned newspaper in Gainesville.

For eight years subsequent to our founding I traveled the U.S., living out of a red Samsonite suitcase, organizing the Party wherever possible. In Atlanta, Georgia one of our collectives was so dilapidated that the front door had no hinges and at another we were engaged in a permanent battle with the water company that would turn off the water due to non-payment of the bill, only to have us turn the water back on once the company's service personnel would leave.

The struggle for dual and contending power

The peoples of the world are engaged in a cataclysmic struggle for self-determination. Our Party is a part of that struggle, one that must be waged in the world and within our Party as well. We are now moving more vigorously toward economic self-reliance within our Party.

We are redeveloping our economic work as a new *political* front. Unlike the recent past where our economic work was essentially designed to fund political activity, our economic work, more firmly in the hands of the Party directly, is now strategically geared toward the conquest of political power. It will be more clearly defined as part of the struggle for dual and contending power with a dying imperialism.

This time, in the era of the Final Offensive, we intend to win the struggle for power and raise the African working class up to its proper place as the ruling class of a socialist, liberated and united Africa and African people.

Under the leadership of our Party the African working class is not only engaged in struggle with the imperialists at the point of production. We make this very clear in the Political Report to the Fifth Congress where we declare the necessity of the African working class to lead the struggle for construction of a new world:

“Hence, the African workers must be brought to consciousness of their task to lead the struggle against our national oppression as a strategic necessity for the emancipation of African labor and the elevation of the African working class to the position of the ruling class of a liberated, united Africa and African people worldwide.”

The struggle of the African working class to become the ruling class is also being pursued by its own class conscious African People’s Socialist Party. All our economic work, our institutions and enterprises constitute a part of this struggle.

Since our Fifth Congress my office has been working at breakneck speed to give better organization and definition to this work, currently headed up by Deputy Chair Ona Zene’ Yeshitela. It is our intent to win the participation of our Party, our movement, our people and the people of the world in the Party’s self-reliance work.

Power means the Party taking on all the responsibility for self-rule even while we are engaging imperialist colonialism for all power to the people and black power to the African community.

Our work for self-determination and self-reliance functions to undermine the success of imperialism in the same way that struggles by the peoples of Venezuela, Afghanistan Iran and Iraq challenge U.S.

power. It is the transference of the peoples' resources away from the imperialist centers back to the possession of the struggling peoples that is responsible for the crisis of imperialism.

The struggles of the peoples of Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Venezuela are recognized by the world community as political struggles being waged for self-determination. We must also begin to see that our economic work is political work, tied to the struggle for African liberation and independence under the leadership of the African working class.

All of the Party's economic work is being consolidated and concentrated in the Office of Economic Development and Finance under the leadership of my office. Our objective will be to increase our capacity for resource generation to support the work of our Party and to create institutions and programs to stimulate economic development within our colonized communities. The resource generation of APSC will continue to be important but its role will be more clearly defined in relationship to the Party's economic work.

We have already launched Black Star Industries (BSI), a business entity that enjoys legal status within the capitalist system.

The primary task of BSI will be to collectivize the economic activity of the Party in partnership with various individuals and enterprises within our colonized communities worldwide. The Party will have primary ownership, partnering with others who will be allowed up to 49 percent ownership of an assortment of businesses that contribute to community economic self-reliance.

The economic work of the African People's Solidarity Committee is becoming increasingly supplemental to this strategic approach to our economic work. Their task will be to help facilitate the process of

resource transference from the oppressor nation back to the oppressed for use in our march to self-determination.

The assets and enterprises of the BSI are presently miniscule and limited in scope. However, our vision is that BSI will be able to initiate major projects and industries throughout the African world.

The whole Party and our movement must unite with this work. It is not a socialist project in that it is not absolute worker ownership and control of the means of production.

But BSI is an anti-colonialist project that is designed to shift ownership of production and distribution away from the colonial economy and into the collective ownership of the African masses under the leadership of the African working class in the form of the Party.

Our economic work is only one of the political vehicles through which we are working to achieve power. We are also doing this through development of community food gardens, health clinics, an assortment of schools and education projects and other fronts.

All of our Party leaders and members must accept collective and individual responsibility for the success of these Party-led endeavors. The leaders of this work must become more efficient in winning support and participation of the Party's members in this work.

While we were harassed and suffered imprisonment and various forms of repression during the police terror that defeated our revolution of the late 60s, as a Party we did not suffer defeat. The defeat of the revolution only helped to define the intensity and direction of our work. We continued to publish our newspaper and build campaigns intended to resurrect the revolutionary anti-colonial tendency of our movement that suffered the brunt of repression from the U.S. colonial state.

In the name of our movement we initiated relationships with, and sometimes gave support to, international forces engaged in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. We worked closely with Iranians up to the 1979 revolution that overthrew the Shah, the neocolonial leader imposed on the Iranian people and the world by the U.S. government.

Our Party organized the first public support rallies for the Nicaraguan resistance up to and following the July 1979 capture of power by the Sandinista movement. In addition, as with the Iranians, we gave all the material assistance in our possession and that we were able to raise, to the Sandinista resistance as they moved toward the capture of political power and the overthrow of the Somoza regime imposed on the people by the U.S. government.

### **APSC and the struggle for material solidarity**

Although we organized the African People's Solidarity Committee in 1976 it was not until the mid-1980s that the organization was truly consolidated into the formation that was the genesis of what has become the APSC of today.

Part of the work that would define APSC began with the campaign to free Dessie Woods. Many of the current leaders of APSC came into the work during that time. Many of them participated in other campaigns subsequent to the Dessie Woods work.

We deployed APSC forces in security work for the Vietnamese comrades who were active in Northern California after the success of the Vietnamese revolution that defeated U.S. imperialism there. APSC forces were also key elements in the Zimbabwe medical drives under the leadership of ZANU supporters in Northern California.

It was in the 1980s, however, that I personally began a regime of ideological and organizational training for APSC cadres. This happened at a time when our Party was engaged in serious ideological

and political struggle with a host of North American or “white” leftists that had come to occupy most of the political space with the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

This opportunistic left had actually begun to speak for the African liberation movement, objectively aiding and abetting the assault on our anti-colonial struggle for self-determination.

Some of these North American groups were, in the name of solidarity, providing material and political support for struggles around the world, including in Africa, but would offer no support for the African revolution within the U.S. where the potential of defeating U.S. imperialism was much greater.

Others claimed to offer support to African resistance within the U.S. but the conditions were such that they would actually control and dole out the resources as they saw fit, supporting the issues they thought significant.

Early on in its existence APSC would provide some kind of material support to the Party. From time to time, in support of one campaign or another or to secure some specific resource APSC would be called on for assistance. However, the objective character of this relationship was not very different from charity work and it did not necessarily require genuine unity with the objectives of our revolution.

The ideological and organizational training that I initiated with APSC and the struggles waged with a host of North American left organizations that, because of their deep opportunism were sometimes characterized as Ku Klux Kommunists and Ideological Imperialists, helped us to redefine APSC work and give it a different, coherent organizational and ideological identity.

APSC’s current slogan: “Solidarity not charity!” was born of this period. All APSC resource generation would be understood as

reparations work, and APSC's political work would be designed to take the struggle for black power into the North American community itself. Also, instead of APSC being required to simply raise resources for specific campaigns and/or needs of the Party, now APSC's economic or reparations work became institutionalized and ongoing.

Economic enterprises were created for the purpose of resource generation. Owned by the Party these institutions were often created and run by APSC. Over the years APSC developed into one of the Party's most invaluable organizations—and it must always be understood, APSC is a Party organization.

APSC was created, organized, trained and led by the Party and, over the years it has become custodian of much of the history and expertise of the Party. APSC is another front of the Party's work that allows entry into the Party's revolutionary process to defeat imperialism.

### **Party connection to the masses is essential**

Over the years the Party has created numerous institutions and organizations that function to create reserve forces for the Party and the revolution. Some forces may have revolutionary inclinations but are not yet ready for admission to the Party. Many of these people will come under the leadership of our Party through InPDUM, the mass organization created for that purpose.

In addition to InPDUM, the Party has also created a number of other organizations that act as avenues into the general ranks of our movement. These include civic-like organizations with specific missions that appeal to revolutionary national democratic interests such as education, health, and general community improvement. These organizations function within the U.S. and, like InPDUM, in various places around the world.



It is important here to mention the role of the All African People's Development and Empowerment Project. This is a formation that was organized by the Party to do important development work within our impoverished communities in the African world. A critical significance of AAPDEP is its capacity to initiate a process where Africans throughout the world can cooperate in our own development. This is what we mean when we say that African Internationalism is a theory of action, a theory with a plan.

This work is led by Comrade Aisha Fields who has steered the organization into campaigns that are mobilizing African people into development work that contributes to self-determination. This is especially true in Sierra Leone where, with leadership provided by Mary Koroma, a nurse and amazingly skilled organizer, AAPDEP has acquired hundreds of members and initiated institutions and programs that affect the lives of thousands of Africans.

In a period of eight months and under incredibly difficult conditions, Mary Koroma and AAPDEP have established clinics, schools, subsistence farming and a boat-making project among other things. All this has been enthusiastically accomplished through the unity and initiative of ordinary African workers that literally have to struggle for bare necessities of survival.

We are all familiar with the conditions in Sierra Leone, a neocolonial state with one of the highest infant and maternal death rates in the world and where diamond mines are daily looted by international corporations and beach land is being increasingly purchased by international corporations to create luxury retreats for rich tourists that consume more in a day than the average of African will in a month.

Africans from various parts of the world have been able to participate in collective work in Sierra Leone under the leadership of Comrade Aisha. This has included work to create a rainwater harvesting program in one community where clean water was inaccessible as well as training in healthcare services and resources to improve facilities at a Sierra Leone birthing clinic.

This work is clearly more important in uniting Africa and Africans than all the combined empty Pan Africanist conference resolutions giving abstract recognition to African unity.

We have always had a dynamic Party, which when at its best, fights for and maintains close connections with the masses of our people. Mass organizations are our most important tools for maintaining this relationship with our people. In our pamphlet, "Build and Consolidate the African People's Socialist Party" this point is clearly made:

"The mass organizations are the transmission belts from the Party to the people. Work in these organizations and winning them over to the side of the Party is one of the first duties of an African internationalist.

"The Party is the leader and teacher of mass organizations of the oppressed and colonized working people. The Party elaborates the correct political line, defines the tasks and direction of the political work and strengthens the mass organizations with leading personnel.

"The African People's Socialist Party has also had to assume the responsibility of building mass organizations for the people subsequent to the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties, a defeat that was also experienced as destruction of many of the genuine mass organizations founded to address the material contradictions of U.S. domestic colonialism...

"Hence it has been the responsibility of the Party to build mass organizations which can address the needs of the people...

"The basic methods of Party leadership in the mass organizations are persuasion, education, ideological influence, and the development of the initiative of the organizations in every way.

"The line of the Party in the mass organizations comes as a result of the African Internationalists who work in them.

"Each African Internationalist is also expected to conduct work among the masses.

"The fact is that everyone can win others to African Internationalism if the agitator or propagandist can approach her/him in such a way to transmit African Internationalists ideas.

"If an organizer, a Party cadre, an agitator speaks in a language he or she can understand and makes use of facts of ordinary life which are known to the colonized African being addressed, that African can be won to African Internationalism."

### **The significance of the Party in the crisis of imperialism**

This National Plenary has the added responsibility to acknowledge the significance of our Party's 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, coming up in May. We have decided that the entire year should be used to celebrate our history as the most consistent revolutionary force within the U.S. and, indeed, much of the African world.

Our 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary and this National Plenary are occurring during a time of unparalleled crisis of imperialism, the dying social system that holds the entire trans-colonial world hostage to its rotting, disease-ridden entrails. The geopolitical turmoil occurring in the wake of growing imperial losses is increasingly obvious to, and being experienced by, the world.

In the Political Report to our Fifth Congress it was explained that:

“In the current period the contradictions of imperialism are being generalized. The cascading, successive struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world are successfully changing the political and economic contours of the world...”

It is a new situation, one that the bourgeoisie is struggling to understand and contain in its attempt to hold onto a world economic system constructed and dependent on oppression and exploitation.

The special 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the political journal of the Council on Foreign Affairs, a bourgeois entity historically associated with the Trilateral Commission and the Rockefellers, is dedicated to scrambling for an ideological grasp of this era of imperialism in crisis.

The January/February 2012 anniversary issue is entitled, “The Clash of Ideas The Ideological Battles That Made the Modern World—And Will Shape the Future.”

Among the submissions to this journal is one by Francis Fukuyama. With the implosion of the Soviet Union and the capitulation of China to the capitalist model, Fukuyama popularized the term “End of History” to suggest the U.S. Western imperialist model represents the extent to which human society would develop.

Today Fukuyama is one of the many who has had to reconsider outdated notions of imperialist permanency. In his submission to *Foreign Affairs* entitled *The Future of History*, Fukuyama is now advancing a modified outdated defense of imperialism, where he asks the question in the subtitle: “Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?”

Interestingly Fukuyama addresses what is for him, "One of the most puzzling features of the world in the aftermath of the financial crisis." For Fukuyama this is "that so far, populism has taken primarily a right-wing form, not a left wing one..."

"The main trends in left-wing thought in the last two generations have been, frankly, disastrous as either conceptual frameworks or tools for mobilization. Marxism died many years ago, and the few old believers still around are ready for nursing homes. The academic left replaced it with postmodernism, multiculturalism, feminism, critical theory, and a host of other fragmented intellectual trends that are more cultural than economic in focus..."

The 40-year history of the African People's Socialist Party is clear evidence that history did not end. Indeed, in anticipation of Fukuyama's current intellectual dilemma the Political Report to our First Congress all the way back in 1981, laid out direction and leadership for our struggle, obvious in its title: *A New Beginning: The Road to Black Freedom and Socialism*.

This National Plenary and African Internationalism represent the future of history that Fukuyama is searching for.

The emphasis on African Internationalist theory in this Political Report to the National Plenary is refutation of Fukuyama's outdated assumptions. The slave, previously brutalized into silence, has found a voice and we do understand the world and the future. Our participation in this Plenary is living testimony to that reality.

We are not the "Left" that Fukuyama speaks of. We are not some radical, loyal opposition. We are African Internationalists, committed to the overthrow of the entire system of empire that has fed off the blood and resources of Africans and others around the

world. We are the African People's Socialist Party that survived the war without terms unleashed against our revolution of the sixties.

We defied the predictions of all the counterinsurgents bent upon destroying the struggle for African liberation. We have acquired the maturity and experience that enables us to base our activities on the revolutionary science of society, rejecting all forms of superstition and idealism and advancing revolutionary theory to make it inclusive of the reality of the majority of the planet's inhabitants.

**Party must strike out boldly**

But we are not here to rest on our laurels. As glorious as our history is its significance will be determined in the long run by what we do *now* at this historically critical moment. Our 40 years of history is only important if it functions as the springboard to the future that Fukuyama cannot imagine.

The Purpose of our Fifth Party Congress was to position us on this springboard. It was a Congress that would challenge many of the old ways of doing things in order to prepare us to seize the time during the crisis of imperialism.

On November 1, 2010, barely four months after the Fifth Congress, I was waging struggle with the leadership of our Party to carry out our Congress mandate. In a paper entitled, "Abandon organizational disarray and unite to build organizational efficiency and accountability," the following struggle was initiated within the Party's National Central Committee:

"The internal resistance to organizational cultural transformation can be seen in part by the difficulties to institutionalize our offices and provide Plans of Action for the leading, strategic, components of our work...

"The struggle being led by the Office of the Chairman is to prevent the abortion of this new organizational culture.

"The entire year, from July 2010 when the Congress was held until our July 2011 National Plenary, will be dedicated to deepening these changes through organizational consolidation. We have a number of campaigns, resolutions and projects to which our Congress committed us, but for the entire year our work must prioritize organization and be dedicated to organizational consolidation.

"Centering our work on organization will prevent us from allowing this critical question, the one that has plagued us from before the Congress, to be sidelined or to slip between the cracks as it has too often in the past. It is only organization that will make it possible and necessary to implement decisions of the Congress and advance our revolutionary capacity.

"The Congress presented us with a host of projects and resolutions. None of them can be done effectively unless we give priority to how the work is to be done. The critical issue is organization and this will be our focus for the year. We will take on other tasks to advance our agenda, but in doing so we will give special attention to organization for the first year following the Congress...

"The revised Party Constitution, the Political Report to the Congress, the resolutions and the post-Congress Organizational Manual are all contributing to a higher, better-politicized unity upon which to build.

"The Office of the Chairman has grown its administrative capacity in many different ways, but most importantly it has achieved an unprecedented ability to oversee, direct and hold accountable all the work in every department. We have achieved the ability to relentlessly pursue all the directives of the Fifth Congress and the

organizational efficiency and accountability necessary for our progress and our revolutionary success.

“And, we have been, and will continue to be, relentless. This is a profound change that must not be overlooked. My office has withstood every effort to hold onto the old organizational culture, to undermine, stall or otherwise prevent the emergence of an organizational culture of efficiency and accountability.

“In the past we have conducted Party Congresses, plenaries and assorted conferences only to remain incapable of carrying out the changes and determinations called for and sometimes voted on. We have complained of this Party shortcoming over the years, and now we are actively in the process of overcoming this limitation.

“Although they must be standardized, the required Plans Of Action and Monthly Summary Reports are beginning to stagger in. Some of them will require more work after they have been submitted and the fact that they have not been delivered on time is unacceptable.

“But this process is changing the character of our organization. The POAs and Summary Reports do not only establish the plans and activities of our leading committees and structures. They also serve to inform the entire leadership and organization of what we should expect of each other and of our leaders.

“Our National Headquarters is the busiest it has ever been since our location in this renovated center. Party leaders are increasingly moving toward regular office operational hours. This does not mean that we have become nine to five revolutionaries. Instead, it means that we are busy at work struggling with Plans of Action and achieving stated goals and objectives for concentrated periods of time. In the past our offices were too often unattended while we were too busy



doing anything *but* achieving goals and objectives tied to concrete Plans of Action.

“This is a most important struggle against organizational anarchy. Our leaders are forced to work from a predetermined agenda. We don’t simply “DO” things. The things that we do are informed by a PLAN and we are consistently kept up to date on progress toward accomplishment of the plan by the required summary reports.

“With the institutionalization of this new, improved, efficient and accountable organizational culture; with the ongoing push to grow the capacity of our respective offices, other changes are also emerging. Now, we are achieving the permanent organizational capacity to bring more people into a relationship with the Party and our movement. We are creating the structural and organizational foundation for leading others when they come into the embrace of the Party or our movement.

“This has been slow, mind-numbing work when compared to the exciting adrenalin-inducing character of anarchy. However, it is going to pay off in the long run by institutionalizing our practices, making our work less dependent on the personalities, enthusiasm and relationships of the individuals involved, but instead reliant on the organizational, political and Constitutional principles enshrined in our structures.

“Our work for this year-long period, subsequent to the Fifth Congress up to the July 2011 National Party Plenary, must be characterized by the struggle for organizational renewal consistent with the Directives from the Office of the Chairman, mandate of the Fifth Party Congress as expressed through the revised Party Constitution, Congress Political Report, resolutions, Organizational Manual and basic organizational principles found in other important

documents such as Build and Consolidate the Party and Standards of Party Life.

“In all of our efforts, campaigns, struggles, etc., the critical guiding principle that anchors our efforts must be organization...”

We are still engaged in this struggle. Our Fifth Congress Political Report demanded that we solve the problem of recruitment, recognizing that the “current crisis of imperialism has resulted in ever growing numbers of Africans seeking membership in the Party and a relationship with the movement under our leadership...”

To take this on we changed the Standard Party Agenda to place recruitment on the top. This was a change to make sure that its last place on the agenda would not continue to have recruitment treated as an afterthought that sometimes didn’t get discussed if the meeting lasted too long. We even changed the Constitution to create an Office of Recruitment and Membership.

While today we can boast having someone on the National Central Committee responsible for this office, the fact is that an office holder does not necessarily represent organization, especially as spelled out in the Abandon Disarray document, which states further:

“Organization must mean upholding the fundamental principles of Democratic Centralism, recognizing that for every organizing effort there must be designated leaders and followers and that all our committees have recognized goals, objectives and time lines and appropriate divisions of labor to carry out their functions...”

This is not the situation with our Recruitment and Membership office. There has not been a general membership and recruitment policy guiding the work of our Party and Movement. There has not been a meaningful organizational development of the National Office of

Recruitment and Membership (NORM) through which policies can be developed and pursued.

This must change. We are not a motley group of individuals who happen to agree on certain philosophical principles; we are the African People's Socialist Party, African Internationalists, which by definition means that we are an organization of theory and practice bound by strict organizational principles, the chief one being democratic centralism.

The Political Report to our Fifth Congress stated clearly what is being called for:

"Consistent with the need for greater accountability, I have directed members of the Party's Central Committee, including the Political Bureau [effectively changed to the Secretariat by our new Constitution] to write Plans of Action to define their work and offices and to establish measurable guidelines and timelines for judging accomplishment. These are important developments, especially necessary for these times of crisis of imperialism and growth in responsibility and membership of our Party and movement."

Similarly, the leader of the Office of Agitation and Propaganda has refused to lead the development of that department, even with ongoing relentless struggle since our Congress.

The Abandon Organizational Disarray document speaks directly to the contradiction with that office:

"The Department of Agitation and propaganda presides over a powerful resource that has yet to achieve organizational coherence. It is a department that epitomizes the concept of too little development from too much work. The amount of activity concentrated in agitprop is undeniable: here we have the radio station, The Burning Spear, all

Party literature and political education and scores of miscellaneous tasks that span the spectrum of possibilities.

“However, the general activity of agitprop is characterized by organizational anarchy. Almost all agitprop activity is determined on a day-to-day, week-to-week, month-to-month basis. None of agitprop’s work is informed by a Plan of Action. Therefore, although Comrade Nyabinga and agitprop are always busy, the busyness is not productive and does not necessarily lend itself to development.

“Hence, while agitprop activity is pulled around by events as they occur or need to occur, there is little or no progress in propaganda or agitation materials that support or promote our general line, strategy or trajectory. While the solidarity movement, under the leadership of APSC has developed a popular line of t-shirts promoting our ideology nothing of the sort has come from agitprop.

“While frequent forums and other political events held by the solidarity movement result in recruiting more people with increasing degrees of unity with our movement, nothing of the sort happens as agitprop initiatives.

“Indeed, one would be hard-pressed to identify any African who has been successfully recruited into the agitprop apparatus by agitprop itself, despite the incredible array of tools available to agitprop that should contribute to that function.

“Disorganization is the deadly enemy of agitprop. A plan of Action that includes development of the Office of the Agitprop Director must be immediately developed and submitted by Comrade Nyabinga as a way to rectify this situation and give the Party and the revolution access to our full capacity. Excuses for not providing the Department and the Party with the leadership and stability needed for agitprop are totally unacceptable.”

InPDUM is another place where these organizational contradictions are centered. InPDUM's current president has presented a dashing figure standing up to all the awful machinations of U.S. domestic colonialism. Indeed, he has added an element of much-needed excitement to InPDUM's presence in some places.

His perennial contests with the neo-colonial mayor of Philadelphia and his campaign for mayor of that city were textbook examples of agitational brilliance. However, the problem is that almost everything done has revolved around the president as an individual without producing the necessary organizational development for our success as a revolutionary formation.

This individualism, accentuated by an unseemly self-promotion, means if something happens to the president the organization could not function. The fact is that all our work in this period is to make ourselves unnecessary as individuals by constructing the organizational infrastructure that can endure long after our demise if necessary. This is the significance of our Constitution, our Organizational and other manuals and resolutions and the frequent struggles made by the Office of the Chair.

This is the year that InPDUM must rise to its full capacity and truly function as a steeled, fighting mass organization that serves as the powerful popular front of the Party.

InPDUM must utilize its international, local and state constitutions to begin to build strong, tight, ever-growing branches around the world that carry out the organization's mandate to push back the counterinsurgency and empower the African working class to come into political life in its own interest.

InPDUM's IEC must provide leadership for the entire international organization through directives for coordinated

campaigns, through intensive international membership campaigns and strict accountability through reports and assessments from branches.

InPDUM was not created to be a loose connection of branches acting as they see fit. It is a single organization that must be powerfully led worldwide. There has to be a fight to fill all leadership offices on all levels and to build branches that function according to the constitution.

There should be trainings on how a branch should function. There should be mandated studies of the founding report by the Chairman to the first InPDUM Convention.

A full fundraising POA must be developed that is based on a membership/sustainer campaign and local and regional assessments along with other fundraisers.

When, for example, rebellions broke out in London where the London branch was in the thick of struggle, InPDUM should have held press conferences and directed its branches worldwide to act through sister demonstrations and other actions.

When the Chairman and our Party were under attack in St. Petersburg by white nationalist forces, InPDUM should have held national and international press conferences, etc.

To fail to build the organizational infrastructure of InPDUM raises the president to primacy over the organization. This promotes the kind of subjectivism that gives a voice and platform to anti-Party forces who attack our unity and the leadership of the African working class in the African Revolution.

None of these criticisms liquidate the cadre-like behavior of InPDUM's president in many other matters. His willingness to move anywhere in the world to take on the work designated by the Party

must truly be saluted and emulated by others in the Party. His ability to generate political motion in Philadelphia and, most recently, Oakland, is laudable. However, even these valuable qualities can be attributed to self-aggrandizement if they do not result in concrete, measurable development of the organizational infrastructure that our 5<sup>th</sup> Congress called for.

These are not the only contradictions with which we are confronted. There are more. The Secretariat is new to our Party as an institution and we have to boldly develop its capacity. Also the office of the Secretary General, an especially significant component of our new structure, has not been effectively organized.

However, the questions of membership, Agitprop and InPDUM, the Party's flagship mass organization, stand out as exemplary contradictions that require mention in this presentation.

This National Plenary must be a stepping stone in our work to build the future as history propels the subject and oppressed peoples of the world into irreversible motion to destroy imperialism that is experiencing death throes.

While these death throes are clearly visible to the thinking representatives of the system—such as Brzezinski, Buchanan and Fukuyama. Increasingly they are also being experienced by masses of people in every walk of life.

Surely this must be an unnerving time for Europeans who have long perceived themselves as the center of the universe and experienced the world's bounty as their entitlement. Now the center of gravity has shifted in this universe and everyone is going to be forced to examine his or her worldview in face of the changing reality.

People who were not obviously interested in politics yesterday increasingly have to understand political events unfolding around the

world in order to come to grips with the reality they are confronted with.

Now is the time for our Party to strike out more boldly than ever in carrying out our mission to build the Party, grow our ability to lead the revolution and to govern in a post-revolutionary world.

In *Strategic Vision America and the Crisis of Global Power*, Zbigniew Brzezinski sounds the alarm:

“... One should be mindful of the fact that in the course of only one century—from approximately 1910 to 2010—the ranking hierarchy of global power changed significantly no less than five times, with all but the fourth signaling a divisive deterioration in the global preeminence of the West...

“The high frequency of these power shifts signals a historical acceleration in the changing distribution of global power. Prior to the twentieth century, global preeminence by a leading state generally lasted for a century or so. But as political activism became an increasingly widespread social phenomenon, politics became more volatile and global preeminence less enduring...

“The ongoing dispersal of global power is furthered by the emergence of a volatile phenomenon: the worldwide political awakening of populations until recently politically passive or repressed...[T]his awakening is the cumulative product of an interactive and interdependent world connected by instant visual communications and of the demographic youth bulge in the less advanced societies composed of easy-to-mobilize and politically restless university students and the socially deprived unemployed...”

Brzezinski doesn't get everything right, but he is correct in his own convoluted way of warning that we are coming—40 years and over one billion strong, we are coming and preparing for battle.



Our Party is building throughout the African world. And although we are in different countries on different continents the language and practices of African Internationalism are spreading quickly. In Sierra Leone, Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Namibia and Ghana we are increasingly hearing the same cry of One Africa, One Nation and the demand for socialist liberation and the unity of Africa and Africans everywhere.

Likewise African Internationalist slogans and organization are spreading throughout Europe in the heat of serious political struggles against European imperialism in Africa and its implications for Africans in France, UK, Belgium, Germany and elsewhere. At this very moment we are preparing to conduct a Caribbean Regional ASI conference in the Bahamas. Calls for active participation in our movement are coming in daily from all over the world and we are expanding our organizational, political and ideological influence throughout North America.

The Party is also organizing to build a world tribunal on reparations for African people in Belgium, the state and economy that were created off the brutal and horrendous colonial extraction of life and material wealth from our Congo. This tribunal will be a major all-African contribution to deepening the crisis of imperialism.

The tribunal will also provide a venue for the introduction of testimony and evidence of the development of the white world at the expense of our people and our happiness. It will contribute to the demoralization of imperialist defenders, but it will also allow Africans to understand our common history and destiny.

Another important impact of the Tribunal will be the introduction of testimony and documentation with the intent of quantifying the amount of value stolen from Africa and Africans since our forced

introduction to European economic rape and political thuggery. More than anything this will be valuable in refuting the notion of African dependency fed into our communities for centuries. All Africans will be able to understand that Europe and the imperialist world depend on Africa and Africans and that our salvation lays in a united struggle to wrest back our continent and our lives for our own selfish interests.

### **African Internationalism gives leadership to entire world**

The elimination of "Marxism" as the primary ideological advocate for the interests of the world's oppressed has resulted in the emergence of Islam as a driving ideological influence today. The centuries long European aggression against Islam includes the looting expeditions throughout the Middle East that were referred to as the Crusades.

Although the Crusades were wars waged under religious banners they were part of a process that over a period of time has subjugated the Middle East and helped to shape the consciousness of resistance by Muslims worldwide. Consequently, as it is embraced by people of the most oppressed and exploited areas of the world, Islam has served as the influential ideological expression of resistance by much of the world's poor.

This is another side of the expressed consternation of Fukuyama about the dearth of a competent Western imperialist "Left" ideological response to what he recognizes as the economic crisis of imperialism. The truth is that Islam has provided an idealist explanation for the material reality that imperialism has imposed on the oppressed for several centuries. Islam has filled a philosophical vacuum left in the wake of the rout of an inadequately materialist "Marxism."

We are African Internationalists and we are providing the world of the oppressed with an explanation of the world that is based on a

dialectical examination of material reality. We are historical materialists and we are equipped with a potent worldview that once gripped by the masses of our people will be translated into the “material force” that will sweep and transform the world.

Now more than ever we must escalate all our efforts to equip ourselves for maximum participation to win our liberation from a wrathful decrepit, cadaverous imperialism that is spreading massive destruction in every effort to resuscitate itself.

**Mandates of Party’s Fifth Congress must be carried out**

With the incredible capacity for communications at our command, with our own print and electronic newspaper and our Internet radio station that reach people on every continent, we must redouble all our efforts to spread our philosophy and analyses and build the infrastructure of organization as called for in the Political Report to the Fifth Congress.

We must use this technology as an organizing tool, creating organic relations between ourselves and the African masses of the world that are impatient for the recapture of our resources from imperialist predators and their pliant neocolonial stooges that preside over the looting of our Motherland and our scattered material and human resources.

Agitprop must solve the practical, organizational, problems that undermine or prohibit maximum development and utilization of the available technological resources. While some media of the past still have significance, the pamphleteers of today communicate to the masses primarily through the Internet.

In 1979 the world saw the U.S.-enthroned Shah of Iran overthrown by the successful utilization of cassette tapes bearing messages from the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini. However, today we

have witnessed the power of new technology at work in the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt.

The Party's Fifth Congress also recognized the increasing use of prison as a tool of colonial repression and economic stimulus for economically depressed white communities and general capitalist recovery. The prison industry has achieved its modern character from its historical relationship with African people after the end of formal colonial slavery at the end of the U.S. Civil War.

This is when the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. constitution codified slavery under new conditions, outlawing "slavery and involuntary servitude except as punishment for a crime."

Convict leasing became the method used by the U.S. to maintain conditions that were even more egregious than formal slavery. Convict leasing lasted for almost a hundred years. It was a process where Africans were no longer owned by individual whites but were imprisoned by the state and leased out to the former slavers who no longer had an economic incentive to provide any semblance of care for African captives.

The brutal conditions imposed on Africans through the convict leasing system became the template for prison life and treatment within the U.S., where our people, including children are stuffed at genocidal rates.

Prison is a major attack on the African working class and seriously impacts on our ability to build a revolutionary movement. Our Fifth Party Congress understood this and mandated Party involvement to take on this question.

Today we are organizing our Party in the prisons. More and more Africans are contacting us from behind the walls of these concentration

camps. We must use the prisons as universities of revolutionary study and struggle, eventually developing a capacity to make the prisons ungovernable by the colonial state. The prisons must be destroyed and all of the more than one million incarcerated Africans must be freed.

The urgency of our Fifth Congress was based in part on our long-time recognition of the crisis of imperialism and the realization that the crisis had now become irreversible. At the Congress we made very important decisions to prepare our Party for the tasks ahead. We understood that we had to rapidly develop our Party infrastructure to facilitate our revolutionary agenda and to enhance our power to govern.

We revised our Constitution, something long overdue but especially important at this time. The revised Constitution added a preamble that sums up the basis for the Party's existence and reminds our members and others of the historical mission upon which our Party has embarked. All our members must study and become intimately familiar with our Constitution. It represents the law and order of the Party, legitimizes our organizational relationships and helps to distinguish the African People's Socialist Party from those organizations that function at the whim of the leaders. Our Constitution defines our long-term goals and ultimate aims and is a powerful weapon against spontaneity and opportunism.

We also redeveloped our Organizational Manual, which functions as a supplement to our Constitution. The Organizational Manual helps provide every Party member with a better, more informed relationship with the Party. It also provides guidance for problem solving and is a blue print for understanding some of the practical applications of democratic centralist organizational principles. This was the first revision of the manual since its initial publication in 1980.

Cadre development, administrative infrastructure development and adherence to our revised Constitution and Organizational Manual are also crucial elements of Party unity. Our Party has organizational components strewn throughout the world. This is necessary for our victory over our imperialist oppressors and class enemies. However, none of this can happen without a united Party.

Without a united Party there will never be a united African revolution and a united Africa, both absolutely necessary to end the ravishing life-expropriating exploitation of our people. Therefore we can be certain that our imperialist enemies, from within and without, will make every effort to destroy the unity of our Party at this critical time of crisis for imperialism and growth for our Party.

Every Party member and friend of our Party must defend the unity of the Party with all our being. We must recognize an attack on the unity of the Party as an attack on the achievement of a liberated, socialist, united Africa and African people. An attack on the unity of our Party is an attack on the future of our Motherland and our people.

Party leaders and all Party committees and organizations must make study and understanding of the Party's Constitution and Organizational Manual a priority. This is critical for the democratic centralist functioning of the Party. Because democracy requires an informed membership, it is especially important for Party democracy.

The development of our administrative capacity is something else that our Fifth Congress emphasized as necessary for our success in this period. The African liberation movement has long been victimized by shortcomings in our administrative ability. Even within the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. this was a problem to which we paid too little attention.

Often motivated by the thrill of combat with the oppressor we considered administrative work to be bourgeois. Consequentially, in the absence of organizational infrastructure, it has been easier for our oppressor to eliminate our organizations by eliminating one or more of our leaders.

We left the Fifth Congress with the battle cry: "Build your offices to capacity!" This has been a struggle of historical proportions but it is one that we must win and that we are winning. In some instances this problem is being ameliorated by more of those educated and skilled comrades being thrust into our ranks by an imperialism whose crisis is incapable of promising them a future.

However, by whatever means, we must build our offices' capacity. It is necessary for our leaders and the rank and file members to understand that organizational capacity, administrative infrastructure is, in the long run, more important than the heart racing adrenalin pump we gain from street battles or various high profile political campaigns.

The Office of the Chairman will continue to demand our development in this area of our work. This means we push for prompt delivery of all Monthly Summary Reports and Plans of Action, which are critical aspects of our work. We must always be able to establish goals and objectives, otherwise we will not be able to measure our work and determinations of success and failure will always be based on subjective declarations instead of scientific assessments.

### **African Internationalism, cadre development and love of the Party**

Fundamental to the strength of our Party is the fact that we are internationalists. We mean this as more than recognition of an abstract

kinship to the struggling mass of humanity throughout the world. We do recognize such a kinship but we mean more than this.

We are internationalists in practice—through our practical relationship to the struggles of the Mexican people who suffer imperialist settler-colonialism within the U.S. Our internationalism provided practical support to the Iranian people in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, both in the Persian Gulf as well as in the U.S.

The struggles of the peoples of Nicaragua, Ireland, Palestine, Cuba, Venezuela and all of South America and especially of the domestically interned Indigenous people known as Indians, are among those recipients of our internationalism.

However, all our work, including the internationalism we have demonstrated in our relationship with others, is based on the fact that we are African Internationalists. This means that we are tied by blood, history and, increasingly by organization, to a billion-and-a-half strong African nation scattered and separated throughout Africa and the world by a moribund imperialism on its deathbed. We are one Africa, one nation!

Key to our ability to advance the revolutionary process is the rapid training and ideological and political development of the new members and supporters joining our Party and movement. This is critical.

At times such as this, when crisis abounds and growing numbers of people are joining our ranks, the ideological and political clarity and competence of our forces must be enhanced to protect our Party and struggle from police agents and from the opportunists and disenchanted elements of the petty bourgeoisie that would attempt to transform the Party into an agency to advance their own class agendas.



In addition, we must follow the mandate expressed in the Political Report to our Fifth Congress that made explicit statements about the necessity to shore up our Party with highly developed cadres.

“More than anything,” the Political Report states, “we must give the greatest significance possible to the task of development of Party cadres. By this we do not mean simply filling the ranks of the Party with new forces of having sterile political education classes that will simply allow them to memorize text that can be regurgitated on command. We mean that members of our Party must be prepared to lead.

“In practical terms this certainly means that they should be able to lead the particular areas of work for which they may be responsible. Their leaders must give them a complete understanding of this work. But they must also be able to lead the masses in general—in their communities and on the campuses, in prisons and at their work places. They must be won to a love for the Revolution and an undying love for the Party that is the instrument through which the Revolution will be pursued and won.

“This deep and profound respect and love for the Party is an absolute necessity for our cadres in this period. The Party cadres must be capable of recognizing the programs, commitments, strategy and struggles of the Party as their own. They must see the contradictions as well as the victories of the Party as their own.”

Cadre development is something that currently is primarily the responsibility of our Department of Agitation and Propaganda. This office functions as our expert in cadre development. It is the Party structure that, working with the Secretary General and Office of Recruitment, is consistently developing and testing the quality of our

cadres. There has never been a time of greater urgency for the development of our cadres than now when more and more people are being attracted to our Party and being drawn into our ranks.

As much as cadre development is the responsibility of the Office of Agitation and Propaganda, all our leading organizations and committees must be drawn into the work of developing cadres from the ranks of individuals under their leadership.

Again quoting from the Political Report to the Fifth Congress: "Our leaders must organize their work to accommodate the struggle for the development of our cadres. Every leading committee and department must play its role..."

We should all study the Political Report to the Fifth Congress, especially that section dealing with all the necessary qualities of cadres. Party cadres are the heavy lifters of the Party. They are the essential forces that maintain the fighting spirit of the Party and protect its unity. Our cadres are the ones that will always fight for the organizational and ideological integrity of the Party. Cadres understand and uphold the recognition that regardless of the committee or Party organization, we are one, indivisible, Party.

Organizational training, political education and cadre development are essential for the success of the Party at this critical time in our struggle.

### **Build the African People's Socialist Party**

Right now the primary task of the Party and the African revolution is to build the African People's Socialist Party. While there are people engaged in single-issue work to free political prisoners, stop police violence, end imperialist wars, etc., the question remains: toward what ends? Objectively they are engaged in work to perfect imperialism.

And while it is true that imperialism is occasionally able to make some concessions to the people under mass pressure, this is increasingly difficult to achieve in this era of imperialist crisis. And even when we achieve some concession from time to time, imperialism as a vicious parasitic system remains in place. Today it will concede a democratic right here only to take it back tomorrow.

The struggle for reform is not inherently backwards if it is organically tied to revolutionary objectives. However, when it is not tied to the revolution such work constitutes reformism, which is reform for reform's sake. At such a historical moment when the critical motion of the masses of the world is responsible for the crisis of imperialism, reformism constitutes aiding and abetting our oppressor and the strategic enemy of the struggling peoples of the world.

This is why we must build the Party. The Party provides the African working class with a potent weapon in its struggle for repossession of our resources and happiness that were long ago expropriated by imperialist white power.

The 40-year history of our Party has provided us with a wealth of practical and ideological resources. We have survived the counterrevolutionary terror of the 1960s while at the time benefiting from the lessons of the repression.

There have been other significant historical forces from the period of our founding. Many of them were like brilliant shooting stars that lit up the sky and inspired us at the moment, but our Party has prevailed—not in some closet or in study groups separate from the struggles of the real world. Our classroom has been the actual anti-imperialist battleground to solve the problems of the revolution.

**Anti-Party forces can never stop our forward motion**

We do have detractors. Some of them may even be well motivated, but that does not make them any less problematic and their opposition less opportunist. Our most vicious opponents are often former members or affiliates of the Party. But we must be clear: Party discipline is voluntary. One joins the Party and accepts its discipline because of unity with the Party ideology, Constitution and basic principles.

Because the principles of the Party and our Constitution contain fundamental ideals of revolutionary theory and practice, many of those who have left the Party are unable to justify their opposition on grounds of principled disagreement and therefore concoct slanderous obscenities to obscure the reason for their abandonment of the revolution. They are scabs.

We have been intolerant of liberals and petty bourgeois aspirants. Individualists and adventurists have also been unable to remain in our ranks. We constantly struggle against liberalism and subjectivism, another tendency to place ones personal interests above that of the Party. We have ejected thieves and lumpen types that have attempted to give their anti-social criminal behavior a revolutionary cloak.

Some of these forces even claim to be African Internationalists. One is claiming to build another party. These are examples of using African Internationalism to attack African Internationalism or waving the Red, Black and Green flag to attack the Red, Black and Green flag in the same manner as the imperialist stooges who lynched Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. There is no essential difference. Their function is the same.

What force claiming adherence to African Internationalism would attempt to organize another party except to compete with the Party of

the African working class that has been forged in the furnace of revolutionary combat for the last 40 years?

This is the Party that in most instances is responsible to their introduction to political life and revolutionary theory. What party can they build that can claim the accomplishments of our Party that carries out iron-willed discipline and is established in as many places in the world as our Party. How could there be two parties of the African working class?

The answers to these questions are obvious. While the crisis of imperialism will result in the emergence of its defenders, sometimes in disguise, our task is clear. The African petty bourgeoisie and neocolonialists cannot resolve the contradictions faced by the mass of Africans and oppressed peoples worldwide and their "solutions" only serve the interests of imperialism. Neocolonialists are the highest expression of opportunism. They always subordinate or sacrifice the long-term interests of the international working class to serve their own short-term interests.

This is also the description of those former members and affiliates of the Party that often claim adherence to African Internationalism. At best they are revisionists, those who would attempt to shape and mold revolutionary African Internationalism to fit their devious anti-revolutionary, anti-Party, imperialist-abetting, self-serving interests at the expense of the revolution. It is because of the growing influence of African Internationalism, the fact that it answers all the critical questions speaking to the interests of the masses of our people that radical neo-colonialists would find it necessary to adopt African Internationalists trappings to advance their nefarious agendas.

All over the world we have seen the results of this. In Africa the imperialists have been able to maintain their stranglehold in large

measure because of the collaboration with neocolonialists. Much of the misery and bloodshed that characterize life in Africa are a consequence of spineless neocolonialists who have sold out the future of Africa to imperialism.

Even as Euro-American imperialism is writhing in frenzied death agony, the neo-colonialists are seeking out other emerging, hungrier economic powers such as China and India to which Africa and the birthrights of our people can be sold.

### **Recruit, recruit, recruit**

The future of Africa and African people is in our hands. We must build the Party in every possible way. We must spend the next year, leading to our Sixth Congress, building the Party and its real capacity all over the world. We must win more Africans to the ranks of our Party in order to have the necessary forces to carry out the tasks we set to propel us to victory.

Recruitment is an absolute necessity. Recruitment is necessary to carry out all the mandates of our Fifth Congress and to fill out the structure of our Party. It is only through recruitment that we will be able to initiate the division of labor for developing specific approaches to organization of African labor. We must recruit to effectively organize young African workers, students, women and the African nation to destroy the contemporary slavery of the prison system.

We must establish the Party throughout Africa and in every conceivable corner of the world where Africans are located. We must create African Internationalists that will function as the advanced detachment of the international African working class throughout the world.

Our ideological work must be enhanced a thousand-fold and every possible means must be utilized to transform our Party into an

organization of trained propagandists that are capable of spreading our worldview and introducing the science of African Internationalism into the struggles of the masses everywhere.

We must also escalate the work to acquire organizational administrative competence, enabling us to preside over an increasingly complex array of organizations and institutions and preparing us for the power to govern.

Comrades, this is our time. While the blather of Buchanan, Brzezinski and Fukuyama will be seen by some as incantations capable of rescuing imperialism from oblivion, we know better.

It is the intent of this Political Report to this National Plenary of our Party to signal the reality that if we, the advanced detachment of the African working class, remain true to our mission to liberate and unite Africa and African people under the leadership of our class, the words of Buchanan, Brzezinski and Fukuyama are simply funeral dirges marking the inevitable passing of imperialism from the history of humanity.

Raise High the Banner of African Internationalism!

Izwe Lethu i Afrika!

We will Win!