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REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER IN THE 1980s

NOW IS THE TIME!

The crisis of U.S. imperialism is moving fast. War drums are beating and a groundswell of hysteria is being nurtured and developed by ruling class interests. Now it is against a foreign enemy, the Soviet Union. Soon it will increasingly be turned against all dissent and protest over the worsening economic, social, and political crisis within the United State.

The ruling class of the U.S. is being backed up against the wall and is forced to bear its fangs. The Soviet social-imperialists (socialism in words by imperialists like the U.S. in deeds) are running wild with Cuba, Ethiopia, Vietnam, and the East European bloc serving the Soviet aim to dominate much of the world. This aim is crystal clear in the naked Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. With sugar-coated "patriotic" rhetoric, Carter has boosted the defense budget and cut social programs, deployed new troops signed new military pacts, and is planning for the draft. Superpower contention over who will dominate the world poses the greatest threat of world war.

Within the U.S., there is a clear increase in the turn to the right. The gains won by the masses of Black people in the struggles of the 1960s and early 1970s are being attacked and systematically eroded. There is the persecution of revolutionary leaders, the Klan-police murder of revolutionary fighters, and the purge of revolutionary minded teachers from college faculties.

Our response must be to increase our struggle, to turn the heat up. We must rally our forces, rekindle the flames of our resistance, and close ranks to march into battle.

The 1980s will be a decade in which we will leap forward into the future or be pushed down and be stomped on. Peoples College puts this position paper forward as our general proposal for the Black Liberation movement, for revolutionary fighters and for everyone interested in contributing to the struggle for peace, justice, and equality for Black people.

CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM INCREASES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE.

One of the main aspects of the 1960s was the festival of struggle waged by black people against all forms of racist oppression. Racism had been easy to keep going because of Black people's physical characteristics (especially color), cultural behavior, and social relations. And racism targeted all Black people for attack.

The 1960s was a time when a united struggle was unleashed, and the Black Liberation Movement was reborn as a multi-class battle. Black people were joined by people of all nationalities, in every region of the country. Out of this struggle, and in the context of the changing conditions in world affairs, some real advances were made. Jobs, social service programs, and some small measures of innovation and change occurred. There are perhaps three major things that all of this accomplished:

- The creation of a new leadership group dependent on government financing and maximum media coverage:
- Middle class gains were won because the key beneficiary of government social programs are frequently the people hired to staff the bureaucracy designed to carry out programs "for the people." This is especially true of government employment. In 1970, 51% of Black males and 72.1% of Black females with at least four years of college worked for governments.
- Black people learned that the most successful tactic was mass action in the streets and not the legal challenges in the courts nor electing Black people to political office. Today, many reformers incorrectly preach that Black people "have become too sophisticated to participate in massive demonstration."

In the 1970s, however, a general view emerged that Black people have made enough progress and that we have been "given" enough. Daniel Moynihan, in advising the U.S. President, called for "benign neglect." The Bakke decision fed the charge of "reverse discrimination." Many social scientists who analyze statistical data are busy proving the disappearance of racial differences in income, education, and occupational status. The summation has been made that because certain middle class Blacks "seem" to be equal with whites, there is "a declining significance of race"

All of this is a bunch of crap! On the surface there has been a momentary pause in the categorical oppression based on race. Today, racial oppression and economic exploitation coincide. But we believe that there is a storm brewing as a result of U.S. imperialism facing a crisis caused by a three pronged attack: national liberation struggles (i.e. Iran and Zimbabwe) are seizing back control of their resources so long exploited by imperialism; Superpower contention between the U.S. and Soviet Union (e.g. Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and U.S. bases in Somalia) is driving the world towards a new world war; and collapse of the internal political economy of the U.S. (e.g. bankruptcy of Chrysler and Lockheed, government bailouts, and fiscal and school crises in New York City, Chicago, and Cleveland.

This new and stormy crisis will lead to a new round of all out racist attack against Black people, not always in the same form as in the past but just as brutal and deadly. Here are a few ongoing and escalating examples of how this crisis is coming down:

- Collapse of the city economy will mean fewer jobs in areas where Black people are concentrated. In 1970, 81% of all Black people lived in urban areas. The search by capitalist corporations for higher profits through lower wages, lower taxes, non-union labor, etc. have led to "runaway shops,"

-inner city areas are being allowed to deteriorate and then "renewed" for middle class whites at high rents. Black people are being dumped into more overcrowded ghettos or in outlying areas. For example, the loss of Black people pushed out of inner city Chicago may lead to abolishing the First Congressional District, which has sent the first Black congressman to Washington in the post war period and has done so ever since. In addition, all public services are deteriorating-especially public transit, public hospitals, and public education.

Overall, the oppression of Black people will intensify and thus the basis for a mass united Black struggle will be clearer than ever before and will become even more of a necessity.

-Imperialist war will mean a shift down in the occupational status for the Black middle class as social and educational programs are cut. For the Black masses, war will be "expanded opportunities" to go overseas and become cannon fodder for the war machine of the rich. Increased unemployment in the U.S. has forced many young Blacks into the military: Blacks in the Army and Marines have more than doubled since 1970.

UNITED BLACK STRUGGLE-THE ONLY ROAD TO BLACK LIBERATION!

High points of unity are always to be remembered as moments of some revolutionary potential. The Civil Rights Movement was sparked by the unity of the March on Washington (1942 and 1964) and the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. After the transformation in 1966, the Black Liberation Movement was spearheaded by the unity of the National Conference on Black Power (1967) and the African Liberation Day demonstrations, especially from 1972 to 1974.

It is important that the 1980s begin with attempts to build Black unity. We must develop major efforts to define our struggle in terms of our common enemy versus the vast majority of people. We must develop a new and principled unity that does not attempt to sweep other differences under the rug. This new unity must maintain the necessary unity against our common enemy. And, at the same time, it must allow and encourage study, discussion, and

and non-antagonistic struggle over our secondary differences.

Who are our enemies? Our fight is against everyone and everything that poses a threat to our well being, to our safety, to our prosperity. The people responsible are the people in positions of power-all major business people, all major political leaders, all the major media, etc. Together all of these leading elements of this society conspire to keep Black people down, promote our economic exploitation and reap profits and power from our suffering.

Carter is our enemy. Kennedy is our enemy. Mayor Jane Byrne in Chicago is our enemy, as is every politician who is willing to sacrifice Black people for their own gain. No millionaire and no big-time politician can be a true friend to Blacks.

In sum, our enemy is the capitalist system and all of the basic problems that Black people face are rooted in and caused by this system. By capitalism we mean a system in which the masses of working people are exploited and paid just enough to get by while a handful of wealthy capitalists make billions of dollars though not producing anything. The misery that the masses of people are suffering are thus caused by capitalism. For Black people, economic exploitation is compounded by racist discrimination.

Who are our friends? The friends of the people are the people themselves. History can be created only if the masses realize that their mission is to unite and rise up against the minority of rulers who steal the lion's share of the world's resources. Peoples College sums up the main force of the Black Liberation Movement as having five main components representing the Black masses:

-workers in their fight for better wages and working conditions

- students in their fight for their democratic right to an education and against being drafted into an imperialist war;
- women in their fight for equality and against triple oppression (racism, male supremacy, and economic or class exploitation);
- prisoners and other victims in their fight against a repressive police state;
- community residents whose struggles center on the overall deterioration of schools, hospitals, welfare, housing, transportation and other public services.

Each of these aspects or components of the Black Liberation Movement is important. Each will break out in hot struggle, spontaneously demonstrating our will to fight back. We need to form coalitions and join together in sponsoring forums, marches, petition drives, and any other forms of useful protest. Because of this, Peoples College enthusiastically supports the National Mobilization against Klan/Nazi terror and its February 2nd national demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina and the annual Black Solidarity Day rallies held in New York City and in other cities last November. We must build many more of these kinds of actions in the future.

Further, we need a strong revolutionary organization with a concrete program to lead the Black Liberation Movement. For the 1980s, we need an organization as strong and as relevant as the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) of 1963, the Black Panther Party of 1969, or an ALSC (African Liberation Support Committee) of 1974.

Without a revolutionary organization our upsurge will be like the wind howling and kicking up dust, bending trees and breaking some branches but when it dies down things will return pretty close to where they were.

We need a demolition team to guide the brush fires against capitalism and racism. And we need a construction outfit to build the new society

which will be free of exploitation and oppression. Both are needed-destruction of the old and construction of the new-and for that we need a leading revolutionary organization.

BLACK LIBERATION MEANS REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM.

Our struggle for Black Liberation walks on two legs with one being the most important in the immediate situation, but both having great significance in the course of the long run.

Leg 1: Revolution means that there must be a consistent fight against all forms of oppression and exploitation. A revolutionary is not just a fighter for one, but a fighter for all. A revolutionary sees evil for what it is, no matter who the victim is and no matter who the wrong doer is. A revolutionary not only fights against the individuals who carry out oppressive acts: more important in the long run, a revolutionary fights against the entire system which includes such oppression and exploitation in the "normal" course of its operation.

Leg 2: Black Power means taking control wherever Black people are the majority. This is a basic democratic right that must be upheld by all revolutionary minded people. An example of this is coming up soon in Chicago, the next major city to have a Black majority. Thus, if Chicago is 51% Black, then the mayor's office, the city council, and other agencies must be controlled by Black people. If the state of Mississippi becomes 51% Black (it is about 40% Black now!), the same holds true for that state's government as well. Where blacks are not in the majority, the proportional representation should be the rule. This is the importance of the 1980 census so see the article in this issue of the Black Liberation Month News 1980.

The test of whether people are revolutionary or not is whether they will support the move by Black people to take power from the capitalist ruling class and their politicians in geographical areas and institutions where Black people are the majority. For Black people, therefore, there is a big and important difference between reform and revolution. A reformist says that we must not go too fast, that we must wait until the present rulers "give" us a piece of power, and that no basic changes are needed in capitalism for Black people to be free. A revolutionary says that if Black people are to be free than capitalism must go and that Now is the time for the Black masses to rise up in struggle and fight for revolutionary Black Power by any means necessary. Black power of the old type in 1967 was unconsciously reformist-"the last reasonable opportunity" for capitalism to avoid revolutionary change. Black power of the new type-Revolutionary Black Power-fights for immediate reforms but understands that only fundamental revolutionary change will free Black people in the U.S.

Overall, the fight is for democracy. So majority rule is a principle that all progressive people must support-in Southern Africa and in the United States. Majority rule must be supported in the U.S. even when it means going up against the ruling class of the capitalist system. However, consistent democracy is in fundamental contradiction with the existing system. Has the oppressor or exploiter ever asked the oppressed and exploited to take a vote on their freedom? Thus, Black Power of a revolutionary type can never be achieved within the existing capitalist system. If Black people were totally free, then this system could not be capitalist.

Fighting for revolutionary Black Power is and must be consciously upheld as the fight for Socialism. The black masses, led by its proletarian

core, will rise up and fight against the capitalist class and its entire system for power and for socialism.

By socialism, we mean a system in which all power rests fully and completely in the hands of the masses of people-including Black people-and not in the hands of politicians whose first loyalty is to protecting the profits of capitalists. Socialism means a system in which all wealth and the means of producing wealth (factories, banks, communication and transportation systems, etc.) is collectively owned by the people. All exploitation is ended and the surplus that is produced by the working masses goes to meet the needs of people (e.g., keeping the schools open) lowering rents and gas prices, etc. and not into the bank accounts of a few wealthy capitalists. Finally, socialism means putting all of the resources of the society and the full political power of the government behind ending all forms of oppression-especially racism and male supremacy. Can anyone really and honestly argue that these things would not be of great benefit to the masses of Black people?

Just as the Black masses led the democratic struggle in the South during Reconstruction, so too will the Black masses step forward to play their proper role in the fight for socialism today. The masses of Black people will align themselves with the oppressed and exploited masses of all nationalities in order to defeat the capitalist class and its entire system.

REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER WILL UNITE & LEAD THE MASSES WHEN ROOTED IN THE DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES.

The day to day struggles that are taking place in the cities are the key context for the Black liberation movement today. The masses of people are

touched in the intimacy of their daily lives by the brutal attacks of school closings, hospital closings, factory closings, police brutality running wild, etc. As these day to day struggles emerge, we should all join in shoulder to shoulder and realize that this small step-the fight for reforms and solutions to immediate problems-is necessary, but not sufficient, as we travel down the road to Revolutionary Black Power and Black Liberation.

As the need to struggle increases, the need to unite also increases. An old African proverb asays that "when spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion." This proverb describes a major strength and lesson of the Black Liberation Movement-the importance of Black unity. But this unity has often been shattered-sometimes intentionally, but most times unintentionally-by incorrect political practices, by personal attacks, and certainly by the police and other enemies of Black Liberation.

There is no better time to build a principled unity among all those who genuinely want Black Liberation than right now!

We need the unity of Black people from all classes and all walks of life and of all political persuasions! We need the unity of Black women and Black men! We need the unity of revolutionary Black communists and Black progressive Christians! We need the unity of nationalists and integrationists! We need the unity of Black workers and Black students! We need the unity of Black people in different parts of the U.S.-from Chicago in the North to Mississippi in the South, from New York in the East to California in the West! In cities like Chicago, we need the unity of Black people on the Westside and Black people on the Southside! We need the unity of Black people and progressive people of all nationalities! We need all of this unity if our decisive struggle against the capitalist system which oppresses and exploits the masses of us all is to be victorious.

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BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

Peoples College dedicates BLACK LIBERATION MONTH 1981 to the theme of BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION. We intend to continue developing our theme for the decade, REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER IN THE 1980's, by taking up an analysis of the concrete forms of unity that are currently developing in the Black liberation movement. This analysis has provided the basis for what we call the Theory of the Three Unities, and this theory can help to guide us as we build resistance and struggle in the remaining years of the 1980's.

We must begin our analysis of unity with a clear understanding of the current situation: the deep and worsening economic and political crisis facing the U.S.A. and the entire world capitalist system is not just a temporary setback. The problems that we are all having-unemployment, inflation, declining standards of living, etc.-are not going away. They are permanent conditions of capitalism in crisis that we will have to live with until we change things in a fundamental way. As the great revolutionary leader Mao Tse-tung once said, "a room will stay dirty until you sweep it!" Our conditions will get worse until we change them.

From our study of history we can easily see that Afro-American people always have been exploited and oppressed. Within this universal condition, however, Blacks have been subordinated in three different political and economic roles: as slaves, as sharecroppers, and as factory workers. So while the central theme of Black history is the struggle against racism, national oppression, and class exploitation, the Black liberation movement has had to change in response to the concrete form of the oppression of

Black people at any particular time. Thus, while our search for unity today must make use of our knowledge of the past, it cannot be a mere repeat of the past since things have changed. (See Introduction to Afro-American Studies by Peoples College.)

Further, in any discussion of unity a distinction has to be made between spontaneous developments and conscious planning. The masses of Black people and existing reformist organizations will usually respond in some way to a-1 developing conditions. Mostly, these are spontaneous responses of self-defense. On the other hand, revolutionary Black power requires a conscious process of planning and implementing new forms of unity. We need to examine both responses.

THREE SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLES

As the oppression of Black people gets more intense-genocidal attacks on Black children in Atlanta and Black men in Buffalo, police murder in Miami (McDuffie) and in Chicago (Ramey), and KKK murders in Grensboro, RACISM again replaces the facade of liberalism as the dominant orientation of the society. It is necessary to make a distinction between individual racism, institutional racism and societal racism, because each must be fought in different ways. Individual and institutional racism have been widely discussed. Societal racism is white racism sweeping throughout the entire society-the economy, social and cultural institutions, and the thinking of people-setting a permissive climate for brutal attacks on Black people, both planned and spontaneous.

In response, Black unite around sentiments of national unity that are rooted mainly in our will to survive: "in unity there is strength" and "if we've got the same problem, then we should work for a common solution."

In some cases this follows the established Black leadership and is contained within the system, e.g., the response to the murders in Atlanta under the Black mayor (Maynard Jackson). However, in other cases, this becomes a violent eruption whereby masses of Black people rebel against the system, usually against economic targets but with the potential of focusing on political targets as well (e.g., Miami and Chattanooga). In most cases, the problems are experienced by poor Blacks. Because of their poverty, they are attacked as the most vulnerable Black people. In this way, the current crisis leads to an increase in the significance of racial/national oppression and a response of militant nationalism.

Over the long haul, however, the basic contradictions in a capitalist society are those between the haves and the have nots, the capitalists and the workers. As we stated in last year's Black Liberation Month News:

Our enemy is the capitalist system and all of the basic problems that Black people face are rooted in and caused by this system. By capitalism we mean a system in which the masses of working people are exploited and paid just enough to get by while a handful of wealthy capitalist make billions of dollars though not producing anything. The misery that the masses of people are suffering are thus caused by capitalism. For Black people, economic exploitation is compounded by racist discrimination.

It is in large measure due to the economic (class) contradictions that racism can be fueled, as exploited whites attack Blacks instead of attacking the white ruling class exploiters. The economic ills have to be suffered by all people, Black and white, who are not in the ruling class or part of the privileged middle class.

For example, the Reagan right wing government plans to destroy the minimum wage by hiring youth at starvation wages. This will save the bosses money, by using youth as scabs to replace higher paid adult workers. Black

and white youth will both be dragged down by this, as will Black and white workers. A similar impact on both Blacks and whites will come down with the threatened cut in social security and food stamps.

Within this, of course, a greater percent of Blacks will suffer, although whites will be the largest number involved. The capitalists have revved up their propaganda machine to justify the cutbacks and place the burden on the backs of workers. For example, the president of Chrysler, Lee Iacocca, and Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers Union (both Chrysler board members), are asking Chrysler workers to take a pay cut to save their jobs. In this case, mass resistance takes the form of militant rank-and-file trade union struggle.

The working class consumer, the position most Black people are in, must fight on two fronts. They must fight to increase their wages on the job because of double digit inflation. And they must wage consumer struggles to decrease the escalating prices for rent, transportation, and food just to stay even (for example, protesting bus fare and rent increases).

In sum, we see that the majority of Black people are making three dominant spontaneous responses to the current crisis: militant nationalism, trade unionism, and consumerism. These spontaneous responses to worsening conditions are useful, but not sufficient to solve the problems we are facing. In a sense, it's like putting band-aids on a cancer when only cobalt radiation will cure the disease.

Peoples College holds the view that only Black Power under Socialism has a chance to solve the problems that the masses of Black people are facing. As we said in last year's Black Liberation Month News:

Black Power of the old type in 1976 was consciously reformist-"the last reasonable opportunity" for capitalism to avoid revolutionary change. Black power of the new type-Revolutionary Black Power-fights for immediate reforms but understands that only fundamental revolutionary change will free Black people in the U.S.

Black Power under Socialism-Revolutionary Black Power-is the appropriate strategic orientation for the Black liberation movement in the 1980's.

But we understand that there are different views about how Black people will get our freedom. And these different views are precisely why we need unity. As we said last year:

We must develop major efforts to define our struggle in terms of our common enemy versus the vast majority of people. We must develop a new and principled unity that does not attempt to sweep other differences under the rug. This new unity must maintain the necessary unity against our common enemy. And, at the same time, it must allow and encourage study, discussion, and non-antagonistic struggle over our secondary differences.

We sought to contribute to this by stating our views in Black Liberation Month News-1980, REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER IN THE 1980s, in the introductory editorial Marxism and Black Liberation: A New Theoretical Journal, and by concretely engaging in several unity building activities and struggles.

We have learned much since last year. This article will now turn to summing up the leading aspects of our movement to determine the route from the spontaneous short-run solutions to a conscious revolutionary process for a successful liberation struggle.

TOWARD THREE REVOLUTIONARY UNITIES

Black unity must be fought for on three basic levels: in struggle over concrete issues, in conferences through discussion and persuasion,

and in ritual acts of cultural resistance.

Within these three motions, Peoples College and all other revolutionary organizations must (1) develop an anti-imperialist force that serves to unite and not split the people in motion; (2) support democratic mass leadership and not try and take over leadership from the masses; (3) provide consistent political exposure to demonstrate that tactical battles must be guided by a conscious revolutionary strategy; and (4) lead by example in linking revolutionary theory with the concrete practice of mass struggle.

For the advanced, it is also necessary to draw clear lines of demarcation on ideological questions. Hence, we must strive to build unity in our day-to-day battles with all who will do so (politics), but we must maintain theoretical clarity for our revolutionary overall orientation, to fight for Black liberation and Socialism (ideology).

A. BUILDING UNITY AROUND CONCRETE ISSUES. Unity must involve a joint commitment to do something together, to use our resources in specific and concrete struggles linked to defending and promoting the needs of the broad masses. Peoples College has proposed an overall framework for this in the Ten Point Program for Revolutionary Black Power in the 1980's (printed in this issue.)

For Black Liberation Month, 1981, we want to focus on five (5) key battle fronts in which this type of unity is currently being developed. In this way, we can give concrete definition to the Black Liberation movement.

(1) Fighting Discrimination and Expanding Affirmative Action. Tens of thousands of people stood firm against the racist charge of "reverse

racism" in court cases against affirmative action like Bakke (in higher education) and Weber (in the steel industry). But now we see that this was a mere dress rehearsal under Carter for the full assault of the barbarian Ronald Reagan. We have a new opportunity to join and assist the masses, who are likely to throw themselves spontaneously into battle.

Revolutionary forces should link this fight for affirmative action against discrimination to the fight against Reagan and every other cut back in social services until we can effectively indict the capitalist state itself. In the early 1980s, Reagan will provide us with a target. Revolutionary unity requires that we turn all our anger, local and national, against this racist, right wing conservative as we fight all forms of discrimination. One of the requirements of revolution is that people totally lose hope in the government. They will then realize that the people must take over!

(2) Fighting the Draft and Imperialist War Preparations. Peoples College has given leadership to Study and Struggle, a youth/student organization that has embarked on a vigorous campaign against the draft. They are making a long march among the masses of Black Students in Illinois turning their anti-draft petition into an active political education struggle against imperialist war preparations. (See article and petition in this issue) Again, while the masses actively fight against the draft because of impending war, revolutionary unity must be built by turning this into an anti-imperialist movement against the capitalist system which produces war.

Reagan must be made the symbol of unjust war, and civil war at home against our oppressors must become our alternative.

(3) Fighting the KKKlan and Police Repression, Peoples College

endorses the general line of the pamphlet called The Greensboro Massacre: Critical Lessons for the 1980s by the Paul Robeson/Amilcar Cabral Collective and the Greensboro Collective. A leaflet in that campaign state:

What we should do is to unite all the people who can be united to take up the struggle against the KKK and their accomplices in the city government and higher up. All Black people, whatever class they are in, have a stake in this fight...In times of economic crisis, such as the present, Black and white workers need to be united more than ever. The KKK's poisonous racist propaganda and program are also harmful to white workers. We should build the broadest possible unity between all the Black churches, political and community groups to build for a massive march and rally to put forward the demands from the community...

Concerned citizens in the Black community and those who support our struggle should join with us to share their ideas and take up this fight. We can't let the KKK get away with murder. We will never go back to the way it used to be.

(4) Fighting to Save Black Institutions and Communities. The poten-

tial for Black Power is being destroyed by the liquidation of institutions in our communities. People's College unites with such organizations as the Black New York Action Committee in the fight to save Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, NY. We also unite with the Black community in Milwaukee in their fight developing revolutionary theory and links with the overall re high school which was threatened with destruction by a school desegregation plan. We unite also with the recent struggles to have greater community input in the continuing crisis facing Chicago public schools as one necessary step toward improving the quality of education.

Further, what started as urban renewal has now become a full scale attempt to seize back the central cities for middle-class, professional whites. From high priced condominiums, to rehabs to coops, poor working class and minority people are being run out of the city. While the entire

minority community must fight to survive, by any means necessary (e.g. rehab by the current renters, etc.), revolutionary unity can be built by exposing the joint workings of the government and the financial real estate interests. Key battles that will take place in local politics (including control of city hall) should also be taken up by revolutionary forces. These will help us to train for the revolutionary seizure of power. (See Electoral Politics: Its Problems and Prospects by Bill Epton)

(5) Fighting for the Liberation of Africa. Our fight for the liberation of Africa is at a critical stage. Our main work at this time is to fight against the Racist Reagan Regime. It was almost a well-kept secret that Regan had on his state department transition team a white reactionary who is a registered agent for the racist South African government. (Also see the article on Africa in this Black Liberation Month News)

B. BUILDING UNITY THROUGH DISCUSSION. Unity requires clarity of agreement and disagreement between different political forces. It also requires open public discussion aimed both at furthering clarity on new issues that emerge, and to expand areas of agreement.

In 1980, there were major national conferences designed to build unity among various political forces in the Black community, both in the mainstream and in the Black liberation movement. In general, this has been a progressive trend.

Our general summation is that there are five key tasks to be dealt with as we build revolutionary unity through these continuing discussions and conferences:

1. We have to unite with the masses of participants (mainstream) while preserving the right to criticize consolidate incorrect practices,

sell out leadership, and opportunism. An example of this is the statement by Peoples College at a plenary session of the Black United Front meeting in Brooklyn:

We came to Brooklyn because we felt this meeting has some potential. However, it would be irresponsible for us to not speak our minds. We were consciously excluded from this process. And we made efforts to build unity. But we were excluded because of ideological labels, because there were political stands taken behind closed doors, and because people had dropped some lugs...

But we came anyway! Do you understand that? We came anyway because we believe that at this time unity is essential. We believe in unity and we believe that we have to fight for a principled unity or the unity is worth nothing.

We believe that a united front is essentially not an organizational question. It's a political question that involves the unity in action of progressive forces united against the common enemy. This we believe is the essence of the united front. And it is for that very reason that we accept the challenge to unite with our brothers and sisters whom we have been divided against in the past, because we believe that we have a common future in victory against imperialism...And any political differences between genuine fighters against imperialism can be overcome. And it is in that spirit that we, in fact, embrace the call for unity in action and it is in that spirit that we are going back to Chicago in an attempt to build a real united front from the bottom up.

2. We have to struggle to forge an anti-imperialist force within these conferences. But we must avoid the super "left" error of trying to unite on too many issues prematurely, trying to get everybody to see everything our way or nothing at all. We should be listening to each other and sharing political understanding (line) and summing up political practice (experience). The formation of a labor caucus at Philadelphia meeting is an initial attempt at this method of building a revolutionary potential within the Black movement, and developing revolutionary theory and links with the overall revolutionary workers government.

3. Peoples College, as a revolutionary organization, thinks that the task of all revolutionaries is to spread the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. As we say in the introductory essay to Marxism and Black Liberation: A New Theoretical Journal, we seek "to promote revolutionary scientific socialism in theory and practice. The overall objective of all our efforts is Black liberation based on revolutionary socialism here in the U.S.A....For this we are guided by the advances made by the world revolutionary movement, the tradition of Marxism..., the science for the masses of people to use in the changing world."

Our main focus in these conferences must be on the political and not the ideological, on the concrete and not on the abstract. It is most important to sum up practice, establish revolutionary lessons (things to do and things not to do), and to develop concrete practical plans. It is counter-productive to debate ideas in the abstract, as happened too often over the last few years. While the activists at these conferences might not be flocking to Marxism-Leninism in the coming year, we have to be understood by them and gain their respect by our willingness to discuss the issues but mainly by our hard work and struggle.

On the other hand, there are some "communists" who are making serious errors, especially narrow nationalist errors; for example, maintaining a Black separatist position on strategic matters like building a revolutionary party. Peoples College thinks that a multi-national revolutionary party is a strategic necessity.

We must discuss this and similar questions in the future to achieve greater clarity. This should include additional study by all of us. There has been a lot of apparent progress in the last five years and we don't want

to mess it up with super-revolutionary posturing and styling.

4. We must keep politics more important than organization. There are some people who want to discuss organizational structure and selection of leadership for a year or so and not engage in any serious struggle. This is an obvious attempt to liquidate the positive leadership that must be given now to mass spontaneous struggle. The Black United Front leadership forces in Chicago are particularly guilty of this. What good is a united front if it doesn't do anything, if it doesn't fight back? Organizational details are important but should not interfere with concrete political struggle.

C. BUILDING UNITY WITH THE RITUAL CULTURE OF RESISTANCE. The role of culture is often misunderstood. In part, this is because the cultural nationalists have overstated the role of culture as the major force in struggle. In part it is because revolutionary socialists have understated culture's role in the struggle.

Peoples College supports the continued development and popularization of what has emerged as rituals of resistance-holidays that objectively unite people. There are three holidays that have objectively functioned to oppose racism (Black Christmas/Kwanzaa, African Liberation Day, and Black Liberation Month). And there are two that we think can link the Black liberation movement with the world revolutionary movement (International Women's Day and International Workers' Day).

Further analysis and study must be made of these various holidays to avoid making these days something that they are not, especially letting them become a substitute for militant struggle. But we think that these five observances objectively constitute the development of a ritual culture of resistance.

In discussing culture, Malcolm X once said: "Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-American community for support and Afro-American artists must realize that they can depend on the Afro-American community for inspiration."

And Malcolm X was also an internationalist, stressing that "you cannot understand what is going on in Mississippi unless you understand what is going on in Congo." In 1964, he visited Africa and stressed the importance of his "talks with..the leaders of African liberation movements that are fighting against Western imperialism - the same imperialism which has submitted their Afro-American brothers to the most brutal oppression."

In building unity for the revolution throughout the 1980s and beyond, these five holidays are a concrete way in which the Black liberation movement can move forward in the U.S. And they are also one way in which we can develop the same internationalist solidarity with others throughout the world who are fighting against imperialism as Malcolm X did during his life.

RICH LESSONS OF UNITY AND STRUGGLE

This article has focused mainly on the very recent attempts to build unity and struggle over the last year. But it is also rooted in a rich legacy from which we can draw many valuable lessons.

There are many examples of efforts in the Black liberation movement to build unity. Among them are the American Negro Labor Congress (1925), the National Negro Congress (1936), the Southern Negro Youth Congress (1937), the March on Washington Movement (1941), the activity of W.E.B. in organizing a united front to support the African struggle in the League of Nations (1945),

and Paul Robeson's discussion of "The Power of Negro Action" in his autobiography Here I Stand. A more recent model was Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Peoples College has been fighting for unity since it was founded over ten years ago in October 1970. Our greatest experience has been the building of the African Liberation Support Committee (A.L.S.C.) from 1972 to 1975. A.L.S.C. is especially important because it was the organization in which many of today's revolutionaries in the Black liberation movement were molded. As an organization, it demonstrated the kind of unity that is possible among different social classes and groups (workers, students, and youth, the middle class, etc.) and among different institutions in the Black community (the Black church, educational institutions, community organizations, social clubs, etc.)

In building the A.L.S.C., Peoples College has summed up four main dangers that it had to fight, all of which are being repeated today in the movement:

1. Right Opportunism: In the origin of A.L.S.C., some people took the easy road and united with pro-ruling class elements because they offered resources and skills to help organize.

2. "Left" Opportunism: There were several self-defined super "left" groups who remained aloof from A.L.S.C. and denounced it as a bunch of middle class radicals who would not amount to much.

3. Ideology over politics: We made the error of spending too much time fighting over abstract theoretical formulations rather than building concrete struggle. Our unity in A.L.S.C. should have been over concrete, immediate, and tactical goals as opposed to a search for general, long range,

and strategic revolutionary unity. The ideological clarity for a vanguard revolutionary organization should have been sought in some other context.

4. Organization over politics: Small organizations consistently tried to achieve domination over A.L.S.C. by liquidating democracy and refusing to focus on building the struggle by mobilizing, education, and organizing among the broad masses of people.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Building unity for the revolution is a long-range project. But we see the need to make concrete advances right now. Peoples College wants to reach out to revolutionary activists who are growing disillusioned with playing revolution and want to join in a day to day struggle. We want to reach out to revolutionaries who stay in the day to day struggle and want to develop revolutionary politics right there.

We want to build unity for the revolution. Our theory of three unities (struggle, conferences, and culture) offers a plan consistent with the current state of the movement, a plan that upholds the principles necessary to guide us toward our final aim.

Sisters and Brothers! Comrades! Let us join hands and march forward to build the future.

STUDY PROGRAM

Peoples College has developed study program on Building Unity for the Revolution, including all the documents mentioned in the article. We are publishing a special collection of documents, including selections from many of the organizations mentioned above.

BLACK HISTORY AND BLACK LIBERATION

BLACK HISTORY IS FOR BLACK LIBERATION

Peoples College dedicates this Black Liberation Month to the main theme of Black history: the fight for liberation from the problems of oppression and exploitation.

One of the greatest gains of the 1960s was the rescue of Black history from racist distortions and omissions. This was a struggle taken up by the masses of people in revolt against centuries of white racist brainwashing. This spontaneous movement resulted in many new things including a more conscious Black leadership, Black Studies programs to institutionalize the study of Black history, and greater support for progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles in the U.S. and throughout the world.

In the past years The Black Liberation Month News has mainly presented a statement by Peoples College summing up its political line on the struggle. We stated that we must "build unity for the revolution." While we must fight for immediate improvements in our day-to-day lives (reforms), nothing short of destroying capitalism and building a completely new system without exploitation will create the context for Black liberation (revolution).

This year, our focus is on Black history and it is from the careful study of Black history that we have reached the above conclusion. From a scientific view of history, we can gain greater clarity regarding the struggle for Black liberation. Further, we can learn lessons from people's struggles all over the world.

We emphasize Black history now because the revolutionary implications

of Black history are being attacked from the left and from the right. Some on the left-in the revolutionary movement-are failing to see that the Black experience and the struggle of Black people have an internal logic and integrity and must be respected on their own terms. The Black experience is not simply a defensive reaction to racism.

And Reagan and the new right are too obvious in their insults to Black people. Reagan stated that he was not aware of a "race problem" and in a recent press conference said that he could not remember what the Weber decision on affirmative action was all about!

On the other hand, many Black people have begun to forget the lessons of Black history. They have begun to see the militant fight for Black liberation as an approach that will not continue to work. This type of view of our struggle removes the main weapon in our fight at the very time we are under attack.

Thus, Peoples College again stresses the importance of Black history, the line that we put forward in the 1981 Black Liberation Month News:

"From our study of history we can easily see that Afro-American people always have been exploited and oppressed. Within this universal condition, however, Blacks have been subordinated in three different political and economic roles: as slaves, as sharecroppers, and as factory workers. So while the central theme of Black history is the struggle against racism, national oppression, and class exploitation, the Black liberation movement has had to change in response to the concrete form of the oppression of Black people at any particular time. Thus, while our search for unity today must make use of our knowledge of the past, it cannot be a mere repeat

of the past since things have changed." (See Introduction to Afro-American Studies by Peoples College, an important reference for many points raised in this article.)

Thus, the study of Black history is our most immediate task, one that must never be ignored or allowed to be shoved into the background. But we must pay attention to the overall study of the history of the peoples and countries of the world, especially those people who have waged successful struggles at particular points in times to win freedom and liberation from oppression and exploitation (see Mao's essay on "Reform our Study"). Black history is a prism through which we can have a vantage point to view the world!

Three Key Problems Must Be Solved

Our study of Black history helps us to understand the development of the three main ways that Black people are kept at the bottom of society. Blacks are victims of white racism and racial oppression, national oppression, and class exploitation.

(1) Racial Oppression or white racism is the total negation of all Black people. White racism as a theory denies the humanity of Black people, and in this way is used to rationalize the most brutal treatment imaginable. Racist attacks have been launched on several fronts like the research on intelligence (Jensen and Shockley), on the family (Moynihan), and on the role that Black people have played in U.S. and world history (recent work on slavery like Time on the Cross and on the slave trade).

White racism becomes a material force when the theory leads to concrete individual or organizational action, or more broadly establishes a climate of opinion for racist attacks. The most blatant form is the neo-

fascist hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the implementation of racism in its purest form: open and wanton attacks against Black people just for being Black (like the police murders of Ramey in Chicago and Lacy in Milwaukee, and assassination attempts around the U.S).

In the long run, however, racist statements by the U.S. President are more damaging than sporadic attacks by the KKK because these statements legitimize broader racist attacks-societal racism.

(2) National Oppression is the attempt to limit if not liquidate the development of Black culture and the Black community, while racism attacks the humanity of Black people as a whole. The historical experiences of African peoples in the U.S. has molded into being a new people, a new nationality of Afro-Americans. The main experiences of this nationality span all three main historical periods of Black history-slave, rural agricultural and urban industrial. But the main period was the rural share-cropping experience. It was during this period in the South, roughly between 1880 and 1940, that the Afro-American nationality flowered and was at its zenith.

This flowering reflects, in part, the development of social institutions that continue to make up the Black community. Independent social organization was more important to the development of the Black community than any time before or since. Black people were also more geographically concentrated during this period than at any other time.

National oppression works several ways, showing one pattern in the rural south and another pattern in the cities. In the rural area, the fight has generally been over the ownership of productive agricultural land. In the cities, sharp struggles have raged over control of neighborhood real

estate and housing in the Black community. In both rural areas and in the cities, there is a struggle against national oppression, for political power, and the development of self-sustaining community institutions and cultural self-expression.

(3) Class Exploitation is based in the economy but its effects are not limited to economic relations. By class we do not mean social status-how much prestige one has-or social stratification-how much income or years of education. Class means power-control over jobs, control over investment of funds and control over the instruments of producing wealth like factories and banks.

Black people are overwhelmingly in the working class. This means that all they have is the opportunity to get up everyday and go to work for eight hours or so, in exchange for a wage that is hardly large enough to pay the bills. Thus, working class Black people have no real stake in capitalism whatsoever.

The essence of class exploitation is that the masses of people provide the profits and the privileges that the rich enjoy. Economic exploitation is the foundation on which great fortunes are built in a capitalist society. This view is just the opposite of the myth that there is a mechanical separation between rich and poor-that the rich are simply smart and frugal people and that the poor are ignorant, lazy masses. Just the opposite is true: it is the hardworking masses of people who get ripped off in the process of capitalist production and provide the bloodsoaked profits (surplus value) that the rich vampires live on.

In summary, the class structure of the capitalist system includes people of all nationalities. All (abstract) labor is the same and it is

impossible to look at any product (commodity) and tell the age, sex, nationality, or race of the workers who produced it. All workers are thus commonly exploited by capitalism, even though some are ripped off more than others and some workers don't understand it as much as others. Racism serves the ruling class well by masking this common exploitation of all workers and dividing workers against their common enemy.

Three Key Movements Must Be United!

The main history of the Black Liberation Movement involves the rise and the fall of different phases of three major movements: Pan-Africanism, Nationalism and Marxism. These movements are based on the concrete realities of Black people and the Black experience and are therefore likely to be here for years to come.

A decisive factor at every point in Black history has been the extent to which these three movements are moving together or not moving together. This is important because these three movements generally include the most militant and radicalized forces within the Black Liberation Movement. Thus, each of these movements must be understood and openly included in all discussions that seek to link together the revolutionary movement.

PAN-AFRICANISM. The continued struggles on the African continent pull Black people all over the world into a discussion and struggle over their relationship to Africa. This includes the fight to liberate South Africa (Azanta) as the most important aspect of the relationship between Africa and Black people throughout the world.

Pan-Africanism must also embrace the fight against imperialist penetration and continued outside manipulation. Of increasing importance is the fight for socialism under the leadership of the working class and

communists in some African countries. This is a fight which is just beginning to flower and must also be supported.

The task of revolutionaries is to understand the legitimate existence of the progressive and revolutionary impulse in Pan-Africanism-based on race, nationality and class analysis-and to vigorously support it and guide it to merge in unity of action with the overall revolutionary struggle.

NATIONALISM. Culture and community have been the concrete basis for the nationality impulse among Blacks. Nationalism, as the Black masses feel it, is a call for the realization of Black unity. One clear case of this is when nationalism emerges as a response to external attacks. But this is not the basis of nationalism, only its condition. The basis of nationalism is the common identity that Black people have developed across many generations as individuals who function within shared styles of family life, social institutions and a shared culture.

White racism is the external factor and to Black nationalists white racism appears to be an insurmountable barrier to any positive reconciliation with white people. But racism is not the only important factor, nor is it always primary.

The task of the general revolutionary movement and its vanguard is both to train Black revolutionaries who must earn respect through consistent work within the Black liberation movement and to build a revolutionary sector of the working class-especially among white workers-prepared to take up the righteous demands for Black liberation. This two fold task cannot be reduced to fight against white racism but must be a conscious movement for Black liberation.

Revolutionary nationalism is the main aspect of Malcolm X and is demonstrated by such historical organizations as the African Blood Brotherhood and the Black Panther Party.

MARXISM. The development of a Marxist-Leninist movement led by communists fighting against capitalism and for socialism is qualitatively different from the two movements discussed above for at least two reasons: (1) it is not a movement mainly limited to Black people, but it is based in and on the working class, including people of all nationalities; and (2) it is not a spontaneous movement, but must be nurtured by a consciously trained cadre of highly disciplined scientific organizers.

In general, Marxism appears to have been taken up by Black people in three different ways: (1) as the theoretical direction taken by Black intellectuals; (2) as an alternative taken up with the Black liberation movement due to exhausting the potential of spontaneous reform struggles; and (3) as an extension of the communist movement based on a line put forward in the movement of cadre working in the Black liberation movement, or by communists leading the workers movements in unity with the Black liberation movement.

As stated in 1981: "Peoples College, as a revolutionary organization, thinks that the task of all revolutionaries is to spread the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. As we say in the introductory essay to Marxism and Black Liberation: A New Theoretical Journal, we seek 'to promote revolutionary scientific socialism in theory and practice. The overall objective of all our efforts is Black liberation based on revolutionary socialism here in the U.S.A...For this we are guided by the advances made by the world revolutionary movement, the tradition of Marxism...,the science for the

for the masses of people to use in the changing world."

An important task in the 1980's is to dig up the history of Black people, Marxism and revolutionary struggle that has been buried. Because of this, autobiographies and biographical statements by Harry Haywood, Hosea Hudson, Ernest "Big Train" Thompson and Admiral Kilpatrick are important but little known revolutionary fighters as Vicki Garvin is also essential.

POLITICAL UNITY IS THE KEY!

Black people of all ideological views must unite on a political basis in struggle! "As the need to struggle increases, the need to unite also increases. An old African proverb says that "when spider webs unite they can tie up a lion. This proverb describes a major strength and lesson of the Black Liberation Movement: the importance of Black unity. There is no better time to build a principled unity among all those who genuinely want Black liberation than right now." as we stated in the 1980 Black Liberation Months News.

In the 1981 Black Liberation Month News, we sought to deepen this point by identifying three basic levels and processes around which we could fight for Black unity.

(1) BUILDING UNITY IN STRUGGLES OVER CONCRETE ISSUES (like fighting discrimination and attacks on affirmative action, fighting the draft and imperialist war preparations, fighting the KKK and police brutality, fighting to save Black community institutions and fighting for the liberation of Africa.)

(2) BUILDING UNITY THROUGH DISCUSSION (especially in major national conferences held by Black people throughout each year.)

(3) BUILDING UNITY WITH THE RITUAL CULTURE OF RESISTANCE (especially in the observance of special holidays and activities like Black Liberation Month (Feb), International Women's Day (March), African Liberation Day (May), International Worker's Day (May) and Kwanza Black Christmas (December)).

There are three key aspects of the overall process of building unity-ideological unity (agreement on the main ideas/theory that guide our practice), political unity (agreement around the main practical tasks on any given issue) and organizational unity (how we structure ourselves to carry out the work).

Our main focus in the three unity building processes above must be on the political and not mainly on the ideological and organizational.

Making the political aspect primary, it is most important to sum up practice, establish political lessons (things to do and things not to do), and to develop concrete political plans. Similarly, we must also keep politics more important than organization. There are some people who want to discuss organizational structure and selection of leadership for a year or so and not engage in any concrete struggle. This is an obvious attempt to block the development of positive leadership that must be given now to the mass spontaneous struggle.

In sum, the main thing is that we do somethin now to fight our common enemy-that we unite in action as we continue to discuss and debate our differences. As we stated in 1981:

"We must develop major efforts to define our struggle in terms of our common enemy versus the vast majority of people. We must develop a new principled unity that does not attempt to sweep other differences under the rug. This new unity must maintain the necessary unity against our common

enemy. And at the same time, it must allow and encourage study, discussion, and non-antagonistic struggle over our secondary differences.

USE REAGAN TO UNITE THE MASSES IN STRUGGLE

There is not enough room to detail the drastic cuts in social programs implemented by the Reagan administration. All areas have been slashed- job programs, educational loans and scholarships, housing subsidies, old age benefits, unemployment assistance, childcare services, cultural programs and many more. And these cuts fall especially hard on Black people during a period in which outright racist attacks on Black people are escalating.

Two important things can be said about these cutbacks. First, they have exposed "Ronnie the Ripper" as the capitalist tool that he really is- robbing the poor to give to the rich. The only things not being cut in his administration are profits and tax breaks for the rich and the crooks he has around him running the government (Allen accepting \$\$ and watches, Donovan bribing union mis-leaders; and who knows what else!)

There is no more graphic illustration of Reagan as a popular symbol of people's spontaneous hatred against what and who he represents than this: many newscasters reported cheers and expressions of approval by many U.S. people after the assassination attempt on his life. The general response among many people was "I knew someone would get back at him for what he is doing to people!"

Secondly, these cutbacks are leading to an increase in mass spontaneous fight back. The majority of Black people and others are making three spontaneous responses to the current crisis: (1) militant nationalism is where Black unity is called for to resist racist attacks; (2) trade unionism where Blacks are joining other workers in fighting to increase their wages

on the job because of double digit inflation; (3) consumerism struggles against the escalating prices for rent, transportation, food, utilities, etc.

These spontaneous reform struggles in response to worsening conditions are necessary and useful, but they are not sufficient to solve the problems that Black people are facing. In a sense, just fighting these reform struggles alone is like putting band-aids on a cancer when only cobalt radiation will cure the disease.

REVOLUTION IS OUR STRATEGY, SOCIALISM IS OUR GOAL

It is based on a careful and scientific assessment of Black history, world history, and the current situation that Peoples College has taken the very bold step over the past ten years and prescribed SOCIALISM as the only possible medicine that can cure the ills of this capitalist society which exist for Black people (and for others). We fully understand that achieving socialism in the U.S. will be no easy task. But neither was going to the moon, harnessing atomic energy, or surviving slavery, sharecropping and the depression, and still prospering as a people.

We provided our basic definition of socialism in the 1980 Black Liberation Month News:

"By socialism, we mean a system in which all power rests fully and completely in the hands of the masses of people-including Black people-and not in the hands of politicians whose first loyalty is to protecting the profits of capitalists. Socialism means a system in which all wealth and the means of producing wealth (factories, banks, communication and transportation systems, etc.) are collectively owned by the people. All exploitation is ended and the surplus that is produced by the working masses goes to meet the needs of people (e.g., keeping the schools open, lower rents and

gas prices, etc.) and not into the bank accounts of a few wealthy capitalists. Finally, socialism means putting all of the resources of the society and the full political power of the government behind ending all forms of oppression-especially racism and male supremacy. Can anyone really honestly argue that these things would not be of great benefit to the masses of Black people?"

The main theme of Black history, as we said in beginning this article, has been one of struggle for Black liberation. For centuries, Black people have fought for freedom, justice and equality. Not only have we not achieved these, we would argue that things are getting worse-that the clock is being turned back and new forms of oppression and exploitation are being daily put into place.

The main stumbling block to our liberation and the source of most of the other problems that Black people face is the capitalist system. On the other hand, the only historical system-in theory and in practice-that is an alternative to capitalism is SOCIALISM. (This is certainly not to say that countries which call themselves socialist today are not making many mistakes and perhaps should not even be called socialist. But we refuse to throw the baby out with the bath!)

The fact remains that most freedom fighters all over the world in the 20th century are embracing the struggle for socialism as the path for genuine liberation for their nations, countries, peoples and, most importantly, their class. This includes countries like Zimbabwe in Africa, El Salvador in Central America, and Grenada in the Caribbean. There must be an important lesson in this for us!

Another fact is clear: socialism is the main threat to the capitalists

and they know it! This helps to explain why the capitalists, their media and their schools constantly repeat information similar to what Reagan and Alexander Haig said to U.S. allies in Europe: "the only good Red is a dead Red!" This is why there is so much glee about recent developments in Poland, a country whose claim to socialism we must seriously question because of the unjustifiable suppression of the Polish working people.

In short, we must not let capitalists continue to mislead us into thinking that socialism would be bad for the masses. If done correctly, socialism will only be bad for the capitalists.

We must also fight all efforts to mislead the struggle for Black liberation and make it only for reforms. This is why Peoples College has put forward "Revolutionary Black Power in the 1980s" as a slogan. It means that Black power of the old type was important but not sufficient. It was reformist! Only when we transform the struggle for Black power with the task of making a revolution in the U.S. can Black people help create the conditions for our liberation.

We must escalate our efforts to build a revolutionary struggle for socialism and against capitalism, a struggle which will involve peoples of all nationalities and social backgrounds, a struggle that will seek to end exploitation and oppression for all people and for all times.

BLACK HISTORY IS FOR BLACK LIBERATION!

BUILD UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION!