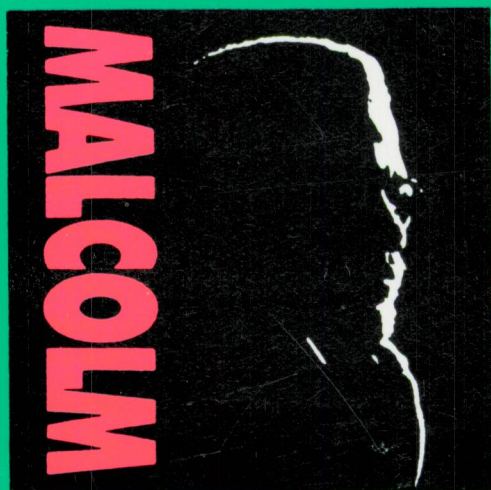


PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION



*Radical
Tradition
and a
Legacy of
Struggle
Conference
Proceedings*

Perspectives on Black Liberation and Social Revolution

MALCOLM



Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle
Tradición Radical y un Legado de Esfuerzo
La Tradition Radicale et un Héritage de Lutte
تراث الجذرية السياسية و وصية المقاومة

NOVEMBER 14 1990 BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE NEW YORK CITY

**Perspectives on Black Liberation
and Social Revolution**

**MALCOLM X: RADICAL TRADITION
AND A LEGACY OF STRUGGLE**

—— Conference Proceedings ——

Volume One

Edited by Abdul Alkalimat

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Preface to Conference Proceedings

On November 1, 1990 a group of about 2,500 scholars, activists, and militant youth assembled for a 3 day discussion on the relevance of Malcolm X. The conference *Malcolm X: Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle* was an overwhelming success. Participants came from 20 states and 15 countries to hear 115 presentations. This is one of four volumes to be published as the proceedings.

The Malcolm X Work Group (MXWG) initiated and organized the conference. Our conference staff was given a home at the Borough of Manhattan Community College by Dr. Augusta Kappner (President), as well as moral, material, and motivational support. We received our primary support from the former chancellor of CUNY Dr. Joseph P. Murphy.

The Malcolm X Work Group was formed in 1986 as part of the Cooperative Research Network in Black Studies (CRN). Currently the CRN is based at Northeastern University (Boston), under the leadership of Dr. Ronald Bailey in the Department of African American Studies.

Malcolm X is a positive point of reference for all progressive forces. We believe that these conference proceed-

ings are a critical contribution to deepening the debate and fashioning a consensus to unify militant forces for Black liberation and social transformation. These speeches were made by the most advanced fighters for Black liberation, and therefore they are mandatory reading.

We encourage activist study groups and college students to use these volumes as a basis for political education.

We encourage everyone who reads these materials and would like to hear about any future conferences to contact us.

Introduction to Volume One

At the international conference *Malcolm X: Radical Tradition and A Legacy of Struggle* our sacred radical Black tradition was reborn. Scholars, activists, and militant youth embraced in the rebirth of the great self determination debate. All major voices of the tradition were singing: religion, panafricanism, nationalism, feminism, and socialism. The major conference theme was Black liberation and social revolution, the double edged sword of freedom. This volume contains the presentation of two plenary sessions, one from U.S. perspectives, and the other from world perspectives. These presentations prove that radical Black scholars and activists can provide clarity of analysis and the moral courage to struggle.

These 8 presentations deal with the following points:

1. Is social revolution an objective possibility?

Do we have a choice to struggle or not?

Can we win?

2. What has been wrong with our political

organizations? What styles of leadership

are required in mass democratic movements?

3. How can the struggle in the U.S. be coordinated with campaigns of struggle in Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean?

One major aspect of these analyses, in fact the most basic and fundamental aspect, is that the study of political economy points to an objective and material basis for the struggle. Even more, it points to the "necessity" for the struggle as a struggle for survival. This is especially true in the presentations by Peery and McLeod. Militant Black youth are not simply going through a transitional phase in their life cycle, sort of like now it is Malcolm X but when they get older it will be Booker T. Washington. Militant Black youth are turning to Malcolm X because the objective conditions have negated the possibility for their upward mobility into the middle class and they are being forced to seek a revolutionary road to survival.

Malcolm X had a message for the 'wretched of the earth,' the hard inner city ghetto youth. The society has a message too—conform or die. Conformity means playing the games of self destruction without causing the mainstream any problems. Otherwise, its blood thirsty cops or some kinda jail. But the Message of Malcolm X is that if you're gonna die anyway you might as well die fighting Black. He

sort of makes all of us keep in mind that great poem of resistance by Claude McKay:

*If we must die—let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!*

*Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back!*

Furthermore this is not just a local problem but it is a crisis for the entire world. The whole world is going through a new experience, the death of an old form of industrial production with its demand for an abundance of skilled factory labor. This includes all of capitalism and what has been alleged to be actually existing socialism. The entire

world is in an uproar, and as of yet no one can say for sure how things will turn out.

What is clear, however, is that there are at least two main roads, the path of positive social transformation based on new democratic forms of peoples power or the path of new imperialist domination based on wars of domination and social barbarism for the ever impoverished masses of the world, especially in Africa and the rest of the Third World.

Babu, Madunagu, and John clearly define this problem of two roads on an international level and link their discussions of the international struggle with the necessity of active struggle by the masses of Black people in the U.S.A. This was clear when Malcolm X ran it down, and it has been restated here with the urgency of 25 additional years of crisis.

The focus then is on the challenge to rebuild our movement, to regroup mass forces of resistance under a renewed leadership. This task is at the heart of the comments by Lumumba, Fletcher and Burnham. I was especially struck by Burnham's question, "Are we ready yet to acknowledge that ideological struggle is not a winner-take-all game and that ideological diversity is a permanent feature of our community?" In this question she captured the essence of the process we were able to initiate at this conference, and which must

be repeated everywhere if we are to rebuild the movement into an effective force that can do its part to challenge imperialist domination from within the U.S.A.

The ideological diversity of the Black liberation movement contains five main aspects:

- (1) *religiosity* — the belief in a god force as the source of spiritual freedom, and a morality that defines Blacks and all oppressed people as morally superior to their oppressors;
- (2) *pan africanism* — the internationalism of a world linkage of Black people, and all third world people, that always places Black people in opposition to colonialism and imperialism based on the need for African unity and self determination;
- (3) *nationalism* — the consolidation of resources to defend the Black community against racist attack, including psychological factors contributing to strong self images to economic and political forces;
- (4) *feminism* — the restructuring of opportunity and leadership so that Black womens voices are heard, receive fair recognition for their efforts and are always close to half of all leadership positions;
- (5) *socialism* — taking the position and perspective of what Malcolm X called "the bottom of the pile

Negro" as a class struggle frame of reference in fighting for equality, justice, and a decent humane life.

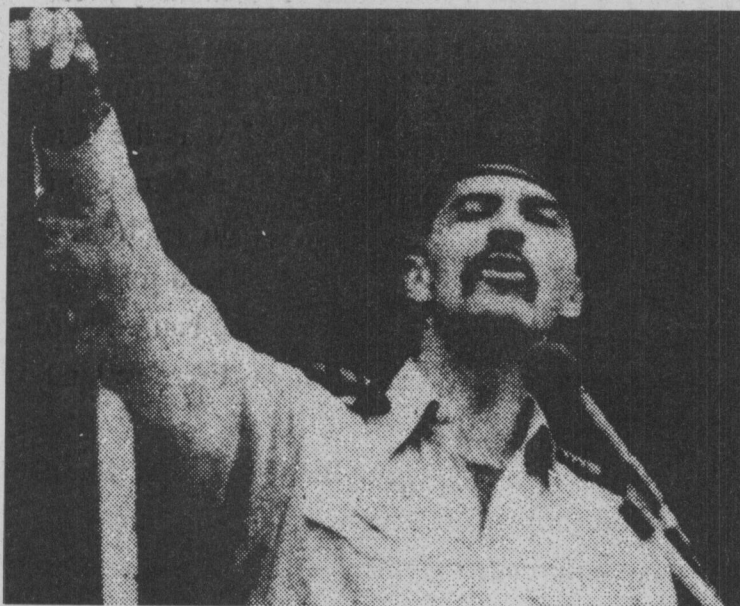
We are trying to keep the spirit of the conference alive by publishing these speeches. We are trying to get you the reader, whether you were at the conference or not, to initiate a discussion of these ideas in your community.

Sisters and Brothers, Comrades and Friends, now is the time to act. Tomorrow will be too late.

U.S.A. Perspectives

Plenary — Session 10

**Is Black Liberation and Social Revolution on the
agenda? Or, is Malcolm X out of date?**



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Chokwe Lumumba

Stalwart revolutionary leader of the New Afrikan People's Organization.¹ As a practicing lawyer, Attorney Lumumba recently won a victory and was admitted to the Mississippi Bar in the heart of New Afrika.

On behalf of the children, the men and the women of the New Afrikan People's Organization, and on behalf of many of our political prisoners and prisoners of war who can't be here to share this opportunity with you, I want to bring you warm and revolutionary greetings. To all my brothers and sisters who may be Muslims in the house I say, As Salaam Alaikham. To those who may have accepted Ki Swahili as the pan-Afrikan political tongue, I say, Jambo Habari Gani. And, of course, to those who still use the traditional New Afrikan street rap, I just say, Hey. And for all of you brothers and sisters, I greet you in the battle cry of the New Afrikan Liberation Movement, Free the land! Free the land! Free the land!

I want to salute — Brother Bill Sales and Abdul Alkalimat and those who have worked with them for pulling this conference together — this timely conference — and providing an opportunity for various forces to come together, and to contribute to the analysis and revolutionary theory on the work of our electrifying revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalist political prophet, Malcolm X.

This process, of course, is no mere trip down memory lane. It's not just a scant indulgence, or an intellectual masturbation. But what it really is—is an important task. Dealing with the political legacy of Malcolm X in fact puts us at the cutting edge of a new revolutionary movement which is developing in our communities this very day... a movement which we see at Howard University, a movement which we see as thousands of you took to the streets in Atlanta, a movement which we see as the catfish workers walk off their jobs down in the delta area in Mississippi. It is a movement which we see as young students (who are in the audience with you here today) mobilized to protest against police terror in Minnesota and elsewhere.

Malcolm X's theory is a theory of revolutionary New Afrikan nationalism that has lighted the path for today's revolutionary progress and a revolutionary awakening of our Afrikan youth. It is the source of the re-emergence of a movement which is before us today. Revolutionary emergence of the Malcolm X theory is something which has not come easy. It was not just a matter of calling a conference or having a few celebrations. It was something which began in earnest in 1976 when Mutulu Shakur, who is in prison today, said,

"We've got to bring Malcolm back." Because the youth don't know him. Because those who knew him have forgotten him. And because some people say he's a traitor and other ones say that he was confused. He said it's time to bring Malcolm back.

And so in '78 at the Audubon Ballroom when thousands of us came together 13 years after his death, it was a bad year for white supremacy. It was a bad year for imperialism. Because from the event there was a tireless effort, as year after year Malcolm appeared on posters, as Malcolm was put into *By-Any-Means-Necessary* newspaper, as Malcolm was put into songs, as Malcolm was in the march — the 5,000 people who went to protest at the U.N. for human rights; as Malcolm was on the lips of Assata Shakur when she got out of prison in 1979, and then there was Malcolm, coming and coming into the youth, into the community in Harlem with the various rallies there. And then finally, there was Malcolm on the lips of the rap singers. And it was Malcolm on the buttons, and Malcolm on the chest, and Malcolm on the posters. And this year, 1990, became the year of Malcolm X. And the 90s is the decade of self-determination.

But Malcolm's legacy, of course, can't be captured

on a trophy. It can't be seen on a picture or a poster. You can't just find it in a few slogans. Malcolm's legacy is in his theory and in the work he did.

So this is why this is an important conference here today. It's important to ask the questions which we have asked, and it's important to answer those questions. And in answering these questions I say that we should take the approach that Malcolm took. He says, first of all, you have to realize what the problem is. The problem that Malcolm saw is the same problem that exists today: We're colonized here in America. Afrikan people are colonized as a source of white supremacist colonization. The day they snatched you off the Afrikan continent and brought you here you were being colonized, just like our brothers and sisters later were colonized on the continent.

And so through colonization, he said, look around and see how other people with the same problems are solving their problems. It is not that the problem has changed — I know those who talk about the worsening of the conditions, because the conditions do get worse — but the problem is the same although the conditions get worse. It's like when you have a disease. If you have cancer, if you don't cure it, then your symptoms

will get worse. And so now we have a moral decay in our community. We have more brothers in jail than we do in college. We have a terrible economic situation. And so we confront this problem and we ask as Malcolm asked, "Well what are other people doing to solve their problems, problems similar to ours?" He would have advocated that once we answer this question, then we should do the same.

If we look at Malcolm X's philosophy we find out it was the philosophy of people's war. And just as we see the Intifada in Palestine, we are looking at a people's war. As we see the uprising in Azania, we are looking at a people's war. We are looking at people's wars all over the world which are bringing down powerful structures and setting them into destabilized conditions. Now they have to scream and scurry and look for puppets and Uncle Tom types in order to step in to cool things down.

We have some Negro-like phenomena ourselves right here in the City of New York, and you know what I mean! We have these same kind of people being prepared to step in right here, once the revolution has asserted itself in this new movement. But when you look at people's war and you look at Malcolm's philos-

ophy there are certain things that you have to understand. Malcolm had a progression in his philosophy. He started out as a hoodlum, and he ended up as a revolutionary, a profound revolutionary.

Much has been said at this conference and other places about the pan-Afrikanism which was Malcolm. It was Malcolm that told us that we left our minds in Africa. Much has been said about the internationalism of Malcolm, because it was Malcolm who grew beyond metaphysical understandings of the world, who grew beyond mythology, who grew beyond a "mothership" and "Yakub." Malcolm understood the task was to take up an active struggle in our community and to defeat the enemy which confronts us.

So Malcolm accepted internationalism. He endorsed internationalism. But it would be wrong to think that Malcolm grew beyond revolutionary nationalism. Because what we must understand very concretely, brothers and sisters, is that revolutionary nationalism is the foundation of internationalism. What's the root word of "internationalism"? It's "nationalism." What's the root word of "nationalism"? It's "nation." So a true nationalist is one who struggles to make a nation independent. And a true internationalist is one who has

some kind of national power or national liberation movement in order to assert their internationalism. Internationalism without nationalism is a bogeyman concept. It has no real foundation in the world. You see those who are leading internationalists in the world and you will find out they are leaders of national liberation struggles in the world. Whether they be in Africa, whether they be in Cuba or whether they be in Latin America, revolutionary leaders are people who have struggled for the liberation of nations. When we understand pan-Afrikanism we should understand it like Kwame Nkrumah talked about, when he talked about nationalism, pan-Afrikanism and socialism. One is not exclusive of the other. They all work together.

So when we look at what surrounds us here in America today in our colonized state, we must ask ourselves the questions that Malcolm asked: What is it that we must do? What is it that this people's war must concentrate on? We must understand that our war, that our theory, must be brought down to concrete reality. Theory which doesn't sit down on earth is not good theory at all. Theory which can only be discussed on paper is not good theory at all. We've gotta have theory that we can put into practice. It's gotta come right

down to earth. And so one of the things that it's gotta do, it's gotta deal with land. And it's gotta deal with independence. We need land and we need independence, just like other nations of the world need it. Social revolutions must be territorially defined. They must be geographically outlined. You go anywhere else in the world and you ask people, "Show me your revolution" and they can show it to you on the map. If you can't show us what you're talking about on the map then you're not talking about anything. You understand what I mean?

This people's war, in America must be built with the understanding that we have problems here today. We just can't seem to get it straight. We try to do what Malcolm says. We put together our little stores. We go out and we try to build economically. We turn back around and find out that the store is gone the next day, where somebody that just got off the ship is running a store in our community.

And we asked ourselves, "Well, what is the problem?" But we're buying our goods from the same cracker that we're competing against in the first place, because we still live in the shadow of the Black belt. And the Black belt is occupied. We live in the shadow

of the Black belt, we live in the shadow of Mississippi. When you go down the Mississippi River and you look both ways, and you see down there in the Black belt where 75 percent of the work force is Black, where 60 percent of the consumers are Black, where the culture is an Afrikan culture, where the land has Afrikans on it, but as long as the land is controlled by someone else then you can't produce the goods. Or have the border to conduct the trade which is necessary to put your bread on your shelves in your stores.

And so you have to look someplace else for your bread. You look to these politicians. And we do the best that we can. We elect whoever we can whenever we can. We put Cox, Koch — whatever the joker's name is — out of office here. But I knew before you did it you were going to have problems. I told you you were gonna have problems. I came here and said before one of these elections, I said that when Dinkins won the election his best days were behind him already. I said this. Because I come from Detroit so I know what it's like.

But the reality is that we do the best that we can. We try to put Black political officials in office only to have them turn against us the day after they get into

office. Handkerchief-headed Negroes, all of 'em, from coast to coast. This is right. Tom Bradley gave the key to the city to a South Afrikan dignitary not long ago. Coleman Young — caught him selling South Afrikan Kruggerands — and had the nerve to greet Mandela when he came to Detroit. A whole bunch of hypocrites.

But what is the problem here? Is it just that you can't choose right? The problem is greater than that. You live in the shadow of the Black belt. And by the time they put you in a position to start electing people they had already maneuvered you out of the position to make those elections meaningful in any way whatsoever. When you were in the Black belt — 80 percent in Mississippi, 80 percent in South Carolina, 80 percent in Louisiana — you had the ability to take electoral power and to work toward state power. But now you've been scattered all over the empire. And so what can you do, besides put somebody in a mayorship which is only controlled by a governor in the first place? Who's only controlled by a white-supremacist federal system in the first place?

And so we still live in the shadow of the Black belt. Culturally we live in the shadow of the Black belt. We

have some of the most beautiful culture in the world, but we don't control it. So it doesn't make any difference if an athlete or two gets a million dollars a year because they send it right back to the same cracker that keeps it from us in the first place. This is what happens.

If you look at Malcolm's theory and people's war it's always socialist. It's gotta be socialist. This is the way you really ensure getting socialism. Maybe we need to share that with some of the people in the world. A people's war ensures socialism because the people are what you're dependent upon. When you talk about unity in a people's war you don't talk about unity from the top down. You talk about unity from the bottom up. You talk about doing the hard work for unity, because as Amilcar Cabral tells us, unity is struggle. And so we have to get out here in these struggles. And we have to bring our communities together in the fight against the landlords, and the fight against the crooked politicians, and the fight against police terror, and the fight against handkerchief-headed Negroes. And then from the unity that we create on the mass level we create a national unity. This is what a people's war is all about.

And when the people fight, then the people must establish a social system and an economic system which will do the people well. And so socialism is in order. When we live and we fight in a people's war we deal, my brothers and sisters, with an understanding of a culture of permanent resistance. And so the struggle which is building today is a struggle of permanent resistance. It's not a kind of struggle where you wear an Afro today and get a haircut tomorrow. That's not the kind of struggle it is. It's not the kind of struggle which can be defined by a dashiki. It's not the kind of struggle which can be defined by a piece of poetry or a certain song. It's the kind of struggle which you put into the babies. It's the kind of struggle that when the baby comes out of the mama's womb we hold him up like they did in *Roots* and we tell him, "The land is ours. The land belongs to us." This is what we tell him. We tell him that the people of the world must be free. We teach 'em even before they get out of the womb.

It's like in Palestine. It's a struggle which never stops. It's a struggle of permanent resistance, because what is on us today is an oppression which is an oppression of permanent repression. They no longer just focus in on a few big-time leaders. In fact, they can't

find a few big-time leaders worth anything to focus in on. So what they do is they deal with the people. They have not only attacked our movement, now they have attacked our population. Our population has been decimated. And if we don't do something about it then it's gonna get worse.

And so when we talk about Malcolm today, and revolutionary New Afrikan nationalism, which implies socialism, which implies internationalism, which implies an internationalism which is informed by anti-imperialism, we have no time today for internationalists who allow imperialism to exist in any form. We have no time today for people who will tell us that they are against imperialism in Africa and not against imperialism in Mississippi. We have no time for people who will tell us that they are fighting against imperialism down in Nicaragua and they won't even fight to free the upper part of Mexico. We have no time for people who ignore the Native American race. We have no time for people who say they're against the United States of America and yet allow the United States of America to "hold sacred" 50 states, neither one of which belongs to them.

And so we have to understand this. It's that the

revolution must be based upon self-determination. And it must be based upon a resistance. "By any means necessary," as Malcolm said. And you know what that means. Some people have criticized us for using that term. What would you have us say? You ought to know what we're talking about, right? And if you don't know now, then just pay attention, okay? By any means necessary. The kind of revolution where we build resistance in the people. We need self-defense. Everybody needs to be involved in self-defense. At every conference, at every tea party, at every council we need self-defense. This is what Malcolm said. If you don't have it you cannot win.

And we have to go beyond self-defense in the immediate sense. We have to have a struggle of resistance. Every day of your life you are being attacked. You are being attacked by economic terrorism. You are being attacked by political and all forms of physical terrorism. You are being attacked by chemical warfare in our communities and drugs seep in uninterrupted. The war against drugs is a hoax, it's nothing but a war against us.

And so from the bottom up we have to build a people's war. We need to build survival centers. We

need to put the youth back out here in the struggle, in fact the youth are coming back out here in the struggle. And we need to be there to give the youth the proper guidance.

I think that one of the things that happened to us is that simultaneous with the attempt to destroy the legacy of Malcolm, so that they could create a facade, something that was false, there was a lot of bickering amongst Malcolm's political children. And there's still bickering amongst Malcolm's political children. There are those who follow Malcolm's course as he leaned toward the socialist revolution. And you should, because Malcolm stood for that. We need a socialist revolution. There's never been a place that needed more of a socialist revolution than the United States of America. There were those of us who talked about pan-Afrikanism and we should have talked about pan-Afrikanism. If Afrika's not free you'll never be free. It doesn't make any difference whether you're Afrikan or pink, you'll never be free until Afrika's free. And thirdly, there were those of us who talked about land, right here in America, where we built it, we developed it. And the support of the Mexicans and Native Americans and all the rest of them struggling for land.

But you know how it is when you got a little bit of knowledge, is that you begin to guard it and fight everybody with some other kind of knowledge. And so we couldn't get together. And the political progeny of Malcolm began to fight each other. It's time to bring it together. Because it's all in the same struggle. One cannot survive without the other. There will be no revolution here unless our people get self-determination. And there will be no completion of the revolution unless we all change the economic structure of the world.

Thank you. Free the land!

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BLACK SCHOLAR

Linda Burnham

A member of the National Executive Committee of the Line Of March political organization and the chair of its Black Liberation Commission. Burnham is the author of "Has Poverty Been Feminized in Black America?" and the co-author of *Towards a Communist Analysis of Black Oppression and Black Liberation*. Burnham is frequent contributor to *Frontline* newspaper, and an editor of *CrossRoads/Contemporary Political Analysis & Left Dialogue*.¹ She is also active in the southern Africa solidarity movement in the Bay area.

Good evening. First of all I want to thank Abdul and the Malcolm X Work Group for having had the inspiration and perseverance to put together this conference. It will take months for each of us to process all of the information and analysis, the reflection and debate that folks have shared yesterday evening and today. And surely by tomorrow evening we will all be on overload. But it has been a great opportunity, unlike any other that I've participated in for a very long time, to engage in a summation of Malcolm's legacy that is both serious and accessible, with sisters and brothers from a great variety of political perspectives.

So again, I want to thank all the organizers of this conference for making this great gathering possible.

I also want to thank the organizers for providing this panel with such a provocative topic: "Is Black Liberation and Social Revolution on the Agenda or Is Malcolm Out of Date?"

First, the short answer. As long as Malcolm can generate the kind of intellectual and political energy that has been generated here today, Malcolm is not out of date. As long as young people look to Malcolm as a

symbol of militant resistance and struggle, Malcolm is not out of date. And as long as the conditions we face as African Americans worsen day by day, week by week, and year by year, then Malcolm's passion, his absolute passion for liberation, is worthy of emulation and it is not out of date.

But those are the easy answers. They're true and they're important, but they're just a starting point, the easy stuff. Because posing the question of Malcolm's relevance today requires that we grapple not only with the power and the beauty of his commitment to freedom, but also with the ideas about how to achieve liberation that were an expression of his commitment. And grappling with Malcolm's relevance means coming to terms with the political context that shaped his thinking. What elements of that context were specific to that period? What elements were time-bound and are now historically superseded? And which ones remain part of the political equation today?

Finally, especially for those of us of a certain age, coming to terms with Malcolm's relevance also means coming to terms with ourselves. We, too, were shaped by the same broad political context that influenced Malcolm. And after all, Malcolm has done his work and is

gone. The issue is not so much whether Malcolm is out of date, but whether *we* are out of date.

So what was that political context that shaped Malcolm? Briefly. As a product of the streets of Detroit and Harlem, Malcolm learned well what every other African American in post-World War II urban America learned: that the centuries-old equation of North equals freedom, and the hopes of migrants moving from South to North, had been dashed by decades of active, brutal discrimination and malign neglect; that though some Blacks might improve their situation relative to what it had been previously, the gap between Blacks and whites in income, wealth, and community services was wide and constantly widening; that the illusion that loyal service in World War II in the military and in the war industries would bring the regard and respect of white America was just that, an illusion; that the local police had more the character of an occupying army than keepers of the peace; and that the post-war economic boom was color-coded and frustrated the dreams of millions of Black Americans.

Malcolm reached political maturity in an era when the deep frost of the late forties and the early fifties was beginning to thaw. But, at the same time, the rotten

underside of liberalism, Kennedy-style, was increasingly exposed. The ongoing co-conspiracy of northern and southern Democrats had made a mockery of the so-called democratic process for African Americans. And maybe most importantly, part of Malcolm's political context was the fact that the hub of the Black struggle of the 1950s had been in the South and the issues it tackled, while affecting Blacks nationwide, were really specific to that region. For the de facto barriers to Blacks went up in the North more quickly than the de jure ones came down in the South. And the de facto ones were set in concrete.

In my opinion, Malcolm mistakenly belittled the struggle to end legal segregation. But it is true that the program that Blacks were moving behind in the South was not immediately transferable to the urban ghettos of the North. Malcolm grasped this problem and struggled to work with it.

In the broadest of strokes, that was Malcolm's context here at home. But as much as Malcolm was a product of mid-twentieth century urban America, he was also a product of a particular era in world history. As he matured politically he remained very much attuned to the struggle for liberation on the continent and

throughout the Third World. And the enormous contribution that he was able to make, to an extent unmatched by any mass leader, was to raise up the African in us; to grasp the tremendous significance of the anti-colonial struggles and victories of post-World War II period; to articulate to us, consistently and powerfully the need to link our own liberation as African Americans to that of Africans on the continent. Malcolm taught us Ghana. He taught us Kenya. He taught us Algeria and northern and southern Rhodesia, so called. He taught us the Congo. He insisted that the *psychology* of liberation required that we understand that whites (and imperialists) were minority peoples in the world context, and the *strategy* of liberation required cultivating a base of support beyond the borders of the U.S.

In Malcolm's time the vulnerabilities of European colonialism and imperialism were exposed. Great optimism flourished about the immediate possibilities of righting the wrongs of hundreds of years' duration, gaining not only sovereignty and dignity, but also a way out of poverty, illiteracy and economic bondage. And many, in righting those wrongs, were taking the non-aligned or socialist path.

This, then, all too briefly was the international

context that framed Malcolm's thinking. That was then, this is now. What about 25 years later?

On the home front, the unemployment rate for African Americans is higher in 1990 than it was in 1960. The gap between Black and white wealth is wider. The incarceration rate is higher, as is the high school dropout rate. And, as we slide into another recession, the wage rate of Black men in constant dollars has not recovered to the level it was before the last recession. In other words, we are getting ready for a long, deep slide starting from a position *behind* where we were 10 years ago.

As the U.S. made the transition from a manufacturing-based to an information/service-based economy, whites and businesses have fled the cities, leaving behind a crumbling infrastructure and an economic base that is too anemic and too distorted to sustain the people of color, you and me, left behind.

There is certainly nothing about the profile of urban America 25 years after Malcolm that would lead one to believe that the problems Black Americans face will be resolved if things are just left to run out their natural course.

In spite of the fact that many indicators have wors-

ened in the last 25 years, though, there's also no denying that the spirit of rebellion and the revolutionary current that took hold in a mass way in the 1960s has been suppressed down. It's not just that the revolutionaries of the 'sixties didn't produce a revolution—or even come close, in my opinion—but that the radical and revolutionary elements of that period were scattered and fragmented, both by the state and by self-destructive internecine wars.

And, too, the rising tide of liberation that buoyed up Malcolm has ebbed. It is true that oppression breeds resistance, effective resistance is a long time coming. At least for the present, the nations that won their independence grapple with what Malcolm called "dollarism" in the form of the I.M.F., in the form of free-trade zones, in the form of Caribbean Basin Initiatives. And the successful revolutions — in Mozambique and Angola, for example — are mired in seemingly intractable problems of development. At the same time, Third-World revolutionaries who are battling backward, repressive regimes struggle to transform tactics that have become old and ineffectual.

And finally, for 70 years, one revolutionary alternative to capitalism and imperialist domination has been

socialism. But in the past five years European socialism has been through the shredder. I can't agree with the brother earlier today who characterized this as counter-revolution. To my mind, the people of Eastern Europe have thrown off a system that was not working for them — not working economically, politically, spiritually or in any other kind of way. But the fact still remains that the demise of socialist Europe has created an enormous void and strengthened the hand of capital.

These are some of the elements of our reality, many of them different from the world Malcolm encountered 25 years ago. For those of us following in a radical or revolutionary tradition, many of the old questions and issues of decades past have not been adequately answered but new ones have been piled on. The issues of unity, allies, strategy and organization, far from finding resolution, have taken on new complexities in the years since Malcolm's death..

First, on the issue of unity. Are we ready yet to acknowledge that ideological struggle is not a winner-take-all game and that ideological diversity is a permanent feature of our community? Nationalism, socialism and radical reformism all have long and strong traditions in Black America. Who among us is so close-

minded that we have not learned something valuable from the discourse and practice of to-the-bone nationalists, or dyed-in-the-wool socialists, or long-time radical democrats? For me, at this point in history, I'm ready to deal with anybody this side of obstructionism and collaboration. When we truly learn to value that diversity of ideological and theoretical opinion and find the ground for political cooperation, then we will have made a step forward and followed in the footsteps of Malcolm.

On the issue of allies. I heard that heretics are no longer burned at the stake, so I'm gonna pose something that some might find a little heretical. Are we secure enough in the uniqueness and power of our culture, our intellectual tradition, our tradition of struggle, our heroes and heroines, to question the ranking, and the hierarchy of oppression that most of us operate from? Are we yet beyond dealing with Indian brothers and sisters from the framework of, "Yes, I know about the genocide. I know about the land grab. I know about the astronomical dropout rate, the alcoholism, the theft of fishing and land rights. But line up right here behind me and mine." When we turn to our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters do we say, "Yes, I know about the

AIDS, the devastation of drugs, unemployment but your issues belong here. Right behind me and mine?" Must we pull rank on degrees of oppression with the Mexicans harassed over their legal status, earning \$3.25 in the factory and in the fields, with the cancer rate of their children from rising the pesticides.

Can we grasp and understand the specialness, the distinctiveness, the particularity of our oppression and our struggle, but let up on the preeminence? Get past the hierarchy and open up the circle? Otherwise, the question of allies may well be moot. That may be heresy but I think it's at least worth talking about.

On the question of strategy. A multitude of issues, but there's a central one for me. Are we ready yet to seriously confront the duality of America and incorporate that duality into a strategy? That duality, of course, is the poverty and desperation of our communities side by side with enormous wealth — not only the wealth of the upper classes but also a relatively high standard of living for the large section of the middle class.

And related to that duality, another one: the relatively advanced political consciousness of Black folk and the stagnant, inert or downright reactionary political consciousness of white middle America. It seems to me

that too often we have developed theory and strategy that comes to terms with only one side of that duality, the Black side. But as long as we struggle for social transformation in this man's America, the issue of white people's political consciousness, how to prod it in a progressive direction, is our issue, too. Whatever one thinks of Jesse Jackson and his mission, his ability to prod and prick the political consciousness and conscience of masses of white folks, while at the same time galvanizing a Black constituency is not to be taken lightly. His Rainbow Coalition was one way of bridging the duality that faces all of us as a central strategic question.

On the issue of organization: We have traditionally revered those leaders who provided us with political vision, inspirational and oratorical genius. Are we ready to nurture and revere equally organizational genius, that may express itself in quieter, less charismatic form? Are we ready to recognize that oftentimes our political visionaries do not leave behind a strong organizational legacy and may themselves unconsciously obstruct the growth of organization. We must develop the same respect for organization that we have for oratory — maybe more. For it is organization that will

anchor the radical and revolutionary Black tradition — taking us through the lean, mean times and providing the continuity that will enable us to systematically accumulate lessons and victories.

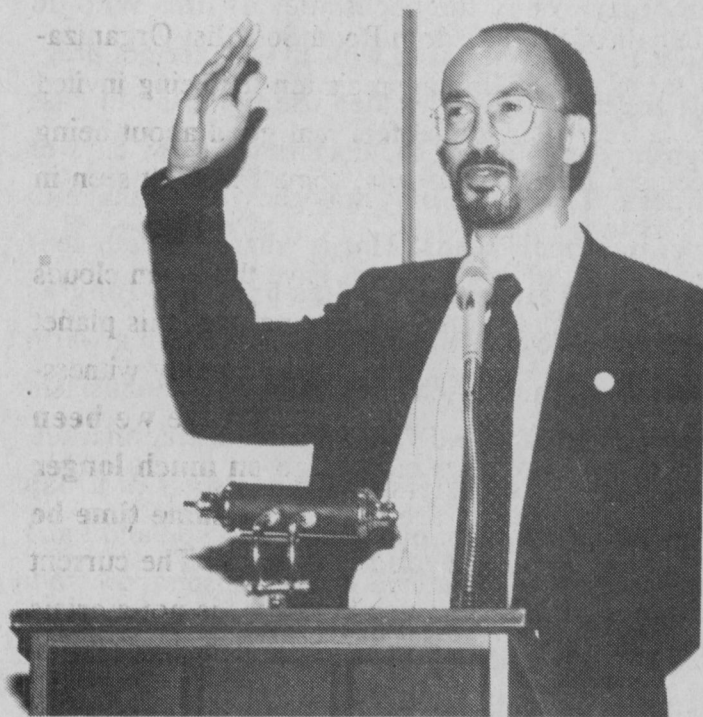
We here are radicals and revolutionaries in a country and an era that is implacably hostile to radicalism, much less revolutionism. Despite that hostility one of our tasks is to know and test the possibilities of our time and place, encourage every effort to revitalize revolutionary theory and spirit, engage the kinds of questions I have posed here tonight and those that each of you must have. And to do so in a way that rejects dogma and opens up the dialogue.

I want to close with a very brief story. It's a horror story and also a story about the free market. Oftentimes those two things go together. I'm sharing it with you even though I know all of you have heard a lot of horror stories about urban life in America, because it has haunted me since I heard it more than a year ago.

There's a Brooklyn shelter for pregnant women — I think the only one in the city. You can only stay in it if you are pregnant. What has twentieth-century America bred there? First of all, it's bad enough that there *are* pregnant, homeless women. But in Brooklyn, around

this shelter there has developed a market in the urine of pregnant women. Women who are pregnant sell their urine in order to buy the necessities of life. Who do they sell it to? They sell it to women who are not pregnant but are homeless, who then use the urine to pass the pregnancy test, fooling the doctors for a few days or a few weeks. This is the only way they can manage to get a roof over their heads. This is what twentieth-century, free-market capitalism has bred. As long as women must trade in urine in order to sleep in a warm bed, I, for one, cannot share the unbridled enthusiasm of Poles, Hungarians and Czechs for the free market. And as long as these sisters walk the streets of urban America, Malcolm is not out of date and you and I and legions of others will continue to draw inspiration from his commitment to liberation.

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RANDY GOODMAN

Bill Fletcher, Jr.

A Washington, D.C. based labor activist and writer. He is an associate editor of the socialist magazine *Forward Motion*.¹ New York born, Fletcher has been involved since high school in progressive politics first as a student activist, and later, after graduating college, as a community and labor activist. Articles and columns by Fletcher are found in a number of progressive publications.

On behalf of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization I want to express my appreciation for being invited to speak before you. I also feel real good about being here, seeing a lot of old friends, some I haven't seen in a very, very long time.

At no time in the last 25 years have the storm clouds of struggle and change been spreading over this planet in the manner and form which we are currently witnessing. At no time in the last 25 years have we been more certain that things cannot go on much longer the way they currently are, yet at the same time be less certain what lies beyond the storm. The current crisis affecting socialism, for instance, is not a crisis restricted to those who consciously define themselves as socialists. Nor is this crisis restricted to the regimes which define themselves by any of the variants of Marxism, whether those regimes are in Mozambique, Mongolia or Moldavia. The crisis which we are experiencing is a crisis integral to every trend which identifies with the necessity for a *radical alternative to capitalism*. And, in that regard, this crisis very much affects the radical or left-wing section of the African-American

people's movement, the section of our movement which can claim to be the ideological heir of Malcolm X.

Yet this is only one side of the storm. The other crisis is that which affects our opponents. Speaking more specifically, the crisis which afflicts capitalism. Despite the collapse of much of the Soviet bloc and its version of "socialism", and despite the commentary by the Western media as to the victory of capitalism over socialism, events are proving that the situation is far more complex. Indeed, as each day unfolds, the crisis of Western capitalism becomes more apparent.

The changing state of the U.S. economy and the short-sighted policies — even from the standpoint of capitalism — to shore up this economy during the 1980s, have led to a situation which is almost unprecedented. We face a war in the Middle East, and entire sections of the ruling class are not only uncertain as to whether the U.S. can win, but more uncertain as to the impact which such a war will have on the U.S. economy. Contrary to the past where wars were virtually the savings grace of capitalism, the question being posed is whether given the massive deficit, will such war literally bankrupt the system.

As always, we of the darker persuasion find our-

selves the direct and indirect victims of the madness and barbarism of capitalism. At the general level, as the economy changed from manufacturing to service, with the corresponding growth in information processing and finance, the probability of an average worker finding himself/herself in a high paying blue collar job fell 14% during the 1980s—the era of the alleged great recovery. Instead, what has grown is the probability of finding oneself in a low-paid and/or part-time job, the type which has been spreading in the economic morass in which we live. Since 1973, factoring in inflation, the actual wages of the average worker have been dropping. Therefore, with fewer of the higher-paying jobs available, most workers have to work longer hours—either directly through overtime or indirectly through the addition of part-time employment—in order to break even.

For African-Americans this situation all bodes poorly for our future. The opportunities to gain relatively stable employment have been drying up with collapse of the smoke-stack industries. And, while there has been a growth in the median income of the African-American family, this growth is largely the result of greater numbers of family members working. Also of

note is that while we have overwhelming numbers of high school graduates within the African-American population, the number of good paying jobs for high school grads are themselves drying up. Requirements for positions are upgrading so that some college education is essentially a pre-requisite for anything besides the building trades and some portions of the service sector.

During the 1988 Presidential Campaign, Vice-Presidential Candidate Lloyd Bentsen remarked at a debate that the Reagan-Bush recovery was built upon massive debt. His analogy was something along the lines of . . . if he could charge up items without paying attention to covering the bill, he could guarantee a recovery as well. The analogy is well taken, and certainly one of the few good things Bentsen said during the campaign. The existing debt, combined with the Savings & Loan debacle, along with strengthened competition from Europe and Japan bring the U.S.A. close to the precipice. Thus, rather than expressions of optimism within the ruling class, which were far more common during the '80s, there are greater signs of fear and confusion, best exemplified recently by the debates surrounding a new Federal budget.

Thus, here we stand, facing a crisis of proportions barely understood, and we are beginning to hear the sounds of thunder. There is no greater moment to discuss and come to an understanding of the significance of Malcolm X to our tasks. There is no greater a moment to recognize that the resurgence of Malcolm as cultural hero to Black America is not a revivalist initiative, but a call to rebuild a coherent and radical pole within our movement in order to face the impending storm with a level of confidence which says, in no uncertain terms, that we can win.

Let me amplify this point for a moment. The rise of Malcolm-as-symbol, during the mid 1980s, out of relative obscurity for most of Afro-America during the '70s, was both a criticism and a commentary. The criticism can be summarized in the slogan "No Sell-Out." Particularly among our youth there was a search underway for a type of leadership which represented an uncompromising stand against white supremacy and imperialism. It was also, by implication, a comment that despite the existence of powerful and progressive reform leaders such as Rev. Jesse Jackson, and despite such vibrant critics as Min. Farrakhan, something was missing. What was and has been missing is not simply a

leader of the stature of Malcolm X,¹ but more importantly a visible pole among the masses of our people which carries forth the banner which he held high. Thus, the "resurrection" of Malcolm X, as some have called it cynically, is more than the call to return to the statements and views of a brother long since gone, but a call for a new type of leadership of our movement and a renewal of purpose for the radical section of our movement.

Besides a recognition of a necessity for militance and uncompromising struggle for Black liberation, of what relevance is Malcolm to the crisis which afflicts us today? In attempting to answer this let me reflect on 4 issues: (1) the question of Black unity and struggle, (2) the question of a Black left, (3) the question of Black women and Black liberation,² and (4) the relation of African-American liberation to that of other people of color in the U.S.A.

One feature of the current situation is the growing income polarization within U.S. society generally, as well as within Afro-America. One fact which awakens much interest is that the gap between rich and poor is greater than at any point since the American Revolution. This is in part related to the conscious policies of

the Reagan/Bush Administrations. What is often not discussed is the income and class polarization among African-Americans. In large part as a result of the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, white corporate America was compelled to respond to our people's demands for justice. The problem, for lack of a better word, came in the nature of the response. And, in fact, the problem resulted to a great extent from the issue which Malcolm himself had raised. *In other words, to the extent to which the African-American struggle could be confined within the borders of so-called "civil rights" there would be profound limitations on its ability to address the fundamental question of our oppression.* The white ruling class shaped the nature of our civil rights "victory" in such a way that it promoted the development of a very contradictory Black middle class. Contrary to the pre-1960s Black middle class which was based largely on the dynamics of the community itself, the new middle class owed a large part of its existence either directly to its relationship to white corporate America or indirectly, through the growth of the community action and poverty programs.

This new sector has had a mixed relationship to the politics of Black liberation. In some cases they have

been the champions of Black empowerment struggles, such as in the successful campaign which elected the late Harold Washington mayor of Chicago. On the other hand, elements of this same class have gravitated toward various forms of neo-conservatism and traditional Democratic Party politics, renouncing the movements and struggles which got them where they are in the first place.

This development places a problem before Black radicals, a problem which Malcolm was attempting to address, though in a very different context. To what extent do we, in the radical section of the African-American movement identify any basis upon which to conduct joint struggles along side this middle class? Going a bit farther, to what extent is Black unity relevant to the 1990s?

The key to the answer can be found in Malcolm's practice, particularly toward the end of his life. Malcolm found himself constantly at odds with the Black leadership of his times. He did not hesitate from calling them out for any practice which he believed was misleading Afro-America. At the same time, he attempted to find means in which to cooperate with some sections of this same leadership. This was not a form of oppor-

tunism, nor was it confusion on his part. It was a recognition that the white supremacist national oppression which we as African-Americans face daily, and which exists as the basic cement holding U.S. capitalism together, has an impact on all sections of our people, though to different degrees and extents. The issue for Malcolm, as it should be for ourselves, was to find a means to mobilize those sectors where a recognition of a common problem—tactical or strategic—could be identified. Put another way, key to Black liberation was and remains the question of the *united front*!

This in fact, leads directly to the second point. During a good part of the 60s and 70s, the left-wing of the African-American people's movement found itself at odds with Black middle class-led or influenced organizations. Rather than attempting to identify any basis of unity, the practice common to much of our movement, irrespective of one's organizational identity, was to trash our opponents. Following the downturn in struggle, and the collapse of many super-revolutionary organizations, the practice flip-flopped to one of tailing after Black reformers. This especially surfaced during the 1980s Black electoral upsurge and it was a problem common to one degree or another with most of us. With

the decline of the electoral upsurge and the more apparent class contradictions and polarization among African-Americans, the conclusion is reached, incorrectly but reached nevertheless, that there is no longer a basis for Black unity.

What Malcolm was trying to build, the project which he was undertaking, to put it another way, was the construction of a radical pole within our movement. Malcolm did not view this task in contradiction to the building of Black unity or forms of united action. In order for there to be credible united front tactics, there have to be credible forces which can unite. The work to build the Organization for Afro-American Unity was not only an effort to promote unity among African-Americans, but a means to place before our people a different force—a radical force—with a different vision of Black liberation. In so doing he was also advancing a new set of politics relevant to all those forces which were prepared to challenge imperialism and racism, irrespective of their nationality or so-called "race."

Lacking from our current situation is such a *pole* of Black radicalism. Yes, the left-wing of our movement has organizations, collectives, discussion groups, and independent activists, and while it is important to

emphasize that we are often respected for the work which we do, it cannot be overlooked that as a radical pole, things have not jelled. The construction of such a pole is therefore a key task for all of us who identify with Malcolm's legacy.

There is a long and strong tradition of Black radicalism for us to build upon, a tradition certainly going back as far as the slave revolts. Radicalism is a credible position among our people, even for those who disagree with our overall program. Each of us today probably have relatives and ancestors who were members of explicitly radical groups; known as race men or women; or were otherwise known as fighters. Malcolm was building on that tradition, our people's tradition of radical oration and radical activism. And this falls before us as a task of overwhelming proportions, but a task which nevertheless must be accomplished if we are to move our people out of the present level of oppression and depression.

The radicalism which we develop for the 1990s and 21st Century must be a radicalism which, as with Malcolm, speaks to the grass-roots of our people. It must be a radicalism which identifies with the common person and speaks their language. It must, to put it in

other terms, be a Black radicalism which speaks to, for and through the Black working class. While Malcolm used the famous metaphor of the house Negro and the field Negro, we must recognize that metaphor objectively spoke to class politics among our people. As it was once said, in a class society, every thought is stamped with the brand of a class. So too is this true within Afro-America. Not only are there efforts by different classes among African-Americans to construct Black liberation in terms which are favorable to their particular class interest, but so too is it true that Black radicalism will be shaped by the extent to which it includes the needs, desires and input of the Black working class or is shaped outside of their experience. If we are to be true to Malcolm's legacy, our radicalism will be a message *from* the grass-roots.

My third point relates directly to how we look at our movement as we march into the 21st Century. For all too long, and this may sound ironic given that we are here today to honor a Black man, our movement has pointed to men as the leadership and those worthy of praise. The most well-known personalities in our movement's history tend to be men. While there are obvious and outstanding Black women leaders who are

acknowledged, such as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, their names are few, at least in our recorded history, and we rarely dig much below the surface to identify those who are generally ignored.

In addition to being overlooked by history, Black women are frequently given a subordinate status in the demands and shape of our movement. As long as a particular struggle has a clear and identifiable enemy in the various forms of white supremacy, all African-Americans are welcomed to the front line. But when Black women, and a few enlightened Black men, begin raising issues which are particular to the plight and struggle of Black women, a storm of criticism is raised. These issues, we are told, are divisive. Or, if someone wishes to be more condescending and less obviously offensive the demands of Black women are reclassified as being covered by such subject areas as "The Family."

What our movement must directly examine is the question of male supremacy. We must look at the various dynamics which the larger capitalist society promotes in terms of the roles of men and women, roles which we then begin to pick up in various, and often perverted forms. This is not a question of building

better and more responsible Black men, who then point women in the direction of the kitchen, but changing the way that we look at our movement, our roles and ourselves. It means reviewing the forms of oppression which operates within our movement and among our own people. We are a proud people who have survived all that racist capitalism could throw at us, but at the same time, and in our efforts at survival, we have often adopted many of the forms of our oppressor, mimicking their behavior, as if this will provide us with some form of approval or sanity.

I would argue that in looking at our movement, we need some rethinking of our situation, and indeed, some *new thinking*. Take for instance, violent attacks on Black women, particularly if the Black women attacked are from the lower classes, but *we* too participate in that oppression. A sister is murdered, and the murder is excused or explained away because she was allegedly a hooker. Another sister is raped, and we explain this away by asking the rhetorical and far from neutral question of what was this sister doing in that particular neighborhood, at that time, etc., etc.

All of this happens in direct relationship to the larger white society blaming Black women for the

problems faced by Black men. Black men accept this message; we tend to accept the notion that we as Black men lose out on jobs and other opportunities because of Black women. We begin to think that the only way to express our manhood is by impregnating a sister or otherwise using her for our sexual release.

This hatred of Black women has risen to dramatic and horrifying proportions. And it is precisely for this reason that our movement, and particularly the radical wing of our movement, must represent a different practice and thinking. In the training and education of our youth, a truly liberated point of view must be advanced in terms of the relationship between Black men and Black women. In designing organizations or events, from their inception the role of women must be considered, and considered as central, precisely from the standpoint of building a new internal dynamic within our movement and among our people. And this also means that we must respect that Black women have led struggles, and will continue to lead struggles, but they will do so in ways which may not, and generally do not imitate men. The style and content of Black women's leadership must be respected and not treated as if it is somehow a less than perfect mode of proceeding.

The final point I wish to touch on here is a theme which is contained throughout many of Malcolm's speeches. Malcolm was preoccupied not only with the struggle for Black liberation, but with our struggle in a world-wide movement against imperialism and racism. Beginning early on Malcolm called attention to the need for the non-white peoples of the world, people of color, to identify their common interests and set a common agenda. Throughout many of his speeches and interviews he returns to the question of Bandung, and I would here assert that so should we.

Bandung, as you will remember, is the Indonesian city which in 1955 was the site of an historic summit of nations from Africa, the Middle East and East Asia. This summit laid the basis for what has come to be known as the "Non-Aligned Movement." Malcolm was intrigued with this summit and with the efforts which had been made to construct a common agenda, irrespective of ideological and national differences to face Western imperialism. He called attention to its significance as well as to the efforts by imperialism to sow differences among various peoples of color. In this context he mentioned the struggle which was going on in what was then known as British Guiana (and is now

known as Guyana) between peoples of African ancestry and those of East Asian ancestry. Malcolm pointed out that in Guyana and elsewhere, the imperialists were attempting to ferment splits among our various peoples as a means of weakening our resolve, indeed, as a means of weakening our common front against imperialism.

Few lessons are as relevant today as this one. As the demographics of the United States change, and the population of this country grows with people of color, so too are the politics changing. The large influx of Latinos, Asians, as well as West Indians has changed the face of this country in ways that few people anticipated. Not only did the color line prove to be, as DuBois predicted, the central question of the 20th Century, *but the question of power and parity for people of color will press to be THE questions for the 90s and beyond.*

And with the changes underway, so too are contradictions being exploited by the imperialists. Contradictions between African-Americans and Asians; between African-Americans and Latinos; between Latinos and Asians; —and who ever considers Native Americans, —all of which is undermining our common struggle against white supremacist national oppression. Take, as

just one example, the Black electoral upsurge. In several cities African-Americans would simply not have been elected had it not been for the support of Latinos. And then what happens. Stupid remarks are made by some Black elected officials defaming Puerto Rican political prisoners; insensitivity to the political needs of the Latino population; and then we find a reluctance to give African-American support to Latino candidates.

This is only the tip of the iceberg and I consciously restricted the types of contradictions discussed here. What this points to is that there are and inevitably will be contradictions among and between various nationalities. But some of these contradictions can be dealt with in non-antagonistic ways; some are preventable and some are consciously inflamed by our enemies. The media, for instance, manipulating the idea of Asians as the model minority, completely ignoring the history of the racist oppression against Asians, the differences among the various Asian nationalities, and the way that national oppression currently works against Asians, all of this plays the role of sowing seeds of discontent and anger among African-Americans, Latinos and Native Americans. We, then, find ourselves jumping to all sorts of incorrect conclusions as to who is actually our

enemy and who is our friend.

Malcolm called attention to the theme of Bandung. He linked the Bandung summit to the struggles for independence then taking place on the African continent. While it is impossible to predict how Malcolm intended on developing the Bandung theme for our struggle here in the belly of U.S. imperialism, there is a direction in which he was pointing that can provide us some guidance. For a number of years many African-American activists have been considering a means to bring together activists of all oppressed nationalities — all people of color — in the U.S.A. to find means of working together. Nothing has come of this, though the concept of Rainbow politics is a step in that direction.

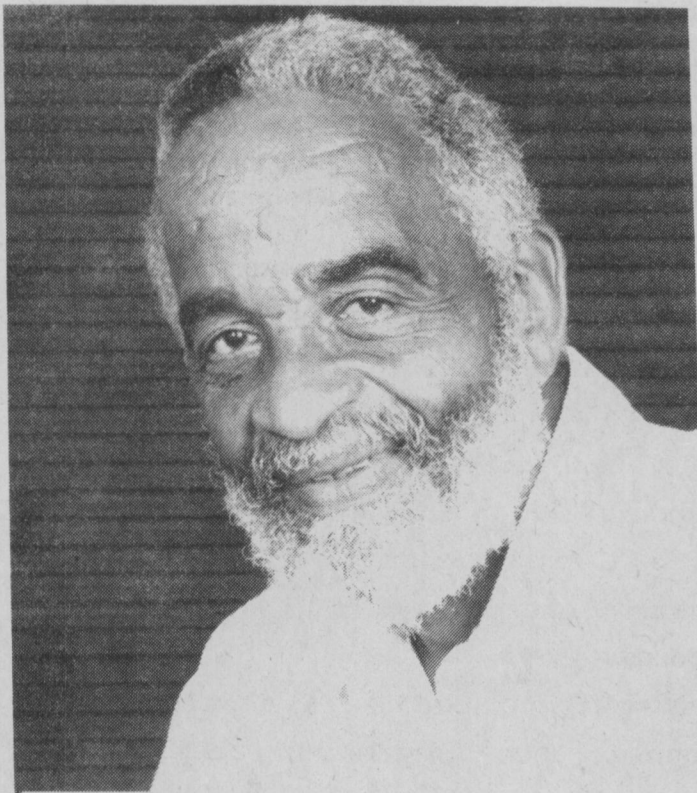
An opportunity now exists to build on Malcolm's concern about the unity of people of color. Indeed, 1992 is probably as good a time as any to initiate a "Bandung-West" summit of people of color in at least the U.S.A., and perhaps also involving Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean as well. With '92 representing the 500th anniversary of the coming of Columbus to the Western Hemisphere and the launching of countless wars of enslavement, colonialism and extermination, we have an excellent symbolic moment in history to bring

together people of color to reflect on our current situation and map out a battle plan ...an agenda... or common approach to dealing with white supremacist national oppression.

No, I am not calling for a summit for the sake of a big meeting. Nor is this an announcement of a pending gathering. It is the raising of a task which can be a substantive step in the direction of altering political power in the United States. With the United State changing every day, the future lies in the hands of people of color, either to the extent to which we take on the role of mapping out that future, *reshaping as we do all other progressive social movements*, or to the extent to which we allow that future to be determined for us. I can think of no better a way to honor the memory of Malcolm X than to bring his concern and hope to fruition.

¹ *Forward Motion* is published 5 times a year by the Center for Democratic Alternatives, Post Office Box 1884, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130.

² This area was not covered in the actual speech. However, this was an error for which the author accepts responsibility and is profoundly self-critical. Particularly given the rise of an anti-woman climate in this country as a whole, and the various attacks on Black women specifically, it was a major oversight to not address this area directly; accept the constraints of time; and rely on the implication of the overall points.



GERALD HENRY

Nelson Peery

Born in St. Joseph, Missouri in 1923. Peery, a veteran revolutionary organizer and theoretician, has traveled and lectured in Indonesia, the Philippines, Africa, the Caribbean and Mexico. He currently lives in Chicago and is the Chairperson of the Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party.¹

Brother Dr. Abdul Alkalimat, Brother Professor Sales, Brothers and Sisters, thank you kindly for the opportunity to present our views before this gathering of the most experienced and developed section of the African American fighters for liberation.

I would like to begin my remarks by answering the question raised by topic Number 10 in the Call to the Conference. Yes, Black liberation is on the agenda. Yes, Social Revolution is on the Agenda. And a resounding "NO" to the question - Is Malcolm X out of date? The three questions are, in a living way, inextricably bound together.

Why is social revolution on the agenda? Social revolution is the act of reorganizing society, it is not simply someone's good idea, it is an historical law and inevitable. Society's purpose and content is to raise children. The form it takes is determined by the tools with which it produces the means of life. Society is built around its tools. We can describe a society based on the wooden plow with out seeing it. Small towns, dirt roads, horse drawn carriages, a laboring class that

works in agriculture - these go with the wooden plow. Show us the steam engine and we can describe that society. Large cities, railroads, paved highways, an urban working class - these go with the steam engine. Change the tools and you must change social organization. Tools are constantly changing as the inevitable result of science and labor. Today, the use of electronics, high technology applied to production, the computer and the robot are the greatest change of tools in human history. These changes are calling forth the greatest social reorganization or social revolution in history.

We have fought hard and consistently for Black liberation, but we have not achieved it. We must answer the question, "Why not?" We have not won our liberation simply because the system cannot function without the social segregation, political discrimination and super exploitation that we struggle against. Overcoming and liquidating these evils involve the overthrow and reorganization of the system. We must have social revolution in order to have Black liberation. There are no guarantees. We cannot be passive. Tonight, the enemy is meeting with his think tanks to figure how to maintain privilege despite and within the inevitable social

revolution. I believe we are in for a long and brutal struggle.

Therefore, Malcolm X, the superb agitator and the model warrior of liberation cannot be out of date. We have gathered here to pick up his spear where it has fallen, and to continue the struggle.

That spear, that legacy, is summed up in his best known phrase, "Freedom by any means necessary."

This meeting, ranging across the political spectrum, is an opportunity for us to present our various means and collectively determine which will be used under what circumstance.

Sisters and brothers: If longing and striving and fighting were the foundation of liberation, we would have been free before slavery became an institution. These subjective elements, the will to be free, the willingness to fight and sacrifice are indispensable, but of themselves cannot produce a revolution.

There must be a unity of will and effort with an objective base, an actual situation that makes liberation possible. The disintegration of the present economic and social system forms the objective base or actual situation for social revolution. The system is disintegrating because electronics is becoming the economic base of a

society built around industry.

The use of electronics is creating a revolution in the economy. Electronic production created the rust belt and made dinosaurs of mechanical industry. Unseen, it is undercutting the social order. We are in an economic revolution. A social revolution follows every economic revolution.

What is the result of the economic revolution? Our entire society is constructed upon a system of buying and selling commodities. In a rough way, the amount of labor required to produce a commodity determines its price. Price allows us to buy and sell. We sell our labor power and we use this money to buy the necessities of life. As long as this process of buying and selling is not interrupted, the system functions.

Electronics is a method of production with very little labor or none at all. Thus, the price relationship between commodities, including our labor power, is seriously disrupted and in time destroyed. Electronics is much more productive and efficient than human labor. If the robot produces two commodities for each one created by human labor, it is possible for the human to demand twice the price for his commodity in order to make up the difference? Is it possible to pay a man

working with an axe more money because he is slower than the man working with a chain saw? The less efficient producer is starved out of the labor market. Robots don't get wages, neither do workers who are unemployed because of them. Obtaining the necessities of life by earning money cannot continue.

The system of exchange by money is already beginning to break down. Every homeless person who occupies a vacant house, every hungry person who takes food without paying is challenging the system and undermining it. Social revolution is emerging and will throw all classes into mutual combat. It is within this context that the blow for liberation must be struck.

Our political war of liberation must follow the rules of any other war. We must fashion our weapons and employ them in a manner that conforms to the objective factors of that war.

An examination of history shows that an exploited class - be they slave or proletarian - cannot emancipate themselves until a more productive form of energy can take their place. All revolutions rest on this basis. As a more productive form of energy develops, in this case, electronics, the working class is thrown into hopeless competition against it. They must change the conditions

or like John Henry of our folk song, compete until they lay down their hammer and they die.

The workers must constantly lower their price or wage to make up for their lower level of productivity. This is the only way they can compete with electronics on the labor market. Because of mutual competition on the one hand, and improvement of electronics on the other, they sink lower and lower economically and socially. They are ultimately forced into a revolutionary struggle to gain the necessary political power to transform society. Thus a social revolution assumes the features of a class struggle.

As this struggle gets under way, the revolutionary movement ceases to be ideological groupings and becomes the practical movement of the masses in the streets.

The African Americans are the largest group of oppressed people in the country and at the same time they are the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class. It is inevitable that they will play a leading role. They alone represent the unity of the struggle for social, economic and political democracy. There is a difference between the revolutionary tactic of uniting currents of social motion and the popular con-

cepts of uniting different groupings of people. I do not believe we can unite white and Black. I believe we can unite all homeless regardless of color. I believe we can unite the hungry regardless of color. I believe we can unite the unemployed.

The penetration of the movement of the most oppressed and exploited workers into the movement for African American liberation presents us with a political contradiction. The working class cannot achieve political supremacy without fighting for Black liberation. Black liberation is not possible without the political supremacy of the class. This objective reality is the foundation of our strategy.

As the social and economic order begins to break down and the class struggle deepens, the blow for the liberation of the African American people must be struck. Everything will depend upon this strategy. That blow is the move to political power. It must come in the form of a class moving to solve homelessness, hunger and unemployment. That class will inevitably be led by its most experienced and desperate fighters. They are Black. Their struggle to gain economic goals can only be achieved with political supremacy. This can only be accomplished through the final emancipation of the

African Americans by wiping out the economic basis of their oppression.

What are the historical lessons that lead to this strategy? It is difficult to break into history, but I would like to begin with Emancipation.

Emancipation was the result of a great class and social revolution against slavery. Spurred on by the industrial revolution, it took place with the industrial capitalist already in economic control of the country. They needed to wrest political control from the planters. They did it militarily on the battle field and politically through reconstruction.

A rapprochement and class unity with the planters was necessary. It was possible because although the slaves were slaves, the planters, like the bankers and industrialists, were capitalists. This rapprochement, at the expense of the Freedmen, converted the South overnight from rebellion to the most patriotic and chauvinistic section of the country.

The emancipated African Americans faced a hostile and united capitalist class. Both sides were caught up in the demands for cotton by the on going industrial revolution and world market. Since there was no productive energy to take their place, the Freedmen were savagely

attacked by counter revolution. Politically and militarily defeated, they were driven back into a new and sometimes more horrible slavery.

Seventy years later, the mechanical cotton picker emerged as the superior form of productive energy that made liberation from debt peonage, convict lease, sharecropping and tenant farming possible. The immediate result of the mechanization of Southern agriculture was tractoring the African Americans off the land. Forced into the towns and cities they became a compact group just as the industrialization of the South got underway in earnest.

The political and physical force represented by this new urban proletariat found itself in temporary alliance with Northern owned industry and its need for workers. By 1955 the South was experiencing a labor shortage. Law and custom prevented the full utilization of Black labor in the factories. Segregation was rigidly enforced to guarantee slave like farm and service workers. In order to control the industrial work force, the Southern rulers had to maintain segregation. Integrating the work force would be the beginning of the end to the starvation wage system.

On the one hand the shortage of labor was cutting

profits of Northern financed industries and on the other, there was a mass of unemployed labor. De jure segregation had to go. Northern capital again relied on the Black masses to break the resistance of its Southern wing.

Thus began the so called second reconstruction. Ahead lie a decade of hard fighting and bloody sacrifice by the African Americans. Through their efforts, the Southern bourgeoisie was again brought to heel. Then, again, the hot lines to the White House were broken as the Southern capitalists united with the Northern capitalists and the Blacks were again abandoned and attacked.

Perhaps more important than the limited integration was the final consolidation of the African Americans into a people and thus the rise of class as well as social consciousness. The concentration of the Black masses in the central cities and the resultant accumulation of political power gave the African Americans a sense of strength and made an offensive for freedom possible.

Old methods of struggle were laid aside. The Watts uprising fully ushered in the new, - the time of Malcolm X. The significance of the Watts uprising and those that followed lie in this.

Watts was an uprising of the Black workers. They

did not have alliance with or reliance upon the liberal whites who had always dominated the Black struggle for freedom. To maintain this alliance, the liberal whites demanded that the Black leaders adhere to the tactic of non violence as the only tactic.

The uprisings spelt an end forever, both to white leadership and to the tactic of non violence as the sole tactic. In its stead arose the slogan of Malcolm X—*Freedom, by any means necessary.*

As electronics developed so did a new category, structural unemployment. This is a new type of unemployment, a permanent unemployment built into the system. Heretofore, the government provided an acceptable degree of health care, education and housing to the army of unemployed. They would be needed to quickly fill in during periods of rapid economic expansion. The capitalist class will not shelter and feed what it cannot exploit. As temporary unemployment became permanent, money was transferred from the welfare of the unemployed to the welfare of the bankers and the owners of industry.

The African American workers, the heart of the unskilled and semi skilled sector of the proletariat were the first to feel the effects of electronics and the political

policy that followed.

Most of the American people accepted what appeared to be the governments abandoning Black dependent women and children, the ill and infirm. Of course, once legalized, the policy applied to all. In this manner the features of crisis began to emerge.

Faced with a growing army of permanently unemployed, the ruling class automatically turned to those tactics that have served them throughout history. That tactic is to attack the Blacks in such a manner as to unite the white workers with the white capitalists. The attack against unskilled labor appears to be an attack against the Black worker. However, because of minimal integration, that attack becomes entangled with white workers who are in the same economic category.

It is no longer possible to isolate and attack the Blacks in the same old way. Today the invisible man is white and poor, but he is there. Each economic and legal attack against the Blacks pushes the unemployed white more and more into the line of fire.

Malcolm X thoroughly understood this when he said, "I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want

freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think that it will be based upon the color of the skin."

These are the conditions and the social motion that has sent our youth, our militants, our progressive intelligentsia, our restless workers searching for an ideology, a banner around which they can rally and take a stand. It was inevitable that they would discover Malcolm X waiting for them.

His death was more than the creation of another martyr. His incredible capacity for growth and development posed a dilemma for his enemies. At one stage it was not necessary to kill him. At another, it was not possible. The Malcolm that lives on represents the polarity, the necessary ideology for our people to coalesce around. This Malcolm is more dangerous than the other. This one cannot be killed and cannot be silenced.

Malcolm was no ideologue. He constantly strove to abstract theory from the mass experience and from his own. We must carry that legacy on.

The offensive against us is under way. The first step was a hostile neglect of those thrown into the ranks of the permanently unemployed. That tactic has not

worked. The next logical and rational step is genocide.

Genocide is not a category - it is a summation. The declining standards of welfare, general health care and education, the terrifying rise of AIDS, unemployment, homelessness and police murders in the context of segregation and discrimination adds up to genocide - the destruction of a people.

The most violent characteristics of capitalism are clearly seen in the American system. This is the legacy of both slavery and Americas freedom from the paternalism connected to the feudal regimes. The genocidal tendencies inherent in the system were early vented against the native American Indian. Unable to incorporate them into production, capitalism attempted to resolve the Indian question through genocide.

It is not a subjective decision by some mean people. The policy of genocide flows from the exploitive nature of the system and the racism which sustains it.

Brothers and sisters, friends and comrades all: There is but one reason to rally 'round the banner of Malcolm X. That is to greet and listen and debate in the comradely spirit that sustained our fore fathers as they marched to battle against a naked slavery. We must, as Malcolm did, examine and grapple with the real world. That real

world is frightening and dangerous. We, as a people, are at risk.

The ghetto is a concentration camp, the murderous guards are uniformed in blue. The oven is the street. We must strategize and we must fight. If we do not, they will continue to kill us with AIDS and alcohol and drugs and poverty-spawned diseases. They will continue to kill us by the most tragic of deaths, by the social frustrations that hurl us in blind rage against one another.

The danger is present. Our duty is clear.

With open hand and heart let us speak and listen that we may truly unite. Tomorrow we must form our ranks, and in this final struggle carry the banner of Malcolm X across the ramparts of our enemy. Thank you, Comrades, and good night.

¹Communist Labor Party
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World Perspectives

Plenary — Session 11

**Are Black people free anywhere in the world?
Or, on the international scene, is there any good news?**



Gus John

Director of Education, London Borough of Hackney. Born in Grenada, West Indies, John has lived in Britain since 1964 but visits the Caribbean annually. He was Chairperson of the Moss Side Defense Committee following the inner city uprisings there in 1981. He is a founding member of European Action of Racial Equality and Social Justice, a member of the Black Parents Movement,¹ and an active lecturer throughout England.

Sisters and Brothers, Comrades and Friends, I bring you revolutionary greetings from the Black Parents' Movement in Britain, from the Organizing Committee of the International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third-World Books, who are even now organizing the tenth book fair to be held in London in the spring of next year, and from the movement for social liberation in Britain and in continental Europe.

I bring you special greetings from Comrade John LaRose, the spiritual and political father of our movement in Britain, and the Director of the International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third-World Books. A number of critical events in our struggle have prevented Comrade LaRose from being with us here in person, but he is surely here with us in spirit.

Joining me here from London are Comrades Janice Durham, Michael LaRose and Roxie Harris, and colleagues from France and Germany, all activists in the struggle for racial equality and social justice.

When I speak about John LaRose and speak about him in the context of a discussion on Malcolm X, I do so in a very personal way. Because it was John LaRose

who introduced me to Malcolm. I was 19 when Malcolm X was assassinated and I had followed closely by then the development of SNCC and of the civil rights movement. The events in the Congo years earlier, the events in Southern Africa, especially Ian Smith's declaration of independence in Rhodesia, and the uprisings in the urban centers of the United States were phenomena which, as a young person, I needed to understand no less than I needed to comprehend what was unfolding in my own native island, Grenada, under the demonic and tyrannical rule of a demagogue called Eric Gairy. In Britain at that time one's access to information and analysis on all such issues was predominantly through the British media and that medium that is heralded as the bastion of objectivity, balance and legitimized knowledge, the British Broadcasting Corporation.

That process of legitimizing knowledge, that is, rendering Eurocentric and ethnocentric views of our history, our struggles and our cultural creativity legitimate, while at the same time declaring everything we say for ourselves and about ourselves as illegitimate, that process simply had to be undermined if we were to reclaim our history, redeem ourselves and liberate our minds. It is against that background that, as a booksell-

er, publisher, poet and political activist, John LaRose became my mentor, and I discovered Malcolm X and all those who had gone before Malcolm and undoubtedly influenced him: Franz Fanon, W. E. B. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Marcus Garvey, Sojourner Truth, Mary Secole, C. L. R. James. It seems to me that as we engage with one another and with Malcolm in a celebration and evaluation of his life and work, we need to be guided by a sense of history, the history of human evolution and of all its contradictions, and particularly that most important component of all history, the history of resistance to oppression and human degradation and the fundamental instinct for freedom and survival.

The struggles of any one generation, however unremarkable they may seem, both create the space in which succeeding generations may struggle within a growing culture of resistance and enhance the human potential of those who inherit the world and the history that forebears will have made. A critical understanding of that history, and of the contemporary forces that combine in the pursuit of barbarism and in the day-to-day brutalization of the human spirit, is fundamental if we are to engage in purposeful action in the cause of

human liberation. That, for me, was the significance of the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* when I read it as a young person trying to make sense of the world about me. And it remains equally significant as I return to it today.

I do not think that this point could be emphasized too strongly, because for me as an educationalist and as a parent, the question of education — and providing young people with tools for understanding and for self-scrutiny — is paramount. And if we do not facilitate individuals and groups to locate themselves historically and to know where they stand on the important questions of the day, then we cannot sensibly speak of self-determination as a people.

Where are those issues? The issue of class. The issue of race. The issue of taking responsibility for the environment and for the quality of what we impose on major parts of the world's population now and what we will bequeath to those coming after us. The issue of poverty and human degradation in the face of affluence and vulgar opulence. The issue of imperialist hegemony and the subjugation of peoples all over the world, east and west, north and south. The issue of the systemic, institutionalized and systematic subjugation and

oppression of women. The issue of work, and the assumed worthlessness and lack of dignity of those whose labor is not deemed to be needed and, more importantly, of those who consciously render themselves redundant in the labor market by refusing to do shit work.

In Britain, no less than in the Caribbean, in Africa or right here in the inner cities of the United States, Malcolm spoke more directly to that latter group than to most others. He spoke to people who felt deep down in their bellies that they have nothing and therefore have nothing to lose, people who have long since ceased to believe, Christian upbringing or not, Protestant ethic or not, that crime has anything to do with morality, but saw what others call "crime" as a matter of options and a question of choice.

In Britain, many of that generation and of the generation before them misread Malcolm and saw the situation solely in terms of Black and white. An undifferentiated mass of Blacks, all presumably with the same interests and the same burning commitment to Black liberation and human liberation and self-determination, and a similarly undifferentiated mass of whites, all equally racist, so genetically racist as to be beyond re-

demption, and all having an equal share in the spoils of racist exploitation, colonialism and imperialism. The Black blood-sucking capitalist, paying subsistence wages to Black women to work in his sweatshop while enjoying the public glory of representing Blacks on the Municipal Council, was supposed to be a more natural ally in our struggle to the Black woman bringing up five kids on the one pound fifty per hour wage that he gave her for her efforts. The Black blood sucking capitalist was supposed to be a better ally, a more natural ally, to this Black woman than the white woman next door on her housing estate who took care of her kids so that she wouldn't have to pay 35 pounds a week, that she did not have, to a child minder and then starve.

The notion of Black people as a class, acting in and for itself, is historically in my view a recipe for the continued exploitation and degradation of the Black working class and a hijacking of its social and cultural creativity and its soul in the interest of capital and of unbounded profit. The fact is that when Blacks exploit other Blacks it is not any more acceptable than when whites do it.

The question, therefore, of who is the revolutionary class becomes for us a very important one as indeed it

answers the question of whether our liberation can take place in isolation from the liberations of oppressed peoples all over the world.

We had a time in Britain when the left was telling us as Black people, and telling everybody else, that the revolution would come about via the mass activities of the organized labor movement in the Transport and General Workers Union and the heavy and powerful unions like the National Union of Mineworkers, the Printing Union and so on. International capital reorganized itself and the microchip revolution dawned. Dockworkers were made redundant in droves through containerization, and print workers were sent home in the hundreds because printing that needed to be done required only 20 people, and not the 500 who did the same task before. And mechanization came to the mines. The power of the printing workers' union, the dockworkers' union and the miners' union was curtailed and the labor movement did not know how to deal with that.

It took a long time, therefore, for those mainly white and mainly male people running those unions, presenting us with that view of the millennium and of utopia, to understand that a class could no more be defined in

those narrow terms. A place had to be found for, and given to, the women's movement, the ecological movement, movements around the need for housing within communities, resisting the police on the streets and so on. And all of those movements had to constitute the class.

We, the people of the African diaspora, who were forced to establish an identity as African-Caribbean people and to witness the annihilation of the indigenous peoples of that region, the Caribbean, have a history that is inextricably linked with that of the British white working class. The struggles that they waged for the eight-hour working day, the forty-hour working week, against the ravages of child labor, for better and more sanitary working conditions, for the right to join a union and protect your interests within it, for the right of women to vote — all those struggles created space in which, as workers relocated from the plantation economies of the Caribbean to the industrial centers of Europe, we could continue the long tradition of resistance and rebellion that characterize our lives in the Caribbean and elsewhere.

At a time when the British education system was misleading and failing to educate Black children, and

would not so much as dream of employing Black teachers, it was white progressive teachers who alerted us as Blacks to what was happening in those schools. We checked it out. We began formulating our own demands. And in so doing we empowered both the Black school students themselves and those progressive white teachers who were seeking to challenge the racist arrangements, practices and curriculum that constituted state education for the Black child.

As a body of former colonial people, education and self-development through schooling were considered to be the essential route to escape mediocrity, marginalization and denial of self and of self-respect in British society. We had a battle on our hands. And we still do now after 45 years of settling in British society. A battle to reclaim and reshape state education in order to make it serve the interests of ordinary working people, Black and white, rather than being a system for creating, regulating and controlling the supply of cheap labor, miseducated, uninformed and untrained.

We have built over the last 25 years in Britain, since the mid-sixties, a solid Black working-class education movement that continues to serve as a challenge and as a corrective to the educational underachievement of

British-born Black students. The transformation of the economy and the reconstitution of the working class in Britain and across continental Europe have made our task even more urgent. So, particularly, has the prospect of a single European identity and a single European economy after 1992.

The issues of education in relation to the national economy and its purposes; the impact of the technological revolution based on the microchip; the impact of that on the international supply and quality of labor; the issue of the nation state and the movement of workers internationally across international boundaries — all of those are fundamental issues of human rights. The denial of a decent education to workers and their children; the insistence that they buttress the economy of the various nation states of Europe when capital demands, only to be booted out when the state decides; or to be denied the right to vote, to decent housing, to a part in the political process and, most important of all, the right to live — all of these constitute the most fundamental violation of the human rights of Blacks from the former European colonies, of Turks, of Moroccans, of people from the Magreb, of people from the Ivory Coast, from Liberia, from Tunisia, from the

Philippines, as well as Poles, Finns, Yugoslavs, Cypriots and numerous others in continental Europe.

In Britain and in many other parts of Europe, Black settlers and their European children — French, German, British, Dutch — are projected as being at the heart of the crisis. Listening to commentators and to politicians you would believe that we caused the crisis of capitalism in Europe. The children of the immigrant generation, of the settlers, are refusing point-blank to acquiesce in the reconstitution of themselves as a colonial labor force to be exploited in the same ways and for the same purposes as their forebears had been in their countries of origin and continued to be later in the European centers to which they had migrated. That refusal to be controlled through the discipline of work, and of the boundaries set by the state and its hypocritical value systems, places that generation in head-on confrontation with the apparatuses of the state, official and unofficial.

The official ones are the teachers, the police, the social workers, the courts and the prisons — and for far too many, finally, the undertakers. The unofficial ones are the racists and fascists who engage in murderous attacks on Blacks and foreigners, maiming, violating the

person, violating people's homes and their places of worship with impunity. And, they murder with impunity. The fact that the state never seems to manage to bring them to justice, and certainly never outlaws their activities, means that they operate within a culture in which they are seen as unofficially doing the things the state endorses and condones, and acting as the defenders of the silent majority, whose levels of tolerance are considered to have been stretched to the limit by the presence of us Blacks.

The official and unofficial merge in our experience, if not in the national consciousness, because the number of deaths at the hands of the police, on the streets, in France, Germany and Britain, or in police custody, in detention centers, in prisons, in mental hospitals — the number of those deaths equal, if not surpass, the number of deaths at the hands of racists and fascists who kill people on the streets, throw firebombs into their homes and incinerate them in their beds.

There is a book entitled, *Murder in the Playground*. It is the report of an investigation into the murder by stabbing of a 13-year old Bangladesh student by a 13-year old white student in the playground of a large school in Manchester, in northwest England. I recom-

mend it to you because it is about much more than the senseless denial of life to that courageous young martyr who refused to sit by and allow 11-year old Black students to be humiliated and robbed of dignity simply because they were Black. He challenged the racist, who felt it was an affront to have his white power undermined by a stupid "Paki," as he called him. The white boy pledged the evening before to kill Ahmed Ullah and he brought a knife to school the following day. And within minutes of them both getting to school that morning, Ahmed Ullah was dead with fatal stab wounds to his stomach.

The book is about more than that. It is about the culture of racism in British society. It is about the incorporation of Blacks into the oppressive apparatuses of the state. It is about the militancy of Black youth in the face of murderous oppression. It is about anti-racist liberals and the bankruptcy of their project. It is about the urgent need to democratize schooling and to share power with students and guarantee a safe environment for students to learn and for teachers to teach. Above all, it is about human rights.

And let me end by saying something about human rights. I am always amazed when people like Margaret

Thatcher, hanging on desperately to the shirttails of either Reagan or Bush, or whoever else might come along, decide that human rights violations take place only in other parts of the world, especially when it is Eastern Europe or Latin America or such places. So they go into Panama to deal with human rights. They go elsewhere to deal with human rights. They condemn the Soviet Union and God knows who else because of their human rights record. And yet, the fundamental human right of Black people to be able to walk the streets, go about their lawful business, without fear of being maimed or killed for no other reason than that they're Black, is one that Mrs. Margaret Thatcher does not seem to have heard of.

Traditional communities are displaced by the United States government all over the world as they commandeer their territory to establish military bases, nuclear testing areas or the stockpiling of weapons to support their role in policing the world. An estimated 40,000 children die each day across the world from malnutrition and disease. In the United States itself, poverty, disease and an implosion of violence amongst the poor and dispossessed lead to a high fatality rate and a massive over-representation of Black, Hispanic and

white working-class people in prisons, particularly on death row.

Yet, the concept of economic refugees, that is, people fleeing starvation and hunger in their own countries and seeking to sell their labor or stay alive in more wealthy countries, is one which most European states, no less than the United States, consider socially, economically and politically unacceptable. Even refugees and asylum seekers fleeing persecution and political repression find a level of hostility, racism and xenophobia in European countries which they do not readily associate with so-called "liberal democratic societies" espousing liberty, equality and fraternity.

It seems to me, then, that in the context of our existence as people of the diaspora in continental Europe, there are a range of demands that we need to be making. And I want to end by stating, without any discussion of them, what these are.

It seems to me that we need to be calling for the status of resident to be given to all those people who reside in those countries for the purpose of work. And when some offend, as they inevitably will, the business of applying the criminal law and punishing them through fines or jail sentences or whatever, should not

be accompanied by their immediate deportation on serving those sentences, as a double penalty for being Black and daring to offend within those European states. That all groups within the population be empowered to participate in the political and democratic process regardless of length of residence as workers in those states. That all groups within the society be afforded the right to housing, health services, schooling and education, employment and unemployment benefits and other social-welfare benefits that apply to the rest of the population. That all migrant and foreign workers receive job protection and other workers' rights, including the right to join and safeguard their interests within trade unions, that obtain within the society as a whole. That no restrictions be placed on the right of asylum seekers to seek asylum in the member countries of the European Community. That the practice, unofficially sanctioned and otherwise, of importing illegal workers, from the African continent and elsewhere, to be used as cheap, captive labor, be outlawed by the European courts of justice. That the European courts render illegal and a violation of human rights the practice by which E.E.C. member states give financial or other inducements to so-called "donor countries" to reclaim

their nationals. The Turkish government, for example, is being paid by the German government to take back Turks living in Germany, regardless of how long they've lived there and how many children have been born there to them. That the national and international media end their silence on the systematic and murderous persecution and human rights violations meted out to Black people, migrants, foreigners or aliens in those European Community countries, and acknowledge the resurgence of fascism and barbarism in Europe.

My friends, I do not believe that we can possibly come to a point in which we discuss Malcolm X and the struggle for human liberation without an understanding of those wider struggles and the importance that they play in how we act, given what is actually taking place in the international sphere at this precise historical conjuncture.

¹ Black Parents Movement c/o New Beacon Books,
76 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EN, England.



NEW BEACON

Edwin Madunagu

Born in Nigeria in 1946 and educated at the Universities of Ibadan and Lagos. He has taught mathematics since 1974 and is currently writing for the *Guardian* newspaper in Nigeria. Madunagu has, for some time, been prominent in Nigerian radical and revolutionary politics, and is the author of *The Tragedy of the Nigerian Socialist Movement*, *Problems of Socialism: The Nigerian Challenge*, and *Nigeria: The Economy and the People*.¹

Chairperson, Sisters and Brothers, Comrades and Friends, I bring to you all gathered here in the name of Malcolm X revolutionary and anti-imperialist greetings from Nigeria and West Africa.

We join you all in celebrating the legacy of Malcolm X — a legacy of struggle, which the enemies of human freedom, in America and beyond, have tried in vain to kill. The radical and revolutionary forces in Nigeria and West Africa wish to be counted among the new generation of fighters committed to continue this radical tradition of struggle against imperialism and for the freedom of all oppressed peoples, nationalities, nations and races of the world.

Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Nkrumah and others in that historical bracket taught us and emphasized over and over again the traditional character of imperialism. From this they deduced the irreducible need for the struggle against imperialism to be international, and for the various national organizations engaged in this battle to be linked together in radical internationalism.

We in Nigeria and West Africa rededicate ourselves to this principle. We are convinced more than ever before that although imperialism can be weakened in different parts of the world, this historically anti-people

system can be defeated only on an international level. In particular, we are convinced, as Malcolm X and others have taught us, and has been repeated in this conference, that the liberation of African Americans and the acquisition of true independence by Africa are linked. We in Nigeria and West Africa rededicate ourselves to the revolutionary solidarity and unity of action dictated and informed by this conclusion. We ask for the same dedication and commitment from other national sections of this global struggle.

In this regard, it is definitely unacceptable that while anti-imperialist organizations, national liberation movements, and socialist organizations in America and the Third World are linked to similar organizations in Europe, they are hardly linked to one another. We are not anti-Europe, we are not anti-U.S. — or anti- any-people for that matter. We are only saying that those who constitute the base and focal point of the struggle must be linked in the first instance. The Black nation in America and the Third World constitute the base and focal point of anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles. And with the present crisis in Eastern Europe, the center of gravity of socialist struggle has virtually shifted to the Third World. We must grasp the

implications for our struggle from the East European tragedy.

The question has been asked in this conference whether Black liberation and social revolution are on the agenda in America and the Third World. To this important question we say yes. In America, Black liberation is not only on the agenda, it is being fought for right before our very eyes. The struggle has recorded successes, it has also recorded drawbacks. It has claimed many victims, including Malcolm X, whom we are celebrating today. It has received inspiration from Africa and the Third World. It has also received demoralizingly bad examples from the continent of Africa. The struggle has seen traitors, but it has also recorded heroes. The struggle continues, and will not end until freedom has been achieved.

It does not matter to us, now, whether Black liberation in America will come in the form of territorial separateness or whether it will come in the form of a truly united, truly integrated, truly democratic, multi-racial and multi-national society. In any case, this choice does not depend entirely on African Americans. Imperialists and white supremacists will have to make their own choice. Our task is to continue to pose this

challenge, freedom or permanent struggle.

Black liberation and social revolution are on the agenda in the Third World. In Africa they have been on the agenda for at least 50 years, although with a few exceptions, what we had in the 1950s and 1960s was not independence but betrayal of independent struggle. The noise that came from Africa was not that of independent celebration, but the celebration of betrayals. Forty years later, we are yet to settle accounts with that betrayal by going beyond it.

Whether we conceive of the social revolution in Africa as the completion of anti-colonial struggle which was betrayed, or a popular democratic revolution, or socialist revolution, or a combination of two or all of these forms, the point we wish to make here is that Black liberation and social revolution are on the agenda in Africa and the Third World. And they are being fought out right now. We adopt in this struggle an internationalist posture, regarding Black liberation in America as an inseparable part of our struggle.

You may know very little about our struggle in Nigeria and West Africa. This is because imperialism and its native allies control the means of communication and the means for creating the means of communica-

tions. But let me say here, that the history of Africa is not the history of tribal wars. It is not the history of Europe's civilizing mission. It is not the history of constitutional conferences between the colonizers and the feudal and bourgeois leaders. It is not the history of treaties between the oppressed and the oppressors. It is not the history of peaceful development in homogeneous societies. It is not the history of kings and queens.

On the contrary, the main feature of African history, truthfully researched and observed, is that it is a simultaneous process of making and un-making, of struggles and betrayals. One aspect of this simultaneous process is that while certain social forces have been building and making the continent, restoring the humanity and pride of his people, other social forces, under the inspiration and support of imperialism, have been dragging the continent to second slavery through the debt question.

In Nigeria there is now an organization called "The Movement Against Second Slavery." In March last year, during an anti-I.M.F. campaign led by students, youth, and unemployed, a conservative figure of 50 was put as the death toll.

Brothers and Sisters, I say it again: the Nigeria you

read about in the newspapers and hear over the radio and television is not the Nigeria that exists in reality. The Nigeria that exists in reality is a country of hungry, exploited, desperate, deprived and cynical people. It is a country where public authority is completely alienated from the people, where falsehood, insensitivity and mass deception have been raised to a level of state policy. It is a country where there is no empathy at all felt between the governors and the governed. It is a capitalist country, quite all right, but one with an extremely corrupt, bankrupt and philistine ruling class, and one which combines all the normalities, inequalities and irrationalities of capitalism. It is a country where oppression, poverty, disease, exploitation, ethnic hostility, religious manipulation, unemployment and robbery and drug trafficking run rampant. It is a country of dialectical extremes, extreme poverty and extreme wealth. It is a fascist country where the citizens have no meaningful rights.

That is the Nigeria that exists in reality. But we are solidly against this reality as you are against the reality you face here. And together we will vanquish here and there.

I shall conclude, Sisters and Brothers, from where I

started — namely, imperialism. We, in Nigeria and West Africa are apprehensive of the emergence of a new system of imperialism. For we are aware that always as always, oppressed peoples and nations will be the victims. We are here talking of an international system which, at least in the short run, will not have to worry about the challenge of Eastern Europe. We are here talking of an emerging international system, led by the rulers of America and Britain, and which has no organized global opposition, even a potential one. Internationally, Brothers and Sisters, we can no longer take for granted the support of Eastern Europe. It was this new imperialist system that invaded Panama, an independent country, captured its head of state and put him in prison in a foreign land, and installed a new regime. All in the name of democracy, democracy which this same imperialism has denied the Black population in its own territory.

We are speaking of an imperialist system which is now threatening to engulf the world in a conflict whose end no one can predict. All in the name of oil, but under the cover of democracy and territorial integrity, aspirations which this imperialist system has refused to concede to 30 percent of its own citizens. And in

support of this imperialist intervention, wretched national leaders across the globe, leaders of client states, including Africa, fake leaders of false independence are being mobilized to confront a nation (Iraq), which with all our genuine grievances against the leadership, will in future be recognized as having tried to restore the dignity and pride of oppressed people and oppressed nations of this world.

Brothers and Sisters, we are here speaking of a new imperialist system, under whose cover, inspiration and support, two brutal West African military dictatorships have intervened in Liberia, in Liberia's civil war, to save a fellow dictator from being removed by a popular, armed, but civilian uprising. And when imperialism and its class does fail to save this dictator, they have to eliminate him. Here imperialism lives up to its own tradition of using naked puppets, and when they are no longer of any use they prop up new puppets to prevent the victory of people's will.

Imperialism and its client leadership in Africa intervened in Liberia not to end the civil war, not to restore democracy, not to save lives, but to prevent a historic example from being made in West Africa — namely, the removal of a military or militarized dictatorship in

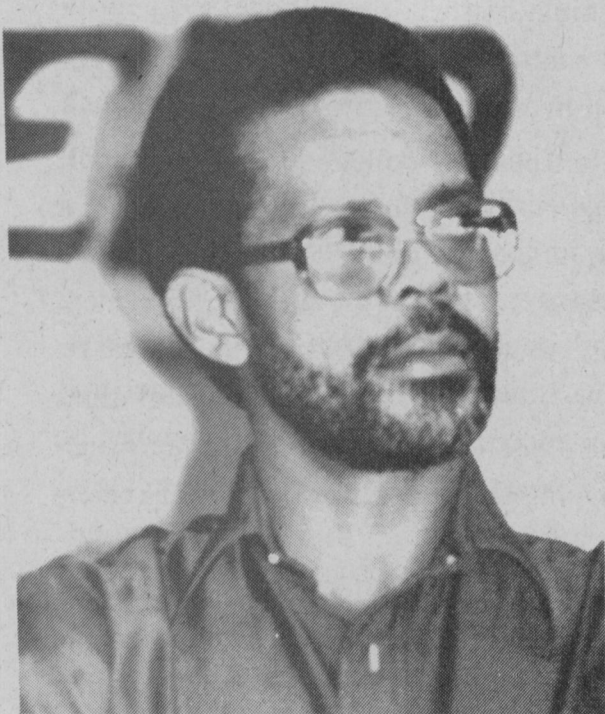
an armed popular uprising. But here imperialism is pitting itself against history. For oppressed people everywhere will continue to fight for freedom and will achieve liberation by any means necessary — including armed uprising. It was an American president who warned us in a hypocritical twist that whoever makes a peaceful change impossible, makes a violent change inevitable. We observe this teaching.

In the name of popular democratic forces in Nigeria, I apologize to the Liberian people for the crimes that are being committed against them and their country. A government of a liberated Nigeria will in future offer an apology to the state of Liberia. And I hope Liberians will understand that what is happening now is against our will.

In this renewed struggle against imperialism, let us rehabilitate our heroes by continuing their radical tradition of struggle.

Let us raise the banner of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Eduardo Mondlane, Che Guevera, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Kwame Nkrumah, Seko Toure, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, DuBois, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Paul Robeson, Steve Biko, Thomas Sankara.

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OWTU

Errol McLeod

Born May, 1944 in Trinidad. McLeod was popularly elected to the office of President General of the militant and radical Oilfields Workers' Trade Union¹ (OWTU) of Trinidad and Tobago in 1987 following the retirement of the former leader, George Weekes. He is also a member of the Central Executive of the Movement for Social Transformation, Trinidad and Tobago's newest political party founded on September 10, 1989.

Madame Chairperson, colleagues on the panel, Brothers and Sisters, Comrades, I bring you fraternal greetings and expressions of unshakable solidarity from the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union and the Movement for Social Transformation of Trinidad and Tobago on the occasion of your celebration of the life and glorious struggles of Malcolm X. I wish to thank Brother Abdul Alkalimat for inviting me to this most important conference.

My dear friends, the question today, "Are Black people free anywhere in the world?" is as important to black people as it ought to be to other people who are for the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of all the world's peoples. 'U.S. global strategy of the World Bank sponsored debt and military intervention' are intricately and intrinsically related to the first question. I shall attempt a response from a Trinidad and Tobago and Caribbean perspective:

The Caribbean, like the rest of the Black Third World, is being forced into crisis after crisis in the

name of financial adjustment. United States global strategy of military intervention and World Bank and I.M.F. sponsored debt are synonymous with economic and social bedlam and licks for the economically underprivileged. It is a strategy that is squeezing out all traces of life and economic satisfaction from those who already are virtually lifeless and absolutely economically unsatisfied.

It is a strategy that is unleashing more poverty on the poverty stricken, more starvation on the starving, and more disease and death on those already diseased and dying. This is so not only in Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Jamaica, it is so in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania and South Africa. It is so in India and Pakistan. It is so in Brazil, and Chile too.

The fundamental scourge of our people in the Caribbean, the root cause of our problems, is the capitalist economic base of the system that determines who eats, who is sheltered, and how many are employed. This system, the economic base of which separates production from ownership, exists here in the United States of America.

But this capitalist system which we have come to know but sometimes do not fully understand, is itself

going through a crisis, i.e., a new revolution of its means of production. Its crisis is that it has to constantly expand at the expense of labour. It has to grow or it will die. This system is like a vampire, it must suck blood to survive. You do not broil steaks for a vampire, it must have the rich, warm blood of a living creature to survive. Similarly, capitalism must exploit man in order for it to survive. it cannot do otherwise. That is the nature of the beast.

And for its survival in this last decade of the twentieth century, capitalism is going through an upheaval such as it has not gone through since the first industrial revolution. It seems that the tremendous social dislocation and political upheaval characteristic of the industrial revolution of 1760-1830 is being repeated today, but of course under much changed circumstances through the technological revolution which is changing the face of production.

During the industrial revolution, which, incidentally, was made possible by the huge profits generated by the slave trade and slave labour, there was in Western Europe tremendous social destruction brought about by the break-up of the feudal agricultural system, the creation of landless, homeless and indigent masses as fodder

for the stomachs of the newly developed factory system. There was child labour, unemployment and systematic repression. There was the birth of the Trade Union Movement, the American revolution, the French revolution, and the Haitian revolution. There was the end of the colonial monopoly, and the drive toward free trade and the abolition of slavery.

The new technological revolution has been brought about through computerisation, biotechnology, robotics and the application of space technology all of which have been financed by the developed countries' exploitation of the human and natural resources of the Third World. The defects of today's technology, in the hands of the capitalists, are the destruction of entire industries; the elimination of skills; the almost absolute dehumanisation and alienation of labour; massive, chronic and permanent unemployment; the marginalisation of cities, regions and, indeed, entire countries; the horrific debt crisis to which there seems no end; the loosening of traditional norms and values; the centralization and concentration of the repressive power of the state; famine, hunger and starvation in the midst of a world where grain is burned or stored underground; and the horrendous and growing threat of nuclear annihilation,

the ultimate climax of barbarism. That is where we are today. That is the world. It is over these situations that George Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev, Helmut Kohl, Margaret Thatcher and Francois Mitterand superintend.

The world has advanced so regressively that a slave of four hundred years ago reappearing at the gates of General Motors, W.R. Grace or the factory of a large manufacturer is likely to feel at home and more likely to make the comment, "Yuh mean this shit ain't done yet?" That slave was bound hand and foot but he kept his mind as he worked the plantations of those who raped his physical freedom. Today however, we have many Black people, some of them heads of governments, who although not bound hand and foot are so psychologically enslaved and so unconscious of the glory and fullness of our blackness, that they have themselves become our enemies. We know them, they are in the Caribbean, they are very much in other parts of the Third World. That though, is perhaps a separate matter for special attention.

What we are experiencing in the Caribbean are the effects of a structural realignment of international forces; the effects of a desperate attempt by a dying, decaying, rotting monster to survive. The International

Monetary Fund and the World Bank are mere instruments used to effect that survival. In Trinidad and Tobago, in Jamaica and Guyana, I.M.F. conditionalities and World Bank structural adjustment have been wreaking havoc with the lives of poor Blacks, the workers and ordinary people in those communities as has been the experience of Blacks and other minorities in the southern states and northern ghettos of the United States of America.

In our Caribbean communities, children faint in the classroom due to hunger. Others cannot go to school because their parents are unemployed and cannot afford the uniform, the books and other basic requirements. The great majority of those who manage to complete primary and secondary school are discriminated against and denied tertiary education, as that is made astronomically expensive and out of the reach of ordinary people. In an effort to bring about some relief in these regards, the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union has launched two programmes: the first provides two annual scholarships at the local University and the second is a facility that provides tuition for some six hundred students who are pursuing the Secondary School Certificate.

Structural Adjustment, dictated by the World Bank and supinely implemented by our neocolonial governments, has caused riots and mini insurrections in the Dominican Republic and Venezuela, and strikes and hunger marches in Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad. The conditions in Caribbean communities are such that General Strike and mass insurrection could well be on the order of the day. In Trinidad, a coup attempt led by some members of the Muslim community failed because it had neither the support nor participation of the organised workers and other popular institutions of peoples' power. Neither was there any support or even sympathy for the government, the majority of whose members were taken hostage. The only beneficiaries (though temporary) of the attempted coup were the thousands of marginalised inner city and urban poor who used the opportunity, created by the confused state forces, to avail themselves of much needed food and other necessities.

There are many suspicions surrounding the events of July 27th. On the one hand the government suspects everyone who is opposed to its policies as being in tandem with the Jamaat Al Muslimeen. On the other hand the organised workers suspect the armed interven-

tion of the Muslimeen as perhaps a means to derail the disciplined mass intervention that was being organised by the Unions and people's institutions following on our successful day of resistance in March of 1989.

The working people and the poor in our Caribbean societies are facing absolute pauperisation. Independence, republicanism and all the political gimmickry that the professional middle class political prostitutes try to fool us with, have not been able to hide the fact that we are, as ever before, integrated into the international capitalist economic order in a dependent subordinate fashion. We are facing our worst economic and political crisis since 1937. Indeed, Caribbean societies are facing an historical branch point that has brought to the fore, the question of striking out on a new road based on people's power or the road of open terroristic dictatorship which will entrench the political rule of the professional middle classes and the economic hegemony of the global corporations.

The use of U.S. military might in Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989) was essentially to establish who is the 'Boss' in the region. These military strikes had nothing to do with securing the freedom of oppressed people. Had it been a question of freeing people, action,

decisive action would have long been taken in Anzania- to free the 24 million Blacks who are the victims of apartheid rule. U.S. anxieties about the annexation of Kuwait to Iraq has as little to do with the interest of the Kuwaitis as the maintenance of white rule in South Africa has to do with the interest of Blacks there. The hypocrisy of the United States and Britain is exposed in their impatience with a few months of economic sanctions against Iraq while maintaining belief in some thirty years of ineffective sanction against South Africa — sanctions which white American interests continue to violate.

The international¹ capitalist economic order is financing the technological revolution in the developed countries by an immense transfer of capital from the Third World. The mechanism for this transfer is the foreign debt. Just as the old colonialists financed the first industrial revolution through plunder and profit from the new world, the new colonialists are using the so-called debt problem as a much more efficient and self sustaining mechanism to transfer capital from the less developed world. The international economic crisis can also be seen in the worsening terms of trade, the rampant protectionism and the increasing implementation of

I.M.F. conditionalities and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes.

Let us examine some of the I.M.F. dictated conditionalities and structural adjustments for Trinidad and Tobago:

1. *Devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar to effect an exchange rate of \$10 T.T. = \$1 U.S.* This will have the effect of making essential imports more expensive and at the same time reducing the purchasing power and real wage of the workers.
2. *Removal of domestic price controls on all items.* This measure is having and will continue to have a very negative impact on the lives of middle and low income earners and the unemployed. Removal of price controls on basic essentials used by the poorest of the poor has started to create a brand of desperation and destitution unknown to Trinidad and Tobago before.
3. *Further accelerated reduction in the real wage in every sector of the economy.* The effect of this particular prescription is going to be a further precipitous drop in the living standards of the unskilled and semi-skilled and a drastic redistribution of income in favour of those most able to cope.

4. *Cuts of \$2B (TT) in the annual public sector wage bill through reduction in employment levels and drastic reductions in the nominal wages of those fortunate enough to remain employed.*
5. *Deep and incisive reductions in social services including health and education.* Even before the injection of a particular dose of I.M.F./World Bank medicine our health and education service had been in shambles and a state of near "rigor mortise". Today we are pretty near to burying the corpse.
6. *Removal of import controls.* This will result in the domestic market being flooded by cheaper imports from non-Caribbean sources thus driving the final nail in the coffin of the local manufacturing and agricultural sector and creating a new wave of high unemployment and inevitable social unrest.
7. *Structural change in the taxation system and the introduction of a withering Value Added Tax.* The structural changes that have so far been done to the taxation system have shifted the financial burdens to the shoulders of the more economically unfortunate in the society. The Value Added Tax imposed at

fifteen percent on goods and services together with other elements of indirect taxation have been falling disproportionately on those least able to cope.

8. *Massive divestment of State Enterprises.* The effects of this divestment programme are the significant reduction in the stake of nationals in the capital stock of the country; the liquefying, at outrageously discounted prices, of public capital assets for current consumption; massive firing of workers deemed excess to requirement.

These prescriptions and more, too numerous to detail here, are designed to keep Trinidad and Tobago and the Third World as a source of cheap raw materials and the dumping ground for second and third grade goods from the factories of North America and Europe. Additionally, the I.M.F.'s and our governments' arguments about regularising our balance of payments and balancing our fiscal accounts are mere economic jabber.

Now, I spent some time there, dealing extensively with Trinidad and Tobago but the situations in Guyana, Jamaica, Grenada, Antigua, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Peru, Mexico are different only in terms of the degree of poverty that exists and the length of time during which the I.M.F./World Bank's second slavery has

been visiting these countries. During my stay here in New York I have visited some communities and my observation is that Blacks and the poor generally are made to exist in almost similar situations to those I have described.

In a scenario such as exists today, what then do we do? What do we as political activists, trade unionists, workers and peasants, cultural literary and academic operatives do? Is there not a way out? Can't we organise a fight back against the oppression and repression? What would Malcolm have done in his time? He would have found a means—a necessary means. Malcolm and Walter Rodney and Maurice Bishop would have held counsel with the mass organisations. We would have come together, all of us, organised labour, community organisations — all potential institutions of people's power and we would have hammered out a people's plan.

Let us therefore, today, begin in the spirit of Malcolm, Walter and Maurice to build solidarity. Let us in Trinidad and Tobago learn from and share with you here in the United States of America as you at the same time learn from us and share with us.

Let us build solidarity so that the working people's

problems here in the U.S.A. are the working people's problems in Trinidad. When your workers here shut down Texaco and Amoco, for justice and for bread, we must shut down their operations in Trinidad too and vice versa.

We must come together and work out a people's plan that would be based on the welfare of the people and not on profits. It must be a people's plan that would utilize economic resources for development, for rational, planned diversification, based on indigenous resources and indigenous needs. The small individual and fragile economies of some Caribbean islands cannot, each one by itself, provide adequately for their people. That then puts on the agenda, the question of political and economic unity of the Caribbean community.

In 1958, an attempt at integrating the islands and peoples of the English-speaking Caribbean was made and a federal government, ever ready to do the bidding of Westminster and Washington, was installed. That our West Indian Federation did not last as long as snow on the equator is well known. The break up was precipitated by the fight among the middle class professional politicians for power and ended with each one of them as a big fish in a small pond. More fundamentally

however, the federation failed because the people were not involved. It was an attempt at unity from the top. And it was essentially an arrangement that would benefit international capital and in particular Great Britain and the U.S.A.

This time around, new perspectives have to be detailed. An examination of the trends developing in Western Europe, the recent and continuing developments in the Eastern Block and the attempts presently being made to establish a common economic arrangement with the United States, Canada, Mexico will suggest that Caribbean States will either float together or we will, individually, be submerged in the turbulent waters of a raging capitalist avalanche. This time around we must be working at unity that involves the people—unity that will be forged from the bottom up. And the unity that must now be on our agenda is a unity that is not limited to the English-speaking Caribbean. The Oilfields Workers' Trade Union which I have the honour and privilege to lead, and the Movement for Social Transformation see a Caribbean that embraces and includes, Cuba; Guadalupe and Martinique. The isolation of the Cuban people by the United States administration hurts not only the Cubans who have a

right to their ideological choice, that isolation and the support given to it by Caribbean governments is hurting and adversely affecting the great possibilities for trade between Cuba and her sister Caribbean states.

Brothers and sisters, from my own experiences in the workers' movement in Trinidad and Tobago and my understanding of the experiences of the Trade Unions in Europe and North America, the issue is not race — Black and white. Of course, race is an issue but it is not *the* issue. More fundamentally, the question is one of class. It is a question of capital expansion through the exploitation of labour. How does one rationalize the policies that are enunciated and implemented by Margaret Thatcher against labour and the poor in Britain? How does one reconcile the policies enunciated and imposed by George Bush and American Corporations against the interests of American workers, Black and white alike?

How does one explain the conditions imposed against Black workers by a Black rulership in Nigeria, Jamaica and Trinidad? The issue of race, in my view, is only one of the elements thrown into the boiling pot to facilitate the uninterrupted growth of finance capital. What else accounts for the exploitation and deepening

deprivation of the underdeveloped countries of the south by the rich and developed countries of the north? What role must the struggling masses of the north, the south, the east and the west play in halting the degeneration to barbarism?

The workers of Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean, like the workers in the United States of America, the workers in Eastern Europe, the workers in Western Europe, must take stock of what is happening with our lives and our planet. We must come to understand that there is no difference between the policies of Mrs. Thatcher, George Bush, Helmut Kohl, Francois Mitterand, Toshiki Kaifu and the seemingly newest member in their club, Mikhail Gorbachev. The policies of these honourable Presidents and Prime Ministers are in tandem with the policies of General Motors, Texaco, Standard Oil of Indiana. British Petroleum, Shell and the other major global corporations. We must internalize that and learn lessons from it. We must let that inform our understanding and determination that there should be no difference in the approaches and resolve of workers wherever we may find ourselves in the world.

Let us organise and unite across lines of race and national boundaries. Let us as workers and trade union-

ists build proletarian internationalism for the peace, freedom and justice of the world. Liberty, by any means necessary!

May the spirit of Malcolm, Walter Rodney, Maurice Bishop and Steve Biko live on.

'Oilfields Workers' Trade Union
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ROBERT HAGGINS

Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu¹

A well known revolutionary political leader who founded the Umma Party of Zanzibar. Babu became Minister of Economic Development in the Tanzanian Government. He is currently living in London, England. Babu, author of *African Socialism or Socialist Africa* regularly contributes articles to journals and newspapers all over the world.

Comrades and Friends, in the last three days of this conference I have been constantly thinking what would have Malcolm been doing, or how would Malcolm have been inspired by seeing this conference almost wholly dominated by youth. This is a very significant event. Not only to the American struggle, but to the struggle worldwide.

Because it is happening at a historic moment, when the United States, for the first time since the end of the Second World War has complete hegemony on the rest of the world. This is a very, very dangerous moment in history. And we are seeing what is happening in the Gulf — it is only an expression of what can happen if the people, especially Black community in this country, are not prepared to fight.

I knew Malcolm at a very interesting moment. I met him for the first time in Cairo, when there was a crucial meeting of the second summit of the O.A.U., as well as the summit of non-aligned movement, which was to follow immediately after that. Malcolm came to my room in a very ambivalent mood, because at that very moment Harlem was burning. The youth in the upris-

ing in Harlem were calling for Malcolm. This was in July, 1964.

And Malcolm was in two minds. He wanted to go back, to come back and lead the struggle and be with the people in the struggle. But we wanted him to remain there in the conference so as to give us the feeling of the struggle and to convey to all the Third World leaders what America, the real America, was going through. I'm glad to report that we succeeded in detaining him there.

But this meeting of Operation Solidarity also gave us an insight into Malcolm's own evolution. As you know, Malcolm started his political struggle, at a community level. But he evolved into a national and international figure precisely because his politics was at the same time evolving. Bill Fletcher yesterday talked about Malcolm's appreciation of the Bandung conference of 1955. Malcolm had the vision to see the threat that a united Third-World countries would pose to imperialism. That threat has been expressed continuously since the end of the Second World War.

For instance, although American imperialism was fighting communism, so called, throughout this period you'd find that American presidents — every American

president — had to have a Third-World leader as a villain. They never fought the Russians. Truman had Kim Il Sung, the North Korean leader, as the villain and he mobilized American forces and international forces to fight this villain. Eisenhower had Mao Tse Tung as the villain, not the Russians but Mao Tse Tung. Kennedy had Castro as the villain, not the Russians but Castro. Then came Johnson — he had Ho Chi Minh as the villain, not the Russians but Ho Chi Minh as the villain. Then came Nixon. His villain was Sihanouk of Cambodia. He had to destroy that country in order to prove Sihanouk was his villain. Then came Carter — he chose Khomeini as villain. He was followed by Reagan and he chose Khaddafy as his villain. And now we have Bush with Saddam Hussein as his villain.

But is this accidental? Is this accidental or is it part of U.S. policy necessitated by the significance of Third-World countries in relation to the United States? Not because Third-World countries have nuclear weapons, but because United States contains a large population from Third-World countries in its own borders, more than any other country in the Western World.

And this population is never reflected positively in its foreign policy, it is always reflected negatively in

that foreign policy. The United States has a positive policy toward Poland, it has a positive policy toward Israel, because they reflect an internal situation. No foreign policy can be viable if it does not reflect internal needs, the needs of the people that it contains. And U.S. foreign policy reflects all these needs except the needs of the Black people of this country.

It is never reflected on African policy. When the rest of the world was clamoring for sanctions in South Africa, United States was the one to refuse to sanction South Africa in spite of the fact that it has its massive population, 25 million Black people in this country, daily and hourly being insulted by the very existence of apartheid in South Africa.

The significance of the presence of Third-World people in this country is something we need to reflect on seriously, and I think this is what Malcolm X wanted to promote.

When Malcolm X came to Tanzania, I took him to meet President Nyerere, on another historic date. Because that very day, China exploded her first nuclear bomb. And as we went to see Nyerere, Nyerere said, "Malcolm, for the first time today in recorded history, a former colonial country has been able to develop

weapons at par with any colonial power. This is the end of colonialism through and through."

And Malcolm replied, he said, "Mr. President, this is what I've been thinking all the way as I was coming from my hotel to this house."

It just shows you the thinking of Malcolm, that international struggle is not limited just to one or two countries, but international struggle must be universal — literally and effectively. And this is what Malcolm had in mind: To promote internationalism in the Third World. He saw what American policy meant and what it could mean in the event that the Third-World population inside America could be politicized and mobilized.

I'm saying that this situation is becoming even critical at this moment, because Mr. Gorbachev keeps repeating, after the end of the Cold War, he keeps repeating the phrase, "Common European Home." Now this phrase is very frightening to us in Africa especially, because we remember when Europe was unified ideologically, when the five great powers were dominating Europe, i.e., Czarist Russia, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany, France and Britain, before the Second World War. We remember what this meant to the rest of the world, especially Africa. When the

international trade, or the world trade, shifted from the Mediterranean in the fifteenth century to the Atlantic — that marked the beginning of the tragedy of Africa. Europe was at that time unified ideologically to dominate. And the history of that period — slavery, to be followed by colonialism, to be followed by neocolonialism — this is the history of "Our Common European Home."

But this situation was saved, or at least was minimized, was relieved, after the Second World War when there was tension between East and West. And some of us — most of the Third-World countries — utilized the tension, utilized the contradictions between East and West, and had some relief. But when that tension is over, that relief is gone.

That's why I'm saying we are passing through a very serious phase in history. Certainly Third-World countries, and especially Africa, is going through crisis now. And this brings me to the significance of this conference.

We have lost Big Brother, the Soviet Union, to put the fear of God into U.S. foreign policy. We have lost that tension which kept some kind of peace and stability on the world scale. Where are we to turn to now when

America is extending its hegemony in a very, very vigorous way? America is unifying, or is trying to evoke a unity of purpose in foreign policy with the emerging Europe. Europe in 1992 is forming a kind of alliance, a unified Europe. That Europe has a very damaging relationship with Africa, and now we have a contractual damaging relationship through the so-called Lome Convention. This Lome Convention ties the entire continent of Africa and Caribbean islands and Pacific islands to become neocolonies of Europe. And so there is nowhere to turn, except to toe the line that the I.M.F. will prescribe, what the World Bank prescribes, and in the process the masses must suffer.

Who is to salvage the situation? Who is to act as the bastion to stop the degradation? The significance of this conference is that responsibility lies on the Black population in this country. It lies on the Black population and the progressive forces in this country which must be led by the Black population of this country.

Your nationalism and our nationalism in Africa are the same. Our nationalism and your nationalism is nothing to do with jingoism. It is nationalism of resistance. It is a positive nationalism. And this must be expressed within the context of American hegemony.

What is affecting an African in Lagos, in Tanzania or anywhere is the same as is affecting a Black person in this country. And therefore, while we are conducting our revolutions — the young forces are emerging in Africa to conduct our revolutions in Africa — we hope the young generation of Black militants in this country will lead the struggle to ensure that United States domination does not extend into humiliating Africa once again.

This is a great responsibility, which does not need spontaneous reaction, but organized action. And if Malcolm was around, I'm sure this is what he would have emphasized. Because as Amiri Baraka mentioned the other day, just one month before Malcolm was assassinated the three of us were sitting in a hotel in New York from 8 p.m. 'til 8 a.m. the next morning talking about nothing else except this issue and the relationship between race and class. At that time there was some confusion about which is leading. And I'm not going to tell you what were our conclusions. But I'm telling you one thing that Malcolm had always emphasized: that if there is a class, and if it's the oppressed class who should lead the class struggle, then Black people should—will be in it. They have nothing to lose,

literally, nothing to lose except their chains.

And that message I think we could revive it now, that Black population in this country have specific and unique responsibility to liberate themselves. And in the process of liberating themselves, they will be liberating the rest of us.

Thank you very much.

¹Babu can be contacted c/o New Beacon Books, London.

Appendix

Malcolm X Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle

November 1-4, 1990

Borough of Manhattan Community College / New York City

Conference Program

Plenary — Session 1 Thursday, November 1, 8pm

MALCOLM REMEMBERED:

25 YEARS OF RESEARCH AND RETROSPECTIVE REFLECTION

Chairperson: Abdul Alkalimat, Conference Convener

Spiritual Blessing: Father Lawrence Lucas
 Imam Talib Abdur Hashid
 Iyalode Onisegun

Welcome: Dr. Augusta Kappner, President,
 Borough of Manhattan Community College
 Dr. Betty Shabazz, wife of Malcolm X/Malik Shabazz

Commemorative Poem: Amiri Baraka,
 Poet Laureate of Black Liberation

Panel:

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, Duke University,
 author of *Black Muslims in America*
Dr. Margaret Burroughs, founder of DuSable Museum of African
 American History, co-editor of *For Malcolm:
 Poems of Celebration*
Dr. John Henrik Clarke, Emeritus Professor, Hunter College,
 editor of *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*
Alex Haley, author of *Roots*, collaborator on the
 Autobiography of Malcolm X

Plenary — Session 2 Friday, November 2, 10am

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MALCOLM X

Chairperson: Pat Wagner, New York activist educator

Panel:

Lou Turner, *News and Letters*, co-author of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*

Molefi Kete Asante,

author of *Kemet, AfroCentricity, and Knowledge*

assisted by James Conyers, Temple University,

Clarence J. Munford, University of Guelph (Canada),

author of *Production Relations, Class and Black Liberation:*

A Marxist Perspective in African American Studies

Abdul Alkalimat, 21st Century Books, author of

Introduction to Afro-American Studies:

A Peoples College Primer

Session 3 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X IN NEW YORK

Chairperson: Preston Wilcox, Malcolm X Lovers Network

Panel:

Kwame M. A. Somburu, Socialist Action

Yuri Kochiyama, activist, close associate of Malcolm X

Bill Epton, activist, author of *The Black Liberation Struggle*

Within the Current World Struggle

Session 4 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X IN GHANA

Chairperson: Biodun Jeyifo, Cornell University

Panel:

Robert Coles, Hampshire College

Vicki Garvin, activist, worked with Malcolm X in Ghana

Alice Windom, lecturer, worked with Malcolm X in Ghana

Session 5 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X AND MUHAMMAD SPEAKS NEWSPAPER

Chairperson: Arthur Lewin, Bernard Baruch College

Panel:

Tim Johnson, *Peoples Daily World*, author of *Malcolm X: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography*

John Woodford, University of Michigan, former Editor
in Chief of *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper

Joe Walker, Trade Unionist, former New York editor of
Muhammad Speaks newspaper

Session 6 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X, ISLAM, AND BLACK LIBERATION

Chairperson: Michael Williams, Simmons College

Panel:

Benjamin Kareem, former associate of Malcolm X

Margarita Asha Samad-Matias, City College of New York

Yusuf Nurrudin, John Jay College

Session 7 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X, ART AND CULTURE

Chairperson: Maryemma Graham, Northeastern University

Panel:

Herb Boyd, cultural critic publishing in *Amsterdam News* and
the *Guardian* newspaper

Tom Porter, cultural critic, author of "Social Roots of
African American Music"

St. Clair Bourne, award winning film maker

Malik Edwards, Malcolm X Day Committee of Washington, D.C.

Session 8 Friday, November 2, 1pm

MALCOLM X AND THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP

Chairperson: Omayemi Agbeyegbe, Queens College CUNY

Panel:

Don Rojas, executive editor of *Amsterdam News*

David Johnson, George Washington University

Plenary — Session 9 Friday, November 2, 4pm

NEW RESEARCH ON MALCOLM X

Chairperson: Ron Bailey, Northeastern University

Panel:

William Sales, Seton Hall University, author of

Southern Africa: Same Struggle, Same Fight

Bell Hooks, Oberlin College, author of *Yearning: Critiques of
Race, Gender, and Class*

James Cone, Union Theological Seminary, author of *Martin and
Malcolm: American Dream or Nightmare?*

Plenary — Session 10 Friday, November 2, 8pm

**BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION:
U.S.A. PERSPECTIVES**

Chairperson: Abdul Alkalimat, 21st Century Books

Panel:

Chokwe Lumumba, New African Peoples Organization,
By Any Means Necessary newspaper

Linda Burnham, Frontline Political Organization,
Crossroads Magazine

Bill Fletcher, Freedom Road Organization, *Forward Motion* Journal

Nelson Peery, Communist Labor Party, *Peoples Tribune* newspaper

Plenary — Session 11 Saturday, November 3, 10am

**BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION:
WORLD PERSPECTIVES**

Chairperson: Julia Lynn Walker, Ida B. Wells Institute of Memphis

Panel:

Gus John, Black Parents Movement (London)

Edwin Madunagu, *Guardian Newspaper* (Nigeria)

Lydia Turner, Institute for Educational Research (Cuba)

Errol McLeod, Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (Trinidad-Tobago)

Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu, author of

African Socialism or Socialist Africa

Session 12 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

YOUTH CULTURE AND REBELLION

Chairperson: Joe Wood, *Village Voice*

Panel:

Charles Webster, Independent African Youth Movement

Lisa Jones, co-author of *Mo Better Blues*

Michael La Rose, Association for A Peoples Carnival in London

Ms Melody, rap artist

KRS-1, rap artist

Session 13 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

**CAN WE MAKE SCHOOLS WORK IN
COMMUNITIES THAT DON'T?**

Chairperson: Don Murphy, New York activist educator

Panel:

Bruce Hare, Syracuse University

Larry Rushing, Vassar College

Bob Law, radio talk show host

Gus John, Black Parents Movement (London)

Session 14 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

CAN BLACKS AND LATINOS TRUST EACH OTHER?

Chairperson: Palmira Rios, New School for Social Research

Panel:

Richie Peres, Community Service Society

Estella Vazquez, Local 1199, Hospital Workers Union

Andy Torres, Center for Puerto Rican Studies

George Priestly, Queens College

Esperanza Martel, activist

Session 15 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

DOES THE SOUTHERN STRUGGLE STILL EXIST?

Chairperson: Ebon Dooley, Little 5 Points

Community Center (Atlanta)

Panel:

Saladin Muhammad, Black Workers for Justice

(Rocky Mount, North Carolina)

Akinjele Umoja, New African Peoples Organization (Atlanta)

Albert Thrasher, Afro-American Liberation League (New Orleans)

Gary Washington, Local 527, Graphics Communications Union

Session 16 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

FIGHTING THE PLAGUES OF AIDS AND DRUGS

Chairperson: Sam Anderson, Network of Black Organizers

Panel:

Clarence Lusane, National Alliance of Third World Journalists

Sylvia Hill, University of District of Columbia

Robert Fullilove, HIV Center, Columbia University

Session 17 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

PROGRESSIVE PUBLISHERS AND MEDIA WARS

Chairperson: Michael Warr, Journalist and progressive poet

Panel:

Utrice Leid, *City Sun* newspaper

Howard Wright, Committee to Preserve the Image of Malcolm X

Aki Lumumba (Breeze), Black Panther Party newspaper committee

Session 18 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

**FIGHTING REPRESSION AND SUPPORTING
POLITICAL PRISONERS**

Chairperson: Ahmed Obafemi, New African Peoples Organization

Panel:

Dhrouba ben Wahid, former political prisoner and member of the
Black Panther Party

Jean Gibbs, Center for Constitutional Rights

Muhammad Ahmed, Network of Black Organizers

Session 19 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

HOMELESSNESS VERSUS HELPLESSNESS

Chairperson: Robert Newby, Central Michigan University

Panel:

Alicia Christian, Dignity Housing

Leona Smith, National Union of the Homeless

James Dorsey, Homeward Bound Community Service

Savina Martin, Women's Institute for New Growth and Support
(WINGS)

Session 20 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

RESISTANCE AGAINST THE RACIST WAR MACHINE

Chairperson: Samori Marksman, African and Caribbean
Resource Center

Panel:

Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition

Esmeralda Brown, U.S. Committee Against Intervention in Latin
America and the Caribbean

Carl Dix, Revolutionary Communist Party

Rabob Hadi, Palestinian Solidarity Committee

Session 21 Saturday, November 3, 1pm

**CAMPUS RACISM AND THE REBIRTH OF MILITANT
BLACK STUDENT ACTIVISM**

Chairperson: T'wana Nkrumah, Queens College

Panel:

Ray Davis, D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism

Julius Davis, United States Student Association

Lisa Williamson, National African Student Youth Alliance

Ras Baraka, Howard University Student Government Association

Cris Nisan, African Student Cultural Center, University of Minn.

Session 22 Saturday, November 3, 4pm

**BLACK WOMEN AND BLACK LIBERATION:
FIGHTING OPPRESSION AND BUILDING UNITY**

Chairperson: Vivial Morris, Freedom Road Organization

Panel:

Fran Beale, Frontline Political Organization

Vernice Miller, Center for Constitutional Rights

Barbara Ransby, Ella Baker - Nelson Mandela Center

Maxine Alexander, editor *Speaking for Ourselves*

Miriam Kramer, National Welfare Rights Organization

Session 23 Saturday, November 3, 4pm

**BLACK WORKERS UNITY AND RESISTANCE TO
ECONOMIC BARBARISM**

Chairperson: Nsia Akuffa Bea, Black Workers Unity Movement

Panel:

Gordon Dillihunt, Local 1078, American Postal Workers Union

Ashanki Binta, Black Workers For Justice

Ina Best, Goltex Workers Solidarity Committee

General Baker, Local 600, United Auto Workers Union

Errol McLeod, Oilfields Workers' Trade Union

Session 24 Saturday, November 3, 4pm

IS IT TIME FOR INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICS?

Chairperson: Doug Gills, Kenwood Oakland

Community Organization

Panel:

Ron Daniels, former executive of Rainbow Coalition, currently
announced candidate for President of the U.S.

David Johnson, Mayor of Harvey Illinois

Jitu Weusi, Unity Party of New York candidate for Governor
of New York

Jerome Scott, Southern Rainbow Education Project

Session 25 Saturday, November 3, 7pm

CULTURAL CELEBRATION FOR POLITICAL LIBERATION

November 2, 1990 Dedication

On behalf of the New African Peoples' Organization, I greet you with revolutionary love and the battle cry of the New African nation, of "Free the land!"

The conveners of this conference have resolved that today's session, November 2, be dedicated to commemorating the 11th anniversary of the liberation from prison of Assata Shakur. On November 5, 1979, the National Black Human Rights Coalition organized a march to the United Nations, 5,000-strong, to demand self-determination for the Black nation. Three days before that historic event, a New African freedom-fighters unit of the Black Liberation Army, with military precision, went into Clinton State Prison in New Jersey our most prominent political prisoner of war, Assata Shakur, a major victory for our movement.

In her message to us, Assata said that Malcolm's dream of land and independence had become her dream. Assata has been given political asylum in Cuba and continues to work in the international arena around the issues of political prisoners and prisoners of war and in the interests of the Black nation. We thank the Cuban government for the protection of our sister comrade and the work they have done historically for African people worldwide.

It is fitting that we remember not only Assata, but those who liberated her — some who are now political prisoners of war. On this historic day, in the spirit of Malcolm, we

should all stand up and give a thunderous applause to those who have given their lives for the liberation of our people and to all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Free the land! Free the land! Free the land!

Thank you!

Malcolm X: Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle

Conference Resources

	\$ U.S.
Audio Tapes	12.50
T-Shirts	15.00
Posters	7.00
Buttons	2.00
Conference Program	2.00
Malcolm X Study Guide	4.95
Commemorative Booklet	5.00

Available at the following locations:

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LONDON: New Beacon Books/76 Stroud Green Rd. 01-272-4889

NEW YORK CITY: 212/618-1673

MALCOLM X: RADICAL TRADITION AND A LEGACY OF STRUGGLE

— CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS —

O. Agbeyegbe	Vicky Garvin	C. Eric Lincoln	George Priestly
Muhammad Ahmed	Jean Gibbs	Aki Lumumba	Barbara Ransby
Maxine Alexander	Doug Gills	Clarence Lusanne	Palmira Rios
Sam Anderson	Maryemma Graham	Conrad Lynn	Luis Rivera
Molefi Asante	Robob Hadi	Abdul Malik	Don Rojas
Ronald Bailey	Alex Haley	Samori Marksman	Larry Rushing
General Baker	Bruce Hare	Esperanza Martel	William Sales
Amiri Baraka	Imam Hashid	Savina Martin	M. Samad-Matias
Ras Baraka	Cedric Hendricks	Vusi Mchunu	Jerome Scott
Nsia Akuffa Bea			Betty Shabazz
Fran Beale			Leona Smith
D. b Wahid			Kwame Somburu
Ina Best			Albert Thrasher
Ashanki Binta			Lou Turner
Herb Boyd			Akinjele Umoja
Elombe Brath			Estella Vazquez
Esmeralda Brown			Pat Wagner
M. Burroughs			Julialynn Walker
Alicia Christian			Titus Walker
John Henrik Clarke	Sylvia Hill	MeiLing McWorter	Michael Warr
Robert Coles	Bell Hooks	Vernice Miller	Gary Washington
James Cone	Jabbo	Dhrouba Moore	Charles Webster
Jayne Cortez	Biodun Jeyifo	Rowena Moore	Jitu Weusi
Ron Daniels	Tim Johnson	Vivian Morris	Preston Wilcox
Ray Davis	Augusta Kappner	Saladin Muhammad	Michael Williams
Gordon Dillihunt	Yuri Kochiyama	Clarence Munford	Lisa Williamson
Carl Dix	Miriam Kramer	Don Murphy	Alice Windom
Ebon Dooley	Michael LaRose	Cris Nisan	Joe Wood
James Dorsey	Bob Law	T'wana Nkrumah	Howard Wright
Malik Edwards	Utrice C. Leid	Yusuf Nurrudin	
Robert Fullilove	Arthur Lewin	Ahmed Obafemi	

BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

VOLUME 1

Edited by Abdul Alkalimat

U.S.A. PERSPECTIVES

WORLD PERSPECTIVES

Chowke Lumumba
Linda Burnham
Bill Fletcher
Nelson Peery

Gus John
Edwin Madunagu
Errol McLeod
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