

"Imperialism has been defeated in many limited battles, but it is a considerable force in the world . . . it strikes every day, and threatens us with new blows and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary union, shall have the peoples gratitude."

Che



**PEOPLES
COLLEGE**

1973

Peoples College

P.O.Box 5747
Nashville, Tennessee
USA

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE:

PROPOSAL FOR UNITED FRONT STRATEGY

PREPARED FOR THE ALSO RETREAT

FROGMORE, S.C. JUN 28-JUL 1, 1973

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I

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle against the barbarous world imperialist system. The keystone of this system is the USA military-industrial complex. At home we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form.

Specifically, we know the problems facing Black people in both Africa and the USA are escalating as the world crisis of imperialism leads to greater levels of exploitation. In Africa, the remains of classical European colonialism is held together by Portugal (in Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique). This has the support of the US government through direct aid (e.g. Azores Agreement of over \$430 million), and NATO military assistance. White Settler rule is based in South Africa, and extends through Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Over 300 US corporations have investments in Southern Africa amounting to over \$1 billion in 1970.

Major problems facing Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies as a result of this crisis are:

1. resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers who as colonists, will be expected to fight against liberation forces, (e.g., in Tete Province, Mozambique as a result of the Cabora Bassa Dam project where over 1,000,000 European workers are expected to settle);

2. increased levels of exploitation by the run-a-way shops from the advanced capitalist countries that are characterized by no-strike laws, forced labor, slave like wages, no right to organize laws, and neo-facist policies of political repression against all dissent;

3. expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to re-colonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multi-national corporations based in USA, Europe, and Japan.

Major problems facing Black people in the USA are:

1. Unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, racism by management and the aristocratic trade union leadership, and super-exploitation in the shops, (e.g., speed-up and compulsory overtime);

2. cut backs in social services including public welfare, public transportation, sanitation & health facilities, education, public housing, and fire protection;

3. political - police - military repression with "hit squads" like Hitler's Brown Shirts, (STRESS in Detroit is a model), full use of electronic surveillance equipment, and rising rate of Black youth in the prisons.

The essence of this historical moment inside of the USA is reflected by two inter-related processes:

A. the alienation of the state from the people by its proven corruption on all levels from Nixon to Daley, resulting in even moderate journalists suggesting impeachment and former cabinet officials charging war crimes;

B. the crisis of capitalism reflected in rising market price of gold, the falling value of the dollar, inter-imperialist competition, and the scramble to relocate production in areas yielding super profits.

II

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle with each other to put together a movement with the organizational and theoretical tools necessary to smash our enemy, and build the new world. [The Black anti-imperialist movement must unify the national liberation struggles in Africa with the Black liberation struggles in the USA. One victory anywhere in the fight against US imperialism is a victory everywhere. We fight the capitalist beast where we are to destroy the exploitation and oppression wherever it extends itself as imperialism.]

The time is ripe for a United Black People's Struggle, an anti-imperialist struggle, a struggle to merge the Black Liberation Struggle with the process of World Revolution.

As we deliberate in the Frogmore conference we must be sensitive to our historical mission, our legacy:

Ho Chi Minh on Democratic Front Campaign (1936-1939):

"It taught us that anything which is in agreement with the peoples' aspirations is supported by the people, who will actively participate in the struggle. And only in this manner, do we have a real movement of the masses. It also taught us that we must do our utmost to avoid subjectiveness, narrow-mindedness, etc."

Kwame Nkrumah (January 7, 1961):

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each others throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa."

Malcolm X (January 28, 1965):

"The organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results."

Julius Nyerere (March 1965):

"The whole argument about whether unity is achieved through a step by step process, or through political decision is in fact a futile one. Ultimately a political decision is necessary, without it unity cannot be achieved. But in the meantime, do we merely wait and hope for a miracle, leaving our development and independence forever in jeopardy, or do we make what progress we can? Surely the answer must be clear; the African states must co-operate, and undertake common activities wherever they can, and for as many practical purposes as possible. Most of all they must each do everything which can be done to safeguard and build up the spirit and emotion of unity."

Mao Tse-Tung

"If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish."

As we deliberate we must approach our decisions by being as objective as possible, (recognizing that we are collectively helping to determine the fate of our people), by demanding of ourselves that we leave with a plan for day-to-day work towards building a strong movement that will win decisive victory.

As we deliberate we must keep in mind two major questions:

1. What kind of unity is necessary?
2. How to build this new type of unity?

III

BLACK UNITY OF A NEW TYPE

The purpose of this new type unity has two aspects:

A. INTERNAL: In order for the Black Liberation Struggle to advance there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop a correct line. This unity in struggle will develop militants with experience, committed to correct views and unified with other individuals and organizations proven in the fight against imperialism. Most Black people are not committed to fully developed

ideological positions. So we must struggle to unite the movement so that we can struggle to unite the masses.

B. EXTERNAL: Our unity must be based on an anti-imperialist thrust to smash and destroy monopoly capital at home and abroad. In the most general sense this means the struggle for democratic rights, (self determination for nations, self rule for states, and self respect for people). Again, the alienation of the state from the people means that we must fight for democracy to stop facism. For it is precisely within this context that the Black Liberation Struggle is linked with the process of World Revolution.

This struggle will become more specific and concrete when:

1. the liberation struggles move toward victory and a new political reality is proven in practice;
2. as our various struggles to defeat imperialism prove correct with victory and incorrect with failure; and
3. as our enemies move against those of us who are righteous and give support to those of us who are not.

IV

BUILDING THE NEW UNITY

The key concepts of our unity must be based on our current stage of development, and changed as necessary for new stages to come. Basic ones are:

- A. Operational Unity
- B. Unite the Many to Oppose the Few
- C. Anti-Imperialist United Front Struggle
- D. United We Will Stand, Divided We Fall

This new type of unity will be new only if we can unite dif-

ferent ideological tendencies and bring together different social groups and class formations.

A. IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES: ALSC is on record as being anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-racist. Therefore, we must make that work in practice. ALSC must reach back to the broad based coalition of ALD-1972, and combine that with the growing ideological clarity of ALD-1973. We must pull together the full range of nationalists, civil rights reformers, and socialists. This will include churches (Muslim groups to Christian denominations), political parties (Black Congressional Caucus to revolutionary political parties), and economic-oriented groups (welfare rights to trade unions). Also, we must pull in all Black intellectuals and artists to utilize all magazines, newspapers, radio stations, TV programs, and cultural events as tools of struggle.

B. SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASS FORMATIONS: The test of ideological struggle is what ideas become concrete in organized action, and work in the anticipated manner. In order of importance, our front must mobilize the following:

1. Black working Class: In Nashville our key slogan is "Black Workers Take the Lead." The vast majority of Black adults work, and this is the basis of our exploitation (as it has been since slavery). Moreover, it is Black Workers who have historically carried our struggle forward. Now we include in this, employed and unemployed workers, welfare recipients, and production and service workers.

2. Youth: Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the Black community being young, (median age of Blacks was 21.2 in 1969, whites was 29.3). Youth is a time of struggle. We must

gather together Black youth from the plants, the campuses, the penal institutions, and the military reservations to create a mass mobilization of these youth in anti-imperialist struggle.

3. Middle Class Formations: The post World War II rise of the Black middle class provided leadership, organizational skill, and ideology during the civil rights era. This struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the Black middle forces will be cut back. The middle forces include the teachers, social workers, government clerks, low level trade union organizers, rank and file local police. If they are anti-imperialist by supporting democracy we must unite with them and fight together on the same side.

This is the unity of a new type needed to fight imperialism in the 1970's.

In sum we have presented four (4) points for discussion:

1. The new unity of the Black Liberation Struggle must be anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly capital in character.
2. The current period is defined by a high level of alienation of the state from the people and a crisis in US capitalism.
3. The struggle to unify Black anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement.
4. Our unity must involve all social groups and class formations, but we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD.

APPENDIX I

UNITED FRONT IS REFLECTED
 BY SUPPORT FOR FIFTH
 MANCHESTER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS 1945
 MEMORANDUM TO UNITED NATIONS

Secretariat by Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, International President of the Pan-African Congress. It states:

Organisations which supported the petition:

New York State Conference, NAACP; James Egert Allen, President
 National Council of Negro Women, Inc.: May McLeod Bethune, Founder, President
 Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Mae Wright Downs.
 National Sunday School, B. T. U. Congress; Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President.
 National Bar Association; Earl B. Dickerson, President
 West Coast Regional Office, NAACP; N. W. Griffin, Regional Secretary
 American Teachers' Association; Walter N. Ridley, President
 National Association of Coloured Women, Inc.; Mrs. Christine S. Smith, President
 Non-Partisan Interfaith Citizens Committee; C. B. Powell, A. Clayton Powell,
 Co-Chairmen.
 National Negro Congress; Max Yergan, President
 Council on African Affairs; Max Yergan, Executive Director
 Southern Negro Youth Congress; Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary
 Improved Order of Elks of the World; J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
 Negro Newspaper Publishers Association; Frank L. Stanley, President
 National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.; D. W. Jemison, President
 Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., George A. Parker, National President
 National Medical Association; W. A. Younge, President
 Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity; Augustus G. Parker, Grand Polemarch
 Second Episcopal District, A. M. E. Zion Church; Bishop W. J. Walling, President

Alpha Phi Alpha; Belford Lawson, President

Pan-African Federation, Manchester, England, Affiliated with 12 organisations of Negroes in Europe and Africa; Peter Milliard, M.D., President; T. R. Makonnen, Treasurer

League of Coloured Peoples, M. Joseph-Mitchell, Secretary

National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, representing 140 organisations, 110 towns in British West Africa; Nnamdi Azikiwe, President

Non-European Unity Committee, Union of South Africa; Z. R. Mahabane, Chairman

His Excellency Ras Has Immru of the Imperial Ethiopian Legation has expressed 'his sympathy for your efforts in the interests and welfare of the African people and to wish you success'

Nyasaland African Congress; C. Matinga, President-General

The African Development Association; F. C. Archer, Founder, Secretary-Treasurer

St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labour Union; Jos. N. France, General Secretary

Trades Union Congress of Jamaica; Ken Hill, Vice-Chairman

The Barbados Progressive League; Grantley Adams, President; H. W. Springer, General Secretary

The Barbados Workers' Union; H. W. Springer, General Secretary

International African Service Bureau; George Padmore, Chairman

Kenya African Union; W. W. W. Awori, Secretary

Kikuyu Central Association of Kenya; Jomo Kenyatta, Secretary

West African Youth League (Sierra Leone); Wallace Johnson, Secretary

Caribbean Labour Congress; Richard Hart, Secretary