Every media connected person in the world has thought about the US President Donald Trump. If you are right wing you find legitimation in his presidency and cheer for him as you emulate those policies in your own context. If you are on the left, you find in him your worst nightmare of a gangster thug taking hold of the US capitalist state to run havoc at home and throughout the world. In this talk it is my intention to join a discussion of what problems we face in this age of Trump, and to clarify the forces of opposition, of resistance, that are oriented toward the goal of Black liberation in the US context.

Much of the structural fundamentals of racist capitalist exploitation are present as they have been developing sharply over the last 50 years, but things have changed and there are new developments that require new thinking. There are many dangers ranging from old dogmatic thinking to wiping the slate clean, deifying past thinking, or acting as if the past does not matter, hence being forced to look at the present as if it had no past. New times call for new thinking, but we always stand on what we have known while being challenged to grasp the new with clear bold vision of the motion we face going into our future.
Of course, Trump is the face of this crisis in the US and throughout the world, but our analysis has to go past Trump as aberration in form and style, and connect his misdeeds with the functioning of the system he represents.

Outline
1. Our perspective (Theory)
2. Age of Trump (Problem)
3. Black Liberation (Solution)
4. Facing the crisis (Method)

Today I will dissect the two aspects of my talk title, first what is the age of Trump? And then what is the current state of the Black liberation movement aimed at confronting, resisting and overcoming these new ominous conditions. But first I will make a few introductory comments about my method and general perspective. In conclusion I will suggest some features of paths to the future that seem to be germinating in the US that connect with developments in other parts of the world. Much of what needs to be said can only come from discussions that bring people together, so what we need is not simply smart individuals who say smart things, but a fundamental transformation of political culture to keep mass discussion counteracting the monopolistic misinformation influence of corporate media and information services. Let’s make this session part of this discussion we need.
I locate myself in the intellectual tradition of historical and dialectical materialism associated with Marx and Engels, advanced by 20th century socialism, Lenin, Mao, CLR James, Claudia Jones, Chris Hani, Fidel and Che, John LaRose, and so many others. It is important to link theory with practice, and therefore the fundamental understanding of the capitalist system has to be understood in relationship to the actual experiences of socialist transformation. There is always the danger of idealism in which we assert what we believe to be possible, to making revolution on paper or on the computer screen without taking into account how world history actually unfolds.

Twentieth century socialism was in countries without fully developed industrial economic foundations so the economic goal of the revolution was to industrialize. In fact, in the 20th century both capitalism and socialism were political superstructures on the path to industrialize, sometimes with quite distinct forms and sometimes with interconnections such as the New Economic Program initiated by Lenin in 1921, or Cuba’s enclave tourism hotels, or most aggressively what has happened in China since Deng Xiaoping’s rise to power in 1978.
We have to focus on class and class struggle, while understanding that there is a conflicting unity of capitalist and working class forces, one way under capitalism and quite different under socialism, but we have not yet experienced the absolute disappearance of the capitalist class in any country.

The critical development in our time is the technological reorganization of the economy around digital tools and the Internet. The world economy is being reorganized, and on that basis all other aspects of society are being transformed, some destruction, some marginalization, and lots of new construction. This lecture is accompanied by power point slides and most of you have smart digital devices in your pockets serving you and serving the state and corporate powers that use this technology to increase their control over our behavior.

We can define three major aspects of this new stage of development by referencing three key books:
Jeremy Rifkin is but one of many who have examined how the new digital age uses digital tools and smart machines (robots) to replace workers in jobs that have been central to the last stage of economic development. Beginning with simple repetitive tasks and moving to more complex jobs production and service continues to increase output with declining demands for human labor.

This is critical because while in the short run this decreases the cost of production at the same time it decreases the demand for consumption as people need wages to buy things. We know that consumption by debt can’t last forever. Even more important is the fact that the surplus value realized as profit requires living human labor, so as machines replace human labor in the long run there is a realization crisis for the capitalists.

Point one is there is a transformation of the working class.

Shoshana Zuboff, formerly at the Harvard Business School, has advanced a theory of surveillance capitalism. Given the crisis pointed out by Rifkin and others Zuboff argues that the new digital capitalists
have turned to commodify our total human experience and use it as a market driver for managing behavior. They intend to manage our market activity, predicting and guiding us into the market to serve their interests. They also use the same program to predict and guide our social behavior, including politics, religion, and personal relationships so they can continue to dominate.

We are lured into this process by the illusion that free services are offered via google, twitter and other social media. We freely give them the data they need to control us.

Naomi Klein helps us understand how they can implement this new system with the Shock Doctrine. The war on terror is the big bang for the shock doctrine, and that of course is magnified by the shocking victory of Donald Trump, and the full impact of the Tea Party and right wing flash flood that ravaged the Republican Party.

Klein argues that in a crisis that threatens, people will acquiesce to extreme measures and that is what is dominating Trump politics in the US today.
Finally in addition to these three books we have to make sure to include the fundamental sin that strikes at the heart of the moral and political failure of the American experience. Racism is a fundamental feature of economic, political and social life. While the US can be called an advanced industrialized society, racism forces a large section of the Black population in experience similar to developing countries in the global south. Race and Capitalism is an activist-scholar initiative launched at the University of Chicago by Michael Dawson.
WHATS NEW?

The Age of Trump
1. The man
2. The country
3. The world

So now more specifically we can turn to Trump, and what a case he is. As a person he is unique, but perhaps given what is happening over here he may not be as unique as we thought, but I leave it to you to help me understand your Boris Johnson case.

The media makes it a personality crisis in the White House, but we have to pierce this illusion and see the game that is being played on us.

The first and main thing to know is that as a business hustler he has turned the federal government into a cash cow for his family. He rents a former federal post office building in Washington DC, turns it into a hotel and then makes millions from lobbyists and foreign governments spending money there in order to gain favor with him. Note that there is a clause in the US constitution that was set there to explicitly avoid such a crooked scheme.
Trump combines his family global business ventures with his affinity for autocratic rulers, big strong men he strives to emulate and impersonate. He speaks it in public and out loud for all to hear – “Article Two of the US constitution says I can do whatever I want!” He repeats the lie that he is immune from the law.
The US court system will either validate this lie or pull him down. We await the next steps in this struggle taking place within the ruling political class.

But the age of Trump is deeper than this outrageous person, it is part of the strategic orientation of the US ruling class. A good example is provided by Samuel Huntington, former director of the Center for Strategic Studies at Harvard University.

His book *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order* (1996) put forth the thesis that Islam was a fundamental enemy for the West and had to be fought to continue US global domination. This was the rationale for the Iraq War, and has been exposed by the recent release of the Afghanistan Papers that parallel the 1970s Pentagon Papers in exposing the lying hypocrisy of the US government – Bush, Obama, and Trump.

He followed this book with *Who Are We: The Challenges to America’s National Identity* (2004), a fundamental racist definition of US identity that moves beyond the old KKK attack on Blacks, Jews and Catholics, saying they have been turned into protestants and allies in maintaining
US dominance in the Middle East, and Black people have been controlled through a layer of misleaders and police suppression. The danger he says is the Latinos, mainly Mexicans who he suggests are a new fifth column movement in the US. They have their own version of Catholicism, speak Spanish at home, and move back and forth to Mexico. Huntington argues that this creates a national security danger. This book is the justification for Trump’s fixation on building a wall across the Mexican border.

This reveals his racist outlook that is one of the main aspects of his perspective and why he has such unwavering support. He said so after a march in Charlottesville Virginia and a murder there by fascist forces, and he demonstrates it further by caging children at the Mexican border under inhumane conditions leading to family break-ups and loss of life.

This is being driven by the fear being promoted by racists facing a demographic transformation of the US population making European immigrants a minority, so the majority will be African Americans, Latinos, and Asian people. On a national level a majority of public
school students are Black and Brown, and in the next 20 years or so the demographic projections are that the majority of the American people will not be white descendants of Europe but from the global south.

The age of TRUMP facing Black people
1. A new form of capitalism
2. A hard political swing to the right
3. Resurgence of violent racist attacks
4. The threat of world war
5. Environmental crisis
6. Decay of bourgeois democracy

In sum, the Age of Trump can be summed up as a new crisis in the capitalist system. The media hides this crisis by covering over Trump’s leadership as a personality disorder, but at base he continues the patterns of capitalist crisis – class polarity, the danger of world war, the decay of democracy, added with the new emerging environmental disaster.

Trump is great at snatching the headlines, aided by a capitalist media being entertainers not explainers. And yet deep in the book literature one can find discussions of the actual dangers we face. Much of it is in defense of the system arguing that it is still possible for the system to correct itself.
But the cat that is being let out of the bag is this: the democracy of the capitalist state itself is a class based hypocrisy built on lies and deceptions.

What is the relationship between reform and revolution?

For us we return to the fundamental task of thinking about how we can intervene and change things, for the better. This brings us to the question of reform versus revolution, a change in the system and a
change of systems. Both Martin Luther King and Malcolm X are our best examples of thinking about this question.

But there is a fundamental difference between their time and the times we are currently living in. They were at a time of an expansion of the industrial economy in which reforms were possible, there was surplus that was available to secure and sustain the supply of human labor. Jobs were available and aspects of the welfare state were maintained.

In our time the declining demand for human labor in value added material production has led to a destruction of the welfare state, rapid expansion of the prison system, and demonic measures of social control including opioids, social media, and extreme ideologies.

“The 1619 Project is a major New York Times initiative to correct the record, reframing the country’s history by placing the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the center of the national narrative.”

The ruling class also makes efforts to acknowledge Black history and therefore make it seem that the system has within its capacity to promote efforts to make amends and confess the errors of its past ways.
The New York Times has launched its 1619 project (with reference to the origin of the slave trade) to present a more accurate history of how Black people have been oppressed. But unless this is tied to a program of aggressive action for change it can only serve to legitimate that newspaper, not to change things. Reformist thinking basically leads to the beneficiaries of this history of oppression and exploitation being sorry, but not implementing a fundamental program of reparations.

**Art and struggle:**
**Commemoration of an 1811 Slave Revolt**

Another current phenomenon is the use of art to link peoples thinking past reform to revolution. An artist from Chicago who has taken the name of Dread Scott organized several hundred people to stage a reenactment of an 1811 slave revolt in Louisiana, the largest of such actions. They marched several miles in costume to raise consciousness that this is a time when we need mass action for revolution.

This was an art project with revolutionary intentions, but the people who wanted to make it a project linked to and based on the actual forces fighting for change were marginalized. So this became a revolutionary project delinked from the actual forces fighting for reforms today.
The main tendency today is spontaneity. People are attacked and people fight back. This has led to the mass slogan “Black Lives Matter.” This is a profound affirmation of life at the crisis of survival, and yet it reflects retreat, a regression since the mighty slogan of “Black Power” was raised as a strategy for social change.

Spontaneity is a critically positive development, but it is limited, and can’t be sustained. It does, however, create the historical possibility of building a movement.

This brings us to a discussion of current developments of forces fighting for Black Liberation. It is possible to think about this stage in the development of the Black Liberation Movement as forces focusing on specific battlefronts but not yet a cohesive movement for systemic change. As of yet, there are no generalized charismatic leaders or organizations with loyalty and followers across all battlefronts. Some efforts are being made to collectivize the development of a general program for Black liberation, but this process is not yet a general trend.
We also lack global models of revolutionary transformation as previous generations had the revolutions in Russia, China, Cuba and the national liberation struggles in Africa. But there are efforts to unify the battlefronts in a process of a theorizing dialogue. Now I would like to walk us through a look at 12 such battlefronts by pointing to one or more organized forces in play.
Racist terror at the local level of police injustice has created a culture in which police murder is justified and allowed because the police say it was ok. Murder is a daily event by the police or some kind of security service protecting capital by killing mainly Black and Brown men. This research now cited by all movement forces was done by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, allied with the New African People’s Organization, formerly the Republic of New Africa.

The associations that organize and represent the police are aligned with right wing political forces. It must be remembered that public police forces in the US south originated with the slave patrols create by state governments to police slaves to prevent them escaping to freedom. Managing Black labor has been at the heart of the police mission from the very beginning.

One of the new developments is the 2015 founding convention of the Movement for Black Lives. The Black Lives Matter spontaneous forces held a convention in Cleveland, Ohio but failed to provide leadership for the overall movement due to sectarian factionalism and disruptions in a democratic movement culture. They limited attendance and even prevented a Palestinian delegation from joining in the meeting.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression held its founding convention this past November (2019) in Chicago attended by over 1200 people. This is an initiative with Black left leadership, some from the old CP (Angela Davis and Frank Chapman) and some from the new Left forces (Freedom Road Socialist Organization).

Black August is an annual program of struggle dedicated to the memory and necessary liberation of the men and women of the Black liberation movement incarcerated in US prisons they call modern gulags and concentration camps. Some Black Panthers have been imprisoned since the 1970s, famously including Mumia Abu Jamal since 1982.
The context for the organization of Black workers is still the trade union movement. In this context the fundamental contradiction continues to be between the headquarters of the trade union bureaucracy and local district organizing. At the national level the largest network of Black workers remains the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) closely networked with the leadership of the AFL-CIO. New initiatives include worker centers in key metropolitan areas, including both organized and unorganized workers for direct benefits, and participating in local social struggles. These are found from California, to Mississippi and in the large cities of the East Coast.

One key organization now in its fourth decade is Black Workers for Justice. Based in several cities in North Carolina, BWFJ calls itself a social justice union organization coordinating work with several union locals and social struggle organizations. Its impact is reflected in its annual Martin Luther King dinner that features a national speaker and is usually attended by from three to five hundred members and supporters. Many of its leaders are key trade union organizers like
Saladin Muhammad (electrical workers), Ajamu Dillihunt (postal workers), and Shafeah Mbalea (hospital workers)

Its major focus is the US South.

“The Southern Workers Assembly (SWA) is a network of local unions, worker organizations, and organizing committees, committed to building rank-and-file democratic social movement unionism (unionism with a social justice agenda, defined by and accountable to the rank-and-file) as a foundation for organizing, uniting and transforming labor power throughout the South.”

The south is the historic region of slavery and cotton plantations. It carries the legacy of slavery and is still the region with the greatest concentration of Black people both urban and rural. Two major nationality issues emerge here, everywhere is the issue of class unity between Black and white workers, and in the southwest and Florida is the issue of class unity with Latino workers, although more diversity is developing.

The region is fast hosting global manufacturing investment, especially in auto assembly, in search of cheap non-union labor in right to work states. Toyota has invested 5.3 billion dollars in Kentucky employing 7,000 workers producing one car per minute. Mercedes since 1997 has invested over 6 billion dollars in Alabama producing over 3 million cars.
The Southern Workers Assembly is a network of union locals, workers centers, community based working class organizations. They hold political education weekend session on a quarterly basis involving 75 to 100 workers from several states and local organizations. They include Black, white and Latino workers.

Another strong initiative on straight class terms is the rebirth of the Up and Out of Poverty Movement. They base their mission as a moral challenge to the social, political and economic contradictions of capitalism and the US state. The leadership of this movement includes Rev Liz Theoharris, a minister based in the New York Union Theological Seminary (historically known for the Social Gospel teachings of the Niebuhr brothers), and Rev. Barber, a NAACP activist in North Carolina. They are reactivating the Poor Peoples Up and Out of Poverty Network with other such organizations such as the Welfare Rights Organization, and the National Union of the Homeless.

Their main tactics are mass arrests at state capital demonstrations, mass lobbying efforts, and training of organizers as cadre for the movement. This cadre development is based on the study of three key
texts, Capital by Marx and Engels, Black Reconstruction by W E B DuBois, and the Bible. They report being active in 30 states.

The largest voting bloc in the US is not the Democrats or the Republicans (according to the Gallup Poll each with 28% of the electorate), it is the independents (with 41% of the electorate). The GOP is the smallest in many states, but they win by devious means. Their two main tactics are voter suppression and gerrymandering boundaries of political districts. In Wisconsin, they just dropped 250,000 voters from the rolls with trumped up reasons (pun intended). On the national level, it is estimated that they will attempt to drop up to 10% of voters, mainly Black, Brown, and poor.

This is a battlefront in which Black mainstream leadership is active. President Obama and his former Atty General Holder are mainly focusing on the reapportionment that will take place based on the 2020 census. After every 10 year population census the lines of political districts are redrawn. As of now a minority party controls the electoral process, suggested by the 2016 presidential election results when Clinton won the popular vote but Trump won the electoral
college and became president, based on only 60% of eligible voters voting. The GOP controls state governments that do the redistricting.

Stacy Adams, the Black woman who ran for but lost the governorship of the state of Georgia, is actively working against voter suppression. Strange but true, her opponent who won the governorship was also the agent of the state who managed Georgia’s voter suppression. He eliminated enough Black and poor votes in Georgia to win the election.

Even with this danger from the right wing, socialism is being discussed as part of mainstream political discourse. Members of the Democratic Socialists of America have won local elections in many places, including big cities like the Chicago City Council, in that case seven of fifty seats. Some Black liberation leaders are running for office in the case of Newark with Mayor Ras Baraka (son of Amiri Baraka) and Jackson Mississippi with Mayor Antar Lumumba (son of Chokwe Lumumba), but also people like Larry Hamm the leader of People Organized for Progress, now running for Senator in New Jersey. This raises the difficult question of what can elected officials do to advance the cause of Black liberation by operating within the system without a revolutionary party.

“The Black Queer Feminist (BQF) is a political theory and practice developed out of Black feminist and LGBTQ movements for liberation. Together, this praxis (thought + action) is like putting on a pair of glasses in order to understand the conditions of Black people and what we must transform in order to liberate all oppressed people. Lenses, of any kind, impact how we see the world. They magnify, protect, and clarify.”
The battlefront against homophobia has become much more intense over the last decade. LGBTQ activists have organized and challenged mainstream policy and practices as well as movement cultural norms and political programs. This has been one of the key issues of the spontaneous leadership of the Black Lives Matter motion.

A key example is the recent development of Black Youth Project 100. This is an organization founded by faculty at the University of Chicago (Cathy Cohen) and the University of Illinois in Chicago (Barbara Ransby). They argue that the Black liberation movement must start from a queer feminist perspective. Based in Chicago they have chapters in about a dozen cities throughout the country.

Black gay activists are a common force within the Black liberation movement, but the struggle over priority in political program remains a hot issue of contention.

“The Black Alliance for Peace (BAP) seeks to recapture and redevelop the historic anti-war, anti-imperialist, and pro-peace positions of the radical black movement.”

On the international front Black activists have focused on Cuba and Palestine, and key hotspots in the African Diaspora, especially in South America. The crisis in African countries has confounded Black movement organizations who seem not to have a clear policy program
of support nor revolutionary forces to be aligned with. This is critical when it comes to a place like South Africa and the role of class struggle, the role of the ANC backed police, the contradictions in the trade union movement and the proliferation of political parties.

The key organization taking up international issues is the Black Alliance for Peace led by Ajamu Baraka. This organization grew out of the movement for human rights. Baraka gained national visibility when in 2016 he ran as vice presidential candidate for the Green Party.

BAP members lead demonstrations, issues many press releases on key international developments, send delegates to international conferences, and joins in unity building activities.

As the social and economic crisis deepens for poor people and working people in general, another aspect of the fight for Black liberation focuses in on self-determination for survival. Oppressed people everywhere have to cooperate to survive, and such practices have deep roots among Black people in the US.
Cooperation Jackson, based in Jackson Mississippi the state capital with an over 80% Black population, is a project advocating building cooperative economics as a base for sustaining the fight for Black liberation. The mandate is for self-reliance. Its origin in within the New African Peoples Organization (formerly the Republic of New Africa) and its activist spin off the Malcolm X Grass Roots Movement. Its main leader is Kali Akuno.

It is modeled on the Spanish project of Mondragon, with the goal of starting a mass movement for a grassroots transformation of the economy. The key contradiction is that the city government is currently run by forces coming from the same social origins, but not working in tandem with each other. Antar Lumumba, son of Chokwe Lumumba elected when the movement forces were united, now presides in the city without such coordination. They have yet to work together, one inside the system an the other outside.

Of course, everyone in the world is facing climate disaster. This includes extreme weather that is attacking most of us right now, not decades in the future. But there are specific environmental attacks
Black and poor people are facing in the US. One big example is water. On the one hand there is the privatization of water, and on the other hand there is the crisis of water quality as many cities are facing lead contamination of their water supply. Of course this was nationally recognized in Flint, Michigan, and then Newark, New Jersey, but there is actually a national epidemic. Over 3,000 urban areas were recorded to have lead levels in their water to be twice that of Flint, Michigan.

There is a deep far reaching environmental crisis that faces Black and poor communities that has two main features. This is being fought as a battlefront by groups such as the North Carolina Environmental Justice Network. There is a break down of the waste disposal infrastructure so that pipes burst and people face human waste in their front yards, sidewalks, and backups in their homes. This is exacerbated by the seas of waste coming from the intense transformation of family farms to factory farms where by thousands of domestic animals are confined and their waste builds up as a toxic source of pollution in the water system, the air, and the soil.

This North Carolina network educates the communities, supports protests and legal challenges, and connects with national and international organizing programs. There are many such networks throughout the country.
Just as in the global reach of the colonial systems, the US is full of symbols of slavery and racist oppression, from street names to public monuments and named buildings. The national narrative is anchored in such symbols, and celebrated in museums, national parks, holidays, and cultural traditions such as the racist content of the third verse of the US national song “The Star Spangled Banner.”

Just as here in the UK and in South Africa there are efforts to take these symbols down. A particularly important local movement develop in New Orleans under the leadership of a veteran activist Malcolm Suber.

The racist generalization made in response to Al Qaida or ISIS becomes an attack on all Muslims. The largest conversion to Islam in the US is by African Americans, not only in the Nation of Islam, but more generally in mainstream tendencies, Sunni and Shia.

Muslims for Social Justice is but one of many formations that mobilize Muslim social activists to fight for social justice, and in this case to fight against the racist attacks on Black people.
This is but one of the many religious oriented groups making up a force for Black liberation

Finally, for our 12th battlefront we have to mention the courageous fighting spirit and action of students. Students have been active militants in every stage in the development of the Black liberation struggle. Sometimes as recruits into all battlefronts, and sometimes as their own autonomous force on the battlefront of mainly higher education.

Black Studies programs, the last great systemic innovation spearheaded by Black students, have been delinking from their radical origins in the 1960s and 70s. This means that direct mentorship toward activism is not a major current trend on campus, but that is only the surface of campus life. It turns out that students remain a reserve for activism that springs to life in a crisis. This has been demonstrated with the Black Lives Matter demonstrations particularly against police violence.

Students are most of all engaged on campus issues. They fight to defend Black faculty and Black Studies programs. They fight against
racist symbols on campus. Sometimes the fight gets so intense that student athletes get involved, prepared to risk their financial support, but holding the leverage of bringing down the money supporting the sports program of the institution. At the University of Missouri Black members of the football team helped oust a racist president and chancellor. This slide indicated their struggle in 2015.

**Contradictions** Facing the Movement in the Age of Trump

1. Generational loss
2. Autonomy versus subsidy
3. Virtual versus Face2Face
4. Ideological sectarianism
5. Unity of battlefronts

So far it is clear that the fight for Black liberation is being waged battlefront by battlefront. We can now identify contradictions impacting these motions, contradictions limiting the current possibility for convergence and the launch of a more general inclusive Black liberation movement. It is also true that working through these contradictions are precisely what is needed for a new stage of struggle.
As in the rhythm of life itself, each new generation must find its own way, following or rejecting what came before. When veteran movement leaders die we lose memory – we can name many recent loses (Top left to right Jack O’Dell, Harold Rogers, General Baker; Bottom left to right Jayne Cortez, Chokwe Lumumba, Faye Bellamy, and Amiri Baraka).

The crisis of memory loss means that recovery is either in the archives, is the work of those who survive and remain productive, or falls to activist scholars of the new generation. Of course, there are strengths and weaknesses of each, but what we can state clearly is that recovery/memory is essential.

Some of the youth have raised the slogan “This ain’t your grand mama’s movement” that runs the risk of negating any knowledge of the past by overstating the possibility of facing the new conditions. On the face of it this is true, but only to an extent. Even one activist shouted in a news camera “We don’t need to read no books to be revolutionary!” Generational memory loss is at a crisis level.
A relatively new development impacting the movement is the scale of a liberal layer of funding being spread to every battlefront to train activists in alignment with foundation and NGO positions. In each case this can be traced back to funding from the capitalist class. Young activists are seduced with large professional level salaries, mobilized into fully funded training workshops over a weekend with hotel and meals provided for 50 to 200 participants, and given a political orientation that routinizes slogans and political programs.

For some this seems like the best of times, but for those with historical knowledge and experience navigating the terrain of the reform struggle it is a pervasive system of cooptation that prevents the logic of independence and radicalization that has been our experience in the line of march toward Black liberation. There is a critical difference between using donor money to socialize an emerging generation of young activists into a reformist cul-de-sac, versus organizations firmly rooted in experience with stable mature political leadership who appropriate funding without submitting to it as the main source of their survival. As a Texas populist said, even dead fish go with the flow.
When the assumption is not to base the struggle on the oppressed, it is devastating to face the question for any movement program “whose going to pay for it?” We all know the old saying, “He who pays the piper calls the tune.”

BOLD is such a dominant NGO type organization. The for this cul-de-sac cooptation is NGOism.

Theory of Three Waves
1. Spontaneous fight back
2. Cadre development
3. Linking reform to revolution

So we come to the end of this talk.

We pointed to the economic foundation of the age of Trump, as well as his deflections based on creating media about his personality disorder. We are living in a new stage of capitalist development, and this requires deep study, so we know the battlefield on which we struggle.

We laid out short summaries of 12 battlefronts and key initiatives to illustrate the current stage of the Black liberation movement, and I have not included all relevant battlefronts such as health, women, the elderly, housing or the arts. The listing of BLM organizations will be helpful to you to monitor and study how we progress based on what
we say and not just what gets in the mainstream media. Please use the directory I have handed out, and again, this is not a complete list.

Finally, it must be admitted that there is no obvious road map to freedom. While there are visions of what freedom means, experience is always a stubborn reality check on all our visions. That’s why collective study and dialogue is the method we have to use, to read and to summarize experience.

The 2020 election this year is critical. There is such disappointment in the Democrat party that many radical militant forces are not engaged in fighting to depose Trump. This might be a strategic error.

The masses of people have always found ways to fight back, to resist, to revolt. To advance our movement we need to develop ourselves and others as cadre, serious students of the struggle, bringing professional skills to the organizations in which the masses fight. In this way we can link reform to revolution, and keep our vision of freedom while we fight in the daily struggle on each battlefront.

We posit a theory of three waves:

1. Spontaneous fight back
2. Cadre development
3. Linking reform to revolution

It is necessary but dangerous to sum up. We need simple lessons to guide us through a complex process, yet these lessons must be constantly reviewed lest we fail to pay attention to the dangers and challenges that we confront.
Main lessons to go forward for Black Liberation
1. Class struggle
2. Black unity
3. Building local organizations
4. The goal is post-capitalist freedom

But this we know – we face a new capitalism and our struggle is for a post capitalist future. Our struggle requires that we fight for Black unity while anchoring the struggle in alignment with the necessary fight of the working class as a whole.

Thank you!
Lets have a conversation

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ORGANIZATIONS OF THE U.S. BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

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A. Philip Randolph Institute
http://www.apri.org/

Africa Today
https://kpfa.org/program/africa-today/

African American Intellectual History Society
https://www.aaihs.org/

African Heritage Studies Association
https://africanheritagestudiesassociation.org/

African Peoples Socialist Party
https://apspuhuru.org/

All-African People’s Revolutionary Party
https://aaprp-intl.org/

Assata’s Daughters
https://www.assatasdaughters.org/#home

Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians
http://www.aacmchicago.org/

Association for the Study of African American History and Culture
https://asalh.org/

Association of Black Women Historians
http://abwh.org/

Audre Lorde Project
https://alp.org/audre-lorde-project-solidarity-ferguson

Beloved Community Center
https://www.belovedcommunitycenter.org/

Black Agenda Report
https://www.blackagendareport.com/

Black Alliance for Just Immigration
https://baji.org/

Black Alliance for Peace
https://blackallianceforpeace.com/

Black Liberation Collective
http://www.blackliberationcollective.org/

Black Liberation Theoreticians
http://www.brothermalcolm.net/SOLDIERS/

Black Lives Matter
https://blacklivesmatter.com/

Black Men in Unions

Black Panthers Legacy: It’s about time
http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com
Black Socialists of America  
https://blacksocialists.us/

Black Students for Revolution  
https://www.facebook.com/BSFRUIUC/?fref=ts

Black Workers for Justice  
http://blackworkersforjustice.com/

Black Youth Project 100  
https://www.byp100.org/

BOLD  
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Chicago Anti-Eviction Campaign  
http://chicagoantieviction.org/

Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project  
https://crrj.northeastern.edu/

Civil Rights Movement Archive  
https://www.crmvet.org/index.html

Civil Rights Teaching  
https://www.civilrightsteaching.org/

Coalition Against Racism  
https://www.facebook.com/GreenvilleNC.CAR/

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists  
https://www.cbtu.org/

Color of Change Project  
https://colorofchange.org/

Cooperation Jackson  
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December 12th Movement  
http://d12m.com/about/

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Dream Defenders  
https://www.dreamdefenders.org/

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https://ellabakercenter.org/

Equal Justice Initiative  
https://eji.org/

Fannie Lou Hamer Cultural Center  
http://www.fannielouhamer.info/cultural_center.html

Freedom Archives  
https://freedomarchives.org/

Global African Worker  
https://www.globalafricanworker.com/

Gulf Coast Center for Law and Policy  
https://www.gcclp.org/

I Mix What I Like  
https://imixwhatilike.org/

IgniteNC  
https://ncignite.org/

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https://ibw21.org/

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https://ifconews.org/

League of Revolutionary Black Workers Legacy  
https://www.revolutionaryblackworkers.org/
Left Roots
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https://www.lablackworkercenter.org/

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http://brothermalcolm.net/

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https://www.mxgm.org/

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https://thekingcenter.org/

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http://www.eversinstitute.org/

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http://mhoodies.org/

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https://policy.m4bl.org/

Muslims for Social Justice
https://muslimsforsocialjustice.org/

NAACP
https://www.naacp.org/

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National African American Reparations Commission

National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
https://naarpr.org/

National Black Food Justice Alliance
https://www.blackfoodjustice.org/

National Black United Front
https://www.facebook.com/blackunitedfront/

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https://www.ncbl.org/

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https://www.ncobps.org/

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National Domestic Workers Alliance: We Dream in Black
https://www.domesticworkers.org/we-dream-in-black

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New Jim Crow
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New Georgia Project  
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North Carolina Environmental Justice Network  
https://ncejn.org/

Organization for Back Struggle  
https://www.obs-stl.org/

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https://pacapower.org/

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http://njpop.org/wordpress/

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https://www.facebook.com/PG.RepublicOfNewAfrika/

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Scholars for Social Justice  
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SNCC Legacy Project  
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Southern Movement Assembly  
http://southtosouth.org/

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https://www.splcenter.org/

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http://southernworker.org/

Southerners On New Ground (SONG)  
https://southernersonnewground.org/

Southsiders Organized for Unity and Liberation  
http://www.soulinchicago.org/

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http://www.spirithouseproject.org/

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http://takeemdownnola.org/

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https://www.uppmaryland.org/

United Black Student Unions of California  
https://www.facebook.com/joinubsuc/

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http://www.ushrnetwork.org/

Workers Center for Racial Justice  
https://www.facebook.com/center4racialjustice/