

# BLACK LIBERATION MONTH 81

## NEWS

Peoples College

Tenth Anniversary Issue  
P.O. Box 7696 • Chicago, IL 60680 U.S.A.

## FEBRUARY

Annual Black Liberation Month

## FORUM

BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

By Abdul Alkallmat, chair of Peoples College

Timbuktu: The Black Peoples Bookstore

2530 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago

Saturday, February 14, 1981 7 p.m. FREE

# BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

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

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

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

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

### THREE SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLES

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

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## Why Black Liberation Month

Black Liberation Month is our attempt to unite with the founders and supporters of Negro History Week, and join their emphasis on study with our emphasis on struggle. Moreover, the concept of Black Liberation Month more accurately reflects the needs of our movement, particularly the need to build on the massive participation of people in the upsurge of struggle during the 1960's.

Carter G. Woodson, noted Afro-American nationalist historian, founded Negro History Week in 1926. In addition to the newspaper column of J.A. Rodgers, this was the major source of information that Black people had about their history. Every year in schools, churches, civic and political organizations, Negro History Week has been a time for historical reading and discussion.

We believe that Negro History Week has made a great contribution to mass awareness of Black History. Moreover, the recognition of Negro History Week has caught on, and has become an intellectual tradition in the 20th Century Afro-American experience. However, times have changed considerably since 1926. In political and cultural terms, the time has come to transform our orientation: from Negro to **Black**, from history to **liberation**, from week to **month**.

The revolutionary upsurge of the 1960's is our most recent historical experience of massive militant protest. It continues to be a rich source of lessons for current and future struggles. Black liberation month unites with Woodson's effort, but does so by raising it to a higher level based on the lessons of the 1960's.

In sum, our study of history must be linked with the revolutionary history of the Black liberation movement. Our goal is not simply to symbolically institutionalize a change in our yearly calendar of events, but to use this month as one more way to raise the consciousness of the masses of people about the historical nature of exploitation and oppression, to unite people around a correct political line, and to mobilize people to actively take up the struggle for Black liberation.



# AFRICA: A NEW AGENDA FOR THE 1980'S

### AFRICA MUST BE FREE!

For many years, especially since the 1950's, this slogan has mobilized the enthusiastic support of the U.S. people, especially Black people. While we think this continues to be a correct slogan, we must update and further our analysis to keep up with dynamically changing conditions in Africa.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the target of the Africa support groups was various European colonial powers who maintained control of Africa. Only two countries had independence before 1957 but by 1970 this had grown to 40. In the 1970's, the main emphasis was on the three countries still dominated by the Portuguese: Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola and the three countries dominated by illegal settler governments: Azania (South Africa), Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

In the last decade, we have witnessed the

success of the liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism, and the recent victory of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, led by Z.A.N.U. and the Patriotic Front.

The final bulwark of external settler domination in Africa is SOUTH AFRICA. It is the most industrialized country in Africa and thus has the greatest potential to help free Africa when it is liberated from white racist rule. But today it remains the greatest obstacle to a free and liberated Africa, and must remain the main target of our efforts.

Africa today is at a critical turning point that extends beyond the struggle in Southern Africa. This can be seen in the situations facing independent African countries:

(1) Countries that did not wage armed struggle for their liberation but negotiated with their colonial rulers for their freedom are now experiencing increasing military coups and internal wars. Examples include Ethiopia, Liberia, Uganda, Zaire, Sudan, and other countries.

(2) Countries that fought for liberation, and generally tend to be more radical in their politics, are experiencing intensifying post-liberation struggles in their struggle for national development including armed conflict. (Examples include the recent coup in Guinea-Bissau, inter-party struggle and purges in Angola, recent struggles between ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe and inner-party struggles inside ZANU.)

For the 1980's, we must develop a new analysis that takes account of these developments and can guide us in our continuing efforts to support the struggle for the complete liberation of Africa.

### EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ENEMIES FACE AFRICA

Two enemies continue to face Africa. Imperialism or external intervention by other countries in African affairs continue to pose the greatest threat. But it is increasingly clear that Africa is more and more facing the

intensification of internal class struggle among the African people themselves. In other words, now that most of Africa has been freed of the more obvious external colonial enemy, African people are struggling over the direction that their countries will take. In whose interest will African countries operate: in the interest of the masses of Africans, or in the interests of a small particular group of home grown African exploiters.

In the years ahead we must be careful to distinguish between three kinds of class struggle in Africa.

(1) **ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES** continue to be fought against the direct rule by outsiders. The most blatant case is racist settler rule in Azania (South Africa), and South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

(2) **ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES** involve the continuing fight against structural

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# UNITY: ESSENTIAL PR

In response, Blacks unite around sentiments of national unity that are rooted mainly in our will to survive: "in unity there is strength" and "if we've got the same problem, then we should work for a common solution." In some cases this follows the established Black leadership and is contained within the system, e.g., the response to the murders in Atlanta under the Black mayor (Maynard Jackson). However, in other cases, this becomes a violent eruption whereby masses of Black people rebel against the system, usually against economic targets but with the potential of focusing on political targets as well (e.g., Miami and Chattanooga). In most cases, the problems are experienced by poor Blacks. Because of their poverty, they are attacked as the most vulnerable Black people. In this way, the current crisis leads to an increase in the significance of racial/national oppression and a response of militant nationalism.

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

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

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

For example, the Reagan right wing government plans to destroy the minimum wage by hiring youth at starvation wages. This will save the bosses money, by using youth as scabs to replace higher paid adult workers. Black and white youth will both be dragged down by this, as will Black and white workers. A similar impact on both Blacks and whites will come down with the threatened cut in social security and food stamps.

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

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

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

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

Black Power of the old type in 1967 was consciously reformist—"the last reasonable opportunity" for capitalism to avoid revolutionary change. Black power of the new type—Revolutionary Black Power—fights for immediate reforms but understands that only fundamental revolutionary change will free Black people in the U.S.

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

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

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

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

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

## TOWARD THREE REVOLUTIONARY UNITIES

Black unity must be fought for on three basic levels: in struggle over concrete issues, in conferences through discussion and persuasion, and in ritual acts of cultural resistance.

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

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

### A. BUILDING UNITY AROUND CONCRETE ISSUES.

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

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

(1) **Fighting Discrimination and Expanding Affirmative Action.** Tens of thousands of people stood firm against the racist charge of "reverse racism" in court cases against affirmative action like Bakke (in higher education) and Weber (in the steel industry). But now we see that this was a mere dress rehearsal under Carter for the full assault of the barbarian Ronald Reagan. We have a new opportunity to join and assist the masses, who are likely to throw themselves spontaneously into battle.

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

(2) **Fighting the Draft and Imperialist War Preparations.** Peoples College has given leadership to Study and Struggle, a youth/student organization that has embarked on a vigorous campaign against the draft. They are making a long march

among the masses of Black Students in Illinois turning their anti-draft petition into an active political education struggle against imperialist war preparations. (See article and petition in this issue) Again, while the masses actively fight against the draft because of impending war, revolutionary unity must be built by turning this into an anti-imperialist movement against the capitalist system which produces war.

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

3 **Fighting the KKKlan and Police Repression.** Peoples College endorses the general line of the pamphlet called *The Greensboro Massacre: Critical Lessons for the 1980s* by the Paul Robeson/Amilcar Cabral Collective and the Greensboro Collective. A leaflet in that campaign stated:

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

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

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

Further, what started as urban renewal has now become a full scale attempt to seize back the central cities for middle class, professional whites. From high priced condominiums, to rehabs to coops, poor working class and minority people are being run out of the city. While the entire minority community must fight to survive, by any means necessary (e.g. rehab by the current renters, etc.), revolutionary unity can be built by exposing the joint workings of the government and the financial real estate interests. Key battles that will take place in local politics (including control of city hall) should also be taken up by revolutionary forces. These will help us to train for the revolutionary seizure of power. (See *Electoral Politics: Its Problems and Prospects* by Bill Epton).

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

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

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

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

1. We have to unite with the masses of participants (mainstream) while preserving the right to criticize consolidated incorrect practices, sell out leadership, and op-

## DEFEND BLACK STUDIES

The fight for Black Studies emerged as a component part of the Black liberation movement during a high point of struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Black Studies was another bold challenge to the blatant institutional and societal racism that kept Blacks out of colleges, universities, politics, jobs, most other social institutions, and that generally oppressed Black people as part of public opinion.

As a result of militant struggle by the masses of Black people and by students on campuses, a few doors were forced open. Black enrollment grew from 225,000 in 1967 (about 6 percent) to about one million in 1976 (about 11 percent). The biggest spurt came after the murder of Martin Luther King in 1968 when the number enrolled doubled between 1967 and 1970.

There was also an important shift in the geo-institutional character of Black en-

rollment. Most Black students were enrolled in predominantly Black colleges mainly in the South until 1967. In 1976, however, 70.3 percent of Black students enrolled in predominantly white colleges and universities, mainly not in the South. In addition, 76.1 percent of these students were enrolled in two year institutions (or community colleges).

In this new way, Black people are involved in higher education more than ever before. But just like the masses of people in this society, Black Studies and Black people in higher education are facing serious crisis. Programs are being cut and enrollment is falling because of tuition hikes, cuts in scholarship funds, and biased admissions tests. In addition, campus employment (other than maintenance jobs) and faculty tenure never have been fully opened to Black people.

In short, these attacks are part and parcel of the overall attacks against the gains of the 1960's, attacks that will escalate with the election of racist Ronald Reagan in the 1980's.

### BLACK STUDIES MUST BE DEFENDED

We must defend Black Studies and increase the role of Black people in higher education. It is important to protect all gains won by the struggle of the masses against and all forms of racism. Black Studies also emerged as the organized campus-based intellectual arm of the Black liberation movement. In most places, Black Studies is the only place on a campus where the historical experiences and current conditions of Black people, and the continuing fight against racism, can be studied.

But there are some who argue that Black Studies and Black people in higher education is elitism. For some cases, this is certainly true! But things have changed since W.E.B. DuBois suggested in the early 1900s that educating an elite "talented tenth" was the key to Black liberation.

Between 1885 and 1900, there were only 1,158 Black college graduates in the U.S. But in 1979, there were about 1,002,000 Blacks between the ages of 14 and 34 enrolled in college (as compared to 274,000 in 1965). And 11 percent of Blacks in the age group 25 to 34 had completed college in 1975. Twenty-one percent of the 18 to 24 age group was enrolled in college in 1975.

Thus, the number of Black people enrolled in institutions of higher education is growing. And the majority now come from the working class and high schools that don't prepare them for college. This is especially true of community colleges where most Black students are concentrated.

Thus, Black Studies, if it carries out its mission, will remain a beachhead on the campuses where young minds can be pushed

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# RECONDITION FOR REVOLUTION

## MAJOR BLACK CONFERENCES TO BUILD BLACK UNITY IN 1980

Date	Place	Attendance	Name	Date	Place	Attendance	Name
1. February	Richmond	1,000	National Conference for a Black Agenda	5. November	Philadelphia	2,500	National Black Independent Political Party
2. May	New York City	750	Unity Forum for Black Artists	6. November	Chicago	200	National Black Museum Conference
3. June	Brooklyn	3,500	National Black United Front	7. November	Atlanta	1,200	Black South Literature and Art Conference
4. October	Atlanta	NA	National Black Workers Organization				

portunism. An example of this is the statement by Peoples College at a plenary session of the Black United Front meeting in Brooklyn:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### UNITY IN THE RITUAL CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

From Mainstream	To Resistance
White Xmas (December 25)	Black Christmas (Dec. 25) Kwanzaa (Dec. 26-Jan. 1)
Independence Day (July 4th)	African Liberation Day (May 25)
Black History Month (February)	Black Liberation Month (February)
Mothers Day (2nd Sunday in May)	International Womens Day (March 8)
Labor Day (1st Mon. in Sept.)	International Workers Day (May 1)

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

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

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

## RICH LESSONS OF UNITY AND STRUGGLE

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

There are many examples of efforts in the Black liberation movement to build unity. Among them are the American Negro Labor Congress (1925), the National Negro Congress (1936), the Southern Negro Youth Congress (1937), the March on Washington Movement (1941), the activity of W.E.B. in organizing a united front to support the African struggle in the League of Nations (1945), and Paul Robeson's discussion of "The Power of Negro Action" in his autobiography *Here I Stand*. A more recent model was Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE ROAD AHEAD

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

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

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

### STUDY PROGRAM

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

### WRITE FOR DETAILS

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# AFRICA

economic control. A few examples include struggles to regain control of natural resources, and the struggle against being dominated by imperialist multinational corporations. (For example, Nigeria's struggles as a member of OPEC, struggles against being dominated by the investments of imperialist multinational corporations, and struggles against control by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are anti-imperialist struggles.)

This also includes struggles against foreign penetration through culture and education, and struggles against neocolonialism where African countries have political independence but are still controlled by foreign economic powers (as in Zaire and in

Liberia before the military coup).

(3) **ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLES** involve the fight against exploitation and oppression of African people by domestic African capitalists. These struggles are led by the developing revolutionary movement in Africa. They are not only against capitalism, but most are **FOR SOCIALISM**.

Too often we have grouped all three kinds of class struggles under the banner. While all three definitely contribute to the defeat of imperialism, we must make a clear distinction as to where each movement and country stands with regards to opposing capitalism and building socialism as its overall final aim. In the 1980s, this will increasingly be the critical distinction.

### IMMEDIATE AGENDA FOR THE 1980s

We must continue to study developments in Africa and increase our understanding of what is going on. But it is even more important that we also escalate concrete practical activities to support the continuing struggle for African liberation.

(1) **WE MUST TURN THE HEAT UP ON SOUTH AFRICA, ITS RACIST AND ILLEGAL RULE IN AZANIA AND ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA!** We must fight to end U.S. investments in South Africa and investments in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. All travel to South Africa by U.S. sports and entertainment figures should be halted.

(2) **WE MUST ESCALATE OUR POLITICAL FIGHT AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION IN AFRICA AND AGAINST ALL IMPERIALIST PRO-**

**PAGANDA!** U.S. diplomatic recognition of South Africa should be ended, and all cooperation between the U.S. government and South Africa to build the South African nuclear arsenal should cease.

(3) **WE MUST INCREASE OUR POLITICAL, MORAL, AND MATERIAL AID TO ASSIST THE DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION OF AFRICA!** Our efforts should especially focus on the territories liberated from colonial rule through armed struggle during the past few years. We must find ways to provide needed skills and supplies to support hospitals, schools, and other institutions. We should demand that the U.S. government which supported the Portuguese, the illegal settlers of Zimbabwe, and continues to support South Africa increase the aid it provides to the newly independent African countries.

# BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

SUNDAY

MONDAY

TUESDAY

WEDNESDAY

<p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p><b>1960:</b> Sit-in movement launched by four students in Greensboro, N.C. This sparked a new phase of militant black protest that exposed the national oppression of black people in the U.S.A.</p> <p><b>1902:</b> Langston Hughes born.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p><b>1980:</b> National Anti-Klan Network Mass Mobilization to protest the Nov. 3rd Greensboro Massacre.</p> <p><b>1964:</b> Eduardo Mondlane, first president of Frelimo was assassinated by a mail bomb. Frelimo led the victorious national liberation struggle of the people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">3</p>  <p style="text-align: center;"><b>KING</b> (1929-1968)</p> <p>"Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself."</p> <p><b>1965:</b> Selma to Montgomery March dramatizes fight for Black voting rights. Ended with rally of 25,000 people in front of the state capitol.</p>	<p><b>1974:</b> Mass uprising in Ethiopia which backed government of Haile Selassie.</p> <p><b>1961:</b> Armed struggle began in Angola. Today, both Ethiopia and Angola by competition between the two super powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Thousands of troops from Cuba occupy these countries.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">8</p> <p><b>Malcolm X (1964):</b> "We will work with anybody who is sincerely interested in eliminating injustices that Negroes suffer at the hands of Uncle Sam."</p> <p><b>1968:</b> State police brutally murdered students and wounded 50 people in Orangeburg, South Carolina.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">9</p> <p><b>1943:</b> 4,000 Black and White youth led by the American Youth Congress march in Washington to protest government discrimination against Black servicemen and the U.S. war policy.</p> <p><b>1906:</b> Paul Lawrence Dunbar, renowned writer of rural Afro-American dialect poetry, died. He wrote "I know why the caged bird sings!"</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">10</p> <p>...Political work must be rooted among the masses and carried out on a professional level. What is required is that our feet march in the struggles waged by the masses, our hearts throb in empathy with their joys and sorrows, while our heads rationally use the science of revolution to develop our strategy and tactics.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Peoples College Editorial for Marxism and Black Liberation: A New Theoretical Journal</p>	<p><b>1833:</b> The first black library was founded in Philadelphia. This is one of the milestones of Black peoples' struggle to achieve freedom and to develop cultural institutions.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">15</p> <p><b>1962:</b> Black Nationalists disrupt United Nations to protest murder of Patrice Lumumba, progressive African leader.</p> <p><b>1851:</b></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">16</p> <p><b>Malcolm X (1964):</b> "It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find one and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure that they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialist or their political philosophy is socialism."</p> <p><b>1937:</b></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">17</p> <p><b>Harriett Tubman (1823-1913)</b> "There was one of two things I has a right to: Liberty or Death. If I could not have one, I would have the other, for no man should take me alive. I should Fight for my Liberty as long as my strength lasted..."</p> <p><b>1865:</b> The Ku Klux Klan, a fascist organization that promotes white supremacy and the annihilation of Black people, was founded in the South.</p>	<p><b>1965:</b> Gambia becomes the 36th African country. The struggle against colonialism is entering a final period.</p>

# CALENDAR FEBRUARY-1981

WEDNESDAY

THURSDAY

FRIDAY

SATURDAY

4

...ia which overthrew U.S. ...  
...aile Selassie.

Angola. ...  
...d Angola are dominated ...  
...the two superpowers, the ...  
...on. Thousands of foreign ...  
...upy these two African

5

**Martin Luther King, 1967:**  
"We must honestly admit that capitalism has often left a gulf between superfluous wealth and abject poverty, has created conditions permitting necessities to be taken from the many to give luxuries to the few..."

9

**1973:**  
Native Americans unleash armed resistance at Wounded Knee, So. Dakota to protest government repression. Wounded Knee is a historic site of the 1890 massacre where federal troops killed over 300 Indians.



**MALCOLM X**  
(1925-1965)

"All thinking people today who have been oppressed are revolutionary. This is the era of revolution."

7

**1926:**  
Negro History Week initiated by Carter G. Woodson

11

...ary was founded in ...  
...one of many examples ...  
...uggle to build institu- ...  
...culturally.

12

**W.E.B. DuBois:**  
"Above all the Negro is poor by heritage from two hundred forty-four years of chattel slavery, by emancipation without land or capital, and by seventy-five years of additional wage exploitation and crime peonage."

**1909:**  
The founding meeting of the NAACP in New York City.

13



**DOUGLASS**  
(1817-1895)

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress!"

**1817:**  
Frederick Douglass born.

14

**1981:**  
Annual Black Liberation Month/Peoples College Forum, "Building Unity For The Revolution"/7:00 p.m. - Timbuktu: The Black Peoples Bookstore, 2530 S. Michigan - Chicago - 312/842-8282.

**1790:**  
Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Philadelphia. The development of the independent Black church made a major contribution to the formation and development of the Afro-American nation.

18

...36th independent Af- ...  
...uggle against colonial- ...  
...period with the fight

19

**1909:**  
The first Pan African Congress under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois began in Paris, France. There were a total of 5 Congresses that contributed to the post World

20

**1895:**  
Frederick Douglass, great Black leader in the fight against slavery, died.

**Malcolm X:**  
"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can

21

**Malcolm X (1965):**  
"Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood, whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless."

**1965:**  
Malcolm X assassinated

Black Nationalists disrupt United Nations to protest murder of Patrice Lumumba, progressive African leader.

1851:

Black Abolitionists crashed into courtroom in Boston to rescue an escaped slave.

you sure that they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialist or their political philosophy is socialism."

1937:

National Negro Congress founded in Chicago. Organized Black workers in the CIO.

should Fight for my Liberty as long as my strength lasted..."

1865:

The Ku Klux Klan, a fascist organization that promotes white supremacy, organized in Pulaski, Tenn.

1965:

Gambia becomes the 36th African country. The struggle is entering a final period to liberate Azania and Namibia.

22

Martin Luther King:

"We cannot talk of Dr. DuBois without recognizing that he was a radical all his life. Some people would like to ignore the fact that he was a communist in his later years...Sean O'Casey was a literary giant of the twentieth century and a communist. Pablo Neruda is generally considered the greatest living poet though he also served in the Chilean Senate as a communist. It is time to cease muting the fact that Dr. DuBois was a genius and chose to be a communist. Our irrational obsessive anti-communism has led us into too many quagmires."



DUBOIS (1868-1963)

1868: W.E.B. DuBois born.

23

W.E.B. DuBois:

"Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self destruction....In the end, communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day."

W.E.B. DuBois:

"While it was true a thousand years ago, that human toil and energy was unable to feed, clothe and shelter all mankind this has not been the case since the beginning of the nineteenth century; and today, with what we know of natural forces; with the land and labor at our disposal, with the known techniques of processing material and transporting goods, there is no adequate reason why a single human being on earth should not have sufficient food, clothing and shelter for healthy life."

24

1960:

Sit-in movement spreads as students in Albany, Georgia launch first campaign in the South.

1870:

Hiram Revels becomes first Black U.S. Senator. This victory followed the democratic election of Lincoln in the Civil War but this period of Reconstruction was dominated by Northern capitalists and ex-slaveholders who betrayed the Hayes-Tilden betrayal of 1877.

# HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF BUILDING

## 1960-1967

The **Civil Rights Movement** was raised to an unprecedented level of mass struggle when the sit-ins began in 1960. **Malcolm X** was assassinated in 1965. **Black power** spread across the country as a slogan in 1966, and Detroit exploded in 1967 when Black people were put down by the U.S. Army. Detroit followed an earlier rebellion in Watts, California in 1964.

The transition from the Civil Rights Movement was formalized in 1967 at the national **Black Power Conference** held in Newark, N.J. This meeting put the struggle for **power** (not just civil rights) as the central question facing Black people. The leadership of this conference was in the hands of opportunist, narrow nationalist leaders (some openly pro-ruling class), and no concrete program of action resulted. However, the Black liberation movement was fundamentally changed.

## 1970

The Black Liberation Movement remained spontaneous, since there was no unified leadership and no coherent program of action. This reflects the absence of a revolutionary workers movement and a revolutionary political party.

Two trends were now consolidating in the movement: cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Both trends had major unity building events in 1970. The **Congress of African People** was a meeting held in

Atlanta, led by cultural forces, and uniting a broad range of reformist elements, from Whitney Young (Urban League) to Minister Farrakhan (Nation of Islam), from Jessie Jackson (Christian) to Imamu (Kawaida-Muslim). This meeting raised the struggle against racism to an international level, especially because many international delegations were present. It reflected positive signs of Black unity. However, these reformist forces were basically opportunist and failed to follow through with a fighting program of unity. It led to a narrow Pan Africanist orientation, and took the shape of an elitist, middle class cult.

The other tendency was led by the **Black Panther Party**. The Panthers led the Black Liberation Movement to reject nonviolence, and link our struggle to the struggles in the Third World. Especially significant was their popularization of *The Red Book* by Chairman Mao. In 1970, the Panthers held a **Peoples Revolutionary Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia (which, incidentally, met the same weekend as the Congress of African People). This was important because in calling for a new U.S. constitution, the Panthers targeted the basic character of the capitalist state as the main problem. This contributed to the development of revolutionary consciousness. However, the Panthers remained unconnected to the working class, and were not guided by revolutionary theory. Slogans are necessary and were successfully used by the Panthers but they are no substitute for revolutionary theory.

**What is Peoples College?** Peoples College is an organization of revolutionary Black people dedicated to fight against racism, imperialism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression. Its goal is total freedom for Black people, all oppressed people, and all people who are victims of class exploitation which will require fundamental changes in the U.S. capitalist system.

Peoples College was founded in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1970 and is now based Chicago, Illinois. The key theme that has guided the work has been "education for liberation." Peoples College has been actively involved in many activities in the Black liberation struggle. We have been active participants in the Black Studies movement, having published **INTRODUCTION TO AFRO AMERICAN STUDIES**, a two volume text useful for Black Studies courses and study

## 1972

The split in the Black liberation movement was both real and falsely created: clear differences did exist in the movement and the F.B.I.'s Cointelpro program created disunity and conflict. But another high point of unity was created by the call to **African Liberation Day**. Forces led by **Malcolm X Liberation University and Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBU)** pulled off a militant mass demonstration in support of African Liberation. This united both of the tendencies in our movement.

As happened with the Congress of African People in 1970, the Pan-Africanist forces built unity with the reformists at a conference in Gary to form the **National Black Political Assembly**. This was a key because of a reformist urge to negotiate on behalf of the Black vote in the 1972 presidential race, but was never a significant force since it was led by opportunists and lacked local organization that could deliver votes.

## 1974

The crisis of capitalism became more intense during the recession—energy crisis, the forced resignation of Nixon, etc. Revolutionaries and cultural nationalists were involved in the common practice of the African liberation support struggle. The **African Liberation Support Committee**, formed after the African Liberation Day demonstration in 1972, was the main context for the militant forces in the Black Liberation Movement fighting to build unity for the revolution.

By 1974, the common practice of A.L.S.C. created conditions that could only be resolved by a full public debate over political line. This debate, especially a major A.L.S.C. conference in 1974, was the most important theoretical discussion in which **Marxism-Leninism** became a central question in the Black Liberation Movement. However, dogmatism and anti-democratic sectarian practices limited this major step forward, and eventually sidetracked the necessary process of applying revolutionary theory to solving the practical problems arising in ongoing mass struggle.

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<p>independent Af- le against colonial- riod with the fight ambia.</p>	<p><b>1909:</b> The first Pan African Congress under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois began in Paris, France. There were a total of 5 Congresses that contributed to the post World War 1 anti-colonial struggle.</p>	<p>"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight."</p>	<p>more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood, whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless."</p> <p><b>1965:</b> Malcolm X assassinated</p>
<p>25</p> <p>students at Alabama deep South.</p> <p>Black U.S. Senator. ocratic struggles after of Reconstruction as ave owners agreed to 1877.</p>	<p>26</p> <p><b>1978:</b> Death of Mangaliso Sobukwe, founder of the Pan African Congress of Azania (South Africa).</p> <p><b>1885:</b> European colonial powers and U.S. end Berlin conference which carves up Africa for exploitation.</p> <p><b>1826:</b> John Russwurm becomes first Black college graduate in U.S. The struggle for rights to quality education for Blacks continues in the face of attacks like the Bakke decision, cutbacks in financial aid for Black students, and cutbacks in public education.</p>	<p>27</p> <p><b>1980:</b> In Zimbabwe, beginning of elections signal victory after years of armed struggle which ended illegal white minority rule. Struggle was spear-headed by Zimbabwe African National Union/Patriotic Front.</p>	<p>28</p> <p>Malcolm X (1964): "Revolution is like a forest fire. It burns everything in its path. The people who are involved in a revolution don't become a part of the system — they destroy the system, they change the system... Revolution changes the system, it destroys the system and replaces it with a better one."</p>

# BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

roups. Another area of activity has been African liberation support work: building African Liberation Day demonstrations in the early 1970's the FREE ZIMBABWE campaign, the Anti-Kru-rand struggles in Chicago, and African Liberation Sunday in 1978. More recently, Peoples College has given leadership to Study and Struggle, the Chicago Student Mobilization for Black liberation, and to its campaign against draft registration and imperialist war. Peoples College also operates TIMBUKTU: THE BLACK PEOPLES BOOKSTORE, a non profit educational center at 2530 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago. We will soon publish a new theoretical journal called *Marxism and Black Liberation*, or Maybell. Write for more information Peoples College, P.O. Box 7696, Chicago, IL. 60680.

**1975-1979**

Following the A.L.S.C. conference in 1974, the Black liberation Movement was dominated by anti-imperialist forces. This was the basis on which Peoples College called a unity building effort for Black intellectuals. In January 1975, A National Conference "Pull the Covers Off Imperialism." was held in Chicago. The conference of more than one hundred college teachers, students, lawyers, journalists, workers and others unanimously adopted a **Declaration Against Imperialism**. This was the most important conference manifesto adopted by Black intellectuals since the Black Liberation Movement (1905) led by W.E.B. DuBois, Ida Wells, and William Monroe Trotter. The major shortcoming is that the Declaration has not been popularized, although its impact has been far-reaching.

**1980**

The movement became disoriented from 1975 to 1979 as a result of middle class nationalist forces maintaining an anti-struggle posture and revolutionary forces retreating from the Black liberation movement and from mass struggle to fight for unity mainly within the revolutionary communist movement. While many necessary and positive lessons were learned, no national organizational force currently exists based on this rich legacy of unity and struggle.

In 1980, there were several important meetings held that reflect the need to build unity for the revolution.

In Brooklyn, some community based coalitions convened a meeting to form a **National Black United Front**. New forces came forward, but mainly these were people out of the previous A.L.S.C., C.A.P., and revolutionary Marxist circles. This was a useful gathering of forces, although the meeting was plagued

by problems. (a) The leadership was top down and failed to rely on local leadership engaged in struggle; (b) the conference failed to develop a definite and concrete program of action; (c) the conference got stuck on a legalistic approach to organization, a constitution on paper rather than the unity of people in action. Also debate at the conference and afterwards indicates that narrow nationalism is a real and serious danger to the NBUF.

In Philadelphia, activists linked to the Gary National Black Political Assembly met to form the **National Independent Black Political Party**. This was a positive meeting of 2500 Black activists, although 70% were from Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, D.C. The meeting was more a call to do local work rather than a meeting based on local electoral struggle. Further, there was a lack of concrete purpose and only a general sense of common direction. One major question was lack of clarity on the difference between this Philadelphia meeting and the Brooklyn NBUF meeting. Further, what guarantees do Black people have that this will not simply lead to mobilizing the Black vote for the Kennedy-Mondale forces against the radical right? (In Chicago, the same narrow nationalist forces used sectarian maneuvers to seize the local "franchise" of each organization, NBUF and NIBPP. Peoples College is preparing a full analysis of this attempt to liquidate the Black liberation movement.)

**1981 and the years ahead**

**WHAT DO WE NEED NOW?**

Peoples College is publishing a series of documents to guide our understanding of **BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION**. (This is what the series is called: write for them ask for them in local bookstores, study them in your organization, distribute them widely in the movement, and send us any comments you may have).

We need:

- (1) Basic **Principles of Unity** that can guide the Black liberation movement toward the goal of Revolutionary Black Power. Peoples College has proposed a Ten Point Program for Black Liberation for discussion. (See it in this **Black Liberation Month News**).
- (2) A **Fighting Program of Action** focussed on the concrete day to day problems faced by the masses.
- (3) A **broad leadership** council selected by a full democratic process based on representation of groups in struggle.
- (4) Broad **open conferences** for full democratic discussions of all major problems and the general direction of the Black liberation movement.

Revolutionary Black Power is not one of many ideas. It is a historical necessity. The ways in which we fight for it will vary, and therefore we must be flexible. **Black Liberation Month** is a good time to rededicate ourselves to this goal of fighting for Black liberation and freedom under socialism.

**BUILD UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION!**

# 10 POINT PROGRAM FOR BLACK LIBERATION

Because of the positive response and continuing relevancy of this program for Black liberation which was first printed in the 1980 Black Liberation Month News, we are reprinting it below. What we said about it then still holds true today:

"Peoples College puts forward the following ten demands as a concrete political program based on our analysis and summation of the history and current struggles of Black people. These demands reflect what the masses of Black people are thinking, saying, and doing. These demands speak to the revolutionary aspirations of Black people for freedom which requires a basic and fundamental change in the existing system of exploitation and racist oppression. We call for open and full discussion of this 10 Point Program during Black Liberation Month 1980 and set the best course for building our struggle for Revolutionary Black Power and Black Liberation."

## 1. WE DEMAND REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER!

Where Black people are a majority, Black people should rule. This includes cities, counties and even states (Mississippi is 40% Black!) and public institutions like school districts. Where Black people are not in a majority, then we demand proportional representation. The fight for this Black political power will expose that the capitalist system is not really "democracy" so we must consciously link this fight for Black power of a new type to the fight for socialism, a new system which will abolish all forms of oppression and exploitation, and establish justice and equality for all.

## 2. WE DEMAND FULL EMPLOYMENT AND JOBS, OR AN ADEQUATE INCOME NOW!

Black people and all others who want to work must be given jobs at adequate wages. Jobs are especially needed by Black youth who face a devastating unemployment rate of more than 40% in some cities. Where decent jobs cannot be provided, then an adequate income must be provided. There is no reason except capitalist greed that only the rich should lead lives of comfort and security while more and more people find it harder to make ends meet.

## 3. WE DEMAND THAT THE KLAN, THE NAZIS, AND ALL RACIST AND FASCIST TRASH BE LIQUIDATED!

Since slavery these types of organizations have been used to attack and intimidate Black people. They also mislead ignorant whites into believing that Black people are causing their own increasing problems of unemployment, inflation, and frustration and not the white ruling/capitalist class. In the face of escalating attacks—in North Carolina, in Tupelo, Mississippi, in Chicago and in New York—we urge Black people to plan armed self defense. This is our constitutional right—especially since the government has demonstrated that it will not stand on the side of justice and defend the rights of Black people.

## 4. WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE STOP TO THE FORCED DESTRUCTION OF BLACK COMMUNITIES!

Black communities, especially in inner city areas are being demolished by the redlining practices of big banks, real estate developers and their politicians. Dope is being fed to young Black people like free candy. End drug dealing in the Black community. Stop destroying Black housing! Close no schools! Close no hospitals!

## 5. WE DEMAND NO MORE DRAFT AND NO MORE IMPERIALIST WARS! HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!

Wars are started to protect the interests of the ruling class and not the masses of people. Wars cover up the problems of unemployment and inflation at home. Black youth should not be forced into the military to serve as cannon fodder because their right to jobs and education is being denied at home. The only war for Black people is against our own oppressors and exploiters right here in the United States! We demand that U.S. imperialism end its support of racist white minority rule in Southern Africa and that both U.S. and Soviet imperialism stop their meddling, intervention and subverting the right to self determination of the peoples of Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, the Middle East and Europe!

## 6. WE DEMAND AN END TO RACIST DISCRIMINATION AND EXPANSION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS!

Given the history of racist oppression suffered for centuries and still forced on Black people, special efforts must be made if Black people are to reach full equality. Across the board, Black people in all walks of life—workers, students, the middle class, business people, etc.—still face the burden of racist discrimination.

## 7. WE DEMAND THAT POLICE BRUTALITY AND ALL POLITICAL HARRASSMENT BE STOPPED!

The government—federal, state and local—has demonstrated that it operates like a special committee which "serves and protects" the rich and their profits as its first priority. This is why Black people and the masses of working people are so often victimized. It is blatant intimidation for the purposes of control and we say that it must be stopped—NOW! Black people unjustly accused and railroaded to prison on trumped up charges by a racist "justice" system should be immediately released from jails.

## 8. WE DEMAND AN END TO THE TRIPLE OPPRESSION OF BLACK WOMEN!

Black women are oppressed by three evils—racism, male supremacy and class (economic) exploitation. Over 52% of all Black people in the U.S. are women. But Black women face greater discrimination and oppression that puts them on the bottom rung of the society. Because the particular problems and special concerns of Black women are not isolated from the problems faced by all Black people, Black men especially must take up the fight against the triple oppression of Black women. This is especially true with the serious increase of reported rapes and criminal sexual abuse of Black women.

## 9. WE DEMAND AN EDUCATION FOR ALL BLACK PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF OUR OPPRESSION IN THIS RACIST CAPITALIST SOCIETY!

Cultural genocide must stop and Black people must learn about and embrace all that is positive in our African heritage and our Afro-American culture and history. Public school education should be expanded and improved and it must be controlled by Black people where Black students are a majority. All ruling class schemes and attempts to destroy Black colleges and to push Black students out of post secondary education and into the streets must be militantly opposed. Black Studies programs should be expanded and be given full departmental status and power. More Black college teachers should be given tenure and the number of Black administrators should be increased. For the "liberation education" of the masses, Black History Month should be transformed to Black Liberation Month in order to stress our need to use a knowledge of history in our fight for Black liberation and freedom.

## 10. WE DEMAND A FIGHTING BLACK LEADERSHIP COMMITTED TO BUILDING PRINCIPLED UNITY AND MASS STRUGGLE AROUND A PROGRAM OF CONCRETE ACTION FOR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER AND BLACK LIBERATION IN THE 1980'S!

Peoples College welcomes and encourages your comments and criticism.

Peoples College, • P.O. Box 7696  
Chicago, IL 60680



**BUILD YOUR LIBRARY**  
For Study and For Struggle

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The Black Peoples Bookstore  
2530 S. Michigan—Chicago  
312-842-8282

WEDNESDAY THRU SATURDAY — ONE TO SEVEN IN THE EVENING

A NON PROFIT EDUCATIONAL CENTER OPERATED BY PEOPLES COLLEGE PRESS

# BLACK STUDIES

to achieve academic excellence and social responsibility, to use their intellectual skills and join the struggle to help liberate themselves and the masses of Black people.

Of course, there are some rip-off artists in Black Studies as in everything else who have only their own selfish interests at heart. (These will have to be struggled against).

More importantly, however, are local and state organizing efforts like the Illinois Council for Black Studies, and others in North Carolina, Michigan, Missouri, New England, New York, California and the South.

These organizations are able to mobilize around particular struggles and lobby and struggle with those who control educational policy in each state and city. In a sense, such organizations play the same role of defending Blacks in higher education that trade unions play in defending and fighting for the interests of workers.

As we face the 1980s, it is clear that Black Studies will survive if it mobilizes the support of the masses of Black people in the community who were decisive in the fight for it in the first place.

## BUILD BLACK STUDIES ORGANIZATIONS

An organization like the National Council for Black Studies, organized in 1977, is essential to the survival of Black Studies. It can help to coordinate struggles on a national level and share information about what is going on around the U.S.

National Council for  
Black Studies  
APRIL, 1981—New York City  
APRIL, 1982—Chicago  
217/333-7781

# BUILDING A FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE 1980'S

Increasing numbers of student-based groups are emerging and linking up on the basis of involvement in local struggle. They are responding to the growing crisis facing Black students and the Black community. During the past year, campaigns have been launched against the draft, for jobs, social and educational services, against racist oppression and police brutality, and to save and change Black schools.

Student forums on local campuses and regional and national caucuses were held. Political experiences and lessons were shared and greater political clarity was often achieved, leading to a greater determination and commitment to struggle. Moreover, some important attempts were made to build Black student networks and linkages.

For example, Black students held national caucuses in Milwaukee at the National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) in March and in June at the National Black United Front (NBUF) conference in Brooklyn. Black students also met at the Black Political Convention in Philadelphia in September. Important regional caucuses were also held like the one in Kent, Ohio at the Midwest Progressive Student Conference (November).

STUDY AND STRUGGLE, a Chicago-based city-wide Black student organization, has been active in all of these forums. It proposed an anti-draft resolution which was adopted by the national executive board of the National Council for Black Studies in July, and put forward another resolution which was adopted by the Kent, Ohio conference.

In Chicago, Study and Struggle's home-base, the organization is attempting to build an anti-imperialist student movement on the basis of mass struggle. It is attempting to link

campus struggle with the bigger battles among people in the community. A major project has been a year-long campaign within the student movement and among Black youth against the threat of imperialist war and the draft. The main tool in this campaign has been a petition with a five point program for building unity in the fight against imperialism and racist oppression (here and in Africa).

Throughout 1981, Study and Struggle will be continuing its long march to rebuild a fighting Black student movement in Chicago. On February 1st, along with other progressive Black students, it hosted a midwest regional summit of Black student activists and leaders. The meeting commemorated the February 1, 1960 launching of the sit-in movement in Greensboro, N.C. which led to the founding of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC.

Future meetings are being planned. On April 1-5, 1981 Black students from across the U.S. will caucus at the national meeting of the National Council for Black Studies in New York City. Similar meetings will be held again this summer at the National Black United Front conference and the meeting of the National Independent Black Political Party. A national conference of progressive Black Students has been called for Chicago in the fall of 1981.

**WHAT CAN YOU DO?** Get on up and get involved! Take up the five point program and petition being circulated by Study and Struggle (reprinted in this Black Liberation Month News). Find out more about past and upcoming student meetings and plan to attend the next one.

## FIVE POINT PROGRAM

BLACK COMMUNITY PRINCIPLES OF UNITY  
FOR BUILDING THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST REGISTRATION, THE DRAFT AND UNJUST WAR

To: THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS OF THE  
UNITED STATES CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

We, the undersigned, strongly support the following five principles of unity and urge your fullest support and immediate action:

1. We oppose the current drive of the U.S. government toward war. It is not in the interest of Black people, nor the American people in general. If war should come, the majority of people both at home and abroad will suffer and only a few will benefit. We demand that the U.S. government cut its war spending and put more money in social services and jobs.  
**NO IMPERIALIST WAR! END GREEDINESS AT HOME AND ABROAD!**
2. We believe that the draft and draft registration are not in the interests of Black people nor the majority of young people. We call on all youth to refuse to register and to join the growing movement to collectively resist the draft.  
**NO DRAFT! OUR FIGHT IS AT HOME!**
3. We demand that the U.S. government guarantee full employment for Black youth at decent wages.  
**JOBS AND INCOME FOR ALL!**
4. We demand the U.S. government never use nor support military intervention in Africa. The U.S. military and its police forces (like the C.I.A.) must stay out of Azania (South Africa) as the struggle grows to liberate that country from illegal, racist white minority rule.  
**FREE AFRICA! U.S. HANDS OFF!**
5. We call for massive organized resistance to the growing right-wing conservatism in U.S. politics. Our commitment is to make the 1980s a decade of escalating struggle in the face of increasing racist attacks and a worsening economic crisis.  
**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

For additional copies of the petition and for information about upcoming meetings contact:

STUDY AND STRUGGLE  
P.O. Box 6291, Chicago Illinois 60680