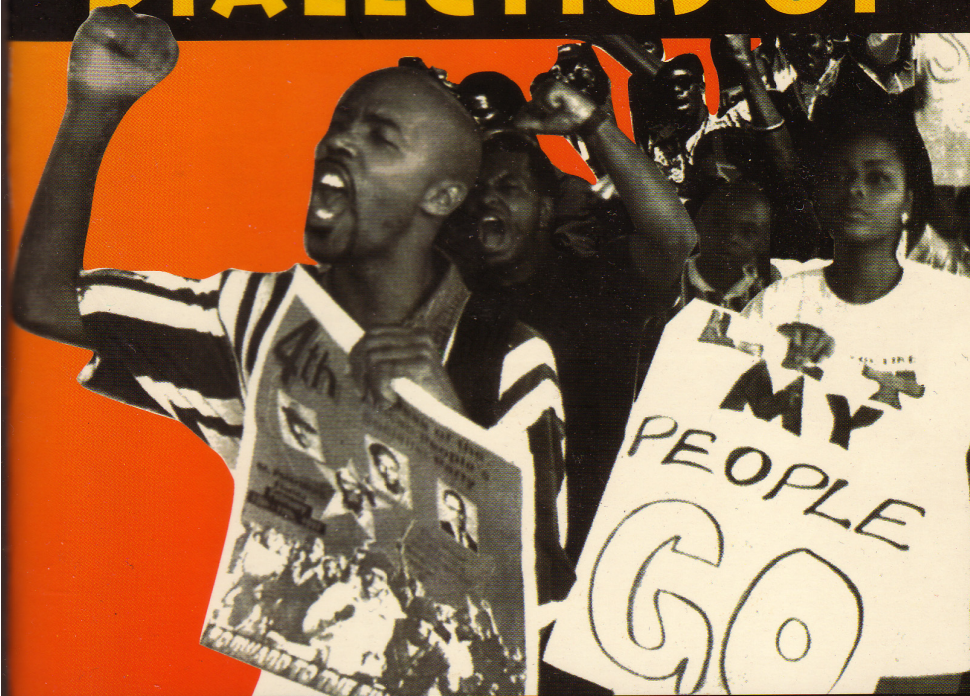


**THE
DIALECTICS OF**



**BLACK
REVOLUTION**

**The Struggle to Defeat the
Counterinsurgency in the U.S.**

OMALI YESHITELA

THE DIALECTICS OF BLACK REVOLUTION

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by Omali Yeshitela

Introduction to the Second Edition

The Dialectics of Black Revolution: The Struggle to Defeat the Counterinsurgency in the U.S. by Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party, is a must-read for all members of the Uhuru Movement. With a constant demand for justice, the second edition is well-timed.

The Uhuru Movement is a revolutionary organization that has been working to bring about a radical transformation of the United States. It is a movement of the African people, and it is a movement that is based on the principles of socialism. The Uhuru Movement is a movement that is based on the principles of socialism, and it is a movement that is based on the principles of socialism. The Uhuru Movement is a movement that is based on the principles of socialism, and it is a movement that is based on the principles of socialism.

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Burning Spear Uhuru Publications

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the Counterinsurgency in the U.S.

by Omali Yeshitela

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Second Edition

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African People's Socialist Party
1245 18th Avenue South
St. Petersburg, Florida 33705
(813) 821-6620

To order copies of this pamphlet contact:
Burning Spear Uhuru Publications
P.O. Box 20167
Oakland, CA 94620
(510) 653-8491

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Introduction to the Second Edition

"The Dialectics of Black Revolution: The Struggle to Defeat the Counterinsurgency in the U.S." by Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party, has proved to be one of the most popular pamphlets of the Uhuru Movement. With a constant demand for more copies, this second edition is well overdue.

"Dialectics of Black Revolution" is an easy-to-read, concise, though profound presentation of the theory of Yeshitelism. It combines breakthrough understandings of political theory from the point of view of African workers, with an excellent summation of the forces that gave rise to the Black Power Movement of the 1960s. It takes a deep look at the U.S. government's counterinsurgency which defeated that movement and which continues to terrorize and criminalize the African community in this country today in an effort to keep black people from ever rising up again.

The ideas in this pamphlet are exciting and innovative. Discarding the white-nationalist, Euro-centric concepts which have dominated socialist thought for so long, Yeshitela offers a refreshing vision which points the way

for the success of the movement for the liberation of Africa and her people here and around the world.

Chairman Omali gave this presentation at Freedom Weekend held by the Party in St. Petersburg, Florida in January of 1990. As the Chairman explains in his introduction to the first edition, Freedom Weekend was part of a strategy waged by the Party since the mid-'80s to expose and defeat the counterinsurgency war against the African community in this country. His presentation has a prophetic quality. It is just as remarkable and timely today in this new period of resurgent African resistance as it was eight years ago.

Until the Uhuru Movement led the struggle to define the conditions facing African people today as counterinsurgency, the U.S. government's criminalization of the whole African community was widely accepted. As part of this strategy the Party had long exposed things that are only now being admitted by the white ruling class and media.

Recent revelations that the U.S. government is responsible for imposing deadly drugs, creating a dependent drug economy in the African community, or that sentencing for African people is far greater than for white people on the same charges, or that the majority of people stuffed into the prisons and on death row are African, have long been exposed by the Party.

The Freedom Weekend mobilization itself was prophetic, taking place in St. Petersburg, Florida, which is today the forefront of African resistance in the U.S. and perhaps the world. The national office of the African People's Socialist Party operates from the Uhuru House in the heart of the African community on the city's south side.

For more than a year the African People's Socialist Party and the Uhuru Movement, representing thousands of African people in the Florida town, have successfully engaged the city government in struggle and won powerful concessions to the just and previously dismissed demands of the African working class.

On October 24, 1996, two white police shot and killed 18-year-old TyRon Lewis during a traffic stop. This murder of another young African man took place just three blocks from the Uhuru House and in full view of

scores of African people who had gathered around. African People's Socialist Party organizers were on the scene. In response to this brutality the African community rose up in a conscious, highly politicized rebellion which an article in the Party's newspaper, The Burning Spear, describes:

"Hundreds of courageous young African workers were immediately transformed into fearless freedom fighters who fought police in pitched battles in the streets, reduced sections of the city owned by parasitic merchants to ashes and strategically targeted South St. Petersburg police substations and command centers for destruction."

Following the police killing, the Party and its mass organization, the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, formed to expose and defeat the counterinsurgency, went into immediate action. The Uhuru Movement held vigils, demonstrations, community meetings and a tribunal which put the killer police on trial by the people. The rebellion came after 30 years of consistent work in the African community by the Uhuru Movement tirelessly defending the rights of black working class and poor people. Yeshitela himself is known and loved by young and old alike in the African community, and because of his unwavering commitment to struggle is widely accepted as a genuine leader of the African community in the city.

On November 13, the city of St. Petersburg attacked the Uhuru Movement, tear gassing over a hundred community people of all ages who had gathered in the Uhuru House for a regularly scheduled meeting. According to The Burning Spear, "...following the grand jury's exoneration of killer cop James Knight and the assault by the police against the Uhuru House, African workers again rose up with brilliance and courage."

The community brought down a police helicopter and pushed back the militarized police presence of over 300 highly armed cops in riot gear.

In the period since the rebellion Chairman Omali and the Uhuru Movement have moved brilliantly to deepen the struggle. The Uhuru Movement has forced the city to meet the just demand for economic development in the hands of the African working class as the solution for social justice, as opposed to the usual government imposition of increased police repression which typically follows just African rebellions.

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Due to the leadership of the Uhuru Movement, the African working class community of St. Petersburg has a taste of real power for the first time in a long time. Truly the masses are mobilized and the south side of St. Petersburg more closely resembles "liberated territory" than any other place in the U.S. The government is now forced to recognize that the African working class has a voice and it is indeed very articulate. That voice is the organized Uhuru Movement.

More details about the struggle in St. Petersburg, Florida are available elsewhere, especially on the pages of The Burning Spear newspaper. However, it is clear that the understandings which the Chairman put forward in this presentation in 1990 reveal a deep internalization of the true nature of "the dialectics of Black Revolution." These understandings provide the basis for the success of the movement in St. Petersburg today, which is indeed a model for the struggle of oppressed and colonized people everywhere.

Burning Spear Uhuru Publications

December, 1997

Introduction

This pamphlet consists of a presentation that I made in St. Petersburg, Florida on January 14, 1990 at a conference sponsored by the African People's Socialist Party (APSP). The conference was the key part of a series of APSP-sponsored events that occurred over two days under the theme of Freedom Weekend.

In attendance at the Freedom Weekend events and conference were Africans from throughout our domestically colonized communities of the U.S. front of the African Revolution, as well as representatives of movements in Guyana, South America, The Gambia, West Africa, and Azania, commonly known by the white settler-colonial name of South Africa. Also present was a member of the American Indian Movement.

North Americans associated with the APSP-led Uhuru Movement from Oakland and Santa Cruz, California, St. Petersburg and Philadelphia, were the only whites to accept an invitation to participate in Freedom Weekend.

In one sense Freedom Weekend was part of a more than five-year effort by the Party to expose and defeat the U.S. counterinsurgency used to undermine

our struggle for national liberation. This counterinsurgency has its immediate origin in the U.S. colonial government program used to defeat the Black Revolution of the Sixties. Since a revolution is led by specific organizations and personalities—as scattered, undeveloped, and disconnected as they were during the sixties—the main, strategic targets of the counterinsurgency were these organizations and personalities.

With the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties, the strategic target of the counterinsurgency shifted to include the entire African population, with emphasis on the African working class—employed and the increasingly enlarged unemployed. An essential component of this counterinsurgency is a drug economy, imposed upon our economically dependent colonized community by the U.S. government. Accompanying this is the cynically deployed "war on drugs" used to justify a near-total abrogation of the national democratic rights of African people that we fought and died for.

To facilitate the criminalization of the African community, the counterinsurgency also utilizes a neo-colonial policy which elevated thousands of Africans as elected officials and administrators. This has served to deflect consciousness of a defeated black revolution and gives a false sense of African "progress."

Neo-colonialism also acts as a cover for the counterinsurgency either through the silence of these officials or through their actual hands-on participation in the attack on our people. Such was the case with the 1985 bombing of an African community in Philadelphia under the direction of an African mayor, Wilson Goode.

For years the African People's Socialist Party has been struggling with the anti-colonial tendency of our movement to recognize the significance of the counterinsurgency. The wretchedly oppressed colonized African masses may rise up in spontaneous rebellion or may be otherwise mobilized by specific events. However, it is our contention that our movement to overthrow the foreign and alien rule of U.S. colonialism cannot grow and progress without an awareness of and a conscious attack on this counterinsurgency. This is because the counterinsurgency is a development of the very same conscious program that defeated the Black Revolution of the Sixties, now transformed to meet the changed circumstances the counterinsurgency created by our defeat.

However, Freedom Weekend had an immediate context as well. We were also in St. Petersburg, Florida because all the work the Party has been doing to defeat the counterinsurgency and to mount a defense of the national democratic rights of African people had led the U.S. government to initiate increased counterinsurgent activity directed at our Party and the Uhuru Movement under our leadership and influence.

Two years prior to Freedom Weekend I was arrested in St. Petersburg, Florida after intervening in a situation where a special weapons, ski mask-wearing group of police thugs deployed in the African community had stopped a carload of young Africans. The young men were being forced to sit on the rear bumper of the car they were driving to be photographed by the police. I was subsequently tried but through political mobilization was able to win acquittal.

Approximately one year prior to Freedom Weekend, four Party members and supporters were arrested in neighboring Tampa, Florida, charged with inciting to riot and held under a bail of more than \$100,000 each. Through political mobilization the bail was reduced and charges were dropped. This was after it was learned that the arrests and bail came as a consequence of a conspiratorial agreement between the St. Petersburg and Tampa police departments, the mayor of Tampa and the judge who set the bail. Nor was the presence of FBI agents at the arrest scene without significance.

Immediately following Freedom Weekend a member of the Uhuru Movement was to go to trial on a politically-motivated charge that could have resulted in a life sentence without parole. This was based on Florida's notorious anti-black Habitual Offender law which allows for the abrogation of the U.S. constitutionally protected prohibition against double jeopardy.

Freedom Weekend, then, was also partially motivated by this attack on our movement and Party, and we were particularly intent on defeating the effort to imprison a movement supporter for life.

Freedom Weekend began with a militant march through the African community on January 13. Among the issues on the banners carried in the march was the demand for the release of Black Liberation Army prisoners of war, as well as Mafundi Lake, Geronimo Pratt, Leonard Peltier and other political prisoners. The march was followed by a political rally in a local park.

The Freedom Weekend conference was on January 14. This pamphlet consists of the opening statement made by me at the conference which established a political overview and the general context within which the conference occurred.

The conference included important, high quality workshops with panelists from throughout the U.S. and various parts of the African world. The workshops dealt with: "The State, Repression and Counterinsurgency;" "Prison, Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War and the Use of the Habitual Offender Law in Counterinsurgency;" and "Africa and Counterinsurgency." These workshops produced resolutions which were adopted by the wide range of conference participants, and which are included in this pamphlet.

The significance of this pamphlet, then, can be found in the significance of Freedom Weekend, the event that spawned the presentation. However, the decision to publish this presentation was made by the Party because we think it does three things better than any other critical analysis we are aware of by any other political formation. Further, it is one of the better instances where it does all three in a single Party document.

The first thing this presentation does is give a historical materialist theoretical basis for the rise of capitalism as white power and the concomitant decline in fortune of the majority of the world's peoples. It departs from the usual white-nationalist bias of the left in such discussions. This view challenges the traditional white capitalist explanation for the development of human society as well as the traditional Marxist view which relies on the same basic philosophic assumption of white supremacy as the capitalists, though it chooses a different road to the achievement of this supremacy.

Secondly, this presentation gives a historical materialist analysis of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. It removes the intent of its leaders and other subjective factors from an exaggerated primacy. It clearly establishes the material forces in the world which actually gave rise to the movement and conditioned the consciousness and intent of its leaders and the masses who participated in and were affected by the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

And finally, this presentation gives a rather comprehensive overview of counterinsurgency—as it has impacted on our movement during the last

period of struggle up to now, and counterinsurgency as it is understood theoretically by at least one arm of the U.S. colonial State.

As always we welcome comments and criticisms.

Omali Yeshitela

October, 1991

CHAPTER I

Dialectics From the Point of View of the Slave

There's something happening in the world and in this country that needs to be summed up. We need to know how to do our work better throughout this country to make the revolution happen here.

That's what we're talking about—making a revolution happen. If it were simply a matter of trying to integrate our way into the so-called American mainstream, we wouldn't need to have this meeting.

We recognize that it takes a revolution to free our people, and to transform the world economy that oppresses the vast majority of the people on the planet Earth for the benefit of Europe and North America. We have to recognize that we're involved in a movement that is designed to free our people.

Our people do not just suffer because of some kind of historical accident. We don't have a problem—as one group defined it in a newspaper of theirs—due to the "ills that beset" us as a people. They described our problems as having to do with teenage pregnancy. They put forth this premise of African people being some kind of "permanent underclass."

These are terms and concepts which are used to undermine our significance as a people and our right to set our own terms for how we live. These are definitions that are designed to impose upon our consciousness a kind of marginalization that will not allow us to recognize our own significance as a people.

The truth of the matter is that the problems that we have as a people, like the problems of the vast majority of the peoples on the planet Earth, are due to the fact that we are dominated by a world economy and social system which exist and were given birth by the slave trade.

I am not speaking figuratively or for the purpose of generating some kind of emotional response from African people. I am attempting to engage us in a discussion about political economy. We have to look at

the origin of a world in which the majority of the people have suffered enslavement, impoverishment and deprivation on the one hand, while white people in Europe, North America and other places enjoy enormous wealth, on the other hand.

There is a dialectical relationship between our own impoverishment and the wealth and well-being of white people on the planet Earth.

We've heard different explanations for these phenomena. We've been told by the white ruling class that the current structure of the world has to do with the fact that African people are less civilized. They put forward a stair-step view of civilization with white people on the top and African people on the bottom and various other peoples some place in between.

We've been told that it is because of this that white people enjoy the resources of the planet Earth and African people enjoy less than anybody else. It is because we are the lowest stage of human civilization. That is one line that explains the way things are in the world.

There's another line that we think is similar. This is the line put forward by the white left. This line says that human society developed vertically, starting from primitive communalism where everybody shared everything equally and there were no classes, no oppression of people in society. However, according to this theory, there is nevertheless an ongoing transformation which takes us to a "higher" level of human development. Supposedly we continued to "develop" from primitive communalism, where people shared things in common, where women were not treated like house pets as they are throughout Europe and North America, where there was no oppression of peoples by peoples and classes by classes—in fact there were no classes.

Contradictions somehow emerge that take us to the higher level called slavery. This is not the slavery that everybody thinks of automatically when they think of slavery today, because now slavery has come to mean what happened to African people. We are talking about slavery defined as a mode of production, a whole new social system that emerged in ancient times. According to this theory, slavery had various kinds of contradictions in and of itself that gave birth, again vertically to a higher level of human society and development.

The next stage is called feudalism. Feudalism of course is what you see on television with King Arthur and Robin Hood and people running around in Sherwood Forest and other places throughout England. The fundamental contradiction that existed in this society was between the nobility and the peasants, the people who lived on the land and functioned pretty much as we function in the South as sharecroppers. You work on land that you don't own. Part of the work that you do is for yourself, but most of the work that you do is for the one who owns the land. That was the basic relationship and contradiction of feudal society, which according to them led to the development of capitalism.

The problem is that their explanation of the vertical development of human society can, in fact, go no further than this without stepping outside of the process itself. In reality, the leap from feudalism to capitalism cannot be explained without a concept that's referred to as the "primitive accumulation of capital," the pre-condition for the development of capitalism. Capitalism did not develop out of the contradictions inherent to feudalism.

We started with communalism where everything was cool, it seems. Yet there's this mysterious contradiction that comes up that takes us from communalism to a "higher" level of development. The higher level of development is slavery! The contradictions therein lead to another level of development that's called feudalism.

The basic contradictions that exist during communalism are the contradictions between the people and nature: how to transform nature so that it serves us; how to protect ourselves from the elements; how to get clothing and the rest of it that takes care of us. But people are not oppressing people. Men are not dogging women. Classes don't even exist.

Then there's this new situation that's called slavery where the fundamental contradiction is between the people who have to labor and the slave master who owns the people like property. Then, according to this theory, we see the emergence of feudalism where the fundamental contradiction is between the people and the nobility. According to this philosophy, we have seen change, transformation occurring because of the contradictions in the society itself. But in order to explain the transformation,

the great leap from feudalism to capitalism, it's necessary to introduce a new concept. This concept is referred to as "primitive accumulation."

Primitive accumulation is not a contradiction inside the society. It is a pre-condition for the development from feudalism to capitalism. Primitive accumulation is defined by Karl Marx, who was pretty knowledgeable about this matter, as the transformation of Africa into a "warren for the hunting of black skins." It was defined as "interring the Native people into the mines of the Americas" as they were bringing up the resources.

The primitive accumulation was seen also in the war that was fought against the Chinese people by the British in the 1840s, called the Opium War. This attack resulted in the Chinese people being transformed into a nation of junkies for the welfare of Britain and the development of the rest of Europe.

For primitive accumulation Viet Nam was held for 100 years by the French, who turned that whole country into a dope den with more than 3,000 opium dens.

The slave trade, according to Karl Marx, was the precondition for the emergence of capitalism itself. It was the thing that created the world economy. There was no world economy prior to the slave trade.

That's not to say that people around the world did not trade with each other. When Columbus and other European explorers came to the Americas and when they stopped killing Native people long enough to talk to them, the Indigenous people told them that Africans used to travel here.

There has been world trade for a long time, but there has not been a world economy. By "world economy" we mean an economy throughout the world that's hooked together.

Before the slave trade there was no such place as Nicaragua, or Cuba, Argentina, Brazil or the other States. These are all creations of a slave trade. It was the slave trade that gave the so-called colonies in the New World their value. Most of us who went to school within North

America learned that the slave trade constituted the so-called "triangular trade." It was the thing that gave birth to the world economy, that was a pre-condition for the existence of capitalism.

This so-called primitive accumulation has also served to undermine the consciousness of the victims, of those people who are now being defined as "primitive accumulation." We have become objects of history as opposed to subjects of history. Our value is now defined by how we impact on the development of Europe and white people in general. Even Marxists have learned world history in a way that liquidates the significance of black people by talking about the development of human history going through these phases.

Obviously human history as a whole did not develop from primitive communalism to so-called slavery to so-called feudalism and then to capitalism. Capitalism emerged in the world as white power. Capitalism was born as white power at the expense of the freedom, liberty, and resources of African people as well as those of other peoples on the planet Earth.

We want to remove ourselves from these fallacies and superstitions which have posed as history for too long, pretending to be political economy.

There are several fallacious explanations that wrongly define how and why things are as they are in the world. One definition comes right up front and says things are as they are in the world because white people are smarter and more civilized. The other one is not so up front when it says the same thing. It creates this fanciful notion about vertical development of human society that actually does not encompass all of human society as it claims to.

African scientists such as Cheikh Anta Diop have said that, indeed, there is no evidence in Europe of a communalism where there were not classes and where women were not mistreated. Diop said that all the evidence shows that historically in Europe women have always been mistreated and, in fact, treated as house pets.

It is in what Diop calls the Southern Cradle where this oppression did

not exist. It was in the Southern Cradle where we saw the absence or near absence of certain harsh forms of state power that resulted in the oppression and suppression of human beings. In fact it was the absence of such consolidated state power in Africa and other places, that made us so vulnerable to that power from Europe.

Marx himself and all the communists have agreed that the State itself represents a problem in human society. It is something that is given birth to at that time in human society when society is riven into classes. That is when you see the emergence of the State. It's not something that's desirable, although the existence of the State in Europe has been used to prove to us that what white people were superior because there did not seem to be such a strong consolidated State in Africa. This is the same thing as saying there did not seem to be such strong consolidated class divisions in Africa, with oppressors and oppressed.

We've got the same fallacious explanations for why North Americans and Europeans are located at the top of human society, while Africans and other peoples are at the bottom or near the bottom of human society. One theory says that African people are incapable and shiftless and the other says that African people simply haven't developed to the extent that white people have.

In our view both explanations are more or less the same. Neither is acceptable. Both are obviously fallacious.

These theories cannot explain in any kind of meaningful terms why a minority of the people on the planet Earth seem to have everything, including that which is produced by the majority of the people on the planet Earth who don't have anything. It seems to us to be a totally irrational assumption that this handful of people somehow would have developed naturally and be more civilized and better off than the rest of the people.

If we examine history we see that the people who seem to be so well off also have a history of brigandage, rape and enslavement of all the other people who seem not to be doing so well. The question then is, "What came first, the chicken or the egg?" Is the pillage and the enslavement the consequence of the superiority of white people and the inferi-

ority of the other peoples of the world? Or is the inferiority of the rest of the people in the world and the superiority of white people the consequence of this pillage and enslavement?

The point is that we can no longer accept any explanation of human society that ignores all of the evidence of how things got to be as they are.

Look at what is happening in the world. If oppressed people are marginal, then how do we explain Viet Nam where U.S. imperialism expended tremendous resources and terror after the French were defeated by the Vietnamese? White left theories could not give meaningful evidence as to why that happened, and would naturally suggest that Viet Nam can't be that important.

They can't answer why in December of 1989 there was the invasion of Panama, an artificially created country of 2.5 million people—with possibly 50,000 U.S. troops and the carpet bombing of entire impoverished communities.

Are we looking at marginal forces in history when we look at the significance of 2.5 million people to an imperialism that's the greatest that's ever been seen on the planet Earth? Are the Panamanians just marginal forces?

What about Nicaragua? If Nicaragua is so marginal to history, then why is U.S. imperialism making sure that it does everything that it can to cripple and maim the people and make it impossible for them to be free?

Are Salvadorans just marginal people? Are African people in West Philadelphia just marginal? If we're so marginal, why are there eight volumes of documentation that's been done by the police department of St. Petersburg alone on the African People's Socialist Party?

It's not our marginality that is a factor here. The factor is that oppressed people have always been key to the economy of the world.

Capitalism was born as white power, as a parasitic social system. It is parasitic. There is nothing engendered inside the capitalist social system

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that makes it what it is. What it sucks from other people is what gives it the power that it's got. That is the significance of Panama, Nicaragua, Africa and African people throughout the world.

We want to initiate a discussion that is designed to disclose to us how the world and the world economy really function, and reveals to us the basis of the social relationships that we see in the world.

Revolution is the basis for changing this relationship. It has to be revolution because capitalism was born parasitic.

A man named V.I. Lenin wrote early in the 20th century about what he called imperialism. He said imperialism is capitalism developed to a higher level and it has certain features, among which is parasitism.

But we say capitalism was always parasitic. It didn't just become parasitic in a certain period when Lenin was able to view it from where he was located in Europe. It was born parasitic.

Marx had already said it when he said that capitalism was given birth by primitive accumulation. He said that in order to have capitalist production there must first be capitalist accumulation. But in order for there to be capitalist accumulation, there must be capitalist production. He said therefore we presuppose an accumulation that is not the consequence of capitalist production, but its starting point. He said that's the only way we can get out of this vicious circle.

To understand how capitalism happened we must presuppose that there was an accumulation that was not the consequence of capitalist production, but its starting point. He called that starting point "primitive accumulation."

Marx defined the relationships that the people who got paid for their labor had with the bourgeoisie as "wage slavery." He said wage slavery in Europe needed as a pre-condition "slavery pure and simple in the New World." That to us meant clearly that the fundamental contradiction in the world is not the contradiction that occurred between white workers and their bosses. Rather it was the contradiction that existed between slavery pure and simple—the pedestal of capitalism—and wage

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slavery or the capitalist production and all the capitalist relationships that rested on this pedestal of slavery.

We have said all along that the class question is concentrated in the colonial question. That is the only explanation of why the European revolution has never happened. Even the existence of what they call the Soviet Union had to be explained by Lenin in retrospect. Before the Russian revolution, all the communists throughout Europe and even the Bolsheviks had said that socialist revolution would happen in Western Europe first. They believed that the revolution in Russia was to get rid of the Czar, to overthrow feudalism. Since according to their theory feudalism led to capitalism, it would have to be a revolution ushering in capitalism. Even after the February revolution in 1917, most of the Bolsheviks refused to try to make a socialist revolution because it defied everything that they said was supposed to happen.

It was only after Lenin struggled within the organization he created, the Bolsheviks, that the Bolsheviks did seize power. Lenin then had to give an explanation for why the so-called socialist revolution happened in Russia instead of where it was supposed to happen. He came up with a theory of Russia being the weak link.

But Russia wasn't the weak link theoretically until after the revolution. The weak link theory came about to try to define why it was possible to have a socialist revolution in Russia. This is why subsequently we haven't seen anything in Europe that even comes close to socialist revolution. Although the political basis for socialists to seize power has existed in Russia, in China and elsewhere, the historical basis for the rise of socialism is only now upon us. That is also the significance of what is happening in Eastern Europe.

We have to mention what's happening in Eastern Europe. Otherwise many people who struggle against capitalism, struggle for communism, can be demoralized because they see all these white people, wearing designer-clothes, saying that communism didn't work and now they are opting for capitalism.

What then is the historical basis for the rise of socialism? The historical basis for the rise of socialism is the destruction of the pedestal upon

which the whole capitalist edifice rests. The historical basis for the rise of socialism is revolutionary activity throughout Africa, and among the African communities of the U.S., throughout Asia and Latin America. This ongoing process becoming deeper with every go around is what has been consistently undermining capitalism and imperialism, and therefore bringing us closer and closer to a period where socialist revolution on a world scale is finally a real possibility. That is what we are dealing with.

Chapter II

The Black Revolution of the Sixties

In the 1960s we saw black revolution in this country. I mean that literally. There was a real revolution that occurred in this country and if anybody can call what happened in Russia in 1905 a revolution, then clearly what happened in this country in the Sixties was a real revolution.

It came close to overturning U.S. imperialism. The only things lacking were ideological clarity on our part, and organization. The spontaneous and not always absolutely spontaneous rising of the masses of African people in this country almost overturned U.S. imperialism. I want to be clear on that because there's a historical revisionism that attempts to explain away what happened in the Sixties.

We're now told that what happened in the Sixties had to do with Flower Children on Haight Street in San Francisco, with hippies, with Tom Hayden, with the anti-war movement, white people. The real deal is that African people in this country, starting from 1954 or '55 and lasting through 1969 or '70, fought U.S. imperialism tooth and nail almost by ourselves. There was not a day for more than 14 years in this country that they had peace from social instability caused by the true pedestal upon which this whole rotten edifice rests.

It is critical to understand this. Every day now they bring up somebody like Bobby Seale who's selling cookbooks or Eldridge Cleaver who's saying, "I'm sorry." Every day they bring up something like this to undermine the consciousness of African people. They want to undermine the significance of what happened and to continuously convince African people that we are so insignificant a social force that what happened in the Sixties couldn't possibly have happened.

The fact of the matter is that they had tanks surrounding the White House in April of 1968 after they murdered Martin Luther King because they thought that we might have an organization that had the possibility of taking the White House. They could smell the smoke right there in D.C. They could see the city burning.

The truth of the matter is that almost every day you picked up the newspaper to read about what was burning today. I mean that literally! You wanted to get the newspaper to find out what was burning today. It was the most powerful occurrence inside this country.

We are talking about counterinsurgency that put down this Revolution and it's fundamentally important for us to understand it. Let me say some things about the counterinsurgency as it developed inside this country.

Our Revolution got its impetus as a consequence of an alliance that had developed between the liberal sector of the white ruling class and the liberal sector of the black petty bourgeoisie. I want to say this because we get explanations for social phenomena that require us to be religious, to believe that things happen because God-Jehovah, God-Allah, God-Jah, God-Libra, or some other phenomenon impacted on things.

They say the Black Revolution came about because Martin Luther King made speeches, but there was a historical basis for revolutionary struggle inside this country. The impetus for our Revolution was material. It was the thing that gave rise, for example, to Willie Ricks, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organizer who coined the term "Black Power," and who was the best organizer in the country.

It wasn't just that all of a sudden Willie Ricks woke up and had a good idea. Struggle was happening in the world. What was happening was that Europe and the U.S. were changing places. Now the U.S. was becoming the central imperialist force controlling the world economy.

Before the second imperialist war, Europe, collectively, was the central force controlling the world economy. Europe controlled Africa, Asia and even portions of Latin America. The second imperialist war was like the first imperialist war. It was like most of the wars which occurred in Europe since the 12th or 13th century. They have been wars to redivide the world. They were wars over who was going to possess what belonged to us. They were wars to get primitive accumulation, if you will.

So, the second imperialist war was a war to redivide the world. This war resulted in most of Europe being devastated and its economic infrastructure wiped out.

Japan fought in that war too, for hegemony over Asia. It was a nationalist stance. The Japanese had decided that Europeans should not control, oppress and exploit Asians. The Japanese should control, oppress and exploit Asians.

As a consequence of the second imperialist war and the devastation that was left in Europe and in Japan, the U.S. imperialists, who went into the war late and never fought on their own territory, came out as the most powerful country in the world.

You hear in your political science classes about how the U.S. was such a wonderful country because when Europe and Japan were in bad shape after the war, the U.S. went and built them all up with the Marshall Plan, and now these ingrates won't return the favors.

The plan was named after General George Marshall, who at the time was U.S. Secretary of State. The Marshall Plan put forth the program for the economic recovery of Europe and Japan. This was part of the thing that gave the U.S. control over much of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was part of a process that allowed for U.S. capital to rebuild the economic infrastructure of Europe and of Japan and which raised up the U.S. as the most powerful country in the whole world at the time.

At this time the U.S. also instigated counterinsurgency efforts throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America, intervening and creating so-called anti-colonial movements that would oppose the interests of the British and the French in Africa and other places. They would say it was about democracy. Of course it was really about the U.S. penetrating into those markets and controlling them to the extent that it was possible.

The British used to control Nigeria, but now the Nigerian constitution and form of government is based on the U.S. constitution and form of government.

As a consequence of the second imperialist war, great resources began to flow into the U.S. Thus we saw a requirement inside this country for labor, for more workers to transform the raw materials coming from Africa, Asia and Latin America into finished products. Workers were no longer available from what was called Eastern Europe as they had been in the past.

Africans thought we created the word "honkey." But "honkey" was something that white people used to call Hungarians who were being brought into this country and taking away other white people's "good jobs." It used to be that white workers were brought in from Eastern Europe to do the extra work that was required and then they integrated into the American mainstream. But now the U.S. could no longer get workers from Eastern Europe because Eastern Europe was a part of the so-called Soviet Bloc. So in order to get workers they went down South.

In order to get workers from down South they had to destroy the relations of production which existed down South, which were based on labor-intensive capitalist production. By "labor intensive" we mean production that requires many people working real hard: digging holes, picking cotton, picking oranges, laying railroad ties, etc. In the North, production was capital-intensive. It was based in factories and machinery.

We had a situation where the liberal sector of the bourgeoisie then acquired its definition as "liberal" based solely on the fact that it needed black workers in the factories. It had to bust up the traditional relations of production.

To do that required struggle and it required black people having the ability to go to school. To participate in capital-intensive production you've got to know how to operate the machines, you've got to know how to function in factories, and you've got to have a minimum level of literacy.

Therefore you see the emergence of people like Hubert Humphrey and other liberals championing the needs and the rights of black people. They were struggling to stop the exploitation in the South so that we could be exploited in the North as well as in the factories which were going to develop in the South itself.

I know you don't believe that. You think that one night Hubert Humphrey went to sleep and woke up and Jesus told him, "Don't kick black people's ass no more."

So this is the basis of the transformation that was about to happen. They needed to bust up the relations of production that existed.

The last time that we were such a central force it created a civil war. So they had to bust it up short of civil war. The liberal sector of the bourgeoisie championed a process in which the liberal sector of the black petty bourgeoisie would lead a movement for limited revolution among black people ourselves.

This movement for limited revolution was to meet the requirements of the liberal sector of the white bourgeoisie who needed to be in charge of black people in the interests of capital. There were black preachers and the like in the South who recognized that the red neck mayors and sheriffs definitely were no smarter than the black people.

Most of the white people who held offices throughout the South were uneducated and backwards. Africans who had escaped long enough to go to Tuskegee, Alabama or Hampton or other black colleges came back having to be subservient to these tobacco-chewing backwoodsmen. They resented that in a serious way. These were the African forces who had connections with the liberal bourgeoisie.

We need this understanding to explain certain characteristics of the Civil Rights Movement. You have heard Malcolm X talk about how the Civil Rights Movement was funded by the liberal sector of the white ruling class. Even certain agents of the U.S. government itself funded sectors of the Civil Rights Movement at different times.

Why did they fund it? Obviously they aren't going to fund the Revolution—at least not on purpose. They funded it because it met certain objectives that they had. Now we begin to understand concretely that Martin Luther King had to lead a movement that was based on philosophical non-violence, because it was funded by the liberal sector of the bourgeoisie.

The Civil Rights Movement represented an alliance between the liberal sector of the white ruling class and the liberal sector of the black petty bourgeoisie. Some people would say Martin Luther King was non-violent because, "he was Christian," or because "Martin Luther King read books by Ghandi." Well hell, the Ku Klux Klan is a Christian organization!

The books that Martin Luther King read about Ghandi were printed in English. Whether they were printed by Americans that were lynching black people at the time or by the British who were killing Indians at that time in India, it obviously didn't have the same effect on the white people who wrote and read the books as it was having on Martin Luther King!

The reason it had a different effect on Martin Luther King than it had on these white people is because the liberal sector of the ruling class required that black people take a stance that was totally opposed to violence as a pre-requisite for the funding of this movement. No sector of the bourgeoisie is going to fund a revolution that's going to buy an Uzi, or an AK-47 or even a "Saturday night special" to use against it. There's no way that's going to happen. This is the basis for the philosophical non-violence of the Civil Rights Movement.

The point is that the Movement got out of hand. That was a problem. This movement began to sweep up the masses of people and it busted loose from people like King. They couldn't control it anymore.

The truth though is that there never was a time in the Civil Rights Movement when everybody said, "Okay, Martin, we're just going to be non-violent."

This question of philosophical non-violence was so serious that they even had a school in the Civil Rights Movement to teach you how to get beaten. They still have them. We're experts at that. They'd teach you, "If they hit you like this, turn." They even practiced hitting you and spitting on you to make sure that you were going to act the right way.

You must understand that there was never universal acceptance of philosophical non-violence by African people. All down the line there

was a fierce struggle around this question. It busted loose in 1966 around the time of the Meredith March. James Meredith was going to have this "March Against Fear" in 1966. He was going to prove that a black man could walk across Mississippi without something happening to him.

He got about 30 feet and a white man shot him with a shot gun. In many ways this rescued the Civil Rights Movement because with Meredith's shooting the Civil Rights Movement appeared for a second to be getting a new shot in the arm.

Black civil rights leaders from throughout the country flew into Mississippi and said they were going to finish the march. Meredith said, "I don't want you to finish the march." Meredith was an interesting kind of brother. He didn't want anybody to come in. They met with Meredith and I think chilled him out and then started the march.

On this march, the great televised debate happened between then-Stokely Carmichael and Martin Luther King on the virtues of philosophical non-violence.

It was also on this march that Willie Ricks went into a small community in SNCC territory preceding the arrival of the march. He came back and said, "Hey man, I started chanting 'Black Power' and these youngsters really ate it up. I said 'Black Power' and everyone said, 'Right on.'"

People in SNCC were saying, "Willie, you're exaggerating, shucking and jiving." He said, "I'm telling' you. You go there. You say 'Black Power,' and see what happens." He did and the rest is history! Willie Ricks jumped on that flatbed truck in Greenwood, Mississippi and started leading that chant.

I lost my job because of that march, by the way. I was working right here at the *St. Petersburg Times*. I was a young up-coming Negro on the way—quick smile and a firm handshake, "Got plans for you boy." I said, "I got to join that march, boss." He said, "That isn't the way to do it. The way to do it is to lead your people. You stay right here and work real hard and set a good example for your people." I said, "I can't do that." They said, "If you leave, don't come back." I said, "Bye."

The consequences of raising the Black Power slogan transformed everything. It immediately separated from this whole concept of civil rights and the concept that the solution was to integrate into America. Instead it put the struggle on an anti-colonial plane, regardless of whether or not the forces in SNCC were conscious of it. Now we were saying we're not trying to integrate—we want our own power. We want Black Power.

Even if we weren't saying we wanted African power, we understood that as a people we had to have our own power. That's what the slogan represented. We had people like Walter Cronkite saying "We don't understand what Black Power means."

You walked down to the corner and all the young bloods who were never interested in the movement before, knew what Black Power meant. You saw people struggling to acquire it all over the country. In Watts in '65, people were chanting slogans like "Burn, baby, burn," but after May of 1968 the slogan became "Black Power." This real clear political demand was put out at every engagement we had with the bourgeoisie.

People began to shoot at the police. People began to fight back. It took the struggle away from that non-violent "love your enemy" stuff.

Willie Ricks, who is now called Mukassa, likes to talk about an incident on the Meredith march. The white people used to line up at marches and when you came in they'd just jump on you and beat you up and you just practiced getting hit. But during the Meredith march this white boy from the Klan jumped off the top of a car on a sister, and he got beat up under the car with a lug wrench. He was begging people, "Please, stop and I'll leave here running."

The Black Power demand transformed things almost overnight. All over the world, African people were chanting "Black Power." In England, a Black Power Movement developed. It was a profound thing.

Chapter III Counterinsurgency: the U.S. War Against the Black Revolution

As the Black Power Movement rose up, counterinsurgency became a real important question for the bourgeoisie, as it was in the 1920s with the Garvey Movement. J. Edgar Hoover built his career by crushing Garvey. In the 1960s they brought counterinsurgency against us again in a real way.

Malcolm X was a problem for the bourgeoisie because Malcolm's understandings represent the African working class. So they killed Malcolm, but it was too late. The bourgeoisie had to fight a catch-up struggle.

It's interesting because the 1963 March on Washington resulted in passage of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964. Then in 1965 the Voting Rights Act was passed. That was supposed to mean that it was over because that's what the struggle was supposed to have been about—civil rights and voting rights. But in 1966, when it should have been over, the Black Power demand was put forward saying, "Civil rights won't do. It's about black power, having our own power."

In 1967, they began passing laws like the Rap Brown Bill which made it a crime to cross state lines in order to "incite a riot." In Florida they created the inciting to riot act, called the "Joe Waller Bill." They created a law against verbal abuse of the police and all kinds of madness.

In 1966 we had the founding of the second Black Panther Party. The first was the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Lowndes County, Alabama which raised up the panther and also raised up the gun. In 1966 we see the organization founded in Oakland, California under Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

Then in 1967 J. Edgar Hoover put into motion the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). That is the first consolidated program that we know of to bust up and destroy the Black Revolution. I'm sure that COINTELPRO was not the only counterinsurgency program in 1967.

The COINTELPRO strategy was put forward in a memo on August 25, 1967. It stated among other things that they had to prevent the rise of a black messiah who could unify and lead the revolution.

It speculated that Malcolm X could have been that messiah if they hadn't already gotten him. Martin Luther King could be if he should ever turn from his allegiance to non-violence and liberal whites. It speculated that Stokely Carmichael could be the leader if he weren't so young; Elijah Muhammad if he weren't so old.

At the same time the movement was leaving King behind. But King had always been conscious of his place in history and he wouldn't be left easily. In May 1967 at Riverside Church in a speech that he made, he wondered aloud about his ability to maintain his commitment to non-violence, especially with these young Africans talking about the violence of the U.S. government in places like Viet Nam. He was wondering aloud whether he could be committed to non-violence any longer.

The key thing that you really must understand is that the movement had broken away from the leadership of the black petty bourgeoisie. They didn't control it any more. They could no longer make any predictions about what was going to happen in any community around this country. As Malcolm X said, these groups were doing things on their own by now.

The masses had begun to raise up critical forces like Fannie Lou Hamer. Brothers and sisters in the projects were now in the Black Panther Party and Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO, founded by Omali Yeshitela in 1968), and before JOMO, SNCC. They began to rise up and take the struggle out of the hands of the black petty bourgeoisie. So the black petty bourgeoisie was no longer in control of its part of the bargain with the bourgeoisie.

The depth of this is represented in the way that Martin Luther King died, where he died and under what circumstances. Before, it was always the preachers who called the demonstrations and had the people come out, but King died in Memphis, Tennessee. It was the black sanitation workers who had told King to come on down and participate in the march.

The movement had transformed from a place where the petty bourgeoisie told the people what to do. The people were now assuming control and leadership of their own movement. This represented a violation of the alliance between the black petty bourgeoisie and the white liberal sector of the ruling class. This is the point when the counterinsurgency took us.

In April, seven months after the COINTELPRO document was put in place by the FBI, King was assassinated. The counterinsurgency didn't stop there of course. Members of SNCC were being framed up. Insidious things were happening. They said that somebody had a package of dynamite in the SNCC office in Philadelphia. I was being arrested throughout the state of Florida.

Other people were being killed and arrested. There's the murder of Martin and the assassinations of members of the Black Panther Party. Splits were happening in our organizations from infiltrators coming up into them. In effect, splits were wiping out the movement.

A real counterinsurgency was put in place and it was wreaking havoc throughout the country. A revolutionary movement that had not been around long enough to develop certain skills, to deepen its own ideological understanding, to develop a certain political sophistication, was being eaten up by the bourgeoisie. The movement was put down.

The counterinsurgency was effective to the extent that it broke the back of the Black Liberation Movement in the 1960s. However, despite the military defeat of our movement, the bourgeoisie had and still does have a problem. The U.S. government has not recovered even now from the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

That's why it was necessary for them to kill Huey P. Newton who was not in the movement any longer. Huey was in circumstances like a lot of the brothers and sisters out there in the projects right now. But he still represented a symbol from the Sixties.

They still have deep problems that they have not solved subsequent to the Black Revolution of the Sixties. They used to call it the "Viet Nam Syndrome." They wouldn't say the "Black People Syndrome." They

called it the Viet Nam Syndrome. There was a whole period of struggle and resistance inside this country. They still have not recovered absolutely from that.

On the back of this military aggression of COINTELPRO, we had people like Richard Nixon talking about a counterinsurgency. He didn't call it counterinsurgency. He talked about black capitalism. He talked about developing a so-called black middle class that could act as a buffer between the bourgeoisie and the masses of oppressed African people. They would act as an ideological transmission line from the white ruling class to the masses of the people. The government consciously created this black middle class.

They also consciously brought in to our communities heroin that was coming from Southeast Asia where they were in the process of murdering poor people in places like Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Burma. That's when we saw poor communities throughout the country addicted to heroin. That's the first time we ever saw street walkers in this city [St. Petersburg, Florida], black women supporting their own heroin habits and the habits of their boyfriends. It was a part of the counterinsurgency.

They killed the Black Revolution, then they raised up the black petty bourgeoisie and began to implement neo-colonialism as a part of a counterinsurgency inside our communities. They had to do this.

Even to meet its own objectives the black petty bourgeoisie had to help push back the Black Revolution. The black petty bourgeoisie was not interested in the real revolution. In fact, the real revolution was against the interests of the black petty bourgeoisie as it understood them because the black petty bourgeoisie was fighting for a piece of the pie. If we're trying to get the whole damn kitchen, then they wouldn't be allowed to get the pie. In order for them to get the pie, they had to stop what we were doing.

That's why [NAACP leader] Roy Wilkins and all those other suckers were out there trying to push back the Black Revolution just as seriously as the white ruling class was. In fact they represented in many ways a vanguard in attacking what we were trying to do.

The ruling class raised up the black petty bourgeoisie, brought in heroin and then initiated a "war on crime." It was no longer a "war on niggers," but a "war on crime." They instituted such things as the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Special organizations of police forces emerged throughout this country.

Then, in the '80s, on the back of the attack going down against Central America, after the defeat of the Black Revolution, they began to target the general black community. After Martin is dead and Malcolm is dead and Bobby Hutton is dead and our organizations have been destroyed, the focal point becomes the masses of African people.

Because of the ideas coming from the transformation in our consciousness, the masses become the focal point. But now they can't simply say they're doing it because we're black or because of the struggle that we've made. Instead they say, "I'm doing this because you're doing dope."

You can even get the victim to be convinced that his situation is self-inflicted. They keep all the people from having jobs within the capitalist system and then impose another illegitimate capitalist economy on the community, a drug economy.

The rent gets paid in the projects from dope. The phone bill gets paid in the projects from dope. How does the light bill get paid? From the dope. If there wasn't dope money in the black community, there wouldn't be any money in the black community. That's the way it is in the real world.

Everybody knows the dope money is there. Since the dope money is there, the police say they're coming to get the dope man. Because the dope money is here and the dope is here, the police are here. Of course there isn't as much dope money there as they say, because black people aren't making any money from the dope. These suckers who you see running around with gold chains around their necks and the gold on their hands are wearing everything they own. The little knot in their pocket and the car they're riding in--that's all they've got in the whole world.

It's easy for the ruling class therefore to plant this fallacy about the rich Africans in the projects—as if that's where we live when we get rich. We find the first vacant joint in the projects.

Part of the purpose of this drug economy is to deal with the deficit-ridden capitalist economy. There are hundreds of billions of dollars tied into the drug trade, which is part of a counterinsurgency. They even had articles in the newspaper here in St. Petersburg saying that if the drugs disappeared from the state of Florida, the economy would fall apart.

That makes me believe that the state of Florida has got a stake in drugs. An article written in the *St. Petersburg Times* says that if drugs were to disappear, the economy would sink into the water. Do you think that's what the police are doing in the projects, trying to destroy the economy of the state of Florida? No, it has nothing to do with that. It's a part of the counterinsurgency. The counterinsurgency was generalized against our people.

You have people like William Bennett who pulled a legal coup d'etat in Washington, D.C. that took over the whole State apparatus. He brought in the National Guard and police from about seven different agencies. Black people elected that boot-licking, dope-snorting crook Marion Berry who's in power in D.C. and who used to be in SNCC. Black people elected him, but Bennett totally disregarded and overturned that.

They're putting barbed-wire fences around projects throughout the country. They're forcing black people in projects to have passes. They are putting together laws that abrogate any kind of democratic rights that black people should have. They've created a consciousness among the North American population and the black population itself that the black community is a criminal community. That justifies everything that they do to us. It is a counterinsurgency.

The African People's Socialist Party has been saying that for a long time and fighting against it. It's important to understand this because the counterinsurgency has worked relatively effectively to the extent that even organizations which are supposed to be for the Revolution, find themselves working for George Bush and the police.

For example, there are so-called anti-colonial groups which have decided that they have to be "dope busters." They never see the need for slumlord busters. They never are the police busters. None of them has ever been the rotten boss busters or anything like that. They're the dope

busters. In other words, Nancy Reagan and George Bush have defined what the agenda has to be for so-called revolutionaries.

They are running around in the projects now attacking black people who are involved in the dope trade. They say they're "taking back the streets." I want to know from whom and for whom.

We've got a real serious situation. Many forces in our communities have been misinformed about what the contradiction is and they play right into the counterinsurgency. You read it in the newspaper every day. You read about "crack babies." You don't read in the newspaper about babies violated by homelessness or about black people who don't have a dime and don't have heat in the winter.

You don't read in the paper everyday, "Police violate another black person." Instead we are constantly bombarded with something about dope problems or crack problems. That's been transformed into the fundamental contradiction.

The crack problem isn't even as bad as the educational problem. If every black person in the country was employed selling dope, it wouldn't do the harm in a year that the school system does in a day to us. That's the real deal.

The problem is that the Revolution has not been able to define what the contradiction has been in the last period, so that's what the Party has been about in part.

When we say we have to struggle to bust up the counterinsurgency, you must recognize what's happening now is a part of a long continuum of warfare, of counterinsurgency. When you bust up the counterinsurgency, you don't do it by acting like the police against yourself. What you do is wage the struggle that defends the national democratic rights of the African population and fights for the democratic space to make the revolution.

When we talk about struggling for national democratic rights, we are not talking about fighting for democracy as an end unto itself. We are talking about fighting for the democratic space to continue the process

to make a revolution. A revolution is the only thing that will free us. We have to be really clear on that matter.

Chapter IV

The Theory of Counterinsurgency

I have a copy of a manual put out in 1979. Its cover reads: "The Extension Course, the Education Center for the Marine Corps, Development and Education Command, Quantico, Virginia, Marine Corps Amphibious Warfare, School Extension Course on Counterinsurgency."

The bourgeoisie is operating from its own assumptions about what we are about. We're about a struggle for our happiness and for control of the resources that we produce. As much work as African people have done, we should be the wealthiest people on the planet Earth.

All of our resources have been stolen. Everything we've ever had continues to be stolen. We are an impoverished people around the planet Earth. We fight for our happiness and the return of our resources and they define us as a problem. It is important and necessary for them to do so because everything they've got depends upon their continuing ability to take everything we've got.

We talk about counterinsurgency and we talk about revolution. They define revolution as an insurgency. They say what they have to do is counter this insurgency. This manual defines what they call "forms of overthrow" in three different ways.

One is conventional warfare. In this form of overthrow an army has to be defeated. As a consequence of defeating a conventional army you take over the government and then take over the people.

There are certain people in our own movement who see what we are about as a war, which is really a misunderstanding, because a war is just a conflict between armies. Essentially a war is a conflict between contending military forces. What we are talking about is a conflict between contending social forces. So we're not just talking about a war where they've got an army and we've got an army and you just go to battle with each other. The bourgeoisie understands the difference.

They define another form of overthrow as the coup. They say this happens generally in the highest echelons of the government itself with rapid overthrow of the government by another sector which allows them to take over the army which then subdues the people.

They then talk about the insurgency. In an insurgency the starting point is winning the people. You win the people and as a consequence of winning the people you initiate a process where you defeat the army and then set up your own government. That's how they define the insurgency. That's not too bad a definition.

Part of the reason that I wanted to mention this is because there's been a transformation in the counterinsurgency. The counterinsurgency that the ruling class and the State has initiated is changing again. It started off as being something that targeted our organizations and political leaders. Having defeated those, then it generalized the oppression against the masses of people because effectively there was no revolutionary organization it had to concentrate on anymore.

Now, as a consequence of a lot of the work that we've been doing throughout the country and in many other places, we see the counterinsurgency beginning to target the Party. I would imagine it's beginning to target other organizations as well.

One of the reasons we're here in St. Petersburg, Florida as opposed to some other places is because of how the counterinsurgency has been waged against us here. We've got people who have been awakened at 6 a.m. by 14 carloads of policemen using axes to kick and tear their doors down for a traffic ticket. This is unheard of.

We've got one brother who's facing a life sentence without possibility of parole. We've got masses of people around the country who are increasingly being faced with these kinds of charges, which is a total abrogation of democratic rights even according to the U.S. constitution.

We have the Habitual Offender Law which usually says that if you've been convicted of a felony twice, then you can be tried the third time as a habitual offender. The weight that the charge usually carries is increased so that they can put you away for life without any possibility

of parole. But the U.S. constitution says that a person can't be tried more than once for the same crime. If you can't be tried more than once for the same crime, how on the third time do you end up being sentenced for the things that you did two times ago?

It is a total abrogation of even the bourgeois constitution. It is a part of a counterinsurgency. It is designed to put the people up against the wall and to take away any possibility of our being able to fight for freedom.

This is how this manual says an insurgency works strategically. They say, "The mass strategy envisions a protracted conflict against the government in power. In its initial step toward organization, the mass strategy emphasizes a complicated party structure which utilizes mass civil organizations."

They have this counterinsurgency program that includes such things as "population and resource control." Their first objective is, "strengthen or establish a government authority. The second objective is to sever the links between the guerrillas and the people. Third, the insurgency organization within the community must be identified and neutralized."

The manual talks about the "hard-core cadre...He is a member of the party core dedicated, devoted to the cause, a highly disciplined revolutionary. He's a card-carrying insurgency party member."

They said that this guy "perhaps originally from the local area, may be formally trained outside the country. He is normally a master at psychological operations and a master at recruiting people, getting people, regardless of their affiliation, to support his cause in one fashion or another, directly or indirectly, actively or passively, knowingly or unknowingly.

"He is a strong believer and extremely difficult to convert through psychological warfare. Identification and elimination of this element of the insurgency apparatus is the most difficult, but is the most important task of the population and resource control."

Here's how they define other forces: "The sympathizer is not as staunch as the hard-core cadre, but he nevertheless believes strongly in the insurgent's cause and is a very solid supporter. He believes perhaps

that the political, economic and social reforms professed by the movement are to his benefit and that of his country. His ties with the insurgents are primarily religious or racial. Perhaps he has an unusual hatred for the existing government. He's a little more lucrative target for psychological operations than the cadre.

"The marginal follower has no great intellectual attachment to the insurgent's cause. His connection is usually some type of a personal link through friends, relatives, customs or just plain fear. He is a good psychological operations target.

"The final category is that of the supporter which is sort of a catch-all for all others who frequently support or contribute to the insurgent's cause in some way or another, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Supporters are ideal psychological operational targets and are subject to persuasion and conversion."

They say another objective of the population and resource control is to provide security for the population. Then they say, "We're referring especially to that day-to-day, night-to-night low level protection against terrorism, coercion, sabotage, or intimidation by the insurgent, that which is provided by the police or perhaps paramilitary unit. The final objective is to prevent civilian interference with counterinsurgent operations.

"Hence we are concerned not only with civilian interference as it pertains to their safety, but also with the civilian population adversely interfering with or affecting our various population and resource control internal development and counter-guerrilla programs. This may necessitate such things as temporary evacuation from an area to prevent civilian casualties or perhaps settlement and re-settlement in order to maintain better populace control."

They are defining concentration camps, or housing projects, which are concentration camps.

I wanted to share some of this as a part of initiating the discussion so that we can get a sense of what counterinsurgency is about or what they call counterinsurgency. It is essentially a military concept. It is something that generally the whole movement has not been aware of.

The counterinsurgency is not something that's been summed up by the Black Revolution. The Black Revolution and the struggles of the indigenous and colonized peoples here are the only forces targeted for counterinsurgency.

This manual identifies three kinds of societies that have to be contended with. It identifies a "traditional society." That's what they call an agricultural society where they've pushed us back to the Stone Age so that we're just farming and that kind of thing. Then they refer to a "transitional society." And then they characterize the so-called "industrial society." It's the transitional society that they say is the big problem, that's moving from traditional to an industrial society.

The point is that they don't identify the counterinsurgency as something waged against white people anywhere. They say counterinsurgency is something that Kennedy began to really develop in 1961 on a worldwide level. They say it was something that was done previously, but that it was Kennedy who really kicked off the counterinsurgency process inside this country.

They identify it as something that has come subsequent to the failure of Marx's predictions about industrial societies having revolutions. They identify it as a failure that's based on the fact that essentially the industrial societies have been able to pay off their populations. They don't say it exactly like that, but they do say that industrial societies provide the things that white people want.

They give other kinds of examples around the world, from Mao Ze Dong in China to Brazil to Viet Nam to the Philippines, as well as the rest of the places where counterinsurgency has occurred, and of course in Africa.

The point that I want to make is that counterinsurgency is something that essentially victimizes African and other colonial peoples. We have a particular kind of relationship to it, and if you don't have a certain theoretical grounding, if you don't have a certain ideological base, then you can't even know that this thing is happening to you!

If you think that somehow we're involved in some kind of struggle for

black and white to unite and fight, then you can't protect yourself from the counterinsurgency. If you don't understand that the U.S. government and bourgeoisie clearly have been able to recognize the special character and features of the struggle for national liberation that we are involved in, then you can't protect yourself from counterinsurgency.

If you think that you are about the same thing as the Spartacist League is about or the Socialist Workers Party or the last organization that Le Roi Jones was in, then you can't protect yourself from the counterinsurgency.

It requires understanding that the bourgeoisie recognizes that we have a stake in our liberation. Most North Americans usually don't even believe the U.S. government wages counterinsurgency inside this country. They are so far removed—and this includes so-called leftist revolutionaries—from what the real deal is in the real world. The real world is always outside of Europe, always outside of the North American communities. After all, only a few people live in Europe and the North American community. Everybody else lives somewhere else, and that's the real world.

An artificial world for white people has been created because of this life that we have in the real world. North Americans are so distanced from the real world, it's a struggle for them to join with the rest of the people on the planet Earth.

Instead, because of where they are located in relation to the whole world economy, they are constantly demanding to be able to set the terms for how revolution and everything in the whole world is supposed to look. What we're saying, of course, is that it can't be that way!

So we want to deal with the question of counterinsurgency. We want to be able to have this discussion so that our whole movement, wherever we are located, can be informed about what it is that we are contending with.

When we see William Bennett talking about some kind of overall program called "the war on drugs," when we see Jack Kemp putting barbed wire fences around our projects, when we see George Herbert Walker Bush attacking Panama, talking about Noriega being a drug agent, when we see people like Oliver North and John Hull in Costa Rica who

ran a dope-running, gun-running ring for the CIA, with planes landing at Homestead Air Force Base in Florida—we know what we're looking at! We know that we're involved in a certain feature of the social system that's used to hold us down as a people.

We have to sum that up. If we don't sum it up, we can't move forward. That's what we're struggling for. The whole movement must recognize this. We say that the counterinsurgency must be defeated, that we are involved in a counterinsurgency, the immediate essence of which came about during the Sixties.

We're talking about the fact that the counterinsurgency has raised up a sector of the African population, neo-colonial forces, that act as a cover and sometimes lead the police into the community or tell them to drop the bomb over there, as was done in Philadelphia.

We're talking about a counterinsurgency that has created a situation where there's public approval for the total abrogation of democratic rights to the black community. It uses various kinds of code words like "drugs" and "crime" as the basis for attacking black people who they used to attack, right up front because we're black.

We say that the response to this must be a conscious effort by the revolution throughout this country to push back the counterinsurgency. In the process of so doing, we must also raise up the struggle for the national democratic rights of African people.

I want to tell you why we're doing this. We are clear that the debate cannot be made with this system around the validity of the struggle for Black Power or for the African Revolution. We're not interested in arguing with a judge or a policeman about whether or not the revolution is good or bad.

What we have to do is deepen the crisis for the social system itself. This social system, at this time and place in history, has a contradiction in that, on the one hand, it is absolutely necessary for it to repress the African masses, while on the other hand, it is necessary for it to pose as a beacon of democracy.

So what we want to do is make it have to deal with the question of

democracy, not the question of revolution. It is our responsibility to make the revolution, to win revolutionary forces throughout the community, while at the same time posing for the whole social system and everybody in it the question of democracy. Make them have to deal with democracy.

When I go to court, I'm not arguing about whether the Black Revolution is fine. I'm arguing that I have a right to be a revolutionary because they said in their constitution that it's permitted. We're not trying to win judges. We're trying to win the masses. We're not trying to win the State to agree that Revolution is good. We're trying to present it with a contradiction that is inherent in itself.

At some juncture the system has to say that democracy is just good for white people. That's all right. The masses need to hear that. If you clarify that, then it changes the conditions all down the line. The system must say that or continue to pretend, as they do right now, that democracy's for everybody.

What I want them to do is deal with democracy. Don't deal with the revolution. We'll handle that.

Uhuru!

Chapter V Freedom Weekend Resolutions

Counterinsurgency Workshop Resolutions

1. We recognize the elevation of the traitor sector of the African population as leaders, administrators and government employees as a part of the neo-colonialist counterinsurgency used to deny colonized African people our freedom and the resources stolen from us over the last 400 years.

We recognize further that the North American white nationalist left, including that sector of the feminist movement that generally supports neo-colonialism at the expense of the general national liberation struggle, are active collaborators in the counterinsurgency used to deny African people our freedom.

2. We make a commitment to endorse, support and attend the mobilization on April 7, 1990 in Oakland, CA, organized by the People's Democratic Uhuru Movement designed to expose the counterinsurgency against African people and other oppressed peoples.
3. We understand that the future of African people lies in our ability to organize the African Socialist International and work in solidarity with other colonized and oppressed people of the world to expose and defeat U.S. and Western imperialism around the world.
4. We unite with the current understanding that drugs and the war on drugs are a continuing U.S. counterinsurgency war on African people, having their immediate origin as COINTELPRO some 22 years ago.
5. We understand neo-colonialism, military occupation, curfews, martial law, on the spot strip searches, well-armed hostile paramilitary forces, special legislation and laws, and attacks on the national democratic rights are all features of the U.S. government counterinsurgency attacks on African people.
6. We understand that the security of our Movement against U.S. domestic colonialism depends on our ability to combat the U.S. cap-

italist-colonial State, repression and secret political police, in defense of the national democratic rights of African and other subject and colonized peoples within the U.S.

7. This conference mandates the African People's Socialist Party to start initiating efforts as soon as possible to establish contact with revolutionary organizations and individuals all over the world as a first step towards the realization of the goal of an African Socialist International.
8. We resolve to combat the counterinsurgency program and its tactics of disinformation which include rumors, gossip, slander, lies and half-truths by insisting on the highest level of principled political discourse, criticism and self-criticism between and among all anti-colonial organizations. This high level of open public communication and criticism will serve the needs of all colonized and subject peoples to objectively compare, understand and unite with the organizations which represent the best interests of the working classes of the African and other subject peoples.
9. We resolve to combat the counterinsurgency program and its targeting of African youth for particularly harsh terror. We recognize our African youth as the concrete expression of our people's future and the most vibrant, energetic and uncompromising sector of our whole people demanding self-determination and freedom.

We further recognize as traitorous counterinsurgency stooges the representatives of any organization that insists on identifying our African youth as criminals, incorrigibles, delinquents, drug kingpins, habitual offenders, gang members or gang leaders, while leaving unstained the character and reputation of the U.S. terroristic brutal government which has over 400 years of organizing crime in North America, beginning with the biggest crime of all—slavery. We demand that the national democratic rights of our African youth and entire people be defended.

10. We resolve to combat the counterinsurgency intelligence gathering apparatus by calling on all African and subject nationals to participate in non-collaboration campaigns that will resist cooperating with police drug information hot lines, police town watch organizing,

police athletic leagues, police explorer scouts, police recruitment in high schools and colleges, street conversations with police, police supported and protected "dope busting" and "take back the streets" rallies and marches, and police investigations.

A non-collaborationist stance with the police and its neo-colonial fronts will further draw the line between those who are for our people being free, and those who will unite with our communities' and people's class enemy, the U.S. government. We further encourage all freedom-loving people to join an organization led by principled revolutionary cadre to fulfill the dream of a safe, liberated, clean, drug-free community.

Prison Workshop Resolutions

1. Whereas the U.S. prison system is being used as a primary instrument for political repression in the so-called "war on drugs," and that Africans in the U.S. are being confined in the prisons in record numbers;

Whereas this incarceration is accompanied by wholesale stripping away and disregard of the so-called "constitutional rights" of African people in military-style attacks in African communities, and strip searches, behavior modification, and techniques of torture inside the concentration camps;

We resolve to work to defeat this "drug" counterinsurgency, expose it as political repression, and call for the destruction of the U.S. prison system and the freeing of all African prisoners.

2. Whereas the U.S. prison system is full of African political prisoners and prisoners of war, many of whom have been confined since the Black Revolution of the Sixties, this conference resolves to support the struggles of said prisoners and work to secure their freedom.

Whereas African people colonized within the U.S. are victims of foreign and alien domination, subjected to over 400 years of white colonial terror;

We believe any acts on the part of African people against the colonial government and ruling class are not criminal but are justified heroic acts in the defense of the rights of African people;

We therefore resolve that the African National Prison Organization and other democratic forces in solidarity with the struggle of African people initiate campaigns to defend and liberate those Africans who become political prisoners and prisoners of war in the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

3. Whereas the U.S. government has historically used the death penalty as an act of murder and terrorism against African and other colonized peoples;

Whereas the death penalty today in the form of electrocution, lethal injection, and gas represent the same act of government murder as the lynch rope;

Therefore, be it resolved that this conference calls for the rescinding of the death penalty.

4. Whereas the Habitual Offender Act represents the continued use of bourgeois constitutional law as a tool to deny African people and Indio-Mexicano people our national democratic rights by unjustly sentencing oppressed people to life in colonial prison camps;

Whereas the Habitual Offender Act is in violation of previously stated white ruling class legal codes of the constitution which prohibit double jeopardy and cruel and unusual punishment;

Whereas the U.S. criminal justice system represents a tool for the continued oppression of African, Indio-Mexicano, and other colonized peoples of the world;

Therefore be it resolved that this national conference to defend the national democratic rights of the colonized and oppressed peoples calls for the abolishment of the Habitual Offender Act.

5. Be it resolved that members of the African People's Socialist Party and its mass organizations will struggle for Africans locked down to be able to receive literature and visitors.
6. We demand an end to the physical, mental and sexual abuse of youth

in placement facilities, and to the unlawful kidnapping of African youth from the African community;

We demand that youth being held hostage in youth facilities have direct contact with siblings, parents, friends and offspring.

We call on all progressive groups to organize youth contingents to speak at youth facilities with the goal of politically educating hostages about the system and its attack on African people.

7. We move that the African National Prison Organization (ANPO) compile a detailed and graphic list of biographies of prisoners of war and political prisoners incarcerated by the North American State for widest distribution and publicity internationally. This is part of the process to rebuild and strengthen ANPO organizations nationally.

Resolution on the Party

Whereas, the African People's Socialist Party has led struggles to expose the current character of the counterinsurgency used to frustrate the liberation struggle of African people;

Whereas, in the process of struggle the African People's Socialist Party has initiated a mass campaign for the defense of the national democratic rights of African people;

Whereas, this struggle in the defense of the national democratic rights of African people and to expose the counterinsurgency is part and parcel of the effort led by the African People's Socialist Party to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties;

Whereas, such an effort by the Party has been met by counterinsurgency attack by the U.S. colonizing government;

Be it resolved that defense of the African People's Socialist Party, its membership and organizations and their membership is crucial to the struggle to defeat the U.S. counterinsurgency.

Uhuru!

THE DIALECTICS OF BLACK REVOLUTION

The Struggle to Defeat the Counterinsurgency in the U.S.

Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party, leader of the Uhuru Movement, political theoretician and unwavering black revolutionary leader since the 1960s attempts to:

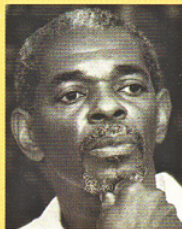
"...engage us in a discussion about political economy...
There is a dialectical relationship between our own
impoverishment and the wealth and well-being of white
people on the planet Earth."

In this remarkable pamphlet which is concise yet profound, theoretical yet practical, Yeshitela presents exciting breakthrough understandings of political theory from the point of view of African people. He also gives an insightful historical analysis of the Black Revolution of the 1960s as well as the U.S. government's brutal counterinsurgency war which defeated it and continues to terrorize the African community today.

**Also available from Burning Spear Uhuru Publications:
Social Justice and Economic Development for the African
Community: Why I Became a Revolutionary**

by Omali Yeshitela

Yeshitela tells his story about how he came to the conclusion that he must make a lifelong fight for the Black Revolution. He shows that real social justice must be tied to genuine economic development in the hands of African people. Yeshitela's proposals represent a popular new social, political and economic enterprise.



Omali Yeshitela, formerly known as Joseph Waller, was born in 1941 in St. Petersburg, Florida. In 1968, Yeshitela formed JOMO (Junta of Militant Organizations), and in 1972 co-founded the African People's Socialist Party, of which he is the Chairman. Today he leads the Uhuru Movement for black power whose influence is felt throughout the U.S., as well as Africa, Europe and the Caribbean.

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