

Sadaukai: CAP Speech Pt. II

"We Need A Political Party"

Last week we published the first part of the speech delivered by Owusu Sadaukai at the Congress of African People Conference on September 2. Below is the conclusion to that speech.

PART II

This leads me to the second part of this discussion — the importance of progressive countries such as Tanzania and Guinea. We had all better realize in no uncertain terms that we as an African People simply cannot sit by and let the forces of imperialism rip off Guinea and Tanzania. No two areas in Africa are under the gun of the imperialists as much as these two nation-states. Why?

1. Because they represent the countries who are farthest along the road of making political independence meaningful by the establishment of a socialist economic system aimed at internal structural change to benefit the masses and the dissolution of external control over the resources of their countries imperialist aggressors, such as the U. S. and its lackeys, Portugal, Israel, etc. do not take kindly to the development of any real resistance to their control of our people.

2. Because they are key bases for the support of the two Liberation struggles that are farthest advanced in the struggle against the Portuguese, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. In addition, Tanzania is the hub of liberation activities throughout Southern Africa.

3. Because in Ahmed Sekou Toure and Rais two areas have sound profound revolutionary leadership that gives impetus to programs based on scientific analysis as opposed to dreams and visions. Imperialists have always moved to destroy Black men and women of this caliber.

Africa is ours and we must struggle for it. At the same time, we must struggle for our survival and development right here in the U. S. This struggle will also be hindered if we don't critically examine the pitfalls that exist all along the way.

A blind allegiance to Blackness, no matter what is something we must begin to deal with. Anytime a people do not totally control their material and spiritual reality, cooptation of their ideas is not only possible, it is likely. What am I talking about?

There was a time a few years ago when this generation rose up and shouted "Black Power" and declared that Black is beautiful. We rose up and proclaimed our belief once again in ourselves. We began to speak of the new Black revolution. The white man was frightened, many of us were frightened and reluctant too, but the tide was too strong to hold back. So, at first the white boy fought us tooth and nail. He cautioned us against the violence that Black Power implied. He shot us or jailed us when caution was not enough. He rounded up all of his spokesmen in the Black Community and instructed them to denounce Black Power. Perhaps some of us here tonight were among them. Then the white boy changed his strategy. He began to move to coopt this Black thing. We sent new instructions to his Black



AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, HELD LAST MAY 27TH IN Washington, D.C., is an example of political support for progressive African movements.

lackeys. They, then, turned around and began to speak of the value of Blackness as long as it didn't get out of hand. The white man began to introduce new programs to accommodate the new "Black thrust."

1. Black Capitalism (Funded by government or funded by its subsidiaries such as Ford Foundation).

2. Coopt Coalitions arising out of rebellions

A. Buying out top leaders.

B. Emerging Leadership.

3. Re-establishment of Capitalism as a viable entity.

4. Black TV stars

5. Black movies

6. Black radio

(All of it designed to trick Black folk) "You can be as Black as you want to be — and still work for us."

"You can be Black and Navy too."

So ironically now it is the Black thing that is being used to help the man deal on us. He has turned it around and between fantasy and distorted facts all run through a facade of Blackness — we are being put in a trick. As Malcolm put it, "we are being tricked, we are being had" — Again! We, through our own non-analysis of history, our own brand of insanity, our own colonial mentality, are allowing the man to use us against ourselves.

And some of us who call ourselves Black Revolutionaries and Black Nationalists get put in the greatest trick of all — because we get so caught up in our Blackness that we forget the reality that being Black in our analysis is necessary, but it is not sufficient. It leads us to non-sense positions like Papa Doc Duvalier in Haiti did some wrong things, but he was a Brother. It is better for a Black man to exploit us than a white man. There are no differences among us, because we are all Black. This is nothing but bogus bourgeois nationalism that will be exploited at every turn by our oppressors.

We may work with all elements of the Black Community at a particular time because of the concrete realities of the race question in the U. S., and because of the particular point in history that we find ourselves, but we must never

lose sight that the total rejection of capitalist and imperialist programs and tendencies are a must, if we are to seriously pursue any revolutionary Pan-Africanist position. We cannot allow ourselves to be coopted and pimped into any alliances that will mean a rejection of these principles.

We must also avoid the pitfalls of stagnation brought on by an intellectual (theoretical) commitment to the "masses," but a practical allegiance to negativism which keeps us from doing anything. That is those of us who have moved to a position where nothing we did here is correct — we can't demonstrate, can't picket, can't vote, can't develop land. All of this is incorrect — we talk of the masses but avoid any actions that involve the masses. We then are left to theorize and criticize while the masses continue to suffer. We can no longer bury Pan-Africanism in the halls of the intelligentsia, and the backrooms inhabited by small bands of pure, super correct, all knowing nationalists. Pan-Africanism is an ideology of African people. It must find itself rooted in the masses of our people. We cannot root ourselves in our people if we avoid those things that our people are involved in.

Finally, I would be doing you

a grave injustice if I did not mention the pitfalls of electoral politics.

The past months of so-called politicking by Black people, or should I say the so-called "leadership" of Black people provide vivid examples for my point. Just from what we are seeing and are being told, you would think that Black people have never been promised things by cracker candidates before. You would think the whole procedure is new. How else could we explain our behavior?

One group of niggers go to D. C. and raise \$200,000 for the election of Richard Milhous Nixon. One of the most notorious crackers that has ever lived. He is the titular head of a government that is supporting the killing and the robbery of African people by giving money and other aid to Portugal and South Africa to be used against our people in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Angola — used to invade the progressive countries like Guinea and Tanzania; a government that is committing genocide and total destruction against the Vietnamese people, a government that has paved the way for the killing and imprisonment of thousands of Black people right here in the U.

S. under the guise of law and order. In spite of all of this, niggers gave him a dinner — Can you believe that? What manner of people would honor such a treacherous individual?

But really, Brothers and Sisters, the show we put on for the Democrats is just as bad. Our leaders cutting each other in the back to be the one to take McGovern over the top. Is McGovern the first white boy to talk of populism that will include the poor (white and Black)? Do you remember Tom Watson, the head of the Populist Party? The one that promised the Black people of the South that if they broke up the colored farmers alliance and joined him he would do good for Black folk. Soon as that happened, the white boy began to make deals with his white folks and became a firm backer of Jim Crow. McGovern is doing the same thing. He feels the Negro leadership has been sufficiently pulled in and that Black folks really have nowhere to go but him. So, now he is free to make his deals with Daley, Johnson, Abel, Wallace or whoever else he needs to deal with. He has already made his position clear on Israel and the Jews (he promised to spend his anniversary there). Of course, this position is consistent with the Black political leadership of this country, because they want to spend their anniversary there too.

There really are a couple of points that I am trying to make here:

1. There is no essential difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. They are both controlled by the white capitalist class that ruthlessly exploit Black people here and throughout the world. I talked about Nixon and McGovern only because they represent the "candidates." It would be the same if the candidates were Wallace, Kennedy, Agnew, Julian Bond or Shirley Chisholm. The Presidency is not a general's position, it is a lieutenant's position. The generals are the ones who control the economics of this country. So, when we show up as dinner clowns or convention clowns for the candidates, it is a meaningless exercise in futility. Another level of the soft shoe of the old Negro song and dance.

2. You cannot trust the word of a white man who promises this or that during an election period. And even if he is honest,

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the chains
of oppression
through black
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Owusu's Speech

(cont'd from pg. 11)

what can he really do to significantly alter the lives of the masses of our people in a society where racism is imbedded in the total framework of the society, a society where profit is more important than any human being. The reason I said lives of the masses is because he can give a few of us jobs in his administration — Nixon has done that — But what about those of us who have no education? Who don't know how to praise white folks at every turn? You cannot reform a racist, capitalist system because ultimately the reformist is only trying to save it.

I could go on, but I have already kept you too long, and I do want to offer my suggestions for alternatives to the type of electoral politics I have discussed, and also alternatives to some of the other pitfalls I have mentioned this evening.

1. On Electoral Politics — It is not incorrect to deal with electoral politics. The only question to be asked is when and from what base. It is my feeling at this point that we should be dealing with electoral politics only as it is helpful to us in building an Independent Black Political Party that recognizes the validity of the total African Revolution. Our political party must not be a tool for a bourgeois element of the Black Community to sell out our people for a few jobs and some cocktail parties that are flooded with white women.

I am talking about a political party that has an ideology. A set of beliefs that will guide our behavior. I feel that ideology should be Pan-Africanism. That is that all of us are people of African descent, and that our ultimate objective is the freedom and liberation of African people wherever we are, and that crucial to our struggle is an independent and unified Africa, united under a socialist government.

An ideology, however is not enough. We must also be involved in practice. Practice that begins with self-reliance. Practice that says Black people can develop their own institutions. Educational institutions for example.

Practice that understands we must organize our people at the point of production, organize our people who are unemployed,

organize our young people. Organize our people to make constant, consistent demands on the forces that govern this country. We must understand the necessity of a party that takes a stand on self destruction (drugs).

What part will electoral politics play? That depends on where we are, and what we want to do with it. If we are in areas where we can take over counties and cities, we should take them over. If we want to run candidates on strict platforms we should do that. But, never should our party be a tool for any white political entity in this world.

We need a party where we tie ourselves directly into the Liberation struggles now going on in Africa. A party that works hand in hand with Progressive Countries in Africa and ultimately with other progressive countries of color throughout the world.

The basis of the party must be black people — not our individual leaders, but Black people. Our strength, vitality and direction must come from the masses of our people.

Another programmatic suggestion is on the African question:

The Liberation Struggles

The African Liberation Support Committee, which is the ongoing expression of the energies harnessed by the ALD demonstration. We are now in a position to bring unified action in the western hemisphere on a mass base to the question of the Liberation of Africa — several ways this can be done.

A. Mass action against certain companies and individuals.

B. Mass actions against the U. S. government for its support of Portugal, Israel, South Africa and other racist countries that oppress our people in Southern Africa.

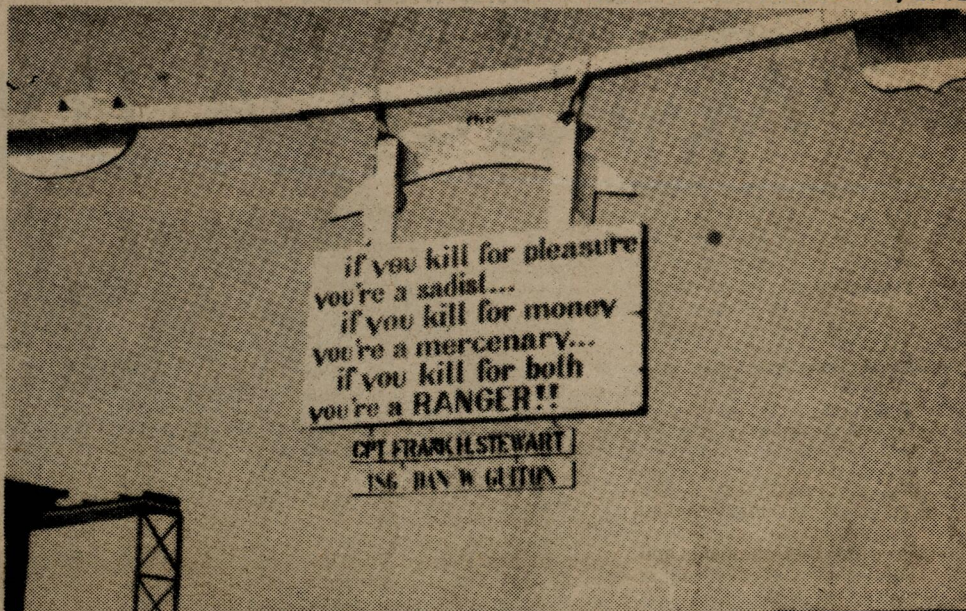
C. Educating our community here about the struggle in Africa and its relationship to our struggle.

D. Providing material support by clothing drives, medicine drives and fund raising events.

II Position on Ignorance

1. Dialogue with South Africa (Boycott records of dancers and singers who perform there)

2. The Progressive Countries of Africa



THE ABOVE SIGN WAS PROUDLY DISPLAYED OVER A SPECIAL FORCES CAMP IN VIETNAM. The Rangers, Green Berets and other U.S. special forces are being taught a variety of "counter-insurgency" technique including how to pacify Black migrant workers. Their training, however, continues to prove ineffective around the world.

A. Technical support to the progressive countries in accordance with their requests. This is to insure that our efforts are consistent with the direction of the country.

B. Providing information to the Black Community about these areas so that our people will know about them, which prevents them from being isolated.

C. Be ready for immediate response to any infringements on their territories by the forces of imperialism.

Many of us who gave money, and in other ways supported Angela Davis, because we identified with her as a Black woman have been disillusioned because of her allegiance to principles and courses of action that are not central to the problems of Black people. So many of us spend time criticizing the Communist Party and Angela. At one level it is understandable, at another level it is counter productive.

The political prisoner question is a legitimate question for Black people. No race or people are more affected by this question than we are. Instead of criticizing the Community Party, for merely doing what it is supposed to do — take care of its members — the question we must deal with is when will we begin to take care of ours.

Specifically, I raise the question of H. Rap Brown as the spearhead of that effort. When are we Nationalists and Pan-Africanists going to raise to the

world the question of H. Rap Brown — the question of Black political prisoners?

The Communist Party will once again bring radical integration into our communities around the political prisoner issue with Angela as the spearhead. We must quit dilly-dallying around and move on the offensive, not only to prevent this from happening, but because we should be doing it. I can think of no better case to highlight that effort than H. Rap Brown.

Now, Brothers and Sisters, to even begin to do these things — we as Pan-Africanists and Nationalists must move to bring about some unity. Unity based at this point on Kazi and a set of working principles. And, as we grow and develop, unity based on higher level of principle, which will make possible a higher level of Kazi.

We tell Africa to unite across so-called national boundaries, tribes, and languages and then we Pan-Africanists refuse to work together. We allow charters, uniforms and titles to keep us moving along our separate and non-viable paths.

We talk of taking on imperialism, yet we do it from a weak fragmented base. If we are serious then we will learn from the problems of DuBois and Garvey. We can ill afford to go our separate ways and as a result, deprive our people of concrete things we must do together.

Green Berets Practice On Blacks In N.C.

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

NORTH CAROLINA — The Green Berets are supposed to be the pride of U. S. military forces — the best trained military group in this country. This summer the Green Berets embarked upon a new project for training their men. In order to learn the most effective means of pacifying local peasantry in an occupied nation, they practiced pacifying Black migrant farm laborers in rural areas of North Carolina.

A team of Green Berets spent a month living in tents near the camps of migrant workers who come to North Carolina each year from Florida. Dressed in their brightest military uniforms, they moved in to pass out hot meals, clothes and medicine.

When asked about the project, one Green Beret, lieutenant had this to say: "Too many people have the idea that the Green Berets are all combat. It isn't a new idea at all for the Special Forces to be involved with people. We come down, talk to these people, find out their life styles and try to give them some self-respect. He summed up the whole effort when he added, "Unless somebody does that, there is just no one here to keep them out of trouble."

Keeping them out of trouble" is a role the U. S. military forces are increasingly been trained to do. As in Vietnam, if the food and medicine does not effectively pacify the people, then the Green Berets simply revert to what they do best — massive killing of oppressed people.

Like so many similar projects we are witnessing around us, this one is tied directly to federal efforts. The Green Berets are being paid for their efforts with the migrant workers. The money comes from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, (HEW). The army men also are working very closely with local and state police forces in the project. Thus, the working links between civilian police forces, social agencies, and military forces are being brought closer together through actual practice.

It does not take much imagination to visualize what the knowledge gained from these types of experiments can be used for, not only in other parts of the world but right here at home.

CAN YOU BE BLACK AND NAVY TOO....?



FRELIMO Anniversary

(cont'd from pg. 10)

country can be found, we wish to reaffirm that our struggle is not against them, that our victory can only be of benefit to those who live by honest work and those who suffer from fascist and colonialist, exploitation. The Mozambican people fraternally invites the Portuguese soldiers and the Portuguese population to unite in the common endeavour for liberation.

In this 10th year of FRELIMO's existence, at a time when we have completed the celebrations for 25 June and are preparing to celebrate 25 September, the united action of the People of the combatants of FRELIMO opened a new front.

It is a moment of great happiness and pride for the whole Mozambican people. But it is also a moment when we commemorate with deep feeling the memory of comrades who have heroically sacrificed themselves for the liberation of our land and our People on the

battlefield, in clandestine action or in the colonialist prisons and who through their blood and sacrifice have made this great victory possible.

We must be worthy of this pure and generous blood. We must intensify the fight, consolidate the struggle in Manica e Sofala and in the other Provinces and extend the struggle to new fronts.

A LUTA CONTINUA
INDEPENDENCIA OU
MORTE VENCEREMOS

Samora Moises Machel
President

Critics often refer to the wide differences in culture, language and ideas in various parts of Africa. This is true, but the essential fact remains that we are all African, and have a common interest in the independence of Africa. If the need for political union is agreed by us all, then the will to create it is born; and where there's a will there's a way.

Kwame Nkrumah