

1972

STRATEGY AND TACTICS
OF A
PAN AFRICAN NATIONALIST PARTY

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addressing today. We are not the only people in the Nation. But we must strive through work and study, discipline and training to be its backbone or nucleus, causing positive movement of the whole through constant analysis, constant and dynamic action, and encouraging our community always to take the correct position, with regards to its own survival and development.

Important to any movement we can make as a people, then, is the selection and training, and growth into brotherhood of the cadre. The center. The conscious. The Committed. The Dedicated. Those of us who move out of a clear sense of Identity-African: Purpose-Restore Our People To Their Traditional Greatness: Direction: Black Nationalism: and with that, the creation, building and Development, of the world wide African Nationalist (PanAfrican) Political Party. Which is the only presage to the International African State, in Africa and those other places where Africans are domiciled as part of an Independent African World Entity capable of Self Determination, Self Respect, Self Reliance, and Self Defense.

One of the workshops of this convention deals with the selection and training of cadre, and this basic to any Nationalist movement

for African Liberation. The creation of larger and larger groups of Africans who know and understand what the struggle is about, and who each day grow clearer and more precise as to what has to be done about the results we demand.

The cadre runs on a value system* superior to the one that enslaves our community. This is basically how the cadre can survive, emotionally, intell actually, or morally. This is the only way the cadre can survive politically or economically, by understanding this value system, internalizing it, so that it becomes merely our way of life, rather than a rap we save for sisters or to impress brothers of our superficial hipness, and casual manhood in the world. We recreate ourselves as African Men in the last part of the twentieth century. We recreate ourselves as African Philosophers, African Historians, African Politicians, African Economists, African Artists, African Soldiers, African Scientists, not of any past era, not in any far away land, but here and now. We demand a new life because we have recreated ourselves, to liberate ourselves in the real world, realistically, from the spiritual, psychological, and physical slavery and oppression created for us by Europeans.

*See A Black Value System, Jihad Productions, 502 High St, Newark, N.J.

We speak of the cadre, the Nationalist brothers and sisters at length, because without this inner circle there is no other movement possible. If the so called inner circle is confused, drugged, or basically jive, like successive waves from some heavy weight's initial impact, entire circumference of that dynamic will be equally faulty and weak. The only way the Nationalist can raise the consciousness of the Black Community is by representing something that truly is an improvement. Many Nationalists have life styles and psychological commitments that are inferior to the general will of the community. Tho they may have a better "intellectual" rap, their actual way of life, the substance they actually are in the world, is many times less healthy than the stomp down blood they supposed to be liberating. Best we go about liberating our selves Kwanza. (First, Earlist)

It is the role of the cadre to win the minds of the total community, in order to bring about the total liberation of Africans. The cadre has no other function. It's existence is meaningless outside of that context. Unless the nationalist organization is conscious of this role and function then it is probably not moving itself toward even a

clear understanding of what National Liberation means, and if that is the case then what you have is not a cadre, but a confused group, that is probably helping to spread confusion in the community. And that's the only thing more dangerous than a confused person is a confused group. The cadre's role is to mobilize the community, organize the community, politicize the community, and hopefully lead the community in the creation of alternative institutions (the largest of which is the nation).

Between the cadre organization and the creation of the largest alternative institution (meaning the formalized structuring of energies into a constantly reusable process) between these two extremes is the political party. A political party is the transformation of the information dedication and vision of the cadre into a form which can be supported by the largest number of Africans. Most Africans will not be members of the cadre. The intensity of training and commitment, the need for specialized skills, the "outsider" quality that goes along with such concentration and purposeful use of our energies excludes most of our brothers and sisters from that core. But most of them

want very much to be transformed in some respect by the supposed positive energies of the core, if only they are more than slogans and raised fists. The party must be the popularized version of the cadre, and be able to publicly transform the party's words, ideology, into the practical useable community goods and services that the majority of the community is responsive to. Most people are energized by concrete acts or goods or services. Words are not as important, unless they have music with them. Theories are duller of all. And very frankly visions belong in church. It is the transformation of the visible world that is important to our community, and that must be the most important aspect of what we struggle to achieve, the transformation of the visible world. All theories must be proven on the sidewalk. Words should be prescriptions, or directions, or Concrete ways to bring change. We must cease dealing with abstractions and heroic fantasies, the stock in trade of the Nationalist must not be anger and emotionalism but analysis and successful movement.

The independent African Nationalist Party in this country is a necessary step, but actually it is an intermediate step. The

first step is creation of the cadres. The next step must be in each community the local interrelationship of the cadres with the various organizations and personalities, politicians and agencies that make up the total African community, so that in the next thrust toward the African Party, we are moving with and have mobilized as large a part of our community as possible. So that our actions will not be isolated, and elitist. In order to create the party, the groups or cadres must be brought together within the larger cities, so they have unified paths of action, and then in the larger immediate areas such as counties, and eventually throughout entire states. It should be the short range strategy of all cadres to unite with nationalist in our immediate area, and then try to move in harmony with cadre groups throughout even larger immediate areas. We must set our sights on having our whole states, the regions, organized. And just as we in the local cadres must try to effect the larger community by creating circles of operational unity with other organized black groups with different ideologies, and black politicians, so through out our states we must go about the business of relating to the total African

community state wide. Because this is the same activity necessary to create an effective party on a state level. This same interrelationship is also necessary to create an effective party on a National level. A party capable of bringing change, not as a reason for rhetoric but a mechanism for the control & transformation of the community.

If now we create the party structure, it will largely be an unconnected series of cadre organizations. We must first regularize and standarize our understanding of Nationalism, and our useful amalgamation will be more longlived.

As we have said before*, a political party has four areas in which it functions, around Elected and Appointed Offices, Community Organizations, Alliances and Coalitions, and Disruption. The cadre members must have a total understanding of just what this means. The party is the transformer of reality. The cadre initiates the change. The party is the broadest extension of Nationalism as an organized ideology, except as it is taught even less visibly by institutions. So that the party must be able to run

candidates for all elections held in America or anywhere else we live where it looks like we can win or can influence our community by moving in that area. The party must move just as the cadre moves always to influence directly because Black people will emulate our example, or influence programmatically because Black people actually take our program seriously and begin to study and apply it to their lives, just as we have done to ours. So that in many operations the party moves into, it will be simply to influence Africans. At a higher level much of what the cadre does, and what the party must do, is move to involve Africans. That is more useful to the whole community than merely influencing it is involving it in all of our struggle for self determination. We seek to involve the community in the nationalistic movement, but minimally, we seek to involve the community by getting it to respond positively to the party's varied programs. The party must have, as a community organization, programs in education, health, youth training, communications, art, economic development, as well as a political program that in one mass oriented method is manifested by its ability to run popular candidates and win

*Political Liberation Council Organizing Manual,
C.A.P., Cheltenham Ave., Phila.

elections and begin actually to take some locally visible power so that it can develop even larger institutions based on the goods and services it can control by winning elections.

An election is the legally prescribed method of transferring power in America and in most white controlled areas. It is legal and legitimized by Black people. Once the African Nationalist Party comes onto the scene and begins winning elections and shows by its examples that that process can be meaningful only if it means that Black Nationalists will be taking power.

Then more and more Africans will become involved with the Political Process. The party is a mechanism for the total transfer of power from Europeans and the European controlled, to Africans. It is a mechanism for the transfer of power. Elections are the simplest way of transferring power to Africans in America. Elections are the simplest way of transferring power to Africans anywhere in the world. In many places elections are neither practical nor realistic. But where they are practical and realistic, they are the simplest way of transferring power. But mobilizing Africans around the electoral process is one way to involve them with the

entire political process and as we have said politics is simply the gaining, maintaining and using of power, and the political process has four areas. Africans must become involved with all four areas, but elections are the most popular process for getting them involved with the entire process, simply because the white boy pushes elections, and he has the power to make them more popular in our community than any other form of political activity!

The party must be defined with a specific structure involving cadres everywhere, and transforming our random activity into sustained carefully coordinated thrusts for national liberation. We must be able to run candidates by 1972, in every major election in this country. We must be able to run African Nationalists in city, county, as well as state wide elections, and in order to do this we must even put together a national ticket so that we can qualify to run candidates state wide. Side by side with our Black rhetoric must be our Black alternatives to what the white boy has captured our peoples minds with. The party must set itself up as a total alternative, but giving Africans as practical an access to its teachings and programs

as possible. The party platform must be the party ideology transformed to deal with the practicalities of everyday life in the African Community. The closest most Africans will come to embracing the ideology of African Nationalism will be by voting. It will be up to us within the party to transform the power of the ballot into alternative institutions.

As a political institution the party should seek to have influence on and interrelate with as many Africans as possible. We must make it less and less possible for European controlled colored people to set themselves up as politicians, unless they have platforms that conform to the practicalized ideology as platform of African Nationalism, and Pan Africanism. We must make it less and less possible for such unconscious or conscious servants of European Rule to act as power brokers in our communities. We must make Africans as conscious of the political process and its total use, as they are of the church, and as regular in their attention and understanding of it.

We must not only make strong statements but be prepared to back them up. We should not make any statements we cannot back up, in

ways that our community can see and understand. We must not be so drunk with the rhetoric of revolution that we do not actually go about the business of making immediate change. Words are not immediate change. Crackers killed in revolutionary sentences are walking around killing us in the real streets. Africans want to live a better life now. The party must be about changing that life now. The party must be able to involve itself in the economic development of African communities as well as the political and eventually develop enough skill where it can take over the general economic development of those communities. We must learn to build houses, and how to acquire the land necessary to build houses. We can write revolutionary slogans in the lobbies of those buildings if we like, as part of our educational programs, or paint pictures of revolutionary heroes on the fronts of those buildings and in the hallways if we want to, but we must learn to build those buildings and get hold of the political power necessary to effect this dynamic, now. If negative elements must be eliminated, then the party must see to their elimination but that is not material for a speech, it is simply community hygiene, and we

must train specialists who perform these services which are part of the goods and services the party must be in control of.

The most revolutionary africans as far as the community will be concerned will be those who can deliver those goods and services. Who can actually take visible power. Who can actually build health centers and hospitals, who can actually build housing, who can actually run and create schools, and transform the present educational process.

The party must, as it moves from local cadres, to state wide cadres, to regional cadres, to national cadres, become more and more inter-related to the struggle on the continent, and else where in the world. But we must work very closely together with our brothers on the continent and eventually create a political, economic and military dynamic that benefits all of us mutually. Eventually we will be able to move politically together, economically together, and militarily together. Check out the jews and israel. It is clear and historically sound.

The party must be able to struggle in all the areas where struggle is beneficial! We should not be so frightened of Negro politicians that we are afraid we cannot beat them or

coopt them or even transform them into positive carriers of the National Consciousness. We must do battle with the Democratic Party, for instance, for control of our peoples minds. Just as we do battle with the school system for control of the educational process in our local communities, as well as the creation of alternative institutions. It is a dual process, the attack, elimination or cooptation of foreign elements functioning in our communities, even within our community's psychology, as well as at the same time creating an alternative institution and psychology as example of what we mean when we speak of change, and the institutionalizing of the African Personality.

The party must first regularize itself and institutionalize itself by forming a cohesive legitimate structure, with Officers, a constitution, means of meeting, means of raising funds, means of seeing its will realized, means of connecting all the now unrelated cadres of similar ideological persuasion, into some unified whole, but as a preface to that we see first: the creation of more organized cadres, around the value system and ideology of Pan African Nationalism; secondly the creation, locally, of circles of operational unity, so that the cadres cannot

be isolated and wasted by negative elements; third, which is the step we are consciously attempting today, the creation of a circle of unity among nationalist organizations, groups and personalities, to form the party cadre, as a less localized entity. (And with that the formation of committees to create the structure, inner logic, functioning platform, organizing methodology, and method of formal linkage necessary for continued movement.)

Strategy is an overall plan aimed at accomplishing a specific goal. As our short range goal we must be about the business of creating strong well organized cadres. As an intermediate goal the party itself is what our strategy must be aimed at building.

The long range goal of course is the Nation, Independent! Tactics are the steps used to effect that strategy, to put it in motion.

They are as we outlined.

1. Create Cadres.
2. Create Circles of Operational Unity in local Community
3. Create Circles of Operational Unity with other Nationalist Cadres outside the local
4. Create an African Nationalist Party

- a. Create the circle of Operational Unity with other larger African elements eg National Organizations, National Caucuses, Agencies, &c.
5. National Voter Registration *
6. Hold National Convention and Run Candidates in whatever elections in 1972 we are able.

- a. Be able to register for general election or run in primaries where desirable.

It is desirable where the winning of primary would put white parties off line. For instance in New Jersey running as "African Nationalist Democrat" would mean if we won, Reg. Democrats would be put off top line in general election, simply because we had title democrats. And in the next election Reg. Democrats could not run on Line A.

In many cases we would approach brothers running in Democratic Party who were not clearly objectionable and ask them to run as African Nationalist Democrats solely, or in addition to running as Democrats, especially where they were popular, to increase the power of our total ticket.

7. Utilize those mobilized by party as total thrust to control and transform the community. That is, move on the initiation of the platform as the legal will of the

* See " 7 Things a Political Party Should Do" in Political Liberation Council Organizing Manual

African Communities.

A National Convention in 1972 just prior to the registration necessary for us to run in National Elections is absolutely mandatory! And we should by that time have attempted to influence the greatest mass of those Africans who are already being mobilized by politics as well as those who have never been. We must run candidates from district leaders through to president. For president because it is the only way to qualify for an entire line on state wide tickets, and also because we might be able to make alliances with more mainstream American Negro political figures who are already hypnotized by the glamour of a fantasy hegemony as quote Serious Black Presidential Candidates unquote, and in many cases simply hoping to transform this rather whimsical title into some form of goods and services by being designated as chief of some establishment-Negro-some-time-going-for-Black power-brokerage, that will exist without us Nationalists but should not be allowed to since we must always be moving to influence, involve, and by providing an alternative institution with higher values, hopefully see a self control result to a certain measured extent in even the corniest of big time negro political personalities.

Just as John Cashin ran for Governor of Alabama

not because he actually thought that was accomplishable, but because by so doing he could provide the impetus to take control over the elective offices that the community actually could take and could control. And finally whatever we leave uninfluenced by Nationalism will be white controlled.

We want to run candidates in New Jersey for everything from president up to district leaders, so that we can completely captivate the African Community with the idea of voting for a particular ticket, on a particular line, and that they can attempt to see an actual transfer of power through out the spectrum of Political office, but practically they will be educated to understand that it is the local communities which can be at this time actually controlled.

The party is the first real step at internationalism, or even creating a National consciousness. Through its effectiveness at transforming the community, the party will not only convert and mobilize large masses of Africans, but even influence brothers and sisters of diverse ideologies to involve themselves with the struggle and process of change. If we are talking about nation we must talk about party, because a party is finally the only structure able to govern coherently. Running just a few

candidates or one candidate unless caused by the limitations of your political situation is nonproductive. It is the community organization filled out to become the largest national organization. It is the party that runs candidates. It is the party that creates, runs or influences community organizations. It is the party that creates the alliances and coalitions to increase the political economic or military power alliances and coalitions are created for. And finally it is the party that sees the need for, or defends against, disruption whether it's a boycott, a general strike, or warfare.

If we want to transform our communities completely, if we want to effect a complete transfer of power, then we can only see this through the party. So that we are no longer spots in the milk of local political power, but can begin to move in larger and larger masses, as we get the internal dynamic of our local county and state machines together, so that when and where we win elections we move to dramatically change everything that needs change, which, in America, is almost everything.