

**THE  
NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY  
AND THE  
BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT**



**CHAIRMAN AMIRI BARAKA**

## The National Black Assembly and the Black Liberation Movement

In U.S. Black Liberation Movement, has undergone many changes and shifts of direction, but overall the commitment and dynamic has remained clear. To liberate ourselves from all oppression and exploitation. In just the period since the Second World War the movement has leaped from a Civil Rights struggle, where we knelt and prayed in the street, singing "We Shall Overcome", basically to gain access to the goods and services of U.S. society to Self Defense to Black Nationalism Black Power, Rebellion, Armed Struggle, Marxism, Leninism Mao Tse Tsung Thought, Afrikanism, PanAfrikanism.

All these strains and elements are part of the Black Liberation Movement even today. But there has been a theoretical advance to the movement, as a result of the 60's, and as a result of all our struggles, since we got here. Though many of us think our problem rests exclusively with white people, that all white folks are our enemies and that's all there is to it. This is an especially good philosophy for small black businessmen who want an exclusive market all to themselves. But certainly for those patriotic nationalists whose concern was to liberate Black people, since this exclusive market control aspect was not the motivating factor of their anti white rage, they can be convinced usually that our people's enemy, and indeed the enemy of most exploited workers and oppressed people, all over the world, is the system of monopoly capitalism, whose real danger is that it can utilize people of all nationalities to carry out its outrages!

Certainly we must be enlightened by the neocolonial development of the late 60's and 70's, wherein in state houses all over the world there are colored collaborators with imperialism who trick their people into thinking they have achieved national independence, when all that has happened is that some new junior partners of world imperialism have been sworn in. The same phenomenon marks many of these various black and brown and yellow or red congressmen, ambassadors, stars, judges, first negroes to do any number of things! In exchange for a flag and a national anthem, maybe a few niggers in some Mercedes Benzes, the same poverty, exploitation, and oppression! The only thing that has changed is "the complexion of Tyranny".

Our situation in Newark is classic in this regard. Newark, the Zayre of North America! A Black bureaucratic elite abonds -- but no change for the masses. Neocolonial Mobutu name change, leopard skin hat



and all, is still the murderer of Patrice Lumumba. The Ali fight cannot change that! It just announced the open collaboration with U.S. imperialism!

The 60's have taught us that nationalism, while necessary, is not sufficient! We remain patriots, struggling for the liberation of Black People, but we must understand that that liberation will come only with the destruction of the system of capitalism! (Profit for the few, poverty for the many!)

It was capitalism that caused our national oppression in the first place. It was capitalism that created the slave trade, which institutionalized racism. It was capitalism expanding to imperialism that caused colonialism. It is a continuing capitalism that has reaped super profits by super exploiting its colonies, and oppressed nationalities where ever they are, and in the United States very clearly!

In the U.S. the super exploitation of Blacks, Mexicans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Asiatics serves, along with the colonial exploitation, as the means whereby the capitalists try to offset the basic internal contradictions between themselves and the great masses of white workers. By exploiting oppressed nationalities even more than white workers, and using that doubled oppression as the basis for calling us inferior, thereby re-enforcing the gap created between white workers and oppressed nationalities, creating and exploiting a chauvinism in them, and a narrow nationalism in us. Both mutually useful for keeping maximum profits.

Our committment to liberate ourselves must include a seriousness and determination and a committment to actual struggle that inevitably must bring us face to face with the obvious conclusion, that in order for black people to be free, or any other group in this society, capitalism must be utterly and totally smashed! Finally, we do not believe in the peaceful transition to socialism. Rockefeller and the rest will fight to keep our wealth until the end, when led by a revolutionary socialist party the masses of workers and oppressed nationalities lock up the Fords, Rockefellers, Nixons, Morgans, Mellons, that is the ruling class and its lieutenants that make up only 1 1/2 percent of the U.S. population yet control 90% of its wealth.

This is the reason we so strongly urge that all of us begin to understand that the system of private profit and public work be eliminated. The wealth is produced by collective public work. No other way

is it possible to produce large wealth in society. Yet the benefits of this labor are available to only a tiny segment of the people in the world. Because of the poverty and oppression of this ruthless corporate class!

Obviously, not everyone in the National Black Assembly holds such views, the NBA is a broad based United Front of many black views, of people joined together to try to raise the political consciousness of the Black masses and transform our lives in some positive way. And while revolutionary socialist views might be in the minority, we feel that they are indispensable in the total spectrum of progressive Black opinion and commitment!

There are nationalists, integrationists, working class, middle class blacks in the NBA, moderates and radicals, black elected officials and revolutionary socialists all struggling against the corrupt system that oppresses and exploits all of us!

It is our personal feeling that now the NBA, and Black people are at a crossroad. A two line struggle rages through many aspects of the Black community, as to whether we are struggling only with and for Black people and against white people or is our struggle a broader struggle, not only to liberate black people but all oppressed people, and in the movement to do that we ought to ally ourselves with any people who are serious about actually struggling to smash the degenerate capitalist system. Our friends are those who will actually help us smash this system, our enemies all those, regardless of their color, who would help support it and become absorbed in it themselves!

I feel that one important task the NBA should be setting for itself is to build a movement to unite all those who can be united regardless of whether they are socialists or nationalists or elected officials or moderates--unite all those who can be united to struggle against the rightward moves of both the Republican and Democrat parties. As the economic crisis in the U.S., and throughout the capitalist world intensifies, as for instance over 100,000 laid off last week in the auto industry alone, layoffs, speedups, inflation, the growing depression--no matter how much Ford lies--the crisis will worsen, especially intensifying in big cities, which is where most Black people in the U.S. live, whether north or south - as the economic situation worsens, repression will increase and intensify! People will not merely lay down when they are told that they must stay jobless or habitually unemployed.



They will strike back, and with that strike back, which the state glibly calls crime, police brutality and repression will rise and the entire political fabric of the U.S. will move openly to the right. Next month the Democrats will probably throw out all their so called "liberal McGovern rules." As they get ready to run Scoop Jackson in '76 and get unscrupulous black politicians to pass him off to us as Jesus Kennedy. (Kennedy had to split because the republicans told him they would raise that dead woman right out the sea!) As capitalism goes deeper into crisis, one depression after another, until it stretches into one vicious economic earthquake that creates the undermining dynamic that will enable the enraged masses to toss the entire capitalist system into the garbage can of history--more and more the illusion of bourgeois democracy will be shed for the reality of bourgeois dictatorship by means of open force and violence. It's called Fascism! Richard Nixon was its experimenting pioneer!

So that using the NBA as a political base of Black National commitment and involvement we should be building a broad based political movement, an anti-repression, anti-fascist United Front, that could bring together all those people within the U.S. who worked to oppose the Democrat-Republican leap towards the right, toward increased repression and fascism.

We should find a candidate and begin in 1975 to build wide support to counter the reactionary views, the imperialist propaganda, of both the Democrats and the Republicans and run a popular candidate for president of the U.S. in 1976 to begin to rally people not to struggle just to maintain bourgeois democracy but to begin to awaken the consciousness of ourselves and the masses, about the need for a better a more advanced social system.

And in this broad anti-repression, anti-fascist United Front for 76, there must not only be black popular support and participation but brown red, yellow, white, participation and support, ie mass popular mobilization to stop the fascist tide but also to raise the political consciousness of our people and the majority of people in the U.S. above the level of Democrat and Republican politics! The National Black Political Convention of 1976, would then be a truly historical landmark in American people's politics. It would signal the creation of a true popular alternative to the two parties of big business!

Some people will object to the fact that we are saying that this



movement cannot be all black, but we have a situation now where black people can take the lead in forming this 3rd force, this popular force in American politics, which we can make sure is not merely white liberal abstraction or black collaboration with that fantasy but a true popular peoples' movement of the kind which can truly challenge the basic inequities of this society and show the masses of working people that there can be a radical alternative to Ford, Rockefeller or Scoop Jackson & George Wallace!

This is a program that must be debated in the Assembly. And put together rapidly for implementation. But we cannot merely ask for people to collaborate in the sorry, shabby, counter-revolutionary fantasies of the Democrat and Republican parties out of which only a handful of our people will benefit. This candidate, or that appointee for a patronage job, &c., &c....but for the masses, nothing!

Meanwhile for those of us committed already to an even more radical resolution of all of our problems, these broad united fronts, not only the anti-repression, anti-fascist front we have proposed, but the National Black Assembly itself, offers us a wider base of unified forces with which to struggle against exploitation and oppression! This is our strength. This is why you all out there need to be involved with the work of the Assembly. It's why if we continue to build stronger united fronts, and at the same time revolutionary socialist vanguard parties whose role is to mobilize the workers and oppressed nationalities to smash hated capitalism and its vicious byproducts like racism, there is no doubt that we will win. All over the world the capitalists are losing! In Vietnam! Cambodia! Guinea Bissau! Mozambique! They are now forced to recognize the PLO in the UN! South Afrika suspended from the UN even with U.S. racist support! U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico Exposed! Indian triumphs at Wounded Knee to reveal the very settler colony nature of the capitalist state right in the U.S.! Imperialism is losing! Ford cannot save it. Captain Marvel Rockefeller, the ruling class miracle worker, the fiend of Attica, can't do it, but they brought him in because they can no longer trust the lieutenant's hands on the wheel. It must actually be one of them. Watergate made it necessary! Nixon's resignation so he wouldn't have to face impeachment testifying. His fake sickness so he couldn't testify at the coverup trial...where even more corruption and madness would be revealed. Capitalism does not work! It has never worked and it must be smashed and destroyed!

**Long Live the National Black Assembly!**

Unite the Many to Defeat the Few!

Build an Anti Fascist United Front

and run an Anti Democrat

Anti Republican

Candidate in 1976!

Black Liberation is a Struggle for Socialism!

Victory to those who will Struggle!

Victory to Black People!

Victory to all Oppressed People

Amiri Baraka, Secretary-General

National Political Council Meeting

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