

Creating A
UNIFIED
CONSCIOUSNESS



Imamu Amiri Baraka

CREATING A UNIFIED CONSCIOUSNESS
AMONG THE LEADERSHIP AND PUTTING
THE VALUE SYSTEM AND IDEOLOGY IN CONTROL

The unified consciousness administers the masses variegated consciousness and raises it by focusing it on Nationalism, PanAfrikanism, and Socialism, UNIFYING IT. The unified consciousness (collective ideological clarity) also creates, ie., produces goods and services (objects) that serve to bring it into material existence, as an alternative material culture (just as it seeks to be an alternative spiritual and intellectual culture---values, way of life, institutions) to the one that enslaves us.

The unified consciousness produces and creates, it is a producer. The collective unified consciousness (ideology of the organization) creates from its values a way of life and institutions - as well as products + objects + renewed consciousness. "The correct political line determines everything - Politics must be put in control."

The unity of consciousness, the strength of the collective will, creates and reproduces itself in the material world. Part of the organizing process is the creation of the revolutionary cadre in community after community creating a new consciousness, with revolutionary needs, in each case developing the need for new products which are the creation of the unified consciousness.

At the same time the cadre armed with revolutionary Kwaaida works with the broad masses in operational unity structures, ad hoc committees, black united fronts, &c. influencing a diverse ideological spectrum of our community - on local, national (or international) levels. Revolutionary culture would be a reality for growing masses as we influence values, way of life and institutions, creating new revolutionary institutions and systems which create new revolutionary

clarity. 1974 is the mwaka wa maelezo ya imani, year of ideological clarity. The clearer our ideology, that is, the more clear our values become to us, the more direction and more dynamic will become our way of life and the stronger our forces will become and our institutions.

Although we might have to compromise at some level to survive, we should not eventually end up surviving to compromise. Just as the white boy has negroes in hippy uniforms, in business uniforms, in college boy uniforms, in "right on" uniforms, as ways of dress, as ways of life, and just as the white boy has negroes and others eating one kind of food or liking one kind of entertainment, finally defining and understanding through their system, so not only is it possible, but it is our duty, to see that our people finally take on a set of revolutionary values, and the more that they internalize these values the more will be their need for production that is revolutionary (products, objects, processes, the total revolutionary culture wherein the people want revolutionary nationalism in terms of revolutionary history, revolutionary politics, revolutionary economics, revolutionary social organization, revolutionary creative motif, revolutionary ethos). It is the cadre, the revolutionary's job to create the need by politically educating the masses of people. Our politics must force our culture into ideological clarity so that everything we do issues out of our attempt to make revolution.

On consolidation and unified thrust. In an era of multi and international corporations and international imperialism where these forces have moved rapidly to consolidate 10-20-30-40-50- national companies into one administrative operation, it would be obvious that they are moving to a kind of "socialized capitalism", because they understand the power and strength of consolidation and collectivism even though they are using these methods and modes to make capitalism stronger. It's ludicrous for us who are avowed nationalists, whose ideology is based on collectivism, not to understand the need to consolidate and to draw our multi-faceted (and often multi-valued) activities under a consolidated thrust. We need one powerful publishing company, one powerful newspaper, one powerful commercial development program, all issuing out of one powerful ideology. Contrary to some argument, black people have never been "over organized", we have always suffered from a failure to sustain organization, usually because of personal ego, negro traitors, failure to construct the movement according to the material realities of the community. The cry that we should "give the people what they want" is

usually the theme song of people who do not want to make the final adjustment from random or bohemian or primitive nationalists into revolutionaries.

Finally, the revolutionary wants the direction of the masses.... toward revolution, and even though we understand we must create a revolutionary culture that satisfies the diverse experiences of the masses, this critical work can only be done by the unified consciousness of the cadres through their work and study and most of all through their production, that is, the creation of a material culture.

At this point, as far as economics is concerned, and as far as politics, we have not reached our market. We have not reached all the people who already think they understand Nationalism and PanAfrikanism. We have not taught them, we have not clothed them, we have not fed them, we have not employed them. When we can do this then we will be at the brink of revolution because we will have created truly an alternative revolutionary force, powered by one ideology and strong enough to wage struggle in any of the four areas of political power [public office (elected and appointed), community organization, alliances and coalitions, disruption] or all four at once.

We must not be so worried about our personal contribution to the revolution being obscured by consolidation and unification. Revolution is a collective endeavor. We should not worry that our personalities will be obscured or our talents not appreciated because of consolidation. Finally, the collective consciousness is much more profound, much more independent (even much more "hip") than the singular intelligence, no matter how arty or intellectual it might think itself. Our one problem is forcing the people, potential revolutionaries, to see the reason that they hold back from creation of the unified consciousness, the totally consolidated movement, is that they think they personally, their personal contribution, their personal cult, their personal ideas, will be obliterated. The only way they will be obliterated is if they are incorrect, and then they should be.

It is important to understand the concept also of consensus and centralism in decision making, that we move from a single ideology, reaching our decisions through the Afrikan way, that is, trying to involve everybody's understanding and perception rather than establishing

separate opinions and then making war between those opinions (which is European) but Umoja is our 1st principle and that unity can only be based on centralism, and leadership based on centralism. Our differences are class-value differences we bring into the organization from America. Old habits and old ideas. But all must be subverted in favor of the ideology and the value system. The more integrity we have, the more single minded we are, the more we will be able to create, because the more we will be concentrated on what will yield the most to our people, along the Afrikan path to revolution. All our creations will be enhanced by single mindedness and ideological clarity because they will be stronger and finally more appreciated by the people. We are not talking about elitism, separating ourselves from the people. We are talking about organizing the revolutionaries so they can begin the work of organizing the people. At the present time the Daily News organizes our people and the New York Times organizes our people, electronic media organizes our people, European metaphysics or European materialism organizes our people, but revolutionaries only organize a small element of the people. This is because basically we are still disorganized, that is individualistic, and given to many practices that support a "valueless" (ie. random) way of life and institutions...

Part of our failure to become revolutionary is our continuing need to subjugate our women under contemporary feudalism. It was not uncommon 2 or 3 years ago for brothers from nationalist organizations to be skeptical about women even learning the doctrine because they thought the sisters might apply themselves to learning more of the doctrine than they and, hence, they would be shown up as the unserious advocates they were. Now someone could want an ignorant woman to raise their children still is amazing and tragic. Everyone in the community must struggle, must work and study, internalize the values and help build alternative systems and institutions, within our revolutionary nationalist communities. They must overthrow negro chauvinism and let our women learn and expand in the struggle by our side and stop making them invisible in the struggle. In revolutionary movements all over the world women are given the political equality to struggle for national liberation and world socialism. Manhood must be redefined just as womanhood and indeed childhood must be redefined in collective revolution-

any ways if they are to have any more meaning to us than the old definitions.

It is tragic, for instance, to witness would be revolutionaries whose women still do not participate in the struggle, whose relationship to the women is still much like the lodge brothers in /mos and Andy, "The Mystic Knights of the Sea", whose main social activity consisted of going down to the club house playing cards and fatmouthing. This is ludicrous in 1973, at war with the European white supremacy machine. This should be noted because part of our struggle to gain a unified consciousness and ideological clarity is deterred by brothers and sisters who feel that participation in revolutionary development by our women is somehow in violation of some ancient code. Backward ideas in conflict with new strides, should be overturned, and left where they will become part of our nation's antiquity. Yet any close investigation would show that these ideas were not even held in Afrikan antiquity and Afrikan women were always to a large extent members of the total community and in many cases leading members of that community. We wonder if our male chauvinists would have been willing to tell Nzinga, Makoda-the Queen of Sheba, Candace of Ethiopia...or even Madame Cisse that they could not participate in the revolutionary struggle at the same level as the men and somehow must be kept in the background or without opinion or limited to "menial chores". It is best we address ourselves to these contradictions, as pitiful as they might be, and correct them ourselves, before the ludicrousness of their existence reduces our effectiveness as a revolutionary nationalist movement.

As we move towards the Afrikan Women's Conference of July 1974, which must be a landmark of ideological development, all focus must be in preparation for production at high levels by revolutionaries and the beginning of our general influence on the masses of Black women in this land. And as we move towards the 3rd Bi-Annual International Assembly and Delegates REception in Washington, D.C., we should be willing to enter into ideological struggle if necessary utilizing the principle of unity-criticism-unity, that is, seeking unity, criticizing our deviation from the values and the ideology, and at the end of our discussion seeking unity again, because it's obvious that if we are going to make real progress it must be done through continuing commitment to struggle.

But one thing is obvious, we must move for constant and unified consciousness. We must have ideological clarity before we move on the next higher level of development, which is true NATIONAL MOVEMENT. If we are serious and involved actually with revolution we will do what we must to see that these things come into being.

Imamu Amiri Baraka