

Some Questions of Ideology and Strategy of Building Mass Armed Resistance  
For National Liberation and Socialism Inside the U.S.

Many events have occurred since the attempted Brinks expropriation on October 20, 1981, organized by the RATF under the leadership of the BLA. One has been a propaganda and terror counter-offensive by the police/intelligence forces of the state. This had led to mass framings to torture of captured New Afrikan prisoners of war. The BLM and anti-imperialist movement has, and is, fighting back gallantly.

These notes address three things: (1) The attempted Brinks expropriation was a qualitative leap (development) in the struggle for socialism in the U.S.,

(2) Its failure and offensive the state is engaging in causes us to critically evaluate theoretical questions of armed struggle for our unique situation in Amerikkka., and

(3) The economic contradiction (crisis) and the everincreasing "international" offensive of national liberation movements and the forces of socialism provide a serious crisis for foreign policy and U.S. imperialism. So, the question we want to deal with is the question of ultra-leftism around the military question in the BLM, adventurism versus a scientific dialectical materialist approach based on protracted war in building the military forces of the revolutionary black vanguard.

Too often, our assessment of what we should do and how we should do it is taken from our assessment of basically where the "advanced" are at mainly. Too often our assessment is ultra-left, based on (narrow group) mentality or regionalism. Our method of organizing is not based on a proletarian approach to organizing. Much of this is due to the fact that much of the Army is revolutionary nationalist. While revolutionary nationalism is a progressive and necessary ingredient in the black liberation movement as an ideology, it is not sufficient enough to correctly lead us to the path of liberation and socialism. Only an ideology that takes the situation of the "whole people" (the proletariat) in this country and throughout the world; the correlation of forces, etc., can provide us with the adequate method of "winning." For the most part the thinking of the Army is still based on "Lumpen proletariat advanced armed fighting faction" thinking. Serious materialist planning is lacking in the Army. We won't



discuss it any further. Let us deal with some ideological questions.

The first being the question of Marxism-Leninism. The uneven level of development of the BLM has developed where essentially we have an eclectic armed military vanguard (Army) and a non-existent scientific socialist (Marxist-Leninist) party to lead it. It may be that the black revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party emerges from the ranks of the BLA and the process of armed struggle.

In the last few years there has been a gross romantization of armed struggle in the BLM. Essentially, while the BLA has gained support within the nationalist community, it is still isolated because support cadres and soldiers still do not as of yet base their organizing efforts around the black working class. What we have not been able to address in the past due to our immature political development is that while the black working class is the vanguard of the black revolution, it will not move to revolution unless a revolutionary black vanguard imbues it not only with class consciousness as the most oppressed sector of the proletariat, but also with a revolutionary nationalist consciousness; it will not carry forth its historical mission. So, the army must address itself to raising the race and class consciousness of the black working class. This may encompass the spectrum from the A,B,C's of organizing community militia's medical teams, to preparing for armed insurrection or what to do in times of a rebellion (what demands to raise, what organizational forms to create and what you can do at the workplace to heighten the political consciousness of the rebellion). Also, the Army's strategy must be one of constantly building reserve forces who will be physically, materially, and spiritually prepared to initiate another campaign when one fails or the forces involved



have been exhausted. Our military thinking and planning must start from a materialist basis of involving the masses in the armed nation building process.

The Army needs to begin "base" or "zone" building in the national territory. This means serving the needs of the masses which will involve a stage of constant and protracted political mobilizations. Comrade Sundiata Acoli's Some Solutions and Some Things to Do provides us with a good basis for political unity. Our thinking should be how does the armed national black liberation front emerge? It first emerges from the infrastructure the Army must build from its actions taken against the enemies of the people. The Army should be engaged in every organization in the black nation, constantly raising the masses political consciousness and state of military preparedness; developing reserve forces.



## The Question of Political Mobilization is a Military Question

If the masses race and class consciousness is low they will not see the need to defend themselves/resist, to fight for self-determination, national liberation/independence of New Africa (let alone) to rise up in arms and wage a scientific armed struggle to seize state power in the national territory. Therefore, the masses will be ill-prepared to support actions of the Army and the creative ability of the people will be constantly retarded. So political mobilization, particularly in the national territory, is essential.

### How do we do this?

The first thing; the Army must blend itself with the rate of development, "go with the flow" and culture of the movement in the national territory; only then will it be able to comprehend the pulse of the people in the national territory and be able to transform it into a resistance movement. The Army should use all forms of organization to build the political support infrastructure necessary for successful armed struggle.

...What does political mobilization mean? First it means telling the army and the people about the political aim of the war. It is necessary for every soldier and civilian to see why the war must be fought and how it concerns him. Secondly, it is not enough merely to explain the aim to them; the steps and policies for its attainment must also be given, that is, there must be a political programme...

...Without a clear-cut concrete, political programme, it is impossible to mobilize all the armed forces and the whole people to carry the war of liberation to the end...Thirdly, how should we mobilize them? By word of mouth, by leaflets and bulletins, by newspapers, books and pamphlets, through plays and films, through schools, through the mass organizations and through our cadres...who are prepared to engage in action. Also, the army must integrate itself more at the point of production, calling along with the PG for a general strike for National Liberation.

The present situation of constantly rising unemployment provides the Army with the ample opportunity to politically organize the unemployed and to turn the question of unemployment into an issue for reparations and self-determination.



Fourthly, to mobilize once is not enough: political mobilization for the war of liberation must be continuous. Our job is not to recite our political programme to the people, for nobody will listen to such recitations; we must link the political mobilization for the war of liberation with developments in the war and with the life of the people (particularly in the national territory), and make it a continuous movement. This is a matter of immense importance on which our victory in the war of liberation primarily depends...

#### The Question of Marxism-Leninism is a Political/Military Question

The Army should avoid direct clashes with the state which the state uses its propaganda apparatus to mobilize political support for its military counter-guerilla offensive.

It has been stated that "the New African National Liberation Struggle can be the spark for a victorious Socialist revolution in the U.S." Much of the impetus of the socialist revolution historically has been motivated by the high tides of the New African National Liberation struggle. At the same time, the NANLS center is the regional struggle within the Black Belt South. To correctly apply the correct military/political strategy to the New African National Struggle and the American Socialist Revolution, the Army must creatively apply both the military and political science of Marxism-Leninism to our unique conditions. The coordinated fronts of different nationalities (nations) within the imperialist state for the violent overthrow of capitalism can begin through the armed task force.

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