

REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM AND PAN-AFRICANISM

As we have stated earlier, the black liberation struggle is a revolutionary struggle because it cannot succeed without the total re-alteration of the whole of American capitalist society. In the final analysis, black national self-determination means destruction of the whole of capitalist relationships. This is the revolutionary aspect of our struggle. But if revolutionary nationalism implies the destruction of capitalism on the national level—it must also be applied internationally. Revolutionary nationalism on the international level is anti-imperialist internationalism. This means, that it is impossible to be a real revolutionary nationalist without being at the same time anti-U.S. imperialist.

Imperialism is the final stage of over-developed capitalism. It is the international control of monopoly-corporate capital over the economic, social, and political lives of over half the world's people. Imperialism is also the extension of the capitalist ruling classes political control on the international level, which has called into existence the organization of neo-colonial relationships with the national bourgeoisie of former colonies. Neo-colonialism then is the highest stage of imperialism, for it substitutes the faces of the oppressor while maintaining the exploitive relationship of imperialism. Because imperialism is international in scope, the fight against it must be international also. For until all people affected by it are free, no one will be free. Capitalism must be destroyed wherever it exists and we must mutually support each others struggles against it.

To relate Pan-Africanism to the realities of the world today, we must never lose sight of the true nature of imperialism and its number one exponent, U.S. imperialism. Pan-Africanism that does not deal with neo-colonialist lackeys, but instead obscures the exploitive policies of these lackeys for the sake of blackness, is nothing more than bourgeoisie nationalism taken to the international level. A Pan-Africanism that does not support the struggles of other third world peoples against reactionary imperialist control, is not true revolutionary internationalism, and hence narrow cultural nationalism on the international level. In order for Pan-Africanism to be truly progressive, it must not only advocate the necessity for black international unity against racism, it must put racism in its true perspective. It must also advocate black and third world unity against imperialism and neo-colonialism everywhere. Which means internal solidarity among national minorities within the confines of the U.S. A Pan-Africanism that does not clarify to black people the economic basis for all national oppression cannot possibly explain the very fact that there are black governments that exploit and assist in the oppression of black people, and therefore will be unable to deal with the dialectics of racism correctly. It is the duty, therefore, of Pan-Africanism to clarify and explain to black people exactly who the enemy is. The enemy is international capitalism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism and all those in league with these reactionary forces on the world scene.

The question of which road against racism and imperialism for the black liberation movement here in the U.S. is a question that has been kicked around by everyone from doctrinaire narrow black nationalist to the most reformist minded "black intellectuals." Although it is not our intention to answer this question in its entirety, it is our intention to make the following points:

1. Whatever the ideological differences within the liberation movement here in the U.S., our movement must persuade those countries that are black and truly anti-imperialist to take a principled stand on the issue of political fugitives from the shores of the U.S.A.
2. That the nature of imperialism and racism requires of all those that oppose these twin evils the utmost in mutual support short of actual interference within the national struggle of a particular people.

In respect to point number one, it should be obvious to all elements of the black liberation movement that things will get worse before they can possibly get better. The crisis of the capitalist system, increased domestic reaction, and other factors indicate that black people will feel the ramifications of contradictions more so than any other class or group in this country. We can no longer sit by and rationalise the fact of the repressive apparatus of the ruling classes arrayed against our struggle. It would be incorrect for any respon-

sible movement activist to not prepare for eventualities that the struggle for liberation may be confronted with.

We all must consider that any intensification of our struggle will lead to an increase of repression. This should not be feared as the pseudo-revolutionaries would have us do. Instead we should see any intensification of repression as a necessary result of our increased efforts toward full freedom and prepare for it. Essential to such preparation is the establishment of principles of political sanctuary beyond the shores of the imperialist U.S.

We cannot but note that a real friend does not turn you away from his door in times of danger, and just as those independent and progressive nations of Africa principally support and give sanctuary to the freedom fighters of Africa, it is equally as principled that the movement for black liberation within the U.S. be supported in a like fashion. Every group, every organization in the struggle for self-determination, should put this request high on the agenda of tasks to be dealt with. Our movement as a whole should make the principled stand that our right to struggle, and the mutual obligation to support all anti-imperialist movements is more than mere rhetoric, and as such we as a movement should be supported on the international level.

The second point deals with the basis for our contention that support is necessary, for without a unity in effort world wide imperialism will not be defeated, nor racism eradicated.

It is the international web of U.S. imperialism, its profound effect on the lives of the world's people that puts our struggle in such a crucial strategic position. International support should be based on this strategic premise, for if self-determination is a legitimate goal of our struggle it will ultimately become an international question. As a movement we will be unable to create the principled international support necessary if we do not speak as one voice. Thus the principle of a National Front has clear international implications and is conducive in creating a unity in effort on the international level. To create the type of solidarity needed we should emphasize practical approaches. Sanctuary for our movement's activists is a practical approach that can develop into the establishment of a permanent strategic headquarters abroad, out of the immediate reach of the enemy, and able to give strategic guidance to the movement during heightened repression. There are other such practical approaches already in motion.

It is incorrect for those involved in the struggle to attend international conferences without putting the question of practical and principled support of our movement on the agenda, this every organization should at least agree with in principle. In terms of international solidarity, the same principle holds true for other progressive nations that also holds true for us. We rely primarily on our own resources but we do not refuse revolutionary aid offered in the spirit of solidarity. Our principle of self-reliance is not compromised as a result of seeking concrete international support, it is enhanced by its revolutionary nature.

We find it absurd that many brothers and sisters can support the armed struggles in Africa and not support the armed front at home. This is adopting the posture of solidarity with the essential spirit and revolutionary substance. It comes as no surprise then that progressive struggles do not support our movement as they should, how can they when we ourselves do not support our own? In the final analysis true revolutionary internationalism begins at home. It begins with basic principles of revolutionary struggle.

In summation, then the Black Liberation Movement must move forward into the international arena with clear revolutionary politics instead of "community-oriented perspectives" devoid of broad and far-reaching understanding. Revolutionary nationalism is and must be revolutionary internationalism, Pan-Africanism if it is to be revolutionary must express not only international black solidarity, but revolutionary solidarity with all oppressed peoples struggles against U.S. imperialism.