

The Practice of the New Nationalism

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The struggle for Black political power in Newark is not limited to the ideas white people have about public political participation. We are not white people. This is not a simple dissociation; people are dying today because they do not understand this. The Black cultural revolution was created to teach this lesson more forcefully to negroes and colored people, that we are not white people. So Adolph Saxe's invention of a dour lamentation sounding "a-phone", and that projection of it, did not in the end say anything about what John Coltrane could produce.

Newark is a key because it is a test of the new nationalism. A test of how "fluidized" pure nationalism can be and still prove effective at raising the race. We have no doubts that it will be effective.

All over the country nationalism in many forms is activating Black people (& white people too, in various reactions) & propelling them consciously and not into higher levels of life participation.

The most profound value system of the new nationalism is called *Kawaida*, the doctrine of Maulana Karenga. It is this value system which is the atom hot nucleus of positive political movement in Newark.

Negroes & elections are not new, they are depressingly familiar in any random recollection. But Black people galvanized & given positive motion by a Black value system, a Black ideology of change, is a new & vitally rejuvenating phenomenon.

We will not be manipulated by anything but the purest Black need. Though the nationalist must believe in and practice, to a sometimes maddening degree of aggravation, operational unity, we cannot lose our values and become negroized. Our task is to nationalize our brothers, and *operational unity* is one way of getting close enough to them to do it.

But the new nationalist must be the hard nondiminishable core that proves the limit to any collapse of Black national spirit and projection. And this is the place for battle, the actualities of negro political potential as *envisioned by negroes*. The nationalist must begin with the people (to paraphrase Maulana Karenga's quote of Mao), and transform their desires into a fulfillment of their needs. Black politics Black nationalist politics must provide the moral guideline for negro politics, otherwise all that will result is negro egos aggrandized at the expense of the ultimate development of the Black nation.

We are not interested merely in who is the mayor of Newark, but the consciousness that can be given the people as a result of a heightened political involvement.

We can mobilize the people around elections, - they are, in the 20th century world, almost "natural" occurrences. But the emphasis must be changed, the approach differently proposed, to excite our real consciousness.

What can be achieved in Black reality? Political power. Cultural revolution. The transfer of Economic, Institutional and Coercive Power. (These last three, as Maulana points out, are sure clear goals of the would be revolutionary party).

The new nationalism must be the strong brew that flavors and defines the mixture of Black movement. There are many levels of involvement in and comprehension of what National Liberation entails. The people themselves are the material force that will bring it about. Ideas are relevant only in proportion to how much of this material force they can mobilize along a broad but nevertheless specific path toward national liberation. So that even if the *theories* of nationalism might say, as theories, alienate negroes, as working strategems they must have exactly the opposite effect. There are people who could not possibly say *they are nationalists* who we get to function as nationalists every day. This is what operational unity really means.

In the mad swirl of craziness that passes as the day to day lifeclimate of America, the nationalist has as his focus of sanity a Black value system. It is this value system that he must throw into every game, with which he must color every discussion, out of which he must be coming all the time. If somebody say "election", we got a nationalist interpretation and use for that. If somebody say Alpha Kappa Alpha, we got a program, a use, for them too. Understanding the need for National Liberation should not make it necessary in and of itself to alienate Black people. The ultimate goal of the nationalist is the empowerment of Black people. Think about that. Unless they move, it is impossible. The nationalist must take what movement actually exists and give it identity, purpose and direction.

There is a use to the nation in the Urban League, NAACP, negro frats, welfare mothers, as well as the slick dudes athletic and social club. Think. They are organized bodies. The negro is organized. The ubiquitous churches, social clubs, associations, mark us as one of the most organized, in the sense of gathered together, people on the continent. True these organizations do not lead the vanguard for National Liberation, but that is the nationalist's responsibility. But it is also the nationalist's responsibility to see that the entire nation races along toward National Liberation, or, and this is crucial, *none of us will*.

Fragmented and alienated, we are losers, whether we are shot down in super radical headquarters or are mentally assassinated and content, in whatever superficial characterization (whether a 3 button suit or cowboy fringe jacket) to float around america eating shit & loving it, for a dying.

Say that to say better a nationalist is trying to join with the NAACP or join *behind* the NAACP to bring about real change, where possible, than

discussing theoretical nationalism in coffee shops, or smoking bush with "revolutionary" devils.

Where necessary the nationalist must work *behind the scenes*, moving what has to be moved through the weight of the entire community. If you are in the A/A or the Lil Darlin ASC don't split, mobilize and nationalize. Make these groups more relevant to Black national priorities.

In the cities, political power is a national priority. The nationalist aims for an organized community. This is our only survival. *You cannot organize Black people* by shouting "Kill The Pig." I know. You can only get the pig to look at you very closely, and try to kill you. But more important you will alienate great amounts of the unconscious.

What is the community itself doing? We must be doing that, but also we must be practicing a value system which by its presence, will transform negro activities into Black moves toward National Liberation.

Involve all levels of the community in nationalist programs. Involve nationalism in possibly accommodationist seeming programs. The *strongest content* will dominate. The "integration" of a school *administration* can be a nationalist program. Integrationists must dig it (except the ones who are just emotionally committed to white control, these are pathological "integrationists" who are not really even integrationists but simply in favor of white domination even of themselves). Most Black people are not social integrationists, they just want the same goods and services the white nation has. We must not alienate this mass of Blacks who constitute the majority of us. So that a program for "integrating" administrations of this or that are good programs for nationalists to get behind, because in so doing they can hook up with great segments of the community, usually segments that include professionals as well as the unemployed.

The nationalist vision is as Maulana Karenga says "progressive perfection." The election in Newark of a Black and Puerto Rican slate, i.e. a mayor and 7 of 9 possible councilmen, is not to us an end in itself. It is the beginning of national construction. We must develop the theory and vision of nation building even with a city of 500,000 people.

Newark, New Ark, the nationalist sees as the creation of a base, as example, upon which one aspect of the entire Black nation can be built. We will build schools or transform present curriculum to teach National Liberation. We will create agencies to teach community organizing, national & local politics, and send brothers all over the country to re-create the model. We will nationalize the city's institutions as if it were liberated territory in Zimbabwe or Angola. There are nations of less than 300,000 people.

We will build a "city-state", or make alliances throughout the area to develop regional power in the scatter of Black cities of northern New Jersey.

Control of institutions (schools, hospitals, &c) and coercive (police) mental-spiritual development & defense, is control over two major aspects of life. Economic control will be gained by reversing tax priorities so

that the capitalists will pay for the cities' needs, and the suburban dwellers pay tax on their city gained salaries. All the transportation and communications industries must be highly taxed and/or "nationalized." The Port of Authority and Newark Air Port are vast money makers for suburbia, they will become even vaster money makers for the city. Change municipal priorities so that they will reflect the need to raise a people & rebuild a city in an image more modern than most of dying America. More than this is unwise to go into in public.

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Year of Reconstruction

Year of Separation

