

VANGUARD UP

Unity of Theory and Practice



**Political Report to the 2020
1ST Seventh Congress Plenary of
the African People's Socialist Party
By Chairman Omali Yeshitela**



**AFRICAN PEOPLE'S
SOCIALIST PARTY**

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Vanguard Up! The Unity of Theory and Practice

The title of the Party's Seventh Congress was not casually chosen. "Vanguard, the Advanced Detachment of the African Revolution," is a title that reflects the weight that our Party has carried nearly alone since our 1972 founding.

Our October 2018 Congress occurred at a time when it was absolutely necessary for the benefit of our Revolution and our Party, to break from the pack as a party and also for each Party member to assume the responsibility of being the Vanguard.

Some militants have resisted recognition that the Black Revolution of the Sixties suffered military defeat. The admission of military defeat clashes with the romantic notion of revolutionary invincibility.

Without this recognition we operate under the false assumption that there has been uninterrupted revolutionary continuity since the 1960s. We are challenging the pervasive myth that many events represent victory for African people while in fact they are merely a counterinsurgent substitute for revolution.

This is why individuals like Barack Hussein Obama and other opportunists are sometimes incorrectly viewed as successors to an unbroken trajectory of our movement for democracy and black power that inspired, organized and mobilized millions of Africans and others within the U.S. and around the world.

Many who participated in the Black Revolution of the Sixties, including its leaders, were swept up in the historic inertia that overtook the oppressed of the world. In the 1960s, joining the Revolution was the most natural thing you could do, as revolution was clearly the most influential driving force in the world.

Revolutionary enthusiasm alone could not bestow our movements with the science of revolution, however. Sometimes it is merely the heat of the moment or youthful exuberance in the face of recognizable injustices that thrusts people onto the path of revolution.

Our Party continues to engage in revolutionary struggle today because early on in our development we acquired the science of revolution that provided the political stamina to withstand and learn from the contradictions we encountered. Indeed, we learned and developed from the defeat of the Revolution. This despite the fact that *individual* members of our Party have, from time to time, succumbed to the doubts and difficulties inherent in the struggle for liberation, unification and socialism.

In our early years, our Party fought pitched battles with elements of the Black Liberation Movement to call attention to a general disdain for theory and ideological weakness that characterized the African anti-colonial movement of which we were a part.

Those of us serious about liberation had to be able to project and defend the position of liberation versus the liberal, capitulationist line of assimilation. We were determined to fight our way out of the swamps of ideological obscurantism being deliberately imposed on our struggle. This ability to throw up obstacles to our ideological clarity was tied to the jailings, slander and assassinations of our revolutionary anti-colonial leaders and political philosophers.

The heated struggles of African people during the 1950s and 1960s opened the door to hundreds of questions that demanded resolution as a condition for the further development of our Revolution. As we know, the imperialist powers, led by the U.S. government, waged a major attack on our Revolution, crushing it before these questions could be satisfactorily resolved. For most people, that was the end of it.

We of the African People's Socialist Party, however, continued to lead and develop politically and organizationally even after much of our movement had been destroyed.

This is why we are here today as compared to all of the short-term revolutionaries unable to overcome their ideological limitations, surrendering to the diversions of the pedestrian struggle for survival under foreign colonial-capitalist domination.

Revolution is not simply an aspiration, it is the height of the unbridled participation of the masses in political life. Revolution is distinguished from riots and spontaneous uprisings by organization and leadership.

Our oppressors recognize this and they have created a multi-faceted science to prevent or destroy revolution. This science is called counterinsurgency and employs all forms of warfare, including psychological, economic, political and especially military.

When the African People's Socialist Party was founded in 1972, the Black Revolution of the Sixties was on its last leg. Patrice Lumumba had been overthrown and butchered in Congo; Kwame Nkrumah was deposed in Ghana; Malcolm X, our

most influential anti-colonial ideological leader, had been assassinated in the U.S.; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who massified the struggle for democracy under colonial capitalism, was shot dead.

Che Guevara had been wounded, captured and murdered by the CIA in Bolivia, and Fred Hampton, the last remaining authoritative leader of the Black Panther Party in this country, was murdered in what was clearly intended as the coup de grace to our Revolution.

It was only because we recognized the *defeat* of the Black Revolution that the African People's Socialist Party was able to set ourselves on the conscious mission to *complete* the Black Revolution of the Sixties. It made us impervious to the efforts of most aspects of the counterinsurgency.

In the first place, it kept revolution on the Party's agenda. We did not detour down the opportunist path of reformism, looking to find a way to make our colonial existence more palatable. We set out early on to expose and defeat the counterinsurgency that has played such a debilitating role in our struggle for more than two generations. Today, unlike the 1960s, with the exception of our Party, there is no general recognition of the need for goals, objectives and methods of revolution.

The mission to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties is what helps to set the Party apart. In front. In the vanguard. We are not an organization that is starting anew, after some recent epiphany. Our starting point is the Black Revolution of the Sixties and not the latest egregious colonialist offense. The African People's Socialist Party is the only organization in the world that has maintained this crucial responsibility for all these years.

Since our founding in 1972, we have never stopped struggling for liberation and socialism. We have never stopped fighting for the total liberation of Africa as the fundamental component of the worldwide struggle to defeat imperialism and liberate the oppressed nations, peoples and workers of the world.

Because we never stopped struggling, our Party has continued to *develop*—politically and ideologically—long after the counterinsurgency of the Sixties neutralized the general revolutionary trajectory of our movement. This ongoing political and ideological development is what contributes to our status as the Vanguard, the Advanced Detachment. Effectively we have become the custodian of

the worldwide African Revolution, the critical strategic component of the global anti-imperialist revolution.

The responsibility to expose and defeat the worldwide U.S.-led counterinsurgency is one we sought to share with the existing remnants of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. We worked tirelessly to unite the revolutionary anti-colonial tendency of what remained of our struggle.

We struggled to unite the movement to defeat counterinsurgency

In 1991 we published *Black Power Since the '60s*, a small book based on a series of articles that appeared in *The Burning Spear* newspaper over a number of months.

The main target of these polemics was the opportunist theory of New Afrikanism that was based on the premise that five Southern U.S. states are the national homeland of U.S.-based Africans. This position was adapted from an earlier Communist Party effort to win the loyalty of African people in the U.S. away from the movement of Marcus Garvey by claiming that, instead of Africa, the national homeland of African people is the U.S. "Black Belt South."

Beginning in the late 1960s, the Black Belt South theory was regurgitated by several groups, mostly connected with the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA).

In one passage we addressed the approach by our Party in the struggle against the prevailing counterinsurgency and why *our* approach required the anti-colonial unity of the African victims of the counterinsurgency. It was an approach in contention with the Black Belt South tendency as represented by the RNA and NAPO, the New Afrikan People's Organization, which criminalized African people pushed into the influential U.S. government-imposed counterinsurgent drug *economy*.

Ours was the approach of the Vanguard, as revealed here:

"The approach of our Party has been to identify the counterinsurgency and all its obvious components as the primary contradiction and to attempt to win all in our oppressed colonial community to struggle against the counterinsurgency, including the government importation of drugs into our

community and the vicious war against our people in the name of the U.S. government's 'war against drugs.'

"This approach makes the government the enemy and calls on everyone, including the penny-ante drug dealers, to unite against the government in every way, including a cessation of distribution and usage of drugs. The other approach makes the African youths the enemy and unites with a government campaign against them.

"It is precisely because of this theoretical reliance on the African working class as the social base upon which revolutionary struggle must depend that our Party has been the only organization capable of targeting the counterinsurgency which targets the African working class (unemployed and employed) as the primary victim.

"The theory of our Party informs us that without the conscious participation and leadership of the African working class, there will be no revolution! But because the counterinsurgency targeted the working class, *none* of the anti-colonial organizations was willing to recognize it. Most of them, some more than others, actually united with the counterinsurgency slander against our people and the so-called war against drugs initiated by [U.S. president] Ronald Wilson Reagan and continued under the regime of U.S. CIA president George Herbert Walker Bush."

Our Party initiated unsuccessful efforts to bring various elements of the anti-colonial, pro-independence sector of our movement under an organizational umbrella, a single party that included the then-existing African People's Party (APP), All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP), Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) and another, armed wing of the movement.

By 1974 the African People's Socialist Party was actively moving to internationalize African unity and to build the African Socialist International (ASI) by joining with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to liberate Zimbabwe from the clutches of the white settler state of Rhodesia.

We saw the ZANU movement at the time, along with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in colonial South Africa as the closest potential for the creation of an all-African revolutionary party, specifically the African Socialist International, that would direct the struggle for a liberated and socialist Africa

under the leadership of the African working class organized in our own revolutionary party.

Later we sent envoys to the New Jewel Movement of Grenada and to Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso in our ASI-building efforts. This stemmed in part from the lessons we learned from the sixties that convinced us the African Revolution had run into its limitations when fought within the imperialist-created colonial borders—in Africa and among Africans throughout the world.

These limitations included the ability of imperialists to destroy our struggle on separate fronts without having to fight against the entire African Revolution. We were incapable of developing a strategic approach to the overall struggle for the liberation of our people worldwide. The setbacks caused by the assassination of our leaders in Congo and Ghana are only two of the most notable examples of the limitations imposed by adherence to the borders.

In addition, the fact that the Soviet Union at the time was able to determine that there were only six revolutionary organizations in all of Africa deserving of its support, was evidence of the need for the African Revolution to define for itself what constituted revolutionary organization. It was we who needed to determine what was necessary to collectivize our separate efforts and give a coherent response to our joint oppression and exploitation.

A new front behind enemy lines

In 1976 the Party opened a critical new front in our struggle with the creation of the African People's Solidarity Committee (APSC). Through this organization of white colonizer nationals, the Party took the struggle for black power into the cities, communities, neighborhoods and homes of the colonizers.

With the solidarity committee we created a division of labor that contributed to the ability of the Party to concentrate primarily on the political struggles directly confronting our colonized nation. APSC actively works to fracture the reactionary unity of the colonizer nation through winning political *and* material solidarity from among the colonizers.

Indeed, the absolute unity of white people with their own ruling class has been forever fractured by the existence of the African People's Solidarity Committee.

The African People's Solidarity Committee works directly under the leadership of the Party. This is crucial because of the role played by opportunism in undermining our struggle against colonial capitalism.

Of course, a significant location of this opportunism has been with the participation of colonizer nation whites—liberals and leftists. Their comfortable place on the pedestal of our colonial oppression made it possible and likely that they would fight and settle for political solutions that fell far short of destruction of the colonialism that fed, clothed and housed them.

As we summed up in the chapter "The theory of African Internationalism" in the Political Report to the Party's Sixth Congress, published as *An Uneasy Equilibrium: The African Revolution versus Parasitic Capitalism*:

"Africans are not a race but a nation of people, forcibly dispersed throughout the globe. We have been pushed out of history by our imperialist oppressors, partially through the concept of race..."

The definition of the conditions of African people inside the U.S. and around the world as colonialism and not racism informed our Party's practice since our very foundation and was fundamental to our struggle to Complete the Black Revolution of the '60s. In 1975 we published the pamphlet "Colonialism: the Major Problem Facing Black People in the U.S."

Through this understanding we were correctly able to define the white population in the U.S. and worldwide not as "racists" but as the colonizer nation whose entire existence rests on the pedestal of the colonial domination of African people and the majority of humanity.

We were very clear that white liberals and leftists are part of the colonizer nation. As such, they bring an imperial attitude and the power of the colonizer into every relationship they enter, both personal and political. Thus we have branded them Ideological Imperialists and Ku Klux Communists.

In an effort to obscure this *colonial* relationship, liberals of both the colonizer and colonized nations refer to their status as "white privilege." It is actually the "privilege" of the colonizer over the colonized in the same way that slave owners have "privilege" compared to the enslaved.

When engaging in the fight against colonialism we do not make the assumption that the colonized can eliminate the *privilege* without destroying the *system* of

colonialism any more than the enslaved could end the privilege of the enslaver without the destruction of slavery.

When not under the leadership of the Party and left to their own devices, this relationship has resulted in colonizer-nation leftists fighting for or having actual power within our movement and thereby reinforcing the colonial domination that oppresses our people.

Opportunism within the colonized African nation resulted in African capitulation to white Left and liberal demands and aspirations as a condition for acquiring their support, which in any case was mostly verbal and charitable. This kind of relationship actually undermined African self-determination.

The unity of theory and practice required concrete, *material*, solidarity with the *anti-colonial* struggle led by the colonized ourselves. This was a challenge to the cheap, meaningless slogans preferred by white communist and opportunist African assimilationist liberals calling for black and white to “unite and fight.”

These empty slogans failed to target colonialism, a stand that demands both the recognition of the requirement for the colonized to lead our own struggle and an active fight against our colonial domination.

The Party’s practical work in this arena also contributed to our pioneering theoretical work that revealed the historical contradiction in the struggle for socialism, namely that the colonial white working class has functioned as a retardant on the fight against capitalism.

Marx’s early dictum that wage “slavery” in Europe required as a “pedestal slavery pure and simple in the new world” was simply another way of saying that all capitalist activity rests on a foundation of the oppression of the colonial subjects of the world.

Slavery and colonial capitalism not only gave birth to the bourgeoisie or the white ruling class. It was also the progenitor or parent of the white working class.

Without revolutionary African Internationalist leadership, the majority of whites of the colonizer nation experience the crisis of imperialism as their own, and not without reason.

This is why solidarity with the colonized African working class, working under its leadership, cannot be seen as beneficent charity on the part of colonizer-nation “leftists” but as recognition that the road to socialism truly is painted black.

The strategic leadership of the overall fight against capitalism is to be found in the struggle against colonialism, the pedestal. The strategic leadership of the struggle for socialism is to be found in the party of the African working class that must lead the anti-colonial struggle for national liberation, thereby depriving the capitalist parasite of its life-giving colonized host.

The African People's Socialist Party has provided the theoretical leadership that has long been missing from the struggle for African liberation, and the defeat of capitalism and the victorious emergence of socialism.

The December 2013 Political Report to our Sixth Congress, employing groundbreaking African Internationalist analysis, elaborated on the critical role of the African Liberation Movement in the defeat of capitalism:

"The white Left has always been locked into a worldview that places the location of Europeans at the center of the universe.

"If this were not the case, Marx would have been forced to declare that the road to socialism is painted black. The destruction of the 'pedestal' upon which all capitalist activity occurs, not some maturation of contradictions within European capitalist society resting upon the pedestal, is the key to overturning imperialist capitalism.

"In an earlier work titled *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Marx made this startling admission:

Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry....

Without slavery, North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe North America off the map of the world, and you will have anarchy—the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations.

"What an excellent formula for the overthrow of capitalism!

"The 'slavery' of today is comprised of the colonial, subject and oppressed peoples of the world. The existence of our Party and the

convening of our Sixth Congress are part of the trajectory to cause slavery to disappear and, objectively, to achieve the consequence predicted by Marx.”

From its inception our Party has fought for ideological clarity. We rejected the mysticism and other forms of philosophical idealism that characterized much of the anti-colonial tendency of our struggle. Our position was then as it is now: theory is critical, but theory that cannot be implemented is worthless.

It is in the spirit of the oft recognized maxim by Karl Marx that, “The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.” We too believe that there must be a unity of theory and practice and in the Party we often state, “It’s not what we say, it’s what we do.” Our theory is African Internationalism, an advanced, scientific revolutionary theory of practice.

It was with this clarity that we struggled with both African and white Left opportunism to expose and defeat the counterinsurgency. Indeed it was this clarity that enabled us to survive the counterinsurgency and emerge as the Vanguard.

African Internationalism recognized by colonial university

On January 24, 2019, the Oxford Union of Britain’s University of Oxford, one of the most prestigious bourgeois universities of the world, hosted a debate on “The Africa Question,” where I spoke as an invited participant.

There was a total of six participants in the debate, three on each side of the question of the desirability of greater African union. However it was clear from the beginning that the Oxford Union and all the debate participants were most interested in my contribution to the debate and that it was my participation that allowed the event to even be characterized as a debate.

The Oxford Union’s letter of invitation recognized the theoretical contributions of African Internationalism that was the obvious basis for the invitation.

We are clear that the bourgeoisie would have its own reason for offering the invitation to me, not the least being the anticipation that African Internationalism is the advanced theory of the oppressed that is increasingly guiding the struggles of Africans and other subject peoples against imperialism that the international bourgeoisie will have to fight.

However, from our perspective, the Oxford event served to validate African Internationalism as a legitimate philosophical system within bourgeois academia and thereby gives us access to an international community that we could not have achieved alone.

Subsequently, at least two million Africans and others have seen the debate that has been shared thousands of times on social media.

The letter of invitation from the Oxford Union for our participation in the debate was clear in its recognition of the contributions of our Party to the body of socialist and revolutionary theory. Here is a meaningful passage:

“Dear Mr. Yeshitela,

“I hope this email finds you well.

“I am writing to extend an invitation to speak at the Oxford Union in our forthcoming term.

“Founded in 1823, the Oxford Union is the largest society at the University of Oxford and one of the most famous student societies in the world. In the past we have hosted visits ranging from US Presidents Reagan, Nixon and Carter to Morgan Freeman and Malcolm X. Moreover, we are famous for debating the most important and pressing issues of the day, from a 'Liberty and Security Debate' last year, to the 'King and Country' debate of 1933....

“With a lifetime of fighting for freedom for African people, you are a globally inspiring champion for racial equality and socialism. Your vision has been crucial to shaping the theory of African Internationalism and indeed the socialist movement world-wide. This timely debate would be hugely benefited by your irreplaceable perspective and input...”

The Party's advanced theory of African Internationalism

The fact that our Party uses some of the same words as others who claim to be revolutionaries and socialists, contributes to the inability of some to distinguish the advanced character of our theoretical works or to recognize African Internationalism as a distinct school of revolutionary socialist theory.

Many Party and Uhuru Movement members are neophytes who, due to the counterinsurgency, are only recently entering into revolutionary political life.

Because many are often ill-equipped to understand the leadership provided by our Party in the realm of advanced revolutionary theory, I have personally held a weekly online political education series every Sunday morning for the past several years.

Our Party is responsible for the advent of advanced theory necessary for revolution: African Internationalism.

The Political Report to our Sixth Congress published as *An Uneasy Equilibrium*, quoted earlier, dedicated an entire chapter to the theory of African Internationalism—the revolutionary worldview of the African working class.

Here is an excerpt:

“The science of African Internationalism enabled our Party to avoid the ideological pitfalls that validate the assumption of the superiority of white people. Thus, we have never been diverted from our mission of capturing power and uniting Africa and our nation under the leadership of the African working class.

“Our Party brought science to our defeated African Liberation Movement at a time when it was generally bogged down in racial and cultural nationalism that indulged in candlelit ceremonies, religious obscurantism and nostalgia for an often imaginary African past. Through African Internationalism we were able to discover the material basis for the exploitation and oppression of Africans and others in this world.

“With African Internationalism we can understand the material forces at work in the movement of history. We can clearly see the current shift in the balance of power between the oppressor and the oppressed, between Europe and the rest of us, between the ‘white man’ and the ‘black man.’

“We determined long ago that characterizing our movement as a struggle against racism was a self-defeating waste of time. What is called racism is simply the ideological foundation of capitalist imperialism. Racism is a concept that denies Africans our national identity and dignity, rather than defining the system of our oppression. It relegates us to the Sisyphean task of winning acceptance from, and often of becoming one with, our oppressors.

“With African Internationalism we have proven that race is simply a colonial invention originating from the enslavement and colonization of

Africans and Africa that gave birth to capitalism and, simultaneously, the European nation.”

Being the Vanguard or Advanced Detachment has meant that we have had to constantly challenge and defeat orthodox, outdated and hidebound assumptions that function as rigid, fossilized traditions.

We continue with the quote from *An Uneasy Equilibrium*:

“For us, the rise of capitalism in the world is not based on some purely abstract Marxist theory about the development of human society. It is not a theoretical question. *‘Primitive accumulation’ is not a theory.* The rape of Africa, the enslavement of our Continent and our people, the forcible dispersal of Africans throughout the world as a means of rescuing Europe from disease and poverty—the process that gave rise to capitalism—is a matter of historical record.

“Marx, the spectator, did not have to understand this. The person sitting on the hot stove—the living, breathing, thinking ‘primitive accumulation’—would either understand this question or perish. We chose to understand. More than that, we chose to develop a worldview stemming from this understanding. This is the origin of African Internationalism.

“African Internationalism is simply the worldview stemming from a historical materialist investigation and analysis of the world with its starting point being the experience and role of Africans and Africa in the advent of capitalist-imperialism as the rise of white power.

“*Parasitic* capitalism is the real issue. It is this reality that ultimately distinguishes African Internationalist socialism from the struggle for ‘white rights’ that usually characterizes most movements of Europeans worldwide. It is the difference in socialism resulting from overturning the pedestal upon which all capitalist activity occurs and some variation of the national socialism achieved by the infamous Nazis of Germany....

“White people have been mobilized by the inability of capitalism to live up to their expectations. They are demanding to be restored to their ‘rightful’ place atop the pedestal of capitalist prosperity, sharing in the stolen loot of colonial plunder.

"The problem is that this can only happen at the *expense* of the well-being of the historical victims of capitalist prosperity—the subject and colonial peoples of the world, whose exploited labor and resources create the pedestal upon which all white people sit. Europe's economic uncertainty has been brought about by oppressed peoples who are currently fomenting the crisis with our struggle for the recapture of our resources, our sovereignty, dignity and our history.

"It is an error to assume that 'primitive accumulation' is dead history, something that happened a long time ago with no implications for today. The truth is that today's capitalist-imperialist structures, the ones being challenged in a thousand different ways, are structures that originated in the very genesis of capitalism as it emerged through the assault on Africa and the majority of humanity from the primordial sludge of backward and disease-ridden Europe.

"These understandings of African Internationalism *require* action. They are not for consumers of information. Our Party's theory is the only body of political understanding that can make sense of what is happening in the world today.

"Our African Internationalist theoretical contributions serve to break the shackles historically imposed on revolutionary theory as perceived through the lens of oppressor nation intellectuals whose worldview was determined by their existence on the pedestal of our oppression.

"African Internationalism for the first time allows for Africans and the oppressed of the world to become the subjects of history, defining our own destiny, something not possible with the theory of Marx or his contemporaries and followers.

"Today the conditions of the real world manifested by the crisis of imperialism are beginning to confirm what African Internationalism has so long predicted.

"The reality of primitive accumulation of capital and the fact that capitalism was born at the expense of the suffering of African and Indigenous peoples and is therefore parasitic; the reality of Africans as one people dispersed around the world who are colonized wherever we may be located; the understanding that African people live under a policy of U.S.

counterinsurgency in the U.S.—these are some African Internationalist understandings whose significance is becoming recognized by the world.

“African people, like all of humanity have always been motivated by the struggle to understand our place and destiny in the world. We, like others, have through our collective life experiences been compelled to find answers to the fundamental philosophical questions revolving around the primacy of the spiritual versus the material world.

“What is the basis of our oppression? Can the answer be found in religious scripture? Are we oppressed because we have offended the gods or perhaps sought solace from the wrong gods? Are the white colonial oppressors and some of the African petty bourgeoisie correct when they say we are experiencing the consequence of insufficient civilization or inadequate education or that we are morally depraved?

“Those who see the spiritual as primary are philosophical idealists. For them the idea of reality is greater than reality itself. For idealists, the real, material world is dependent on the spiritual. Philosophical idealists do not look for answers about the nature of the world by examining the world itself. They see the world as the creation of an external force that is incapable of standing up to scientific investigation.

“This is a ruling class worldview that is funneled into the consciousness of the working masses through the African petty bourgeoisie as well as other petty bourgeois and bourgeois mediums. Philosophical idealism assumes that there are things that humans are unable to comprehend. It claims that the hand of the mysterious is somehow responsible for what we perceive as reality.

“During the historical period when our Party was founded, philosophical idealism was central to the worldview of the Black Liberation Movement which relied mainly on religious, moral and colonial explanations to understand and analyze our situation... .

“The African People’s Socialist Party sprang from the very bowels of the remorseless reality and struggles of our people. As we developed, we were increasingly forced to shed all reliance on religion, other forms of superstition and the good will or moral epiphany of our oppressors.

"Our struggles to understand our reality, while occasionally encumbered and influenced by the worldview of the educated and upper classes, were rooted in attempts to solve the real problems of the concrete contradictions in which our people are embroiled.

"We were forced to learn that our preconceived notions gleaned through colonial civics books, preachers and liberal white friends only helped to obscure the real contradictions with which our people are confronted. We came to recognize that we must understand the world just as it is, not as we would wish it to be.

"We were forced to become philosophical materialists.

"Materialism teaches us that the world is tangible, knowable and can be experienced through the senses. It teaches us that all existing phenomena result from material causes that come into being, develop and pass away according to the laws of the motion of matter. Materialism informs us that the material world is primary. It is objective reality that exists independently of the mind and will of individuals. It does not require the permission of gods or important persons for its existence.

"The development of the African People's Socialist Party during our historical 41-year trajectory in the midst of intense struggle compelled us to understand that the savage and genocidal brutality inflicted upon our people and the world by Europeans or whites has a material basis. It is not due to the will of the gods or simply some moral deficiency on the part of whites....

"Our Party and movement were forced to conclude that all humans, including Europeans, are trapped by an absolute necessity to secure and develop the means of subsistence. In other words, the primary motivating factor in human society is the production and reproduction of life. Without life, all other questions—religion, culture, genetics, etc.—are moot, meaningless. Indeed, culture is a byproduct of the process of producing and reproducing life.

"However, the process of Africans producing and reproducing life was drastically disrupted and altered by the European attack that resulted in the capture and colonial enslavement of Africa and Africans. This attack by Europeans on Africa also resulted in the imposition of artificial borders that separate the dispersed African nation from our human and material resources

and from a meaningful relationship among ourselves and with the peoples of the world.

"The material *and* human resources of Africa have gone to satisfy the requirements of life for Europeans at the expense of Africa and Africans. The process of Africans producing and reproducing life has not been primarily for Africa and Africans—it has been primarily for Europe and the white world at our expense.

"This progenitor of world capitalism—the attack on Africa and Africans, along with the European assault on Asia and the Americas—rescued Europe and Europeans from an oppressive, thousand-year-long, disease-ridden, impoverished existence known as feudalism. This was the genesis of the capitalist system as a world economy, created on a base of the enslavement of Africans and others.

"A scientific analysis of human society requires that we take a dialectical approach. We cannot see the world as static and ready-made. Society has to be analyzed as a process that is in a constant state of motion, change and development. There is always something new arising to replace the old and all social motion occurs in relation to this process of coming into existence and dying away.

"Europe's attack on Africa was effectively an assault on Africa's ability to produce life for itself. This assault has had the effect of pushing Africa and Africans out of history—history being the summation of the ongoing struggle to produce and reproduce life.

"Slavery, genocide and colonialism are the stuff of which capitalism was born. African enslavement was the *first capital* in the development of capitalism. The prevailing legal system, culture, religion and general philosophical outlook or worldview constitute the superstructure of capitalism thus conceived. This superstructure is a natural product and reflection of this economic base of colonial slavery.

"Slavery and colonialism gave rise not only to capitalism but also to the capitalist and working classes alike of Europe and North America. The workers and the bourgeoisie, the two primary capitalism-defining classes, have occasionally fought great battles with each other since their inception as contending social forces.

"Nevertheless both were born and developed on a platform of slavery and colonialism. Consequently, what is often called "class struggle" inside the U.S. and Europe is actually contention among the workers and the ruling class for control of the parasitic capitalist pedestal and its stolen resources.

"The parasitic foundation of world capitalism continues to exist up to now as the true economic base upon which the entire superstructure of the capitalist-defined, capitalist-dominated world rests.

"The total existence of 'white' people and their ability to produce and reproduce life is dependent on this parasitic relationship that came into being with the attack by feudal Europe on Africa and the world.

"Instead of separate, more or less self-contained worlds existing in casual relationship to each other, *there is one capitalist world system united by a parasitic economic relationship imposed by Europe upon the rest of us.*

"There is, therefore, no European reality separate from that of Africa and the rest of the world. The entire world is now locked into a single dialectical process, a unity of opposites, whereupon the gruesome extraction of life and resources from Africa and the rest of the world is a condition for the life and 'development' of what we now know as Europe, 'white people' and the capitalist system to which we have been forcibly affixed.

"The legal system, culture, white sense of sameness and political institutions are reflections of this parasitic economic base. Every white aspiration and dream, every expectation for happiness and a good life—from a successful marriage to a secure future for their children—requires drone strikes in Pakistan, police murders and mass imprisonment in the African colonies and barrios of the U.S., and starvation and forced displacement of the oppressed throughout the world."

It is this theoretical understanding that demands putting revolutionary organization and infrastructure on the ground that distinguishes the Party from every other organization in the world today.

Earth-shattering significance of our Party

We have taken the struggle beyond protest and are actually constructing our liberated African economy with institutions that will continue to function after we

take state power. It became clear to me half a century ago “that the era of ‘protest politics’ was over; that our people had to really fight for power. We had to have a political party, the most effective vehicle for capturing and wielding power. Black power had to be translated as our own black ‘state power.’” (Quoted from *Vanguard: The Advanced Detachment of the African Revolution; the Political Report to the Seventh Congress of the African People’s Socialist Party.*)

This is what has separated us from the pack.

We are not just running a store or flea market. We are on a trajectory to seize political power and to overturn the colonizer. Our objective is to liberate Africa and African people to produce and reproduce real life for African people. The people working in our more than 50 economic institutions are a part of something much bigger than the running of the store—they must see the greater picture.

Our Party is saying no to the imposed colonial economy while replacing this economy with a liberated, anti-colonial African working class economy. The negation of the negation. Our forces need to be conscious of this.

The ever-developing theory of African Internationalism informs the struggle for the liberation of Africa and African people and, hence, the global struggle for communism, a scientific ideological expression, for the very first time in history. The vanguard status of our Party can be found in part by our Party’s satisfying at least two requirements of revolution—a revolutionary Party and advanced revolutionary theory.

Elements of the Party’s theory are to be found ensconced in the utterings of some other African movements, many of which are locked in single-issue work, lifestyle politics or small circle adventures.

Few African organizations have the experience, maturity or resources to advance our revolutionary movement to the next critical stage, so they take understandings from us, sometimes very much out of context. And, while many members of the Party find themselves annoyed by the assertions of such opportunists and revisionists, it is to be expected. This a consequence of being the Vanguard.

We will influence and have influenced the entirety of the liberation and communist movement—even those that are in contention with the Party of the African working class—as well as sectors of the ruling class itself, as we have seen.

This is how it has always been. This is how it will remain until our Party clearly assumes unambiguous leadership of the entire revolutionary process.

Members of our Party and Movement must heed the urgent call of this First Plenary of our Seventh Congress to assert full authority and realize the earth-shaking significance of our Party for our Revolution by “Vanguarding Up” and uniting theory and practice on every front in every arena and area of our Revolution.

For this Plenary, we must do more than just report on the work we have done and what we are planning to do. We are on a mission, as stated in the Seventh Congress, to build the worldwide liberated African economy that is the foundation of our victory, national liberation and self-government.

This plenary will have to say what we have done in terms of accomplishing the basic strategy laid out in the political report. This does not just mean reporting on what we have done in terms of our tasks but a comprehensive approach to where we are going. The reports have to lay out the mandates for how our departments, Party and whole movement must move forward.

There was no movement, so we built it

This is a task made easier because we have always recognized the need for unity of theory and practice. We are the Party that took the abstraction out of our struggle for national liberation by developing and advancing tactics and strategy for black liberation in the U.S. at a time when there was none. Our work continues to be guided by our tactics and strategy, today, more than 50 years later. Other groups now articulate aspects of this strategy to advance their own credibility.

The January 1980 issue of *The Burning Spear* addressed the history of our Party as Vanguard nearly forty years ago. In an article titled “APSP Conference Plans Program for New Period,” *The Burning Spear* reveals how we assumed the role of Vanguard even then:

“...[W]ith the publication of the ‘Tactics and Strategy for Black Liberation’ pamphlet, the Party ‘deepened the theoretical basis of our ideological position and laid out a general method for struggling for black liberation within current U.S. borders,’ finally bringing science to the black movement and enabling the movement to take ‘a broad, unified position on the nature and character of our struggle.’”

"The Party-organized September 4, 1977 demonstration to demand freedom for Dessie Woods was a major breakthrough, in that a broad representation from the black nationalist movement came together on the same platform for the first time in a decade, causing the Chairman to exclaim at the rally: 'Finally, the Black Liberation Movement is in the hands of black people once again!'

"The subsequent Dessie Woods demonstration in Plains, Ga. on July 4, 1978 had the same kind of impact, this time resulting in support from other colonized people.

"The recent building of the African National Prison Organization (ANPO) was but another example of the Party's ongoing efforts to rebuild the Black Liberation Movement, bringing science and a strategy to the movement.

"Now, clear evidence of a revitalized black movement can be seen.

"'When the Party was born, there was no movement, so we built it,' the Chairman said. 'When the movement was built, it lacked the practical experiences of struggle, so we taught it. When the movement learned to struggle, it lacked clear ideological analysis, so we provided it. When the movement accepted our ideological analysis, it lacked a strategy for African liberation within the U.S., so we constructed a strategy.'"

The title of our 2020 Plenary is "Vanguard Up! The Unity of Theory and Practice." However, it should be clear that the role of the Party as the Advanced Detachment began with our inception as a Party, as is demonstrated by the quoted article in *The Burning Spear* that was produced in January 1980, two generations before the convening of our Party's Plenary in February 2020. The struggle for unity of theory and practice is one we have always pursued. It is a pursuit that has always defined us as the Advanced Detachment.

The First Plenary of the Party's Seventh Congress is occurring nearly a year and a half after our October 2018 Congress. Our work since that Congress can be characterized as generally good and we have achieved unquestionable successes in many ways that confirm the validity of choosing "Vanguard" as the title of my Political Report to the Congress.

Our Seventh Congress took place from October 6-12, 2018, but the work of the Congress began much earlier with the creation of the Congressional Committee

comprised of the entire Central Committee. The pre-Congress work included the four-month-long Party discussion of the Political Report, the Main Resolution of the Congress.

Even our Congress is a Vanguard initiative as there is no other revolutionary African political party in the U.S. and few in the world that open up their organizational process to facilitate the full democratic participation of their membership in charting their course and determining their leadership.

Members of our Party clearly experience deep, personal and subjective feelings for each other, but such personal or subjective feelings are not the basis for our relationship. We are the Vanguard, the Advanced Detachment and our subjective and personal feelings for each other are based on our collective, unwavering commitment to African Internationalism and the total liberation and unification of Our Africa and African people globally. This is the basis for our recognition that the unity of our Party—the only hope for the liberation of our people, the emancipation of all the oppressed and workers of the world—is sacred!

Many non-African Internationalists are intoxicated by the Jerry Springer-Donald Trump type reality shows that are bourgeois diversions that serve to distract the people from the profound contradictions confronting the African nation and working class.

These shows are tools used to dumb down the colonized nation and working class in particular.

As the Advanced Detachment we have accepted as our responsibility the task to help the oppressed repossess their brains from the clutches of our oppressors by exposing the *political* contradictions that continue to keep us enslaved.

Most of our Seventh Congress activities occurred at the Akwaaba Hall and our Uhuru House, and that is a true expression of our Vanguard status. It was held barely six months after the Uhuru House—led by Deputy Chair Ona Zené Yeshitela—was transformed from a dilapidated building to the headquarters of the Party and Uhuru Movement in North St. Louis, the seat of the Midwest Region.

The base for the Black Power Blueprint that has become the most outstanding element of our practical program and prototype for dual power is located here. It is a practical expression of our anti-colonial struggle for political independence, self-reliance and self-government. It is a material manifestation of the truth that

politics, especially the politics of anti-colonialism, is nothing but concentrated economics.

Our Party had gone to St. Louis in August 2014 following the anti-colonial uprising in the working class community on Canfield Drive in the suburb of Ferguson, responding to the police murder of 18-year-old Mike Brown. Brown's body was left to rot for four and a half hours on one hundred degree-plus asphalt. The Africans' splendidly appropriate response to this grotesque example of colonial terror was to rise up fighting with the chant, "Kill the police"!

The militant response by the African working class was met by concentrated military violence, the deployment of armed troops and by the importation of an assortment of opportunists of every age and persuasion. They included the traditional Africans who have been elevated by the colonial-capitalist ruling class to leadership positions as spokespersons for our people.

The Reverends Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton were high on the list. But so were other, younger Africans, new, energetic and sometimes representative of the lifestyle and single-issue popular causes that white liberals—including some characterized as anarchists, socialists and revolutionaries—champion as substitutes for attacks on colonial capitalism.

The amount of money pumped into St. Louis-Ferguson by the colonial big bourgeoisie was not limited to Democratic Party money-bags billionaire George Soros and was intended to hijack the struggle of our people that began with the courageous anti-colonial working class uprising on Canfield Drive.

The unambiguous slogan of "Kill the Police" was overwhelmed by the imposition of opportunist liberal slogans such as "Black Lives Matter" and "Hands Up, Don't Shoot," supposedly implicit in the stance of the unarmed Mike Brown when he was gunned down by the colonial occupying military force known as police in the U.S.

Before long the masses of our colonized people who joined in the spontaneous struggle on the ground in St. Louis-Ferguson, sometimes as whole families, would be pushed to the sidelines, some imprisoned and murdered, and replaced by professional "protesters" who enjoyed a status of loyal opposition of the liberal and George Soros type. Some of the protesters parlayed their phony militancy into elected office.

Pop-up schools for “community organizers” with access to abundant resources were established in St. Louis-Ferguson and, with assistance from the bourgeois media and opportunists who were often on the payroll of external forces, were able to neutralize the people’s initiative. The opportunists positioned themselves as experts in holding demonstrations with no demands. With the willing assistance of local domestic military forces, they occasionally blocked select interstates or temporarily disrupted shopping malls, but were unable to answer the question, “to what end?”

The continued presence of the African People’s Socialist Party and the Uhuru Movement in St. Louis-Ferguson for nearly six years up to today, represents our unwavering determination to complete the African Revolution of the Sixties.

While all the media have left and much of the money by Soros and others dried up, our Party has begun the development of a social movement that has revolutionary potential. It is a social movement that is being created deeply within the colonized sections of the African working class in St. Louis and that has the advantage of the leadership of the Party of the African working class.

The African People’s Socialist Party, International People’s Democratic Uhuru Movement and African National Women’s Organization are deeply embedded in St. Louis as is the most significant project of the African Liberation Movement internationally, Black Power Blueprint.

We have been relentless in our struggle and development since our Seventh Congress. On October 17, 2018, five days after the Congress, the Uhuru Solidarity Movement began our annual “Days of Reparations to African People” campaign with an event at Akwaaba Hall in the St. Louis Uhuru House.

On October 20, the St. Louis representatives of InPDUM held a well-attended St. Louis Community Fair in the heart of the African working class colony of North St. Louis.

Although not without fits and starts, our mass organizations have shown consistent development in their performance that reflects improved leadership and a commitment to the emphasized Regional Strategy that calls for a more stratified leadership under democratic centralist principles that should grow our Party quantitatively and qualitatively.

Not only should this strategy allow for bringing in more members to our Party, it also spreads the responsibility to regional leaders for establishing the Party throughout the regions and for building more Party organizations.

This strategy provides a blueprint for exponential growth of the economic work of the Party and reinforcing recognition within our Movement of the reality that the political and economic are one. The Regional Strategy also gives practical meaning to the fact that all politics is concentrated economics, that our *political* expressions of self-determination reflect the anti-colonial struggle for *economic* self-reliance, which is to liberate the productive forces of the African nation.

This builds the consciousness and organization within the Party and among the colonized masses to participate in building and protecting our Party, Movement, community base and economic institutions.

It is clear that the leaders of our mass organizations are growing in political maturity, experience and confidence. Certainly, this is exemplified by the work of InPDUM, ANWO and AAPDEP, although with AAPDEP, this is currently reflected primarily in the development of Zenzele, the organization's main economic institution that is also proving to be an important political organizational tool.

The Office of the Deputy Chair

Deputy Chairwoman Ona Zené Yeshitela is renowned within our Party and movement for her careful and dedicated attention to the mandates and protocols assigned to her office by every Congress and Plenary Political Report.

She has consistently brought these mandates to life through quick and creative implementation involving the Party, her office, the movement and the surrounding African working class community.

The Deputy Chairwoman also either wrote or presided over the writing of many of the how-to manuals and plans of action the Party has produced for several areas of the work.

More than anyone else, Deputy Chair Ona Zené is a stickler for utilization of our manuals, often declaring that it is unnecessary to reinvent the wheel. This creates an easily accessible bank of training within our Party and Movement. It helps to professionalize and standardize our work in all our more than fifty institutions and the various political committees of the Party and our Movement.

The utilization of our manuals and fidelity to our protocols gives us constant access to the 50-plus year experience and memory of our Party, something that cannot be found any place else. But what must also be understood is that the Deputy Chair does not simply use the protocols and manuals of the Party, as important as that is.

On any given day a visit to the Deputy Chair's office will find her poring over the Political Report of our most recent Congress just as she will with the Political Report to this Plenary.

Understanding the Political Report is what helps her to know the significance of particular protocols. It informs her of the importance of existing manuals or the need for new manuals. It is unity with the Political Report and the internalization of key understandings such as "the political and economic are one," that inspire the creativity and ingenuity that is the hallmark of her work.

The Political Report prodded the Deputy Chair to advance the work for African self-reliance. And, while there were some directives of what should be done, there was nothing that told her to build the "Buy Black Power" program that she has initiated. Likewise, the African National Independent Business Association (ANIBA) was her brainchild. It was inspired by the Political Report that spelled out our Congress' Five-Year Program and general mission for this period.

She also trained and worked closely with every department and organization of the Party, empowering each entity to build economic self-reliance institutions of their own. This has transformed all of our work and has made it clear on every front that our Party has gone far beyond mere protest and is distinguished by self-reliance and self-government. There is no front of the work of the Party that does not now bear the handprint of the Office of the Deputy Chair.

Her heavily-lined, well-read, frequently-referenced Political Report is what guides her work. The Party Congress, that is the source of so many of our protocols, mandates and resolutions based on thorough African Internationalist political summation relevant to this period. The internalization of the Political Report galvanizes the office of the Deputy Chair as the most consistent, well-organized department of our Party. It is the one to be emulated. Every Party leader and member would do well to follow this example.

This Plenary will update all our work where necessary and we are raising the Seventh Congress resolution regarding implementation of the Party's Regional

Strategy to the highest priority. This includes emphasis on Local and Unit organizational building and consolidation. At the end of this document we will lay out mandates for each Party member and organization to implement this year.

However, the Office of the Deputy Chair must continue the trajectory of building her office and developing the programs and strategy that was begun during the pre-Congress process and carried out since the Seventh Congress.

Mandates for the Office of the Deputy Chair include the work to forward the economic development work in Africa, especially in Occupied Azania (South Africa), where our organizational strength appears optimal. Our Party and Movement there are working on economic development plans of action that must be reviewed for possible inclusion in a comprehensive international African economic project.

The Office of the Deputy Chair must also prepare for the plan for massifying the economic work among the whole Party, Movement and African population at large. All our Party members must become individual advocates and stakeholders for the development of our 50-plus self-reliance programs.

In every aspect of our work among the African masses, Party members must win Africans to take part in the struggle for African self-reliance by supporting our programs and institutions with financial contributions. Party Regions must begin the process of winning all our mass committees and Local Party Organizations to train and instruct all our members to win on-the-spot donations from all the people we encounter during our political work, especially Africans.

This is one of the most important methods for explaining the programs and self-reliance to our people, allowing them to become willing accomplices in this aspect of our liberation and winning even more respect from the people because of this economic work.

The Office must establish the infrastructure, collection and accounting process and all the protocols to carry out this mandate that can be as important as any of our other economic programs because of its inclusion of individual Party members who are not necessarily assigned to any of our economic institutions. This program allows the African masses to become a fundamental part of our economic development whether they are located in an area of one of our institutions or not.

Advanced Detachment and Regional Strategy

The African People's Socialist Party has been in an important stage of growth and development since our historic Seventh Congress that designated our Party as the Vanguard and Advanced Detachment of the African Revolution.

Now, nearly a year and a half after the Seventh Congress, we are facing a critical turning point. For our Party to continue to move forward we must put the Regional Strategy on the ground with the greatest urgency everywhere we are located. To fail to do so threatens to stagnate the Party, preventing it from moving to the next plateau in our revolutionary progress. Such a failure would be a tremendous setback. This is why we must "Vanguard Up!" and put solid organization on the ground in every region.

Starting on page 183 of the book *Vanguard*, the Seventh Congress Political Report, we laid out the Party's vision of the Regional Strategy:

"Our struggle against colonial capitalism must be rooted in the actual colonized territories that we occupy. This is the essence of dual and contending power. The victory of our Party will come as a consequence of our success in transforming every colonized African community into a conscious, active opponent of colonialism. We will take organization and ideological development to the heart of the African working class communities where the colonial contradictions are concentrated.

"The reality of our theory of dual power will be made more obvious in this regional strategy that we will implement coming out of our Seventh Congress....

"In the Political Report to the Party's 2017 Plenary, we began the discussion of the need for our regional work to function properly as a critical vehicle for the development of the Party and implementation of our political agenda....

"The regional structures must create organizational hubs from which Party growth and organization radiates....

"The various Regional Committees provide the infrastructure for building and leading the Party all over the world. Regional leadership assumes the responsibility for spreading the Party ideologically, making African Internationalism the guiding worldview for the African masses within the

region. The regional leadership puts the Party on the ground in the various neocolonial state territories and spreads the Party and our organizations throughout every village, city and province....

"Henceforth, each region must be recognized as a political-economic hub of the Party. Our regional political work must be forwarded as a manifestation of the economic trajectory of our Party toward self-determination. In other words, our political work is the anti-colonial representation of the struggle against economic dependency, the essential component of colonialism.

"These regional political-economic hubs must inform our recruitment and membership drives and Party assignments. Our basic recruitment targets remain the same as laid out in the political reports to the past two congresses: African women, labor, students and prisoners. We must now be conscious of a real need to recruit and assign forces within the regions to facilitate the economic development, political promotion and protection of the institutions of our Party and Movement.

"The economic component of the regional hubs of the Party, operating under the leadership of the Deputy Chair Ona Zené Yeshitela, whose office is responsible for all our economic work, would have the responsibility for building the Party's regional *economic* presence.

"Each of the Party's regions must become custodians of the economic strategy of the Party for advancing this critical component of the anti-colonial struggle for self-reliance. Each of the regions would have the assignments of building the Party's economic work within its designated area of responsibility. In addition to the political work implicit in their presence, all our Uhuru Houses must become economic outlets for all the products from our related enterprises."

Comrades, this is a magnificent vision, a roadmap for transformation that will build our Party by leaps and bounds! It is up to us to make this vision a reality everywhere we are located.

Centering the Party's strategic growth and development within the regions and demanding real regional leaders and committees was a significant clarification of the Party's organizational strategy.

It is through the regions that we can now demand genuine, actual, leadership from throughout the Party's structure: the Regional Representatives are responsible for organizing and leading Regional Committees that have organizational responsibilities throughout the territories comprising the regions.

This is no longer the responsibility of the Party leadership in general: it is the primary responsibility of the Regional Representative and Committee.

The Regional Strategy demands leadership from cadres

The Regional Representatives and Committees are responsible for organizing the Party and winning the ideological and political influence of the Party—Uhuru Movement in every community, city, state and territory in the region through the creation of Local Party Organizations and Uhuru Movement groups that, among other things, will establish local, neighborhood offices of our Movement.

This is an organizational strategy that demands leadership from increasingly large numbers of Party and Uhuru Movement organizations and individuals. This is the means by which we measure the value of members and cadres—by what they attempt and accomplish in carrying out the mission inherent in the Regional Strategy. Party leadership loses all abstraction and becomes quantifiable.

This is what contributes to the dynamism of our Party and Movement. Leaders must lead; and the Regional Strategy provides the organizational logic for the expression of diverse and responsible leadership in every arena of our organization. This is the method through which we will recruit more and more members and transform them into cadres and leaders.

The Regional Strategy is key to recruitment of new forces directly into the Party or as components of our pool of reserve forces that can be brought into the Party or other Party organizations as required. This puts a fundamental responsibility for recruitment directly in the hands of local Party and Movement organizations and organizers.

This will be unnerving for some Party and Movement leaders and members. In the past we have recruited too many people who were later deemed unready or not Party material. And we do not want to choke the Party with such forces.

However, we have to remove the unnecessary bureaucratic barriers that prevent entry into the Party to people who do not meet purely subjective criteria

beyond what is called for by our Constitution. We cannot require potential recruits to be African Internationalists before we have brought them into our midst and taught them through theory and practice how to become African Internationalists.

Throughout our regional structure—the Regional Committees, local and mass organizations, etc.—we must be capable of recruiting into our Party and organizations. This First Plenary of our Seventh Congress must initiate the training process necessary to expedite recruitment that does not bow to organizational opportunism, the practice of simply bringing in members to pad our membership numbers.

The Regional Strategy will facilitate our ability to recruit more efficiently and from people with whom we are more likely to be familiar. Such recruitment will help us to fill out our Party structure with people where they are located and enhance our likelihood of bringing in people where they are most needed and in areas most consistent with their actual abilities.

People recruited in their communities can be given leadership responsibilities in their communities. Likewise, people recruited into citywide organizations can be given responsibilities that are consistent with their base of Party activity.

A block or community leader will be competent to lead within that block or community and local Party leaders will seldom, except for extraordinary circumstances or a demonstration of extraordinary skills, be given responsibility for leading a state or region except as a deserved promotion.

This strategy highlights the serious role that political education has to play throughout the Party structures. The Regional Representatives and Committees must mandate regular political education schedules for all members and special, New Member Schools, must be frequently organized locally to deepen the political education and training of new members who have not had the benefit of our Party Intensive education process.

Requiring regular political education throughout the Party's structure is another means of transferring leadership responsibilities throughout the Party and lessening the reliance on Party leadership from afar. This is one of the methods of allowing for the dynamic development of our Party and all Party members through utilization of the Regional Strategy.

Every level of Party organization, from the Central Committee to the basic Party cell, will be responsible for pushing and making accountable the educational development of all our members, all the time.

Ongoing political education is a crucial component of Party life. The appropriate use of Sponsors who train and advise new members can allow for more recruits to come in and actively participate in the work with limited potential for disruption. Any disruptions from a disunited recruit will be contained to the region, city, community or specific area of political work they are assigned to.

Turning regional work into Regional Hubs

Our Party has made a major accomplishment in establishing the Regional Strategy at our Seventh Congress. We have reduced the number of regions included in our structure in the U.S. and elected Regional Representatives for each of them.

However, we are continuing to grapple with having the regions function effectively and our Regional Representatives have to be won to lead the regions if our strategy is going to realize its potential.

The Northern Region

The Northern Region played an important role in organizing for the successful November 1-3, 2019 Black is Back Coalition rallies, march and conference in Washington, D.C.

Under the leadership of Regional Representative Comrade Nana Yaw Grant, the Regional Committee did all the propaganda work in the area, especially Washington, D.C. They posted hundreds of big posters there announcing the Black is Back Coalition events and did other work to win participation from Africans and others.

Additionally, also in the Northern Region, InPDUM is experiencing exciting growth in New York and appears to be on the cusp of consolidating a presence in Boston. Though we do not have a strong African organizational presence in Philadelphia, there is a large African base for Chairman Omali Yeshitela and the presence of the solidarity movement is firmly rooted, stemming from the historic presence of the Party going back for nearly two generations. Our expectations of

Party development and growth are reasonably high because of this historical advantage.

The Northern Region has also just inherited the exceptionally successful 15-year-old One Africa! One Nation! Flea Market in West Philadelphia that until now was directly tied to the 25-year-old Uhuru Furniture and Collectibles store under the leadership of the solidarity movement.

This institution is not only economically important to our Regional Hub strategy. Although the Flea Market benefits more than 100 vendors and their families, it is also patronized by thousands of Africans because of its cultural, economic and political significance.

The One Africa! One Nation! Flea Market provides the Northern Regional Committee a consistent organizing base from among its thousands of African patrons from throughout the Northern Region and beyond.

However, with all the activity in the Northern Region, some of which is quite successful, we continue to struggle for a unified, effectively-led Regional Committee to give our work the necessary strategic leadership to achieve our strategy for building our Party, forwarding the Revolution and consolidating the Regional Hub necessary for our growth and success.

We commend Comrade Nana Yaw for his hard work and example of developing political contacts and selling our journal, *The Burning Spear*. All Party members in the Northern Region are being directed to support Yaw's leadership and break from the longstanding tradition of liberalism that has undermined our work and contributed to the existing intra-Party resistance to Regional Committee organizational work.

The Southern Region

Similarly, in the Southern Region we have the benefit of the Party and Movement presence going back to the 1960s, where in 1972 and 1976 the Party and solidarity movement respectively, were founded in St. Petersburg, Florida.

Currently the Party's International headquarters is located at the St. Petersburg, Florida Uhuru House, designated as one of our Regional Hubs of the Party. *The Burning Spear* newspaper and other propaganda institutions are produced in St. Petersburg. The sole Party-owned Jiko kitchen that is responsible

for major production for Uhuru Foods and Pies and local catering businesses is also located in St. Petersburg.

Additionally, it was in St. Petersburg that we launched the politically pivotal candidacy and campaign for city council pursued by Agit-Prop leader Akilé Anai in 2019 with the anti-gentrification slogan, "Make the Southside Black Again!"

The previous 2017 electoral campaign run by the Party through the candidacy of Akilé along with Jesse Nevel, Chair of the Uhuru Solidarity Movement, was the first to place reparations on the electoral ballot in the world. The "Unity through Reparations!" demand also propelled our 2019 campaign through the city council candidacy of Director Akilé.

Our electoral political work has been most recently confined to the Southern Region, although we have done electoral politics in Oakland, California in the past. We have gone into the electoral arena without any illusions about the function of bourgeois elections within the U.S. and much of the world. They are merely nonviolent contests between contending sectors of the ruling class and, as such, they function as instruments of the state and as moderators of intraclass competition for power.

Nevertheless, since the 1965 advent of universal suffrage stemming from the struggles of Africans in the U.S., elections have been used as auditions for the African petty bourgeoisie and platforms through which the rulers can monopolize indirect authority, or neocolonial rule.

Electoral politics lost their luster within the colony after the many years of Africans facing torture and death for even attempting to register to vote. This is related to the fact that as the struggle for universal suffrage was being waged and won, the U.S. government's counterinsurgent war on our people had resulted in assassinations of our leaders, mass arrests of our organizers and destruction of revolutionary organizations.

This pushed the profound revolutionary democratic issues we were fighting for off the electoral agenda, with African workers the victims of the agenda of the ruling Democratic Party.

Betrayal after betrayal of our people by the Democratic Party left the majority of our people cynical about the possibility of success within the colonial-capitalist electoral arena that established and defined the parameters of legitimate political

activity. Our work in this arena has been to destroy the monopoly of the African petty bourgeoisie in the elected role of publicly defining our reality in a way that facilitated a colonial agenda. Neocolonialism.

We use the electoral arena to raise the issues that were essential to the revolution of the sixties and pushed out of the political scene by the electoral process acting as a counterinsurgency that included raising up a traitor sector as the new leaders of our people. This is part of what our electoral work accomplished in Florida. The burgeoning revolutionary agenda that the bourgeoisie defeated in the 1960s was back through the work of the Party.

We did not win our elections in Florida in 2017 nor 2019. We learned and won a lot politically in the process, however, and a real victory is within reach going forward.

We have developed important relations with African elected officials who are attempting to forward anti-colonial agendas. It is with these comrades, New York Assemblyman Charles Barron and St. Louis Alderman Jesse Todd, for example, that we can begin to reasonably talk about establishing an organization dedicated to advancing anti-colonial electoral political work.

This kind of revolutionary electoral work will render the ruling parties of the colonial bourgeoisie incapable of winning the loyalty of our people or defining the nature and direction of our struggle.

Also now included as part of the Southern Region is Houston, TX where we temporarily institutionalized popular Juneteenth events. Our 5th Ward Community Garden is planted every year on a plot of land that was acquired by AAPDEP, primarily through the leadership of now-deceased and iconic Party veteran, Comrade Omowale Kefing.

Huntsville, AL is the headquarters of the All African People's Development and Empowerment Project and home to Zenzele, its principal economic development component. Zenzele serves as the principal organizing tool for the Party's work in Huntsville.

AAPDEP is currently planning to initiate a regular international youth camp for young Africans who can learn important life skills, especially those necessary for understanding African Internationalism and how to contend with all the manifestations of colonial capitalism.

Our Party also has supporters, allies and an amorphous base in Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Louisiana and other places in the region.

Nevertheless there is not an apparent coherent approach to the regional work in the South by either the Regional Representative or the Regional Committee. There is little Party membership growth in Huntsville and all of Alabama. There is also little evidence of Party or InPDUM growth in most places in the region and we are not obviously working to recruit or befriend many of the Southern Regional contacts that are not part of our Party or InPDUM.

The Midwest Region

Most of the Party's forces in the Midwest Region are located in St. Louis, Missouri, site of our Seventh Congress. The African community of North St. Louis is home to our most dynamic economic development work and our most recent Uhuru House.

Our work in St. Louis grew out of the Party's intervention in August 2014 following the rebellion in the working class area of Canfield Drive in Ferguson, St. Louis in response to the police murder and desecration of the body of 18-year-old Mike Brown.

Although the rebellion was hijacked by the colonial bourgeoisie with the aid of the African petty bourgeoisie and aspirants who undermined the anti-colonial character of the uprising, the Party was able to carry out our responsibility and create anti-colonial organization.

Not only were we able to organize InPDUM in St. Louis, we also recruited and trained InPDUM's current president from among the African working class brought to political life with the August 9, 2014 Rebellion. St. Louis is now its headquarters and InPDUM has acquired its office in St. Louis. These are major accomplishments!

Much of our work in St. Louis, the Midwest Region and the world revolves in part around the Black Power Blueprint. This is a major economic development project that encompasses the entire African community, setting examples for and influencing African anti-colonialist aspirations globally. This work also gives practical meaning to the reparations demand of the Party and is a clear example of how reparations work can be actualized among masses of people—the colonized and colonizer alike.

InPDUM's presence in the Midwest is actively exposing the contradictions of neocolonialism in St. Louis, in particular. They are many: our people are under open assault on a daily basis on every front of life.

The Uhuru Movement provides the only political pushback in the defense and interests of the overall African population and especially of the African working class where the colonial contradictions are most concentrated.

In addition to the population removal that weaponizes a city-owned land bank that hoards thousands of vacant homes and properties, the African community has to contend with the consequences of imposed poverty.

This includes joblessness, food insecurity, intense competition for resources resulting in calamitous horizontal violence and general community destabilization. Together this is recognized as the classic strategy of counterinsurgency—population and resource control.

The St. Louis political class is characterized by often-publicized corruption that has led to wrist-slapping imprisonment of select government officials who have run afoul of some contending sector of the colonial bourgeoisie. Central to the corruption and the direction of the general political activity is the intent of the rulers to turn the majority African St. Louis into a majority white city.

This has led to an ongoing media propaganda assault on the African community. Every instance of intracolonial horizontal violence is gleefully reported as further evidence of a violence-prone community that needs to be contained for its own good.

At least one neocolonial North St. Louis alderman with close ties to at least one of the big developers, has gone so far as to call for bringing in the U.S. National Guard to control the people.

Although it is unlikely that the alderman actually expected the National Guard would be deployed to his ward, his public call for the Guard served to contribute to an atmosphere designed to facilitate the removal of Africans from the city. With help from the colonial media, even Africans are being made afraid to remain in the North St. Louis community where the very real dangers are exaggerated.

The war on the community contributes to the transfer of hundreds of acres of North St. Louis land to agencies for use by the U.S. federal government to establish a massive new National Geospatial Intelligence Agency (NGA) headquarters.

A combined force of big realtors, colonialist-defined developers, financial institutions and local and federal office holders have coalesced to bring about the compulsory removal of scores of families through the power of eminent domain.

At the same time, a move is being consolidated by the city government to liquidate the potential for any achievement of genuine black political power. A measure to reduce the number of city wards to 14 from the existing 28 is expected to go into force in 2021.

Moves are also being made by local politicians to amend an ordinance to allow workers to be hired from outside the city in order to bring in police from neighboring municipalities, the excuse being an inability to hire police from the heavily unemployed African community.

InPDUM has launched the only fightback against this counterinsurgent assault that also employs African neocolonial office holders.

The Uhuru Movement's "Keep 28" campaign, along with demonstrations and organizing work against the NGA spy agency, regular public community meetings and petition gathering to win community support for our efforts while expanding our economic development work, is the essential anti-colonial work in the U.S.

This Plenary is about the unity of theory and practice. Neither theory nor practice alone is enough. Theory without practice is meaningless, useless, and practice without theory is blind. To make revolution we must have both, each complementing the other.

Nor is it enough to bemoan the evidence of imperialist rapacity infesting the world and impressing upon Africa and Africans intolerable conditions. This is what colonial capitalism does. This is how it came into existence. But, in so doing, capitalism has built into itself the very contradictions that will cause its destruction. African Internationalism is a theory that predicts the defeat of colonial capitalism.

The U.S. presents us with one of the ways that the colonial-capitalist ruling class manipulates economic forces through its myriad of financial institutions to the detriment of our people and to the advancement of the ruling class and others that include the colonial petty bourgeoisie.

Gentrification is the massive displacement of African people from our communities, part of the counterinsurgent tradition of resource and population

control that keeps our communities constantly off balance and off point. Gentrification can and must be countered.

State Assemblyman, Charles Barron, a dedicated, patriotic African elected official in New York City, has stymied this effort of population removal in East New York by establishing policies resulting in his district *gaining* African inhabitants and keeping housing costs within an affordable range for many working class Africans.

Our Party is taking this on in North St. Louis. We have initiated a project of land reclamation and development that is consistent with the history of our Party's struggle for self-reliance and self-determination, but with a much more focused and concentrated effort.

Called the Black Power Blueprint, our campaign has already resulted in a trajectory in North St. Louis that has anti-colonial implications for every community within the U.S. and elsewhere. There are lessons here for everyone and we are seeing an amazing transformation taking place before our eyes.

Long demoralized, the impoverished, dilapidated African community surrounding the busy thoroughfare of West Florissant at Alice Ave., where the Uhuru House and the outdoor event space are located, are coming to life.

The 50-foot flag pole holding the 25-foot red, black and green flag has visibly brought pride to the community. African people bring their families to see and photograph the beautiful flag waving in the wind.

The Black Power Blueprint has begun to change the material conditions within the colony, creating a general outlook that raises reasonable expectations for a safe and prosperous life in our own black working class community. Moreover, this is not something done for the community by the government or any neocolonial elected official, but in spite of them.

The Office of the Deputy Chair and the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement are building a growing base of supporters from the neighborhood.

One popular cultural worker who lives on Alice Ave. testified at a Sunday rally that his family made the decision to remain in their home rather than move because of the Black Power Blueprint that is a vibrant symbol of African economic and cultural development. He said that he sees the change in the neighborhood and noted that young Africans that he used to see on the street corners are now employed by Africans fixing up their homes.

One young African businessman from down the street has joined the Black Power Blueprint Committee led by Ticharwa Masimba, the Economic Development Director of the Office of the Deputy Chair. He says he is now inspired to invest in commercial property and build businesses in this neighborhood.

There is Mr. Gary Brooks next door to the event space who has played a leading role in creating the garden and the preacher from the church next to Mr. Brooks who offered his empty lots for parking when big events take place.

There is Sister Helen, a pastor who speaks once a month at InPDUM's faith based Sunday rally. There is the excellent coverage from Channel 4 which interviewed Ticharwa on the significance of the Black Power Blueprint and showed footage of the construction that was underway.

There is InPDUM's door-knocking on College Ave. and West Florissant, on the block where the Black Power Blueprint's African Independence Workforce housing is located, next to a now-empty lot that we have targeted for an outdoor basketball court. On an impoverished block, our comrades got signatures on petitions and testimonials from community members saying that they too consider themselves "Uhuru!"

The Midwest Region also encompasses members in Chicago, a city of outstanding significance because of its history of resistance, national demographics and ever-ripening, glaring, political and social colonial contradictions.

Our work in St. Louis has provided the Party with the ability to appoint a new Regional Representative following the practical disunity that forced the resignation of the person elected to the post at our Seventh Congress.

Comrade Malika Zyaire Alexander, our newly-appointed Midwest Regional leader, appears to be establishing the template for building our Regional Hubs. She has developed a plan of action that encompasses the presence of InPDUM, the solidarity movement and the Party.

Comrade Malika has also struggled to make the Regional Committee a real, functioning component of our organizational structure. Her approach to implementing the Regional Strategy will help to establish the template for building and developing our regional Party work and structure.

The Western Region

The Party's Western Region is also currently being led by a new representative. Comrade Bakari Olatunji, a veteran of our Movement, whose primary work is tied to economic development under the leadership of the Deputy Chair, was appointed to this post in order to facilitate the Regional Strategy.

Bakari's work is to establish leadership over the task of building the Party in this important region. Bakari's formal assumption of the role of Western Regional Representative was his acknowledgement that our Regional Strategy requires organization and a leading force for every region for success.

Again, it was extremely important to establish the Regional Representatives throughout our Party structures. This is the only way our Regional Strategy can be realized and responsibility for the dynamic growth and development of the Party be shared and made operative throughout our ranks.

This is the means by which we can make all our leaders and work accountable under democratic centralist principles. This makes it easier to duplicate successes and to identify and correct errors.

There is much more to be said about our successes, but too little has been said about our failures and errors.

The top of the list of errors must include the general lack of leadership of our Regional Representatives that includes, but is not limited to, a failure to create effectively functioning Regional Committees.

This robs the regions of their strategic character. The successful dynamism of the regional work will be determined by its inclusion of active participation of actual committees, collectively defining and working out the details of the work.

Every one of our regions is rich with possibilities for the growth and development of the Party and the advancement of the revolutionary work to totally liberate and unite the African continent and the forcibly dispersed African nation under the leadership of the international African working class.

Yet, although we have provided the structure and general blueprint for successfully carrying out the work, in most cases, and although we have provided practical *and* ideological training, our Regional Representatives have shown too little initiative, creativity and leadership to advance and forward our Revolution and our Party.

In the first place, as has been mentioned, too few Regional Committees have completely assumed responsibility for leading our regions. No plans are being actually carried out to build Party organizations in the states and cities in most regions and there are no coherent, practical, organized, strategically-based efforts at work to fill the ranks of existing and projected Party organizations.

This is how the regional work contributes to multiplying the distribution of *The Burning Spear* newspaper, hundreds of times over. This is how the Party turns every African community into conscious bastions of anti-colonial resistance.

This is how we establish local community Uhuru offices in cities and communities throughout the world and it is a problem that the Regional Representatives have not yet opened centers with a dynamic and staffed political presence, with sales of *The Spear*, Party books, Buy Black Power products, political events and community meetings.

This is also the means to establish Party leadership throughout our organization, from the basic organizational cell to the Regional Representative.

This is how we exponentially grow the reach and capacity of our economic institutions, by broadening the market for our products and ventures within our massive movement and throughout the African colony and beyond. This is how the Party assumes real, complete leadership of our economic institutions by filling our ranks with the necessary cadres to do the job.

Our Regional Strategy provides us with the organizational wherewithal to rapidly forward our mission as the Advanced Detachment of the African Revolution and the revolutionary Vanguard of the African working class.

Our Regional Strategy provides us with the key element for growth and development, and we are mandating the entire Party to set the implementation of the Regional Strategy as our number one priority coming out of the Plenary.

There is nothing to it but to do it. Implement the mandates at the end of this Political Report. Set the goals and implement the strategy. Find the office; fundraise; set up Buy Black Power; go door to door in the neighborhood; hold weekly fundraisers and Spear studies. By next year at this time we will be miles ahead of where we are now!

We also have the responsibility to build our mass organizations: InPDUM, ANWO, AAPDEP, APSC, USM, which also must implement the Regional Strategy as well.

These are all areas of political work through which the Party has projected itself—politically, organizationally and ideologically. This is the strategic work that makes the Party's presence ubiquitous. We are everywhere.

This is where the meaning of leadership is made real. Every leader, member and committee of our Party must take full responsibility for the success of *all* our work – that for which we are individually responsible as well as that for which the Party is responsible as a whole. By doing this our Party and Revolution will advance exponentially.

Our mass work is improving, generally, and we can see concrete development with InPDUM, AAPDEP and ANWO. However, the regional work, the strategic center of our planned progress and extension, the critical component upon which we are basing Party growth and development, as informed by our Seventh Congress mandate, voted on by our whole Party, leaves much to be desired a year after our Congress and must be rectified immediately.

This is not some abstract, academic issue. The crisis of imperialism is so pronounced today that our failure to rectify the contradictions central to the success of our people's hundreds-year-old oppression, exploitation and daily national humiliation, will constitute criminal betrayal!

Imperialism in crisis creates conditions to advance the revolution!

The Party of professional revolutionaries of the African working class has voluntarily assumed custody of the liberation and unification of our Africa and our forcibly-dispersed African nation.

Imperialism is experiencing obvious disarray. The international bourgeoisie is split in a thousand different ways. Raging wars and threats of war continue unabated.

Traditional bourgeois alliances are under severe stress due to growing competition between parasitic international thieves for shrinking access to the colonial resources. They are fighting over resources violently extracted at the

expense of our lives and freedoms and totally necessary for the continued success of the capitalist system globally.

The economic configuration of the world is undergoing transformation at this very moment. Trade wars between China and the U.S.; the Brexit crisis that has paralyzed England politically and disrupted strategic assumptions of capitalist development in Europe and the world; the growing split between the wealthy north and poorer south threatening the future of Spain. The disruptive emergence of an energized if economically challenged Russia contesting U.S. hegemony in the Middle East and upsetting the balance of forces in Europe and elsewhere; the audacious China that, sometimes aligned with Russia, is increasingly willing to openly contend with the U.S., these are just a few of the examples of an imperialism experiencing existential crisis.

There are others: Korea, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan, most of the Americas. Uninformed and poorly led battles are raging across the African Continent. This is complicated by the contest for economic and political advantage between China, the U.S. and former European colonizers. This is a contest that does not have the fully-developed advantage of a coherent, African Internationalist-informed and organized effort by Africans to conquer power in our own name and in our own interests.

The U.S. is the headquarters of a dying imperialism as we have known it for the past 70 years at least. It is the center of the storm wreaking havoc with imperialist unity internationally in part because of domestic imperialist disunity.

A naked battle is going on between the Trump regime and other sectors of the bourgeoisie, sometimes within his own regime. Trump's election failed to resolve the generally nonviolent battle for control of the state, which bourgeois elections are designed to do.

This is the context we have characterized as an uneasy equilibrium. The task of our Party is to tip the scales of history to the advantage of the oppressed, to the advantage of the future. Our job is to negate the system of colonial capitalism by replacing it with a system of socialism resting on a foundation of a totally liberated and united African continent.

Our Africa must be led by the forcibly dispersed African nation, under the leadership of the Advanced Detachment of the African working class whose very existence has been in preparation for this task.

Comrades, this is the context within which we must examine both our readiness and unity to achieve the aims demanded of us at this moment!

Sometimes we have the unity but are not capable or prepared to take on the revolutionary mission ahead of us. Sometimes we are prepared or capable of taking on tasks associated with the mission but are without the unity demanded of professional revolutionaries. Sometimes we may be lacking in both readiness and unity.

The Party cannot afford to be consumed with perpetually fighting, year after year, month after month, week after week, day after day and every hour, to win the unity within our leadership to carry out the mission for which we were created.

Each of us has the responsibility to push our Party and Revolution forward, to propel us into a future of African liberation, unification and the emancipation of the working class of Africa and the world.

To do so we must truly assume responsibility to fight for the success of our regions and every department, task, resolution and mandate of our Party.

Vanguard Up is more than a slogan. It means measurable accomplishments in carrying out our mission. We must put down the infrastructure of the regions on the ground during this year, 2020. That is our mandate.

It means we are materialists demanding of ourselves and others the organizational standards necessary for our victory. It also means that the Party and each of us must insist that those who cannot measure up to the standards of leadership, step down and free the Party to move forward.

We all understand that in our Party discipline is voluntary. We are disciplined because we are African Internationalists united with the general mission of our Party as well as the resolutions and mandates that come from our Congresses and our Plenaries.

However, we are not liberals and we are not anarchists. We have organizational principles and rules of Party discipline that provide us with the organizational means to ensure Party discipline. This too is an example of the unity of theory and practice: until our discipline is tested by practice it is only unity in theory. Our organizational principles and structures exist to make our discipline a practical reality.

Likewise, the unity and discipline necessary for the successful implementation of our Regional Strategy and mass work cannot be brought to fruition without organizational oversight that reinforces the voluntary discipline within the Party.

Director of Organization appointed

To rectify some of our organizational shortcomings we will leave this Plenary having appointed Comrade Chimurenga Selembao Director of Organization. This will minimize the practice of establishing Party organizations and committees that, in violation of our organizational principles, are structurally unaccountable.

Among the Constitutionally-mandated responsibilities of the Director of Organization are:

- a. Ensure all Party organizations are functioning according to the Constitution, policies set forth by ... the Congress and NCC;
- b. Submit a monthly organizing report;
- c. Work closely with the Regional Chairpersons ... to build Local Party Organizations and Units where none exists;
- d. Work as the chief field organizer ... to maintain and build the Party.

I am also calling on our Director of Organization to oversee the Party's less than effective Fraction work. The Fractions are the means by which the Party ensures the analyses and the interests of the Revolution are carried into our mass work.

This does not only include the mass organizations that are not Party organizations, but Fraction work must also be conscientiously carried out in Party organizations such as ANWO, AAPDEP and InPDUM, as well as USM.

Our Organizational Manual does a good job in explaining Fraction work and must be used by our Director of Organization to advance our work.

The truth is that the Party must lead everything and the Party Fraction is our method of guaranteeing that we are always organized as the Party in whatever political work we undertake.

The initiation of leadership and oversight of our Fraction work is simply another way that we provide the tightest organization possible for leading our Revolution, especially during this moment of imperialist crisis when the political stakes are so high and the possibilities of peril or advancement so strong.

Everywhere there is a sufficient number of Party members to do so, we must initiate Fractions in our mass work including in ANWO, AAPDEP, InPDUM, USM, etc. We must develop and learn to carry out Fraction work. This will not be done overnight, but our Director of Organization must put Fraction work high on the agenda for building our Party within the regions responsible for carrying out our Regional Strategy.

This is the way the Party's agenda is effectively carried out in every area of the work. This makes us better African Internationalists. This makes us better practitioners of African Internationalist theory.

Recruitment is key

Almost every difficulty we are confronted with in our work revolves around the issue of recruitment. Recruitment has been an ongoing issue for us in virtually every area. There are just not enough people to take on the growing, increasingly important tasks, campaigns and programs we have established. We must fill out some of the positions in our structure to fulfill the mandates and resolutions of our incredibly powerful Seventh Congress.

We have initiated several important campaigns and programs to tackle the need for more effective recruitment. This includes the powerful N2U volunteer program and our Membership and Sustainable Funding (MASF) campaign.

We are currently struggling to win the Party and Uhuru Movement to implement both these projects that have proven their efficacy when properly utilized. However, they have not been consistently made use of, something we must rectify.

One impediment to our recruitment has been our general approach. Too much of our recruitment efforts has relied on social media contacts or a centralized process where recruits have been vetted through our National Office of Recruitment and Membership.

Many, if not most, of our social media recruits have proven to be unreliable. Often they consist of people who have viewed a snippet of information - a video presentation or a political activity done by the Party or Movement - as the basis for their membership application.

In this era of social media militancy, most applicants have no idea of what it takes to be a member of the Advanced Detachment, the Vanguard. This has left

many potential recruits overwhelmed upon being confronted by the basic organizational principle of democratic centralism and the work and discipline required for membership in our Party.

The Regional Strategy adopted by the Party at our Seventh Congress is the way out of this apparent dilemma. Now the Party's Headquarters or the National Office of Recruitment and Membership (NORM) no longer has the sole or primary responsibility for building the Party.

The Regional Strategy initiated a process of democratic centralist decentralization by placing the strategic process of building the Party and of growing our membership in the hands of Regional Representatives and Regional Committees. This is a method of Party-building that will grow the Party by building Party organizations and Party membership in every state, province, city and community within their respective regions.

Our Seventh Party Congress, our highest body, initiated the Regional Strategy that has given the newly designated four regions of the Party primary responsibility for growing and developing the Party within specifically designated geographical areas—states, provinces, cities, villages, communities, blocks, prisons and prison wings, workplaces, universities and other schools, etc.

The whole Central Committee or National Office is not necessary for carrying out this work directly. The division of labor within the Central Committee allows for each Regional Representative or Chair, and Regional Committee to take full responsibility for the regional work under the supervision of the Central Committee and appropriate leaders of the Political Bureau and designated components of the Party apparatus.

Our emphasis on the significance of the Regional Strategy must not be allowed to overshadow the fact that the Party Unit is the foundation of the Party's structure upon which all our success relies. The Unit is the rock upon which the entire Party structure rests and the strength and legitimacy of our leaders are determined.

The Regional Strategy simply identifies the responsibility for building the Party throughout the regions and provinces. Our Regional Representatives and Committees develop the organizing strategy for establishing our Party and Movement throughout the region. They determine the strategy for building the Units, appropriately known as cells, the foundation and building block for any organism.

The Party's Organizational Manual must be our bible!

The Party's Organizational Manual is our go-to book for every organizational question that arises in the democratic centralist implementation of the Regional Strategy. The Party Manual should be read and studied constantly! Study your Manual and you will be able to build and lead your organizations on every level.

We learn from the Party's Organizational Manual that the Unit is "...the basic form of Party organization," that "may be formed in a prison, workplace, neighborhood block, etc., within a city.

"The Unit consists of a minimum of three members, the necessary number for implementation of the democratic centralist principles of one leader and two followers..."

The Party's Organizational Manual also spells out the leadership structure of the Unit, something that all Party leaders and members, but especially the Regional Representatives or chairs, are going to have to review to carry out the Regional Strategy to build the Party going forward. According to the Manual:

"A Party Unit is the organization that will execute the Party Program at the ground level of organizing. The basic task of the Unit is to win over the majority of the African population in the neighborhood or area to active support of the revolutionary struggle and to make them conscious followers of the African People's Socialist Party, *bringing the best among them into the Party as African Internationalists* (emphasis added). Party Units and the Local Party Organization in a given city must win the confidence of the masses in the given area."

The Party's Organizational Manual is definitely old-school, some of it dating back to the days of legendary organizer Comrade Omowale Kefing. It may be slightly outdated, but it's "Party style" work. Use this manual and you will build your region and Units grounded in a face to face relationship with the masses!

The Manual spells out the fundamental and basic tasks of the Unit:

"The Units and Local Party Organization of a given location on a day-to-day basis, must work to win the Party's long-term strategic aims within the neighborhood and city where they function. These aims are:

"1. Winning the masses to support for political independence

“2. Establishing the leadership of the APSP and the pro-independence Uhuru-led Movement as the legitimate movement for African people, and

“3. Creating dual or competing or contending state power.”

The Party Unit is the basic Party organization upon which all legitimate Party activity relies and is built. The Party Unit functions as a component of the citywide Local Party Organization. This is important and should be studied by our regional leaders and all Party members. The Regional Representatives must develop a strategy for building the citywide Local Party Organizations made up of multiple Units, which are critical to the structural integrity of the entire Party.

In establishing the Regional Strategy, the Party identified the responsibility for leading the Party-building effort throughout our structure and throughout the geographical area comprising the “national” territory.

We must remember the structure of the Party includes the Party Congress as the highest body. The Congress is convened every five years. Between Congresses, the leadership of the Party is transferred to the National Central Committee of the various Fronts or Sections of the African Socialist International to which the entire international Party and membership are subordinate.

While the day-to-day work of the Central Committee is led by the Political Bureau between Central Committee meetings, the Regional Representatives continue to represent national leadership through their position on the Central Committee.

There is much more that can be said about the Party’s structure and especially the essential role of the Party Unit.

For a while now, our Party has suffered some organizational issues because the posts of Secretary General and Director of Organization were unfilled. Both of these Party offices, and especially the Director of Organization, have important roles in organizational development and maintenance and would keep recognition and significance of the Party structure before us at all times.

In any event, it should be clear how proper utilization of the Party’s organizational structure will have a major impact on our recruitment process and success!

Utilizing the Party structure would concentrate much, if not most, of our recruitment at our Unit and Local Party level. A Party organizer who is recruiting

within a neighborhood, prison wing, campus or job where her main Party work is centered will be more likely to recruit someone capable of doing Party work within the structure where she is located.

Recruiting within the Unit territory will bring in recruits who will have great expertise within that basic area of responsibility. They will know the neighborhood, the campus, prison wing, etc. and if they prove to be problem recruits, the potential for organizational disruption will be confined to the specific area of organizational responsibility instead of the entire Party.

Recruits within the Party Unit or Local arena will usually be done by Party members while doing actual political work, likely while selling *The Burning Spear*. This will help to define the character of recruits because they will understand from the beginning that to be among the Vanguard is to do actual, practical, political work.

Weekly meetings will be conducted within the Party Unit. Weekly political education focusing primarily on, but not limited to, the Party's 14-Point Platform, will provide every member of the Party Unit with the ideological foundation necessary for understanding and explaining the Party's worldview and goals.

This will also be a most significant method of spreading revolutionary anti-colonial consciousness throughout the working class enclaves of the colony. It will influence political and ideological debate throughout the colony. It will force every political hustler to defend himself from the Party's revolutionary line and political work.

Weekly Unit fundraising and Buy Black Power sales will inculcate self-reliance at the Party's base as the underpinning upon which the Party's economic development process will rest and through which the Party will teach the African nation to love and participate in our own independent economy.

Ultimately, with the immediate leadership of the Local Party Organization, the Party Unit will likely be the instrument through which most mandated Movement local offices will be acquired.

The growth and development of the African People's Socialist Party continues unabated. The African People's Socialist Party that is being entreated today to Vanguard Up has a history of development that defied all the imperialist-created odds.

We are a Party of the African working class where the revolutionary aspirations of our people are centered. It is also the social force, the class, that bore the brunt of the war against our just struggle for liberation that resulted in the elevation of the imperialist-generated African petty bourgeoisie to nominal leadership of our people at the expense of the interests of the African nation and working class.

It has been the unrelenting, turbulent, organized quest for liberation—one that has experienced exasperating disappointments as well as amazing victories—that has brought us to this place today. And this quest will bring us to the realization of the Regional Strategy.

It has been our ability for ongoing summation of this quest for liberation, that has brought us to this First Plenary of our Seventh Congress and to the Seventh Congress itself.

Today, as we predict the success for our battle for the total liberation and unification of Africa and the globally-dispersed African nation, we do so despite the setbacks we have endured and the contradictions in our work, some of which are noted in this political report.

We do so in part because our African Internationalist ideological tether has allowed us to *endure and thrive* in organization. It is organization in the form of our Party that represents the practice uniting African Internationalist theory. Moving us beyond interpretation of the world and into the practical arena of changing the world.

The International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement (InPDUM)

The existing iteration of InPDUM was organized by our Party in Chicago, Illinois in 1991. We are not the same InPDUM as then. It is the InPDUM that has developed beyond our initial errors and beyond the limitations of subsequent leaders chosen by me, the Party Chair.

And although laws of dialectics mean that contradictions continue to exist and always will, we have built an *organization* that not only withstands contradictions, but that absorbs and learns from contradictions and moves our struggle ahead in the process. Our development of organization moves us beyond the era of charismatic leadership where the success of our struggle revolves around a single individual.

InPDUM continues to lead and is in the process of doing so, despite the frequent, sometimes disruptive, intrusion of colonial contractions in the lives of some of our leaders and members. InPDUM, as an instrument of the Advanced Detachment, continues to create and develop other competent and devoted leaders. This is due to the tenacity of our Party, determined to never retreat from the struggle to defeat colonial-capitalist domination of our people and class. Our stance is to never surrender in the face of what has often seemed to be insurmountable odds.

We are determined that with real, African Internationalist-defined, liberation after at least six hundred years of European colonial subjugation no one will ever dominate Africa and our people again.

InPDUM now functions through the leadership of its International Executive Committee. It is an Executive Committee that is being molded and shaped in the process of carrying out its mission as defined by the Party.

Once a disparate group of individuals—of idealists, liberals and anarchists coming from a hodgepodge of ideological views—InPDUM’s Executive Committee is now comprised mostly of African Internationalists who have learned organization and are becoming more competent every day.

InPDUM has established a very promising presence in New York after years of a nominal existence following the disorder and discord left in the wake of a previous InPDUM and Party leader stationed in this city and the Northern Region.

Today, more and more Africans are coming into InPDUM. Regular political events are carried out by InPDUM that have brought into our embrace and deepened our relationship with honest African militants who respect our leadership in the struggle for African self-determination. InPDUM’s work in New York has also contributed to the conditions for strengthening the presence of the Uhuru Solidarity Movement.

InPDUM is also contributing to the growth of the Party internationally. The African People’s Socialist Party-Occupied Azania has worked with the InPDUM Executive Committee to organize InPDUM branches in several of the provinces of South Africa.

The South African InPDUM organization has a national president, Zekehle, appointed by the APSP-Occupied Azania president, Tafarie Muger. The capacity of

InPDUM South Africa is benefitting from the experiences and lessons of InPDUM-U.S.

InPDUM benefits from the combined experience and lessons throughout the world, from Houston, Texas to Sierra Leone, West Africa and London, England. The ASI is now investigating the ability to establish InPDUM in Ghana, West Africa.

This is the work of the Advanced Detachment of the African Revolution that is building everywhere every day to translate theory into practice. This is African Internationalism, our theory of practice.

Moreover, this is the theory of practice being exercised by leaders that have been and are being developed through the work of forging our revolutionary presence.

These are leaders who emerged through the process of practice within our organizational structures. This is an example of how organizational tenacity, unrelenting struggle to build an actual organizational capacity to win our freedom, is essential. We may suffer setbacks and disappointments, but we never quit. And because we never quit, because we Vanguard Up, we continue to develop our capacity to win.

InPDUM, must also begin to implement InPDUM's regional structure as laid out in its constitution. If we are to grow and scale we must make plans to operate our mass organizations on a regional basis. This was addressed in *Vanguard*, the Political Report to the Seventh Congress. Uhuru Solidarity Movement must do this as well.

InPDUM must also reinitiate a Party campaign to win the African masses to practical participation in the drive for reparations by creating a reparations certificate that all Africans can sign indicating their personal demand for reparations. These certificates must be placed on outreach tables of the Party and InPDUM to be signed by Africans throughout the colony who might not otherwise have an opportunity to learn about or fight for reparations without our leadership. The certificate must also allow the people to recognize InPDUM as the organization they are authorizing to collect reparations for the African nation.

InPDUM must re-emphasize its work to promote our Africans Charge Genocide campaign that was initiated years ago. Now that InPDUM has assigned a specific

coordinator for the campaign, it offers us another means by which to bring countless Africans into greater national consciousness and political awareness.

Thousands of Africans have already signed the online petition uniting with the campaign from throughout the world. Now we must send out InPDUM members and the entire Uhuru Movement throughout our regions, cities and communities to get signatures allowing each African to personally charge the U.S. with genocide. Obviously this will be a great assistance to our reparations work as well. Every signature on InPDUM's petition will represent growing mass political education and a nail in the coffin of our colonial-capitalist domination.

The Party in Occupied Azania and the ASI

In Occupied Azania or settler neocolonial South Africa, the Party is active in several Provinces and the Uhuru Movement is growing rapidly. The current recruitment strategy being used is to bring recruits directly into InPDUM to minimize the previous problem of new Party members being unprepared to competently carry out Party roles according to Party Standards.

The chair of our South Africa-Occupied Azania Party is Comrade Tafari, a strict African Internationalist who is being prepared to take on an even greater area of responsibility for building the Party in Africa. The role of South Africa in the struggle to liberate and unify Africa cannot be overstated.

The "investment" the imperialist powers made to fortify its position in Africa through the white settlers consisted of industrial development that they denied much of the rest of Africa. The African Internationalist capture of power in South Africa will expedite the transfer of development throughout the Continent.

Currently the African People's Socialist Party-Occupied Azania is planning to initiate the Regional Hub economic strategy with a number of plans on the drawing board. Hopefully, with the support of Comrade Deputy Chair Ona Zené Yeshitela and her office, we will soon be able to begin production.

Chairman Tafari and his team must also give consideration to the discussion here regarding the recruitment strategy to determine whether what is being discussed for bringing recruits into the Party in the U.S. has any potential in Occupied Azania. We must do serious investigation to determine whether the recruitment strategy will work within the U.S.

The African Socialist International is the concrete, practical expression of African Internationalism. It is the practical method through which the forcibly-dispersed African nation, under the leadership of its Advanced Detachment, its General Staff, assumes authority over the future of Africa and our people.

The ASI is the organization of all Party organizations everywhere. It is the means by which we establish a unified organization of professional revolutionaries committed to the liberation and unification of Africa everywhere Africans are located on the planet Earth.

None of us ever has to fight for our liberation alone, in isolation from each other. We can unite our struggle and share lessons and experiences in fighting an imperialist enemy that is united in our exploitation. Imperialism has amassed a bounty of shared experiences in colonial domination that fills libraries of prestigious universities.

The African Socialist International is the practical, organizational instrument for the liberation and unification of Africa. We have to remember that every Party unit anywhere in the world—including inside the U.S.—is an active part of the African Socialist International.

The ASI is the concretization of our theory of One Africa! One Nation! The African Socialist International is involved in the dynamic process of actualizing the African nation. We can define the African nation because we are practically involved in consolidating it.

The African nation is a revolutionary, proletarian nation that will be consolidated as part of the process of overturning direct and indirect, brutish neocolonial political domination and vicious, life-limiting economic exploitation.

It is our actual, functioning organizational presence throughout the African world that gives lie to the neocolonial inventions that are characterized as nations. The African Continent was balkanized and refashioned by European imperialists in Berlin, Germany in 1884-85. The result of the distribution of the partitioned Africa among themselves are the false European-contrived countries that are also commonly and incorrectly called nations.

Like gods, the Europeans first invented *themselves* as nations and then invented their not-so-immaculate African conceptions as their imperfect, distorted reflection.

We African Internationalists are the only ones who can fight for the total liberation of all Africa and all African people. We reject the self-serving European definition of the nation that was itself a product of the advent of capitalism united at the expense of the national consolidation of Africans and many others.

The definition of the nation that we accept is one determined to solve the problems associated with the development of Africa and our people. It is a definition that calls for the consolidation of the African nation as a process of development, which can only occur through negation of the colonial-capitalist system.

We reject the false, European-created borders wherein the definition of the African nation is contained. We reject this in Africa, Europe and the U.S., Asia or the various territories within the Americas that came as the result of stolen indigenous land and African colonial slavery. These are imperialist-serving definitions that lock Africa and the world in a permanent state of parasitic economic exploitation and political servitude.

Ghana cannot fight for the total liberation and unification of Africa and our globally-dispersed nation. Neither can Somalia or South Africa or Jamaica or Black Britain. At best they can only fight for their own limited freedom and sovereignty as defined by imperialist-determined assumptions of nationality. At best, we can only fight for the colonizers' definition of our freedom, within the colonizer's constructed reality.

As African Internationalists, we do not respect the borders created by our oppressors for the purpose of dividing us and our Africa to facilitate the theft of our resources. We are Africans and Africa is ours. "Africa for Africans at home and abroad," the slogan/demand advanced by Marcus Garvey more than one hundred years ago resonates today with even greater alacrity among African Internationalists, 21st century Garveyites.

We fight for Africa wherever we are, whether on the African continent, in Amsterdam or Mississippi, USA. This is the practical application of African Internationalism. African nationality is made real because African Internationalists make it real. Whatever lesser identities we have as a people, our primary, guiding identity is African.

The African nation is where we are, and we are everywhere. African Internationalists recognize our responsibility to define ourselves as part of the

struggle for our liberation. The imperialists, the white colonial capitalists, claimed their own national identity, and in the process of defining themselves, they defined Africans as the necessary antipode to give their self-identity validity.

African Internationalism tells us that we have the responsibility to define ourselves as part of the struggle for our liberation. Our identity is made real by *us* and the African Socialist International!

The ASI deploys the Advanced Detachment, the Vanguard of African liberation and the African working class, throughout the African world, on and off Continental Africa. The African Socialist International is the practical, political instrument for establishing the African nation wherever we are.

We are not some imperialist-defined creation. We are not hyphenated white people. We are not a portion of the territorial U.S. South. We are not "People of Color." We are Africans, and we are Africa. Izwe Lethu i Afrika!

We are Africans because we say we are!

Early last year, the leaders of our Party in neocolonial South Africa or Occupied Azania addressed this understanding in their Plan of Action for advancing our Party work. It is a clear demonstration of the nation-building project when under the leadership of African Internationalists. From the Plan of Action:

"The African Socialist International functions from a standpoint that clarifies science from philosophical idealism, which is a much needed dichotomy to draw up in Occupied Azania because South Africa has removed African people from political life and given our people an ideological basis for faith in imperialism, giving Africans in South Africa the impression that other African people outside of this border are different from us and, in fact, that Africans in this border are not Africans but some kind of people gracefully making 'the white man's burden' easier by not being tied to Africa and African people above this false national identity.

"The importance of studying African Internationalism on the Continent helped us to see that it is not important to Africanize the countries like the Pan Africanists suggest, that it is not worth the effort to be some kind of Azanians instead of South Africans. That happened in Rhodesia. It's now Zimbabwe but the African working class still lives in Rhodesia; the conditions never changed, just the name. So African Internationalism has designated

the borders we are in as an impediment to African unity and development under the leadership of the working class, thus prompting us to see that the real South Africans are really the ones who stole our land and dispersed our people through slavery. African Internationalism has showed us that Africa is more important than the artificial states built atop our Africa—meaning South Africa is a cancer on the body of Mother Africa.”

We defined the African nation in my Political Report to our Sixth Congress published as *An Uneasy Equilibrium*. We made a scientifically-based African-serving definition. We concluded that the definition of the nation is not just a purely abstract academic issue. We maintain that our conditions of existence today revolve around this critical question of the African nation and the nation in general:

“The material conditions Africans suffer worldwide have their origin in the attack on Africa that led to the capture of our national homeland and our people. Our poverty and susceptibility to ignorance, violence and material want throughout the world—including in the U.S., UK and the rest of Europe—result from the material conditions of existence in Africa since its capture and partition!”

We also make the further, more important point in this excerpt of what we mean by the African nation:

“The African nation, then, is a community of people whose core identity is based on historical ties to the equatorial continent of black Africa, contributing to a common culture, history and physiognomy.

“The African nation is also comprised of all those African people who have been forcibly dispersed to various places in the world through colonial slavery. Dispersed Africans were part of the process of the development of capitalism and the European nation, a process that requires our subjugation and national incoherence.

“Additionally, the African nation is comprised of many who experience a sense of sameness, a subjective connection to Africa, mainly because of skin color that helps to define their imperialist-inspired impoverished and oppressed state of existence. The Dalit in India, the Indigenous of Australia and other areas where the African presence goes back to earliest times, such as in the Asia-Pacific region, are included in this category.

"Finally, the African nation can include people of other nationalities living in Africa who commit national suicide, becoming part of the African working class and abandoning all allegiance to a predatory, colonial relationship to African people.

"The truth, stated simply, is: we are Africans, whatever else we may be called, because we say we are Africans and we feel like we are Africans.

"Africa is the national homeland of all black people worldwide. It is the land to which the identity of the African nation is firmly and irreversibly affixed. Our historical connection to Africa represents the critical element of the material basis for African nationality. For although we have been forcibly dispersed by colonial slavery and related factors subsequent to the initial European attack on Africa, our current conditions of existence, both in Africa and abroad, are essentially defined by the consequences of our forced dispersal."

Our Party is the architect of the African nation under construction. We are this not only because we say we are, but because we are also the construction workers. Our revolutionary political work is organizing the forcibly dispersed African nation to active participation in creating the future—for Africa and the world in which we will live. We are negating the hundreds-year-old life- and liberty-depriving imperialist reality through construction of its antipode.

This is the relationship of theory to practice that must be understood, especially during this time of the existential crisis of imperialism. Vanguard Up has practical significance at this moment.

We recognize that the African reality we are constructing must be done in the process of solving a myriad of political contradictions. Not the least of which is the imperialist domination of Africans, especially in Africa through the neocolonialism that Kwame Nkrumah warned us about. The struggle against neocolonialism is fundamental to genuine African liberation, unification and development.

On May 23, 1963—57 years ago—Ghana President Kwame Nkrumah made what was probably his most important political presentation in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia at the founding meeting of the mis-named Organization of African Unity. Nkrumah spoke of the contradictions confronting African liberation that it has been left to the African People's Socialist Party to resolve and that this Plenary will reiterate.

Here is a short excerpt from Nkrumah's presentation which is titled, "We must unite now or perish!":

"On this [African] continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neocolonialist controls and interference.

"From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable.

"No sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one and a half centuries of political independence.

"As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neocolonialist domination in Africa.

"But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment, so we must recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement.

"The unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence, will be delayed if, indeed, we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with colonialism. African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way around."

Nkrumah's admonitions at the OAU founding were generally unheeded at the time. The neocolonialism that Nkrumah defined and fought so hard to defy was

actually consolidated on a continental basis at that OAU founding meeting that was hijacked by the wishes and machinations of parasitic imperialist predators.

It was the meeting that codified the unity- and progress-prohibiting colonial borders our Party, like Nkrumah before us, is determined to eradicate.

Unlike Nkrumah, however, we have the African People's Socialist Party, the Advanced Detachment of the African working class and the organizational vehicle through which this is being accomplished. Also, unlike Nkrumah at the time, we know that the true liberation and unification of Africa and Africans will not occur as the achievement of neocolonial heads of state, but of our revolutionary Party based in the African working class.

The opportunist neocolonialism that functions as an agent of imperialism, as white power in black face, must be removed with finality if the misery of our people is to be ended and Africa and our people are to ever be free and prosperous.

Africa for Africans, at home and abroad!

The deployment of U.S. troops on African soil, enhanced with the establishment of the U.S. Africa Command or AFRICOM is resulting in armed clashes that will serve to draw the U.S. deep into an inescapable quagmire.

The U.S. and France are both actively engaged in military engagements spanning the Continent. While these are generally secret wars, unknown to much of the world outside Africa, occasionally the escalating conflicts break through the self-imposed censorship of bourgeois democratic colonial media.

France has long been a detested blood-drenched colonial power in Africa and owes its affluence and influence, though declining, to the hundreds-year-long colonial looting expedition and the continuing French military occupation of huge swaths of African territory.

The growing resistance to French occupation in Africa recently made the news when in November 2019 Reuters reported that French president Emmanuel Macron publicly responded to the combat deaths of more than 13 French occupation troops in Mali by making an empty threat to pull French troops out of the African Sahel. Implying that France has taken up the "White Man's Burden" in Africa, Macron demanded assistance from Europe to crush the growing resistance to continued French slavery, declaring: "France is acting in the Sahel on everyone's behalf."

Of course, parasite that it is, France cannot afford to leave Africa. To do so would cut off its lifeline. There are 14 so-called independent countries in Africa that continue to pay a colonial tax to France of 65 percent of their foreign reserves, something they have done since formal independence.

When handling charges at commercial rates are paid to France, the total taken from these territories is at least 85 percent of their gross domestic product. France cannot leave Africa except at the expense of its pretext of self-generated wealth and civilization. Every sidewalk cafe in France has African poverty and emiseration on the menu, not something easily given up by the French rulers or citizens.

In October 2017, four U.S. Special Operations troops were killed in Niger during a military encounter that has never been truthfully explained by U.S. officials to the public. And, as recently as early January 2020, three U.S. forces were killed and several U.S. aircrafts and vehicles destroyed by African militants in Kenya.

We have written more in the past about the armed U.S. thugs marauding throughout Africa, murdering our people at will. These are the thugs which, when they are deployed in the U.S., are called police and serve the same purpose of colonial containment and domination.

The point is, however, that more and more of the imperialist forces are being drawn into Africa where, with the growth of the African Socialist International, the working class Party, we will be able to coordinate a continental and global campaign from which they will not be able to live with colonialism and/or their lives intact.

The neocolonial "hobnobbing" with the imperialist overlords deplored by Nkrumah will not be able to save imperialism and its minions from the organized, African Internationalist ideologically armed African working class in pursuit of the future of our Continent and our people in Africa and around the world.

The "two, three, many Vietnams" that Che Guevara called for as the means to defeat U.S. imperialism by forcing it to fight everywhere are to be found in Africa where all the blood-sucking imperialist powers are greedily huddled together in anticipation of further looting.

The capitalist state, as distinguished from prior European states, was spawned by European imperialism or empire. It was spawned by the process of capturing the lands and peoples that constituted the fodder of European development. This

brought about the advent of capitalism as a parasitic life-extracting growth on the body of Africa and the rest of humanity.

The capitalist state is international in scope, and it represents itself in Africa in a slew of ways that includes NATO, the UN and assorted "peacekeeping" and relief missions.

However, the primary, most important expression of the white power capitalist state in Africa is the African governments. Their main role is to protect the parasitic relationship that starves and brutalizes Africa and facilitates the perennial transfer of African human and material resources to the coffers and bellies of condescending colonizers.

This is neocolonialism or indirect rule that has been imposed on Africa at gunpoint. The African, mostly puppet regimes, do not represent the interests of African people, but those of the capitalist governments, corporations and the African primitive petty bourgeoisie.

Neither the borders, nor the governments of Africa are legitimate as they owe their existence and loyalty to imperialist white power and not to Africa and our people. The African Socialist International is the organization of the African working class which, when it seizes power, will become the new, socialist state, the workers in arms, that will mark the beginning stage of the demise of capitalism on a world scale.

We must make this point loudly and clearly: "Africa for Africans at home and abroad." The 100-year-old pronouncement by Marcus Garvey has more significance now than ever.

We will make that slogan a living demand by Africans worldwide through the work and presence of the African People's Socialist Party in every nook, cranny and crevice of every territory in which we reside within the imperialist construct. This determination, especially when adopted by the masses, neutralizes the pretensions of the "official" borders. We have no borders, and our country is currently under construction by the African masses under the leadership of the Advanced Detachment.

Building for first International Congress in Azania 2023

The Party is still working to build the African Socialist International nearly 40 years after the 1981 1st Party Congress held in Oakland, California where the resolution was passed by Party members that officially put us on this trajectory.

After so many years of ups and downs the African Socialist International is now solidly on the ground. Our organizational presence as a Party has shifted from time to time, but we are here. Our ASI leading body is becoming increasingly competent. The work our Party is doing throughout the U.S. is real. We do exist and engage in political work in the Bahamas and Ghana, England and various locations in Europe.

The Party's presence in neocolonial South Africa is a major contributing factor to the growth and stability of the leadership structure of the ASI. This leading structure also consists of representation from Holland, France, England, Ghana, West Africa, The Bahamas and the U.S. This is the structure that is carrying out the responsibility for building Fronts or Sections of the African People's Socialist Party as the African Socialist International throughout the world.

In addition to its work to build the Party's organized presence throughout the world and especially the Continent of Africa, the ASI leading body will begin preparing for our first international Congress in South Africa in 2023.

This will be an historic, monumental event that will take the African Revolution to never-achieved heights. It will be critical to our practical work to build one, border-negating Africa and consolidation of the African nation. We will do this because *only* the African People's Socialist Party can do this. We will do this because we can.

International Tribunal for Reparations to African People

Years ago we initiated the process to launch an international reparations tribunal, initially in Berlin, Germany, a location chosen because of its role in the 1884-85 European division of Africa into the existing non-tenable territories called countries.

In October 2005 we joined with African representatives of 13 other countries in Berlin to begin organizing to build the International Tribunal for Reparations to African People (ITRAP) to be held in Berlin in June of 2007. Representatives at that meeting came from the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, Holland, France,

Ghana, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, British Virgin Islands, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Uganda, Ethiopia and Israel.

The Party was not strong enough at the time to build the tribunal alone and the ASI had not developed its international leading body. Today the African Socialist International leadership structure has increased its ability to make the International Tribunal feasible and worth considering before or as a consequence of our 2023 International Congress.

Based on the Party proposal for building the Tribunal at the time, the conditions are as ripe today as then for convening the Tribunal, if not more so. Speaking of the resistance defining the world at the time, the Tribunal proposal proclaimed:

“Even in the height of this crisis caused by the people’s resistance, the participation of African people in this struggle as a conscious, united force is nonexistent. Indeed, the struggle of African people is incoherent. Africans are generally regarded by the rest of the world as charity cases. The legitimate struggle of African people is assumed to be over and we are all regarded as either unappreciative recipients of the sacrificial generosity of white people and their governments, victims of our own corrupt leaders or self-inflicted casualties of resource mismanagement.”

“This is a far cry from the 1960s when the struggle of African people at home and abroad constituted a leading element in the struggle against imperial white power. Then, the future of Africa and her children scattered abroad was bright. Like others around the world, we anticipated liberation within our lifetime.

“This was before the imperialist-inspired coups in Africa that resulted in the loss of some of our greatest champions, such as Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba. This was before the imprisonment and death of Mangaliso Sobukwe by the white settler-colonial regime of South Africa. This was before the success of the counterinsurgency that defeated the Black Revolution of the 60s in the US and elsewhere and the successful advent of neocolonialism in Africa and within the imperialist countries themselves.

“Today, while our lives and existence are severely compromised by imperialist avarice, our people are disorganized and without a vision of the future. The unity of our people globally has been fractured and there is no recognized or agreed-upon strategic trajectory that would give our

movement the necessary coherence to thrust us back into our rightful place in the struggle to reclaim our resources, our sovereignty, our land and our dignity.

"This proposal to initiate the World Conference on Reparations for African people in Berlin in June 2007 will provide us a major unifying thrust in this struggle."

The African Socialist International, the international African Peoples' Socialist Party, is the only organization capable of building the world tribunal on reparations for African people. We are the only force with the organized presence throughout the African world and the advanced guiding theory to do this. We are the only organization that is compelled by the historically-based quest for total liberation and unification of Africa and African people to do the tribunal.

The initial 2005 proposal for the tribunal offered a basis for it that only our Party can fully appreciate its contribution for forging a revolutionary path. The proposal lays out objectives that resonate today, although some assumptions of what the tribunal committee we had created then can obviously only be carried out by our Party in the revolutionary process of claiming our Africa and our future.

"The objectives of the International Tribunal are manifold. First of all, the Tribunal must be a tool for uniting African people in our liberation struggle worldwide. It must mobilize us all as conscious participants in a coherent trajectory of historic significance.

"Another objective must be to unite all the gallant reparations organizations and movements worldwide in a common effort that will enhance the significance of all our work and build the necessary practical global relationships and networks necessary for our success.

"A third objective of the tribunal is to give Africans worldwide the practical vehicle with which to actualize the unity discovered in Durban around the reparations issue.

"Fourth, the reparations tribunal will allow the international African community to achieve a common explanation for the conditions of existence we are confronted with everywhere we are located as a people.

"Fifth, the work to build the reparations tribunal can contribute to the necessary organizational unity to build our liberation struggle based on practical activity as opposed to simply being united around abstract ideas.

"A sixth objective will be to institute the tribunal as a permanent fixture for the ongoing discovery and exposition of the historical and current basis and consequences of the enslavement and colonization of Africa and African people. This can be seen as the embryonic stage of the emergent all-African state power necessary for the ultimate liberation and unification of Africa and African people and the defender of our rights, resources and existence.

"A seventh objective will be to end the isolation of the various African communities throughout the world and the struggles to advance the interests of the people wherever they exist.

"Eighth, the tribunal will enable us to begin an actual quantification of the value of the human and material resources stolen from Africa and other places Africans were colonized as well as the value of our expropriated labor within the highly industrialized imperialist centers, in addition to physical, psychological and cultural damage.

"A ninth objective will be to mobilize masses of African people around the reparations issue, bring the African workers and poor into political life through active participation in the struggle to take back for our own use the capacity to produce and reproduce real life for ourselves.

"And, finally, an objective will be to put the entire white world on the defensive around the reparations issue, robbing any particular imperialist state of the ability to easily find refuge under the moral or legal umbrella of another when faced with the reparations demand by local movements."

This is a campaign that can contribute to spreading the theory of African Internationalism and the African People's Socialist Party worldwide. Within the ASI leadership structure we must give serious consideration to taking this project on. Indeed, it may very well be that the 2023 Party Congress in South Africa is the perfect vehicle for initiating the tribunal under the leadership of our Party. This could represent the advancement and fulfillment of the Durban conference of 2001.

All our work, everywhere, is designed to fulfill our mission as the Advanced Detachment. What this means as spelled out in our Seventh Congress and in this,

its First Plenary, is that we must put the Party down on the ground throughout the world through utilizing our Regional Strategy for building Local Party Organizations and Units to snatch up all the political, organizational and ideological space wherever Africans are positioned on earth.

While we have to work out the logistics, resources and structure for this, I am putting APSP-Occupied Azania President Tafari Mugeru in place to organize the Party in various locations on the African Continent. He will function as Director of Organization, possibly for all of Africa, something to be determined by the ASI Leading Body. However, right now, Comrade Tafari is being proposed to travel to Ghana to assist in building the Party's presence there.

I know this comrade has his work cut out for him in South Africa. However, his clearly-demonstrated dedication to our Party over everything else and his firm unity with African Internationalism as the guiding advanced revolutionary theory of these times, along with the practical work he leads in South Africa that gives truth to his commitment, makes Tafari the logical cadre to take this task on at this critical moment in our history.

The African Socialist International is beginning to take real organizational form. Secretary General Luwezi Kinshasa has done an outstanding job in winning followers of the Uhuru Movement throughout Europe and Africa at different times. The ideological work he has done through participation in various political actions, especially revolving around Congo, his place of birth, but also through his writings and regular live streaming of our ideas and actions in French and Lingala, contributes to greater development and support of African Internationalism.

Comrade Luwezi has been a mainstay in the work to build the ASI in Europe and Africa. Now we have a more inclusive ASI leading body and Tafari as the Director of Organization helps concretize our organizational presence. The future is ours as the Advanced Detachment. Key to this, of course, is the success the Secretary General can achieve in building a support staff in his office.

We are the ASI wherever we are

What is fundamentally important is the recognition by all Party organizations and members that we are the African Socialist International wherever we are in the world.

We must not fall victim to a tendency seen in some areas to recognize ourselves locally as the African People's Socialist Party while others in other countries are the ASI. We are *one* Party fighting to liberate and unite one Africa in the struggle to change the world, to emancipate the working masses of the world, destroy capitalism and usher in a new world of communism, free of national oppression and class exploitation.

Again, this means we do not recognize the legitimacy of any borders that separate the African nation from each other and from our material resources necessary to build a better life for our people. When we say we are Africans, we mean we are Africans. Not Black Brits, Afro-Germans, African Americans, New Afrikans, American Descendants of slaves or the host of other contrivances that result in undermining our national consolidation and the end of class exploitation.

We recognize the critical need for advanced theory and our revolutionary Party for making revolution that we understand is necessary for liberating our people and creating a just world without classes resting on the parasitic foundation of colonial-capitalist domination of the world.

We reject Pan Africanism as a petty bourgeois chimera that, whatever its original intent, serves to perpetuate the status quo that was formalized in the Pan Africanist Organization of African Unity that codified the imperialist division of Africa and African people.

The socialism that we fight for, that we are named for, is the only real socialism, that comes as a consequence of destroying the colonially-derived capitalist pedestal.

The socialism we fight and are named for is a socialism that comes as a result of the defeat of *parasitic* capitalism, not to be confused with the white rights movements usually fought for by white-left citizen colonizers.

While not generally recognized as such, the United States is also a settler colony, no different from the settler colonies of South Africa, Rhodesia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc. And certainly no different from the white nationalist settler colony of Israel established on Arab Palestinian land.

We refuse to build or participate in a movement based on legitimizing the settler regimes by fighting to integrate with the settlers. Indeed, we have

appropriated as our own a slogan of the Pan African Congress of Azania: "One settler, one bullet."

In the U.S. a fight to integrate with the settlers would amount to betrayal of the Indigenous people of the Americas and a denial of the fact that while we are Africans and Africa is our national homeland, we are also a part of the revolution of the Americas.

Struggling for integration would obscure the reality that Africa suffers today because of the theft of *human* resources no longer identified as Africans.

Our revolution is also within the U.S., not directly as a fight for our national homeland, but because we are deeply allied with the people of the Americas whose current emiseration is due in part to the theft of their land as a part of the process of constructing colonial capitalism. Indeed, the plight of the Indigenous people is one of the reasons that capitalism is more correctly defined as colonial capitalism, denoting its parasitic origin and nature.

The African Revolution has, as its primary objective, the liberation and unification of Africa and Africans of the world. This means that the African Revolution is wherever we are as Africans.

There is no place that our struggle is not objectively a part of the African Revolution. There is nowhere African Internationalists are that we are not subjectively and organizationally a part of the African Revolution. Our enemies have sought to obscure our relationship to Africa and our identity as Africans, but while we fight for the liberation of our homeland, Africa is also wherever we are as Africans and our victory anywhere is a victory for Africa.

Our far-flung, organized liberation struggle, occurring under the leadership of our Party and informed by African Internationalist theory, will destroy the imperialist parasite. We will deprive the parasite of its colonized hosts—in Africa and throughout the world. Izwe Lethu i Afrika!

All African People's Development and Empowerment Project

AAPDEP is an important African Internationalist organization that opens the door to the struggle for African Liberation to an often overlooked sector of the African population. Indeed, Africa suffers from what is often characterized as a

“brain drain” of skilled professionals. These Africans in whom Africa has invested so much often end up as doctors, nurses and engineers in the U.S. and Europe while Africa is deprived of the benefit of these skills that should contribute to our development.

This is an obvious difference in what we witnessed with Cuban doctors who often leave Cuba in great numbers to bring health care to impoverished colonial countries. This is partially due to the fact that the Cuban doctors are informed by a revolutionary perspective that promises the liberation of the oppressed. AAPDEP provides us an opportunity to take the revolutionary philosophy of African Internationalism to skilled African workers to win them to willingly endure any hardship in the process of contributing their skills to the liberation of Our Africa.

However, unlike Cuba, AAPDEP has been confronted with a recruitment base trained to serve colonial capitalism. It is the training they receive to be the petty bourgeoisie in bourgeois institutions that makes them valuable to AAPDEP.

A part of AAPDEP’s task is to influence, indeed, induce class suicide when possible or at minimum, harness their technical expertise to the anti-colonial interests of the African nation as defined by its Advanced Detachment, the African People’s Socialist Party, Vanguard of the African working class.

AAPDEP’s Zenzele Consignment in Huntsville, AL is an institution created to fund and promote the important projects of AAPDEP that give concrete meaning to our Party’s work for African unification and self-development. AAPDEP is a tangible, visible, example of what is meant by our declaration that African Internationalism is a theory of practice.

Africans coming to Sierra Leone in West Africa, for example, from all over the U.S. to create rainwater harvesting in a place being crippled with a variety of waterborne diseases, where one out of eight women is expected to die in childbirth, concretizes our slogan One Africa! One Nation!

Likewise, Africans from AAPDEP rather than from an imperialist Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), who bring expertise and materials in the fight against an imperialist-influenced ebola epidemi, represent the highest expression of anti-colonial African unity. AAPDEP’s work goes beyond any speeches made by UN delegates or Pan-African charlatans.

Moreover, the work of AAPDEP in Sierra Leone and other African colonies serves to undermine the authority of the neocolonial regimes by example. If Africans coming together under the leadership of the Advanced Detachment can begin to provide development, why can't the leaders of the neocolonial states, with much more resources, do the same? AAPDEP's work and mission suggests a real, practical, alternative to neocolonialism.

AAPDEP has promised to create an independent Party-led African equivalent to the Red Cross and Red Crescent disaster-response institutions that do not serve our disaster-prone African reality in Africa or elsewhere within the forcibly dispersed African nation.

Our Black Ankh must harness the resources throughout the African world that can assist our people in distress. This would include instances like Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana in 2005 that killed nearly 2,000 people and left thousands of Africans in severe distress from which we have not yet recovered. Likewise, the mudslides in Sierra Leone resulted in a similar loss of life and property.

The January 2011 earthquake in Haiti that resulted in more than a quarter million African deaths is another example of why the AAPDEP Black Ankh is so necessary. In neither of these cases (and there were many many more) did real assistance come from the imperialist Red Cross.

This is why we must achieve the ability to respond to our own collective needs as a part of the fight for self-determination. AAPDEP's Black Ankh is the way forward.

Again, it is *practical* unity that helps to construct international Dual Power, anti-colonial Black Power, that is finally achieved by negating the power of international colonial-capitalist white power.

AAPDEP's work to build itself and all its component parts to carry out its total mission must be developed. Comrade Aisha Fields must complete the AAPDEP-building work. Zenzele helps us to build AAPDEP, but it is AAPDEP that ultimately gives Zenzele its significance.

Zenzele is an important economic and political front for AAPDEP and all our work. It is an institution we are struggling to transform into a real base for economic resources to advance AAPDEP.

However, AAPDEP itself must really grow its capacity for the development of Zenzele as a support institution lest we create a situation of the tail wagging the dog. It must be clear to the world, and especially the African world, that supporting Zenzele is supporting AAPDEP and the actual all-African anti-colonial work to build our own power under the leadership of the African working class.

The same organizational efforts being promoted for our regional work also applies to AAPDEP and all our mass work. We must build and maintain AAPDEP, the organization, not just the idea. AAPDEP must be seriously built around the applicable organizational principles. Our Organizational Manual must be religiously utilized to protect the integrity of the organization.

Organizational roles based on appropriate job descriptions—roles developed to give us the credible and efficient organization that we need—must be filled. This is some of the most important work of AAPDEP. The structural foundation of AAPDEP must be fought for as fiercely as any other aspect of its Plan of Action. This is what is meant by the unity of theory and practice.

Department of Agitation and Propaganda

It is often said and correctly so that the Department of Agitation and Propaganda is the heart of the Party. It is within this department that the Party's production and distribution of African Internationalist ideas are concentrated.

For many years Agit-Prop has produced *The Burning Spear* newspaper, published Party books, developed propaganda around struggles of virtually every oppressed peoples in the world. It has organized general political education within our Party and our Movement and produced my social media broadcast studies over the past several years.

Agit-Prop has been our most potent weapon in the war of ideas between the colonial capitalists and the people. Agit-Prop has created and presided over all the Party's media. Unlike others that characterize themselves as alternative media, Agit-Prop is contending media with the intent of negating the influence and existence of the capitalist colonial media.

The appointment of Akilé Anai as the Director of the Department of Agitation Propaganda is one of the most important developments in the 40 year history of the department. She has brought a sorely-needed energy and authority to Agit-Prop. She has rid the department of dead weight presented by the more than 30

people in the department who were only space holders and made no contributions to Agit-Prop. She has reinstated probationary sponsorship for department members who did not meet the standards of the Party.

The critical significance of Agit-Prop, especially during this period, has required ideological and political unity that has resulted in the removal of some members from their posts. This has removed various contradictions from the department but has put greater responsibilities onto Director Akilé, who also plays other important leadership roles for the Party, especially through the electoral process in St. Petersburg.

The Regional Strategy should provide a greater influx of quality recruits available to Agit-Prop. More and more of our recruits will come into the Party through direct contact with Party and Movement members who will be selling *The Burning Spear* newspaper and involved in community political work. This period calls on Agit-Prop to also conscientiously utilize manuals regarding every Agit-Prop institution and create competent leadership within its structure.

The Regional Strategy has also laid the foundation for much of the work of Agit-Prop moving forward. In addition to the existing political education requirements for the Party and Uhuru Movement, Agit-Prop now has the added responsibility of overseeing the political education process that must take place within the Party Units and Local Organizations. This will provide a decentralization of the political education process, placing much of the responsibility for political education within the Units and Local Party Organizations under the leadership of Agit-Prop.

Agit-Prop will play a fundamental role in promoting African Internationalist consciousness within our Party, Movement and among the forcibly dispersed African nation throughout the world. Agit-Prop has the primary responsibility for initiating the process through which this political report will be disseminated and studied throughout the Movement.

Agit-Prop has to be especially conscious of the fact that individual Party members, Party Units and Local Party Organizations will carry much of the weight for dispersing African Internationalist ideas. This recognition must be obvious on the pages of *The Spear*, which should be written in a way that speaks to the ideological and political development of our membership. It should teach democratic centralism and Combat Liberalism.

Building the Department of Agit-Prop itself has to be of the highest priority.

African People's Solidarity Committee

The solidarity movement under our leadership continues to improve the Party's projection of our philosophical, political, organizational and strategic thrust into the arena of the colonizer nation itself. This work intensifies our contest for capturing anti-colonial political, philosophical, organizational and economic territory behind "enemy" lines, so to speak.

The Uhuru Solidarity Movement, the mass organization of the African People's Solidarity Committee under the Party's leadership, has members in more than 30 states and 130 cities within the U.S. USM is penetrating into areas of ordinary white colonial society that non-Party members would find impossible to believe. Increasingly we are everywhere.

Among other things, unnoticed by much of the movement for democracy and against colonialism within the African colony, the Party's solidarity movement has been an important Party instrument for reparations work. Unlike Party-led efforts, most reparations work is seen as a "black thing" to be pursued primarily through legislative or judicial means and with only African participation. Most reparations work has not recognized the significance of mass participation in general, and the role of citizens of the U.S. colonial state, in particular.

However, wherever the Party is located—including in the 30 states and 130 cities where USM members live—we are engaged in reparations work among ordinary people both of the colonizer and the colonized nations.

A product of the Party's philosophy and struggle to transform our communities of the African colony into bastions of conscious *anti-colonial* resistance, the Party's solidarity movement contributes to fracturing the territorial integrity of the U.S. North American colonial state.

Our Regional Strategy—now extending into the white population—enhances our organizational capacity to seize, hold, and develop territory. This is how colonial capitalism will be defeated. This is how theory is concretized by practice.

The Party's solidarity movement is living validation of our theory of African Internationalism. As has been said, "The philosophers have only explained the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it." Definitions of white people as "devils" and "mutations," however emotionally satisfying they may be to

some cultural intellectuals and others, do not contribute to changing the world. African Internationalism does contribute to changing the world.

We have taken the mystery out of “white” people and defined them as *people* existing in societies that must obey the laws of social development, among which is the reality that “white” societies, like all others, are ultimately governed by the absolute need to produce and reproduce real life.

What we know as white society came into being with the advent of capitalism as a parasitic system resting on the pedestal of colonial slavery, systemic parasitic capitalist expropriation, as the means of producing and reproducing life for itself. Devils and mutations need not apply!

The Party’s solidarity work has dethroned the question of white people, the colonizers, bringing it down to earth. This is another instance of uniting theory and practice.

There continues to be some controversy surrounding the existence of the Party’s solidarity movement, working under the leadership of the Advanced Detachment. This relationship continues to be a favorite point of slander by opportunists. This slander today, however, is nothing compared to the vicious struggle we had to endure when the African People’s Solidarity Committee was first organized by the Party in 1976.

The founding meeting occurred here in St. Petersburg, Florida. At the time the Party was engaged in a critical ideological battle against black liberal assimilationist apologists for imperialism. We were fighting the determined counterinsurgent efforts being made to overturn the ideological advances gained through the influence of the assassinated Malcolm X, and the other anti-colonial groups and leaders who were involved in the struggle for independence and self-government.

The Party’s creation of the African People’s Solidarity Committee resulted in a buzzsaw of opprobrium—from white left communist colonialists and black nationalists. Colonialist feminists claimed that the solidarity movement was comprised of “white lesbians working under the leadership of black men.”

The self-proclaimed white communists argued that the solidarity movement would not be successful because somehow it would be against the interests of whites to work under the leadership of the African working class!

This statement is remarkable for what it reveals about the white left solidarity with the imperialist bourgeoisie in its recognition that the welfare of the colonial society rests on the continued domination of the domestic or internal African colony. It implies that white colonial citizens working under the leadership of colonized Africans is an anti-colonial act of existential significance, even for ultra-leftist communists.

Today it has become somewhat fashionable for African opportunists to hold up their relationships with settler-colony liberals and leftists. After the Party fell on the sword of disapproval, many now offer up a Party-influenced ersatz relationship with white "solidarity" forces. These groups are nothing more than another form of the dishonest liberal line of bringing harmony to the "races" in the U.S. This is in obvious contention with the Party and our struggle to defeat our colonial domination by a hostile, foreign and alien power.

Some of this newly-discovered solidarity work that poses as African-led revolutionary activity is belied by the fact that our Party has pioneered this work for more than forty years.

During that time we have achieved the experience, political maturity and overall capacity to make these efforts of others unnecessary except as contention with the Advanced Detachment-led drive to total African liberation, unification and socialism under the leadership of the African working class.

Another practical implication for the existence of the African People's Solidarity Committee is our ability to undermine the kind of white intervention in the African Liberation Movement that has long characterized our struggle relationship.

We are saying to colonizer-nation friends that we, African people, are the leaders of our struggle. You cannot participate in this struggle except under our direction and leadership. This direction and leadership is provided by the Party in the form of the solidarity committee that we have created for that purpose.

The existing imperialist crisis is shaking the confidence of sectors of the white ruling class. Surely the fact that some of its representatives are calling themselves socialists and others are advancing their own versions of reparations is an indication that the split within the ruling class is one that we must recognize as much as we recognize its desperate attacks on oppressed peoples here and abroad.

The African People's Solidarity Committee provides us a weapon to take advantage of the fractured unity of the ruling class. This fracture is evidence of the impact of the rise of the oppressed in defense of our own interests and in pursuit of our stolen future that is to be found in their coffers.

Now is the time for the African People's Solidarity Committee to wage direct struggle with the monied sector of the ruling class that is often attempting to assuage what passes as a conscience by giving money to the reparations candidates of the Democratic Party or some other symbolic palliative.

These liberal rulers must be shown that the increasingly visible handwriting on the wall does, indeed, spell out the end of the primacy of the imperialist west, the negation of a social system resting on African colonization. Through our solidarity movement we will show them that they can play a role in this negation through reparations given to proven anti-colonial projects of the African working class.

The regional work of the solidarity movement suffers from some of the contradictions afflicting the Party directly. Both APSC and USM must implement the Regional Strategy with the same urgency and priority that other Party organizations are mandated to do. Indeed, USM's membership based in a growing number of cities and states requires the implementation of the regional structure to be able to scale and rationalize the democratic centralist functioning of the organization.

Black is Back Coalition

We are continuing to forward the Black is Back Coalition, organized by our Party ten years ago as another means of rebuilding an anti-colonial African Liberation Movement. As a consequence of this important work the African Liberation Movement within the U.S. is becoming more coherent. The political, organizational and ideological influence of our Party has been a defining factor in this development.

The U.S. government, along with other imperialist underlings, succeeded in crushing our Revolution of the 1960s. Along with the physical attack on our struggle including the mass jailings and assassinations, an ideological assault was waged that our Party continues to struggle to rectify.

Our work with the Coalition is informed by our tactics and strategies for African liberation formulated by the Party in the 1970s. Our Coalition work was designed as part of our process to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

Through this work we have contributed to a redefinition of the “peace” or antiwar movement. We have forced the anti-colonial struggles of Africans and others on the agenda of those traditional “anti-imperialist” colonial “peace” organizations. We have waged the struggle that it is not enough for anyone to declare opposition to war and a desire for peace.

We have made it clear that we are opposed to imperialist peace, which can only be achieved at the expense of the oppressed. Such peace is synonymous to peace on the plantation. Thanks to the participation of the African People’s Socialist Party in the discussion of war and peace through the Black is Back Coalition, we have forced the antiwar movement to express unity with the anti-colonial struggles of the colonized and oppressed of the world and inside the U.S., the primary source of imperialist war threats.

The existence of the Black is Back Coalition now makes it possible for Africans, Mexicans and others colonized within current U.S. borders to finally join a genuine antiwar movement led by the colonized ourselves that calls for *victory* to the oppressed—peace through revolution. Now there is the emergence of a real anti-imperialist peace movement.

The work and influence of the Black is Back Coalition takes place in the political climate of today’s world, where a desperate imperialism is attempting to obscure its loss of credibility and authority. At such a time political and ideological clarity is more important than ever. Imperialist instability abounds. Contests between the great powers are one indicator. China and the U.S are the dominant actors in this drama. A post-Soviet revitalized Russia also contributes to the challenge of U.S. global hegemony and the existing U.S.-defined global order.

Prior political arrangements throughout Europe are being torn asunder as the entire imperialist system is undergoing radical economic reorganization due to the political pressures brought about by peoples fighting to rescue ourselves, our families and our futures from white domination and its imperialist progeny.

The contest between these and other forces helps to unleash and exacerbate struggles in an Africa increasingly seeking solutions not tethered to traditional colonial restraints. On one side are the masses of our people, the workers and poor peasants. On the other side are the neocolonial class and their governments.

Terms from a distant past are reemerging in the popular lexicon, attempting to fill the vacuum created by the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties, when revolution was the main trend in the world.

Expressions of anti-colonial resistance manifested mightily in almost every language in almost every place in the world. Today opportunists and other adherents of imperialism bandy about words like socialism and revolution. Many also attempt to preempt and misdirect revolutionary mass African revolt by declaring themselves advocates of socialism and reparations.

Dead revolutionaries and defeated revolutions have become the refuge of opportunists and imperialist ideologues who would resurrect the language of the defeated revolution as weapons against the people.

It is in this atmosphere, roiling with great revolutionary potential on the one hand and opportunism on the other, that informs the First Plenary of our Party's Seventh Congress. "Vanguard Up! The Unity of Theory and Practice," secures the custody of our Revolution in the hands of its trusted, most capable, experienced and politically mature Advanced Detachment, even in coalitions such as the Black is Back Coalition.

"Socialism" is one of the words thrown around by opportunists who understand that more and more people in the U.S. and around the world are disgusted by any association with capitalism. Increasingly people recognize that capitalism fomented war, inequality and injustice even within the colonizer nation.

They are alarmed by the ruthless profit-seeking capitalist attacks on the environment that threaten life on the planet. Socialism has long been recognized as the alternative to capitalism and many people are leaning toward this alternative as a solution.

However, the opportunists are rushing in to define socialism in a way that reduces it to a kinder, gentler capitalism. It is a method of promoting capitalism by calling it by another name. This opportunism is not limited to Bernie Sanders, a leading U.S. presidential candidate in the ruling Democratic Party primary contest. Other radicals also profess to hold socialist views. Militants from among the colonized and the colonizer-Left make their own contributions to robbing the term socialism of its revolutionary essence.

The revealing feature of this opportunism is the tendency to treat socialism as if it is something that one *wishes* into existence. They treat socialism as something that can come into existence through empty, popular, liberal incantations that will frighten away the capitalist bogeyman.

They treat “socialism” as an idea and not a social system that can *only* come into existence through the negation of capitalism, through revolution. They do not declare that just as capitalism came into existence through the process of slavery and colonialism that overturned European feudalism, socialism will be the outcome of the defeat of capitalism as a social system.

The opportunists want the *idea* of socialism—the *theory*—to substitute for the *practice* necessary for bringing socialism into existence. Socialism, properly defined, is when the working class has destroyed the colonial-capitalist state and, arms-in-hand, temporarily becomes the state and the new ruling class. Socialism is when the working class collectively owns and controls the means of production as a stage in the transition to communism and the end of colonial-capitalist ruling class exploitation and domination.

This is what we mean when we say that our Party is preparing to govern. One way we recognize opportunists is the fact that they have not built or do not participate in *revolutionary* organization to *overturn* capitalism. They have not joined the African People’s Socialist Party or the Uhuru Movement. Effectively they pretend that socialism and capitalism can coexist in the same social space.

Moreover, even when they do make revolutionary pretensions most do not acknowledge that the capitalist social system was brought into being as a parasite on the body of humanity through colonial slavery of Africans and others, and through genocide and land theft of the Indigenous people of the Americas.

They do not acknowledge that capitalism rests upon a pedestal of African colonial slavery and can only be destroyed by overturning the pedestal of colonial exploitation and oppression that it requires for its existence. They cannot acknowledge that the road to socialism is painted black.

The economic institutions created by our Party are part of our process of building the independent power of the African nation under the leadership of the organized African working class, the Advanced Detachment, Vanguard, of the struggle for the liberation and unification of Africa and Africans worldwide. It is an incipient part of our process of elevating the African working class to the position of

collective, social ownership of the means of production and, temporarily, the new ruling class.

The history of the African People's Socialist Party in creating people's courts and tribunals to put imperialist oppressors and imperialism on trial is our way of working for independent, anti-colonial state power under the leadership of the African working class.

For example, the Party-initiated fight for black community control of the police is designed to win the masses of African people to actively challenge the hegemony and authority of the domestic colonial military state apparatus and begin the process of replacing it with the power of African people as led by its Advanced Detachment, the African People's Socialist Party.

When the colonial grand jury of St. Louis County refused to indict the domestic colonial military murderer of Mike Brown in Ferguson/St. Louis in 2014 our Party organized a Black People's Grand Jury to try Darren Wilson, the murderer.

This was a demonstration of what the state looks like in the hands of the colonized. It was a state power that negated the colonial state power, a state power that has not yet achieved the coercive power of the military to enforce the guilty verdict. Nevertheless, the Black People's Grand Jury was able to establish the trajectory toward consciousness of its need.

The 2019 slogan of the Black is Back Coalition Washington, DC mobilization, "Turn Imperialist Wars Into Wars Against Imperialism," advanced our struggle closer to a generalized anti-colonial political reality. This gave us an opening to direct and navigate a movement beyond defensive protest against U.S. aggressions against others who are under obvious immediate fire from U.S. imperialism.

Our objective is to deepen the crisis of imperialism by joining with others fighting against it and broadening consciousness of a collective responsibility to fight wherever we are.

We must develop, influence and participate in forcing U.S. imperialism to fight for its very life within the U.S. We must lay siege to the gates of Rome and, like the legendary Hannibal of Carthage, give the empire no choice but to preoccupy itself with its own survival. This means directly challenging an "anti-imperialist" movement that does not engage in joining the fight by the colonized against every manifestation of U.S. domestic and settler-colonialism.

In the U.S., we must demand that the white settler-colonial Leftists and so-called anti-imperialists actively and vigorously unite with the African-led struggle for reparations to African people. They must unite with the revolutionary struggle of Africans against *parasitic*, or *colonialist* capitalism. This is an attack on the jugular vein of world imperialism, currently under the shaky leadership of U.S. capitalism.

The legitimacy of the settler-colonial Left or anti-imperialists will henceforth be determined by their willingness to really destroy the capitalist system that gave birth to and sustains the settler-colonial ruling class as well as those identified as the settler-colonial working class.

This is not a call for the settler-colony leftists to pick up weapons and take to the bush. It is recognition that the most potent weapon in the fight against capitalism is solidarity under the leadership of the African working class through its Advanced Detachment.

They must extend their call for release of the "respectable," settler-colonial political prisoners and demand the immediate and unconditional release of imprisoned members of the Black Liberation Army (BLA), Leonard Peltier and others, a demand that ultimately must include every African imprisoned within the U.S. colonial prison system.

Success in freeing "respectable" political prisoners incarcerated for defense of democracy in general only serves to perfect the system of colonial capitalism. Freeing African political prisoners and prisoners of war is, most often, an attack on the system itself.

The settler-colonial Leftists must engage in the struggle "behind enemy lines" by joining the African People's Solidarity Committee under the leadership of the Vanguard Party. We have identified the achilles heel of imperialist white power to be the colonial enslavement of Africans in the U.S. and the world along with the internal colonies of the barrios and concentration camps called "Indian reservations."

This will also constitute the necessary war against the opportunist virus that infects the body politics of "white rights" settler-colonial radicalism and constrains the worldwide anti-imperialist revolution.

The African People's Socialist Party recognizes that it is appropriate to protest all imperialist wars against the peoples of the world. Our Party's history is replete

with organization of, and participation in, such protests. However, we also recognize that it is necessary to move beyond mere protest, which is done too easily by liberals, leftists, pacifists and a wide variety of opportunists.

We realize that imperialism means war—war between the imperialist powers and the peoples whose lands and resources are most often the primary basis of war between imperialist forces contending for the lands and resources. Often, as in Africa, they use African proxies that obscure their presence as foreign imperialists.

Imperialism in deep, existential crisis means *permanent* warfare waged against the peoples whose land and resources constitute the pedestal upon which the entire global capitalist system relies for its success and survival.

The slogan for the November 2019 Black is Back Coalition rally, march and conference was a call to turn opposition to the imperialist wars into opposition to imperialism itself.

The mass turnout for the Coalition rally, march and conference clearly contributed to our efforts to provide ideological leadership to the normally white, colonially-dominated peace and anti-war movement.

And although, like most people, we hate wars in general, we are *not* pacifists and our Party does support and believe in wars of national liberation. It is the anti-colonial wars that will destroy the imperialist system.

Imperialism is responsible for the wars and suffering of the people in so many ways—including those that are not even regarded as warfare. They do this to maintain imperialist class domination that rests on the foundation of the national oppression of Africans and the majority of the world.

The Black is Back Coalition for Social Justice, Peace and Reparations is an organization of organizations, institutions and personalities that spans the political and ideological spectrum within the liberation movement inside the U.S. This necessarily means that contention is a natural feature of the Coalition. It is an organization of unity and struggle where unity has been the predominant feature up to now allowing the Coalition to continue to exist against all odds for going on 11 years.

Our work with the Coalition is yet another concrete example of the Party's commitment to the unity of theory and practice. What can national liberation mean without the practical means for the colonized nation to exercise anti-colonial unity?

The Coalition's Principles of Unity along with its "National Black Political Agenda for Self-Determination" unites a broad sector of the African nation in a developing revolutionary national democratic program to defeat colonialism.

This is where the importance of winning larger numbers of members into our Party stands out in bold relief. How else will we be capable of carrying out our anti-colonial strategy within the Coalition if we do not continue to grow?

Our Party's work has raised the level of the ideological, political and organizational capacity of the entire anti-colonial struggle, including that of the African petty bourgeoisie and opportunists in general. This is only problematic if the Party does not grow, bringing in the new members from among the masses being awakened by our ideological, political and organizational work.

Some of our petty bourgeois contenders and the formations of other opportunists are clearly growing because of the techniques and philosophical advances they have acquired either through direct or indirect connection with our Party.

This speaks volumes about our need to correct our practice and demand greater discipline and adherence to the principles and protocols of the Party along with the mandates and resolutions stemming from the Seventh Congress of our Party. This speaks to the need for Party members to Vanguard Up!

We must learn to professionalize our Party Fraction working within the Coalition in order to give the Coalition the benefit of African Internationalist organizational experience—in recruitment, discipline, political, organizational and ideological clarity and sacrifice.

Members of our Party play important roles in the Coalition structure and to Vanguard Up means to do more than simply hold a position. It means to take responsibility for the success of the Coalition; it means to anticipate problems and to utilize creative means to build the Coalition, going beyond simple task-mastering.

African National Women's Organization

The African National Women's Organization (ANWO) has not yet achieved the kind of membership growth that is beginning to characterize InPDUM. However, after much trial and error and struggle to define its political line and acquire

organizational capacity, there is definite development. This is most obvious with Decolonise, ANWO's economic project.

ANWO's ideological influence is also outsized, filling a serious ideological and political vacuum in an arena that had been previously occupied by the African petty bourgeois neocolonialist contenders under the guise of Black Feminism.

The petty bourgeois "pop" imperialist feminist philosophy imposed on our struggle is finding fertile ground among the petty bourgeoisie of every nationality. Related pseudo or pop philosophical concepts such as "intersectionality" seek to equate the lifestyle politics of the petty bourgeoisie with the struggle for the anti-colonial liberation of African and other colonized subjects.

Similarly the fight against "patriarchy" is being offered to African women as a diversion from the primary contradiction of colonial capitalism that mercilessly oppresses African men, women and children.

ANWO also appears poised to tackle the serious class-based contradiction afflicting the organization because of the fact that initially the majority of African women attracted to ANWO were petty bourgeois in their class outlook and social location.

African women in general, however, appear unwilling to see themselves as occupying a condition as "women" separate from the general colonial condition of our people. Many politically undeveloped working class women may have incorrectly assumed the creation of ANWO to be just another self-serving middle class exercise.

Obviously African women catch hell from a variety of sources. But most African women appear not to have improperly abstracted themselves and their reality as separate from our colonized, mostly working class African people as a whole. This is because the majority of African women are of the working class and unlike the feminist petty bourgeoisie do not seek answers and solutions that distinguish themselves and their lot from that of our whole people.

Recent reports from ANWO leadership appear to indicate an approach to the work that is informed by this class assessment and I am certain that, moving forward, holding fast to African Internationalist organizational principles, we will see even greater growth in the work and development of ANWO.

Additionally, the leadership of the Party, the entire Central Committee and our Chairman, must mobilize greater Party participation in ANWO—through existing members and through targeted recruitment of women into the Party who will be assigned to ANWO as their primary area of responsibility.

However, notwithstanding the role in growing ANWO that the Central Committee must play, the primary responsibility for ANWO's success lies at the feet of Comrade Yejide Orunmila, its leader.

In the Party the overall performance and the quality of leadership exemplified by African women has historically set us apart in the revolutionary movement, and within the U.S. more than 50 percent of the Party's Central Committee are women.

ANWO does not ghettoize the role of African women in our Party. We do not have a special place in the Party reserved for women. Nor do we utilize some formula that requires dual gender-based leadership with co-chairs consisting of men and women.

The role of women in the Party leadership is as equal members with decision making powers around every question and issue confronting the African nation and working class as well as all the issues roiling the political equilibrium of the world. ANWO is an *additional* responsibility on the Central Committee dedicated to bringing African women into revolutionary political life, the Uhuru Movement and the Party.

The Political Report to our Party's Fifth Congress makes this point abundantly clear:

"...ANWO could become the powerful home to African women who are constantly under some form of assault by a myriad of contradictions peculiar to African women. ANWO would provide a mass organization for women who need to confront their oppression and exploitation. It would allow the Party to develop a reserve for the revolution through helping women to recognize the universal contradictions confronting our people and class that are located in the specific contradictions they are confronting as women."

The theory of the equality of African women and men as expressed in Point 9 of the Party's 14-Point Platform is made concrete in the practice of our Party as revealed in our history and the organizational work being waged through ANWO.

The existence of ANWO is simply one manifestation of the determination of the African People's Socialist Party to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties. It is testimony of the resoluteness of our Party that African women will not be left behind again in a post-revolution situation without an equal share in the political power to build the new world to which all our efforts are directed.

Mandates and the way forward

Vanguard Up means that members of our Party deepen our direct involvement in the Party's economic work. Up to now this has mostly meant that Party members support the various economic institutions of our Party and Movement. However, it must mean more than this. Vanguard Up must mean Party members make timely dues payment to contribute to our organization. When we pay our dues as called for, it indicates our unity with the Party.

Additionally, Party members must make financial contributions to our Party. We are a Party of the African working class, but even poor Africans believe deeply enough to support churches and preachers who they make rich. Surely African Internationalists, materialists, have as much belief in the future we are constructing with our own hands and efforts as impoverished, hoodwinked, philosophical idealists we are supposed to lead out of the material "hell" they have to endure daily.

Coming out of this Plenary I am also calling on Party members to allow the masses of our people to participate in the economic development of our Nation, as laid out under the section on the Office of Deputy Chair Ona Zené Yeshitela.

We are involved in several projects, more than 50 by some accounts, that promote African economic development. We have mentioned some of them. They range from a planned micro-loan program, furniture stores, radio stations, Black Power Blueprint anti-gentrification community resurrection and development, *The Burning Spear* newspaper, Uhuru Foods and Pies, to name only a few.

We must allow the people to participate in supporting these efforts of economic self-determination. In the process we provide greater security for our anti-colonial economic development projects by allowing the people to become stakeholders, so to speak.

The people must be won to see these economic projects as their own. We must begin to include the presence and significance of these projects in our speeches and

propaganda, all of us. But most importantly, we must ask the people to donate to the economic development programs.

In the distribution of our newspaper we must ask every individual we engage to make a contribution to our economic development programs. This should happen in all our encounters and it should be done by every member of our Party and Movement.

This makes the people take us even more seriously and the people want to participate in our economic endeavors. We can name African hustlers who have achieved notoriety by fraudulently taking money from Africans who want to give to our self-reliance.

We have seen this activity and tsk-tsked it without acknowledging that these crooks are taking advantage of Africans who *want*, more than anything, to see Africans become self-reliant and are willing to contribute to that end. We must allow the people to participate.

Moving forward from this Seventh Congress First Plenary we have much work to do with great urgency. Top priority mandates for all departments and organizations are listed here.

- First and foremost, every organization or department listed in this 2020 Plenary Report must—in addition to studying the whole document—pay particular attention to your area of work both for the political and organizational leadership provided here.
- The highest priority task for the Party regions and all areas of work, including the Africa and Europe Party members, APSC and USM, is to implement the Regional Strategy in 2020. This includes:
 - Study and constant use of the Party's Organizational Manual and its protocols for building the Party Units from the ground up. The answers to most organizational questions are found in the Party Manual.
 - Create your POA for building your region with step-by-step timelines for accomplishing this task.
 - Build your Regional Committee; fill every job description.
 - Open, staff and operate your Regional Hub. If you are using an Uhuru House it must be opened and staffed. Weekly Sunday rallies are mandated.

- Name other cities where offices can be opened by the Party, InPDUM, USM and other mass organizations.
- Sponsor events featuring Chairman Omali Yeshitela annually at minimum. This is key to recruitment.
- Develop your Buy Black Power businesses as fundraisers for your regional work.
- Hold a monthly meeting of Party and APSC Regional Representatives in each region and a quarterly meeting of all Party and APSC Regional Representatives.
- Build functioning local Units and a Local Party Organization:
 - *Spear* sales, weekly Unit meetings and fundraising in the Units
- Recruit to the Party on the regional level including:
 - NORM—bring new recruits into the Party locally and regionally
 - Hold a regional recruitment tour to build in your target cities
 - Create a database of all regional members and contacts that are called regularly
 - Build and carry out the N2U Program in your region
 - Hold the MASF process to win new recruits and raise resources
- Our newly appointed Director of Organization will hold this work accountable through regular reports and oversight to make sure these goals are accomplished and that Party Fractions, especially in the Black is Back Coalition, are built and function according to the protocols of the Organizational Manual.
- For the Africa Party forces and with the support of the whole Party and movement:
 - Implement the Regional Strategy
 - Build the 2023 Party Congress
 - Build the International Tribunal on Reparations to African People to be possibly launched at the 2023 Congress
 - Build economic institutions under the leadership of the Office of Deputy Chair
 - Comrade Tafari Mugeru will be appointed the Director of Organization on the African continent and will assist in the building the Uhuru Movement in Ghana
- AAPDEP will build the Black Ankh and AAPDEP itself.

- InPDUM must emphasize the work to build the Africans Charge Genocide Campaign. InPDUM must create a certificate to be signed by African people on tables and elsewhere demanding reparations and calling for the reparations to go to InPDUM.
- APSC and USM will carry out the campaign directed to the Monied Sector demanding reparations to the Black Power Blueprint and institutions of the Party.
- All Party members must:
 - Pay dues according to protocols and timelines
 - Build the economic support from the African working class worldwide for the Party's institutions as laid out above
 - Recognize that wherever we are located as the Party we ARE the African Socialist International

Comrades, we can do this! This is a step-by-step plan that if we begin to implement it our whole Party can and will be larger, more dynamic and functioning in greater geographical territory. We have truly initiated the process for the liberation and unification of Africa and African people and the destruction of a social system that oppresses and sucks the blood of the toiling masses of the world. By next year at this time our Party will be at a whole new place in our revolutionary process. Vanguard Up means that we leave this Plenary recognizing our responsibility to Our Africa, our class and the workers of the world.

Izwe Lethu i Afrika!