

This book is provided in digital form with the permission of the rightsholder as part of a Google project to make the world's books discoverable online.

The rightsholder has graciously given you the freedom to download all pages of this book. No additional commercial or other uses have been granted.

Please note that all copyrights remain reserved.

About Google Books

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Books helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <u>http://books.google.com/</u>

THE PROLETARIAN'S POCKETBOOK



Digitized by Google





If you ain't angry, you ain't paying attention.

Mumia Abu-Jamal

For the People, Those Lost and Those Fighting

Edition 2 (expanded)

2021

No Rights Reserved. This book is encouraged to be reprinted and stolen and made accessible by any means necessary.

Fonts: Abolition Typewriter

Edition 1 ISBN: 978-8-1118-0873-9 Edition 2 ISBN: 978-0-1379-3441-6

A Radical Reprint From shenby and Pattern Books



Table of Contents

Socialism&Communism, Marxism-Leninism	.008
The Party	.024
ClassStruggle	.030
Contradictions	.038
Revolution	.041
The State	.057
Capitalism	.063
Colonialism	.076
Imperialism	.085
Fascism	.093
Liberalism	.102

Organization109
The People118
Freedom123
Democracy129
Race&Racism135
AgainstthePatriarchy147
Internationalism164
Art & Culture169
Criticism/Self-Criticism178
Education,Study&Knowledge183
The Environment191
Dedication to Win/Discipline196
War203

The Revolutionary	.208
Violence / Self-Defense	215
Prisons	.222
Selected Posters	.229
Recommendations	.240



SOCIALISM & COMMUNISM, Marxism-leninism

Socialism is the people. If you're afraid of socialism, you're afraid of your-self.

Fred Hampton

I'm more and more convinced it's only through communism that we can become human.

Frida Kahlo

The cause of Communism is the greatest cause in the history of mankind because it seeks to remove from society all forms of oppression and exploitation, to liberate mankind and to ensure peace and prosperity to all.

Nelson Mandela, How to be a Good Communist (1986)

In one way or another, all official and liberal science defends wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naive as to expect impartiality from the manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages ought not to be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

Lenin

Communism is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the prole-tariat.

Engels, Principles of Communism (1847)

Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideological and social system, and is the most complete, progressive revolutionary and rational system in human history. The ideological and social system of feudalism has a place only in the museum of history. The ideologi-

cal and social system of capitalism has also resembles "a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills", and will soon be relegated to the museum. The communist ideological and social system alone is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt.

Mao, On New Democracy (1940)

To confine Marxism to the theory of class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only [are they] a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin

Marx said that the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat lies between capitalism and communism.

Lenin, The 'Disarmament' Slogan (1916) We're not metaphysicians, we're not idealists, we're dialectical materialists. And we deal with what reality is, whether we like it or not.

Fred Hampton

Dialectical materialism seemed to offer both a searchlight illuminating the dark night of racial oppression and a tool that could be used to end it.

Nelson Mandela

The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.

Mao, On Practice (1937)

Dialectics is the teaching which shows how opposites can be and how they can become identical - under what conditions they are identical, becoming

transformed into one another — why the human mind should grasp these opposites not as dead, rigid, but living, conditional, mobile, becoming transformed into one another.

Lenin

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged.

> Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (1891)

Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these 012

laws actively to change the world. Mao, On Practice (1937)

The tool of analysis is for us a further development of the Historical Materialist method, the dialectical method. We will not even waste our time debating the values of Marxism with those who are emotionally hung up on white people, hung up to the point of ideological blindness. We understand the process of revolution, and fundamental to this understanding is this fact: Marxism is developed to a higher level when it is scientifically adapted to a peoples unique national condition, becoming a new ideology altogether. Thus was the case in China, Guinea Bissau, Vietnam, North Korea, the Peoples Republic of the Congo and many other Socialist nations.

> Nyurba of the Black Liberation Army, Message to the Black Movement

Dialectical Materialism is the only philosophical outlook which enables us to approach the world dynamically, concretely and in a way which helps us link up particular problems with the struggle to liberate society and mankind as a whole. It is therefore the natural and logical philosophy for all revolutionaries who have completely dedicated themselves to this struggle and have nothing to fear from change.

> Dialego, Philosophy and Class Struggle (1975)

Marxism comprises many principles, but in the final analysis they can all be brought back to a single sentence: it is right to rebel.

Mao (1939)

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ 014 in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.

> Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957)

Everything moves, everything changes; we must know how to adapt our theory, our politics and our struggle to the specific circumstances in which we live. As Lenin taught us, it is necessary to stride forward toward the future, getting rid of everything that divides us, everything that life has discarded, advancing toward our chosen goal, socialism and peace.

Dolores Ibárruri (1983)

Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an "absolute idea," a "universal spirit," "consciousness," Marx's philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that interconnection and interdependence of phenomena as established by the dialectical method, are a law of the development of moving matter, and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter and stands in no need of a "universal spirit."

Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism (1938)

Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period (we have the proletarian revolution in mind), when developed imperialism did not yet exist, in the period of the proletarians' preparation for revolution, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet an immediate practi-016 cal inevitability. But Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already triumphed in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets. Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism (1924)

We base our struggle on the concrete realities of our country. We appreciate the experiences and achievements of other peoples and we study them. But revolution or national liberation is like a dress which must fit to each individual's body. Naturally, there are certain general or universal laws, even scientific laws, for any condition, but the liberation struggle has to be developed according to the specific conditions of each country.

Amilcar Cabral

The importance of dialectical ma-

terialism lies in going beyond the inherent limits of biology, rejecting simplistic theories about our being slaves to the nature of our species, and, instead, placing facts in their social and economic context.

Thomas Sankara

Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the working class, the most complete political doctrine, the most accurate explanation of social and historical problems.

Fidel Castro (1972)

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that it does base its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism (1938)

Marxism-Leninism is the denial of the exploitation of man by man, that has been precisely the source of crimes, 018 wars, oppressions and calamities that humanity has suffered over millennia. Fidel Castro (1972)

Marxism-Leninism is the richest doctrine in ideas of justice, freedom, equality, fraternity among men.

Fidel Castro (1991)

In no way are we opposed to Marxism-Leninism; on the contrary we know it to be a revolutionary ideology, and all revolutionaries have a responsibility to uphold the integrity of Marxism-Leninism.

Kwame Ture (1990)

To build socialism it is neccesary to develop the productive forces. Poverty is not socialism. To uphold socialism, a socialism that is to be superior to capitalism, it is imperative first and foremost to eliminate poverty.

Deng Xiaoping (1987)

At first, patriotism, not yet communism, led me to have confidence in Lenin, in the Third International. Step by step, along the struggle, by studying Marxism-Leninism parallel with participation in practical activities, I gradually came upon the fact that only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world from slavery.

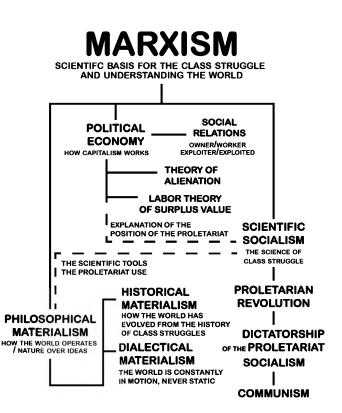
Ho Chi Minh, the Path that Led Me to Leninism (1960)

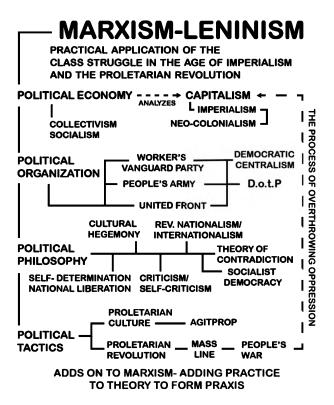
Our comrades must understand that we study Marxism-Leninism not for display, nor because there is any mystery about it, but solely because it is the science which leads the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to victory.

Mao, Rectify the Party's Style of Work (1942)

Yes, I am a Communist and I consider it one of the greatest honors, because we are struggling for the total liberation of the human race.

Angela Davis





SUPERSTRUCTURE

POLITICAL SOCIETY (RULES THROUGH FORCE) Government Police Military CIVIL SOCIETY (RULES THROUGH CONSENT) Culture, Media Family, Religion Education System





Means of Production Tools, Factories, Machines, Land, Raw Materials Relations of Production Lumpen-Proletariat, Proletariat, Labor Aristocracy, Petit-Bourgeoisie, Bourgeoisie Private Property, Capital, Commodities, etc.



THE PARTY

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

> Mao, The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War (1938)

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared... to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality...

> Huey P Newton, The Corect Handling of a Revolution (1967)

Why must there be a revolution-

ary party? There must be a revolutionary party because the world contains enemies who oppress the people and the people want to throw off enemy oppression. In the era of capitalism and imperialism, just such a revolutionary party as the Communist Party is needed. Without such a party it is simply impossible for the people to throw off enemy oppression. We are Communists, we want to lead the people in overthrowing the enemy, and so we must keep our ranks in good order, we must march in step, our troops must be picked troops and our weapons good weapons. Without these conditions the enemy cannot be overthrown

> Mao, Rectify the Party's Style of Work (1942)

It should be remembered always that if the words "seizure of political power" are left out, the party no longer remains a revolutionary party.

Charu Mazumdar

The Party must be, first of all,

the advanced detachment of the working class. The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the armed detachment, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution. Without this it will be incapable of directing the struggle of the proletariat, of leading the proletariat.

> Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism (1924)

A party is the vanguard of a class, and its duty is to lead the masses and not merely to reflect the average political level of the masses.

> Lenin, Speech On The Agrarian Question (1917)

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. 026 How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short lived.

> Huey P Newton, The Corect Handling of a Revolution (1967)

A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

> Mao, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949)

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? NO! We're not going to be dealing in commandism, we're not going to be dealing in no tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

> Fred Hampton, You Can Murder a Liberator but You Can't Murder Liberation (1969)

Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists.

> Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism (1924)

The liberalist slogan 'you can't get ahead of the people' is meaningless. From what other position can one lead? From the rear? Rearguard leadership?!! A typical Yankee innovation... 028 In all the successful class struggles and colonial wars of liberation, the vanguard elements did get ahead of the people and pull. There is no other way in forward mass movement ... I'm not implying that the vanguard party act out the people's role. I'm not implying a 'society superior to society.' We must never forget that it is the people who change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. 'Going among the people, learning from the people, and serving the people' is really stating that we must find out exactly what the people need and organize them around those needs.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

CLASS STRUGGLE

In class society, everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class. Mao, On Practice (1937)

The proletariat is that class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labor and does not draw profit from any kind of capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose sole existence depends on the demand for labor. Engels, Principles of Communism (1847)

Class struggle has always been the motor of social evolution. It is not invented by ideologists, but it is always noticed by them. Scientific laws are discovered, they are not created, it is due to objective and profound analysis of phe-030

Sèkou Tourè

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

> Mao, Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle (1949)

The history of all... existing society is the history of class struggles.

Marx, The Communist Manifesto (1848)

The principal contradiction within capitalism from the outset was that between the capitalists and the workers. To keep their system going, the capitalists had constantly to step up the rate of exploitation of their workers. At the same time, European workers were gaining increasing mastery over the

means of production in the factories and mines, and they were learning to work collectively in big enterprises and within their own trade union structures. If the bourgeoisie continued to deprive them of the major part of the fruits of their own labor and to oppress them socially and politically, then those two classes were set on a collision path. Ever since the mid-nineteenth century. Marx had predicted class collision would come in the form of revolution in which workers would emerge victorious. The capitalists were terribly afraid of that possibility, knowing full well that they themselves had seized power from the feudal landlord class by means of revolution.

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972)

Class struggle is not merely an economic struggle, it is a struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor for control over the main means of production and the political life of society. It includes the struggle in economic, polit-032 ical, social and ideological spheres; and the key aspect of revolutionary class struggle is not economic struggle but political struggle – the struggle for the seizure of political power.

Anuradha Ghandy

Racism abounds in the writings of white feminists, reinforcing white supremacy and negating the possibility that women will bond politically across ethnic and racial boundaries. Past feminist refusal to draw attention to and attack racial hierarchies suppressed the link between race and class. Yet class structure in American society has been shaped by the racial politic of white supremacy; it is only by analyzing racism and its function in capitalist society that a thorough understanding of class relationships can emerge. Class struggle is inextricably bound to the struggle to end racism.

> bell hooks, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (1984)

...The liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy. We are socialists because we believe that work must be organized for the collective benefit of those who do the work and create the products, and not for the profit of the bosses... We are not convinced, however, that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and anti-racist revolution will guarantee our liberation.

> Combahee River Collective, The Combahee River Collective Statement (1977)

The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Strikes, boycott, parliamentarism, meetings and demonstrations ⁰³⁴ are all good forms of struggle as means for preparing and organizing the proletariat. But not one of these means is capable of abolishing existing inequality. All these means must be concentrated in one principal and decisive means; the proletariat must rise and launch a determined attack upon the bourgeoisie in order to destroy capitalism to its foundations. This principal and decisive means is the socialist revolution.

> Stalin, Anarchism or Socialism? (1908)

The proletariat should not ignore peaceful methods of struggle — they serve its ordinary, day-to-day interests, they are necessary in periods of preparation for revolution — but it must never forget that in certain conditions the class struggle assumes the form of armed conflict and civil war; there are times when the interests of the proletariat call for ruthless extermination of its enemies in open armed clashes.

> Lenin, Lessons of the Commune (1908)

You can not talk sense to the ruling class capitalists because they are already sensible. They are sensible about their class interests. Their class interests are the exact opposite of yours. Them sabotaging any 'revolution' is them being 'sensible.' They are not confused. They are not misunderstanding you. They are not misinformed about socialism. They are your class enemies. They are rational actors defending their own class interests. So should you. They will not change because it's the 'right thing to do.' They will not be shamed into changing. They will not listen to appeals to emotion or empathy. They will always look out for their own class interests. The sooner we accept reality, the sooner we can start to deal with real things.

Kiran Fatima

The powers that be, the only way that they can respond— because they can't guarantee the homeless a house, or people health care, and they can't guarantee an education to our kids— the only thing they have is this racial politics. ⁰³⁶ And the way that they play this racial politics is to attack and isolate one section and then turn sections against each other. That's how they play it. But they can't eliminate the crisis, that's their problem, and the crisis is what we have in common.

Willie Baptist

CONTRADICTIONS

The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. This internal contradiction exists in every single thing, hence its motion and development. Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interactions with other things are secondary causes.

Mao, On Contradiction (1937)

If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote 038 every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved.

Ibid.

Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the suppression of the old society by the new.

Ibid.

Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions. Some contradictions are characterized by open antagonism and others are not. In accordance with the concrete

039

development of things, some contradictions, which were originally non-antagonistic, develop into antagonistic ones, while others which were originally antagonistic develop into non-antagonistic ones.

Ibid.



REVOLUTION

To refuse to participate in the shaping of our future is to give it up. Do not be misled into passivity either by false security (they don't mean me) or be despair (there's nothing we can do). Each of us must find our work and do it. Audre Lorde

The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.

> Marx, Theses On Feuerbach: Thesis 11 (1845)

Life is revolution - and that the world will die if we don't read and act out its imperatives.

George Jackson

If there is to be any proving of our humanity it must be through revolution-041

Digitized by Google

ary means.

Walter Rodney, The Groundings with my Brothers (1969)

Comrade, you and I can never be satisfied with sitting down before a great human problem and saying nothing can be done. We must do something. That is the reason we are here on Earth.

W.E.B. Du Bois

The revolution is not an apple that falls when it is ripe. You have to make it fall.

Che (1965)

Revolution means action. It means a change brought about deliberately by an organized and systematic work, as opposed to sudden and unorganized or spontaneous change or breakdown.

Bhagat Singh (1931)

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace 042 by day or by night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slave-masters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people.

> Huey P Newton, To Die For the People (1972)

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery. It cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

> Mao, Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927)

You have to be logical. You know? If I know that in this hotel room they have food every day, and I'm knocking on the door every day to eat, and they open the door, let me see the party, let me see them throwing salami all over, I mean, just throwing food around, but they're telling me there's no food. Every day, I'm standing outside trying to sing my way in: We are hungry, please let us in. We are hungry, please let us in. After about a week that song is gonna change to: We hungry, we need some food. After two, three weeks, it's like: Give me the food Or I'm breaking down the door. After a year you're just like: I'm picking the lock. Coming through the door blasting. It's like, you hungry, you reached your level. We asked ten vears ago. We was asking with the Panthers. We was asking with them, the Civil Rights Movement. We was asking. Those people that asked are dead and in jail. So now what do you think we're gonna do? Ask?

Tupac Shakur (1994)

Revolution begins with the self, in the self.... We'd better take the time to fashion revolutionary selves, revolutionary lives, revolutionary relationships. Mouth don't win the war.

Toni Cade Bambara

You have to understand that peo-

ple have to pay the price for peace. If you dare to struggle, you dare to win. If you dare not to struggle then god damn it, you don't deserve to win. Let me say peace to you, if you're willing to fight for it.

> Fred Hampton, Why Don't You Die For the People?

We realized at a very early point in our development that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process.

> Huey P Newton, On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community (1971)

The revolution cannot be done without the participation of women. Doris Tijeriino

To understand what a revolution is, we must be clear about what a revo-045 lution is not. The first step in defining anything is differentiation. A revolution is not the same as a rebellion or an insurrection or a revolt or a coup d'etat... A revolution is not just for the purpose of correcting past injustices. It begins with projecting the notion of a more human human being, i.e., a human being who is more advanced in the specific qualities which only human beings have creativity, consciousness, and self-consciousness, a sense of political and social responsibility... A revolutionary period is one in which the only exist is a revolution.

> Grace Lee and James Boggs, Revolution in the 20th Century (1974)

The revolution starts here + now within each one of us. Burn down the walls that say you can't. Be a dork, tell your friends you love them. Resist the temptation to view those around you as objects + use them. Recognize empathy and vulnerability as positive forms of strength. Resist the internalization 046 of capitalism, the reducing of people + oneself to commodities meant to be censored. Resist physic death. Don't allow the world to make you into a bitter abusive asshole. Cry in public. Don't judge other people. Learn to love yourself. Acknowledge emotional violence as real. Figure out how the idea of competition (winning and losing) fits into your intimate relationships. Decide that you'd rather be happy than be right all the time. Believe people when they tell you they are hurting or are in pain. Trust.

Kathleen Hanna, Riot Grrrl Manifesto (1991)

Conditions will never be altogether right for a broadly based revolutionary war unless the fascists are stricken by an uncharacteristic fit of total madness. Should we wait for something that is not likely to occur at least for decades? The conditions that are not present must be manufactured. Revolution builds in stages; it isn't cool or romantic; it's bold and vicious; it's stalking and being stalked — the opposition rising above our level of violence to repress us, and our forces learning how to counter this repression. That process repeats itself again and again until finally the level is reached where the real power of the people is felt and the ruling class is suppressed. The power of the people lies in its greater potential violence.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

The hard, painstaking work of changing ourselves into new beings, of loving ourselves and our people and working with them daily to create a new reality— this is the first revolution, that internal revolution.

Safiya Bukhari

If we are going to rise out of our oppression, our poverty, if we are going to cease being the targets of the racist-minded mentality of racist policemen, we will have to destroy the American capitalist system. We will have to obliterate a system in which a few wealthy capitalists are guaranteed the privilege 048 of becoming richer and richer, whereas the people who are forced to work for the rich, and especially Black people, never take any significant step forward.

> Angela Davis, I Am A Revolutionary Black Woman (1970)

On daydreams and fantasies. They show lack of character and passivity... Everything is easy. One can do whatever one wants... On the contrary, it is necessary to direct one's attention violently towards the present as it is, if one wishes to transform it. Pessimism of the intelligence, optimism of the will.

> Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (1971)

If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.

Lilla Watson

A lot of people get the word revo-

lution mixed up and they think revolutions a bad word. Revolution is nothing but like having a sore on your body and then you put something on that sore to cure that infection. And Im telling you that were living in an infectious society right now. Im telling you that were living in a sick society. And anybody that endorses integrating into this sick society before its cleaned up is a man who's committing a crime against the people.

> Fred Hampton, Power Anywhere Where Theres People! (1969)

You cannot change any society unless you take responsibility for it, unless you see yourself as belonging to it and responsible for changing it.

Grace Lee-Boggs

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling 050 classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

Mao, On Contradiction (1937)

I have declared war on the rich who prosper on our poverty, the politicians who lie to us with smiling faces, and all the mindless, heartless, robots who protect them and their property. Assata Shakur, Assata: An

Autobiography (1987)

You don't have a revolution in which you love your enemy, and you don't have a revolution in which you are begging the system of exploitation to integrate you into it. Revolutions overturn systems. Revolutions destroy systems. Malcolm X (1964)

Revolution is the sense of the historical moment; it is changing everything that must be changed; it is full equality and freedom; it is being treated and treating others like human beings; it is emancipating ourselves, by ourselves

and with our very own efforts; it is challenging the dominant powerful forces within and outside of the social and national arena; it is defending the values one believes in at the cost of any sacrifice; it is modesty, selfiessness, altruism, solidarity and heroism; it is fighting with audacity, intelligence and realism; it is never telling a lie or violating ethical principles; it is the profound conviction that there is no force on earth that can crush truth and ideas. Revolution is unity, it is independence, it is fighting for our dreams of justice for Cuba and the world that is the basis of our patriotism. our socialism and our internationalism. Fidel Castro (2000)

Revolutionary change means the seizure of all that is held by the 1 percent, and the transference of these holdings into the hands of the remaining 99 percent. If the 1 percent are simply replaced by another 1 percent, revolutionary change has not taken place.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

The crisis of the ruling class hegemony... occurs either because the ruling class has failed in some major political undertaking for which it has requested or forcibly extracted the consent of the broad masses... or because... huge masses... have passed from a state of political passivity to a certain activity and put forward demands which taken together, albeit not organically formulated, add up to a revolution... this is precisely the crisis of hegemony, or general crisis of the state.

> Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (1971)

Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children.

> Amilcar Cabral, Tell no Lies, Claim no easy Victories... (1969)

> > 053

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them. Mao, Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work (1934)

Collectively and of our free will we can choose to put down this predacious system a few profiting at all our expense, and build in its place a new mass-oriented socialist system of mutual cooperation, fair and equal distribution, and respect for nature, to all our benefit. Or we can continue being fools' agents, and stand by idly and ostrich-like (with our heads in the sand) as many did yesterday, while this system continues devouring, defiling and wasting land, resources, people, and the planet.

> Rashid, Against Capitalism: To Exist We Must Resist (2012)

The spirit of Revolution should always permeate the soul of humanity, 054 so that the reactionary forces may not accumulate to check its eternal onward march. Old order should change, always and ever, yielding place to new, so that one "good" order may not corrupt the world. It is in this sense that we raise the shout "Long Live Revolution."

Bhagat Singh (1929)

Everything depends on the conditions, time and place.

> Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism (1938)

Revolution is when the masses make the revolution. A people's revolution. But even when the revolution is made by others in the name of the masses, expressing what the masses want, it can be revolution. A people's revolution because it has the support of the masses and interprets the will of the masses. Gaddafi (1979)

The greatest, perhaps the only danger to the genuine revolutionary is 055 that of exaggerated revolutionism, ignoring the limits and conditions in which revolutionary methods are appropriate and can be successfully employed.

Lenin



THE STATE

The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it creates "order," which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collision between the classes.

> Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

"Don't you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country.

> Mao, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949)

The proletariat needs state power, a centralized organization of force, an organization of violence, both to crush 057 the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population - the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians - in the work of organizing a socialist economy.

> Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

The dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of suppressing the oppressors, cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists.

Ibid.

The substitution of the proletarian state for the bourgeois state is impossible without a violent revolution. The 058 abolition of the proletarian state, i.e., of the state in general, is impossible except through the process of "withering away". Ibid.

For the state to wither away completely, complete communism is necessary.

Ibid.

We are in favor of the withering away of the state, and at the same time we stand for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the most powerful and mighty of all forms of the state which have existed up to the present day. The highest development of the power of the state, with the object of preparing the conditions of the withering away of the state: that is the Marxist formula. Is it "contradictory"? Yes, it is "contradictory." But this contradiction is a living thing and wholly reflects the Marxist dialectic.

Stalin (1930)

The people's state protects the

people. Only when the people have such a state can they educate and remold themselves by democratic methods on a country-wide scale, with everyone taking part, and shake off the influence of domestic and foreign reactionaries...rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, and continue to advance- to advance towards a socialist and communist society.

> Mao, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949)

The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary it does not let them take part in political activities and competes them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labor and, through labor, transform themselves into new men. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is, 060 it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them.

> Mao, Closing Speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (1950)

The organs of state must practice democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people.

> Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957)

In capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false, a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to communism, will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the exploiters, of the minority. Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

Revolution alone can "put an end" to the bourgeois state. The state in general, i.e., the most complete democracy, can only "wither away".

Ibid.



CAPITALISM

Capitalism means that the masses will work, and a few people — who may not labor at all — will benefit from that work. The few will sit down to a banquet, and the masses will eat whatever is left over.

Julius Nyerere

Capitalism is a development by refinement from feudalism just as feudalism is a development by refinement from slavery. Capitalism is but the gentleman's method of slavery.

Kwame Nkrumah (1968)

Under a capitalist system, the means of production is owned and controlled by very few people. A very few, few people. By means of production, I mean anything necessary - machinery, money, resources - to build and produce 063 things which can be sold on the market. Only a few people own and control the means of production... These capitalists exploit everybody, because everybody works for them. Everyone sells their labor to them. It is by selling your labor to a capitalist that he is really able to exploit you.

Kwame Ture, Who is a Capitalist? (1973)

[In Capitalism] a worker works to keep alive. Work isn't counted itself as part of life; it is rather a sacrifice of life. It is a commodity auctioned off to another.

Karl Marx

We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out of our community, because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off the people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist. And we don't care how many 064 programs they have, how long a dashiki they have. Because political power does not flow from the sleeve of a dashiki; political power flows from the barrel of a gun. It flows from the barrel of a gun!

Fred Hampton, Power Anywhere Where Theres People! (1969)

As long as we keep capitalism, our planet won't be saved because it's the complete opposite of life. We need to end capitalism to save the world and humankind.

Berta Cáceres

The whole thing boiled down to a simple equation: anything that has any kind of value is made, mined, grown, produced, and processed by working people. So why shouldn't working people collectively own that wealth? Why shouldn't working people own and control their own resources? Capitalism meant that rich businessmen owned the wealth, while socialism meant that the

people who made the wealth owned it. Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

Capitalism was not the product of an evolutionary development bringing forth economic forces that were maturing in the womb of the old order. Capitalism was the response of the feudal lords, the patrician merchants, the bishops and popes, to a centuries-long social conflict that, in the end, shook their power, and truly gave 'all the world a big jolt.' Capitalism was the counter-revolution that destroyed the possibilities that had emerged from the anti-feudal strugglepossibilities which, if realized, might have spared us the immense destruction of lives and the natural environment that has marked the advance of capitalist relations worldwide.

> Silvia Federici, Caliban and the Witch (1998)

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. 066 Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker.

Malcolm X (1965)

[A] racist social structure...is inseparable from capitalist economic development. For race is inextricably linked with class exploitation; in a racist-capitalist power structure, capitalist exploitation and race oppression are complementary; the removal of one ensures the removal of the other...

> Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle in Africa (1970)

Capitalism has created its own irrationalities such as a vicious white racism, the tremendous waste associated with advertising, and the irrational-

067

ity of incredible poverty in the midst of wealth and wastage even inside the biggest capitalist economies, such as that of the United States of America.

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972)

The economic nature of racism is not simply an aside... Racism is a fundamental characteristic of monopoly capitalism.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

We must shake our conscience free of the rapacious capitalism, racism, and patriarchy that will only assure our own self-destruction.

Berta Cáceres

When you are poor you don't have any social respect or social worth because everything is defined in terms of money and how much of it you have. This is what capitalism does. It turns all values into commercial values, even the 068 value of life itself. Rashid, Defying the Tomb (2010)

Capitalist development has occurred not in spite of the exclusion of Black people, but because of the brutal exploitation of Black people as workers and consumers.

> Manning Marable, How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America (1983)

You're taught that from school, everywhere, big business, if you want to be successful? You wanna be like Trump? Give me, give me, give me push, push, push, push - step, step, step - crush, crush, crush... Can you imagine somebody having \$32 million dollars and this person has nothing? And you can sleep?? And then these are the type of people who get humanitarian awards- how can they be humanitarians by the fact that they're millionaires?! And there's so many poor people shows

069

how un-humane they are. There's no way that these people should own planes and there's people who down have houses, apartments, shacks, drawers, pants! And everybody is smart enough to know that, I mean, we've been slighted and we want ours. For us to be on our own two feet, 'us' meaning youth or 'us' meaning Black people, whatever you wanna take it for... I think there is a way it just takes to be revolutionary and it takes to do something out of the ordinary.

Tupac Shakur (1992)

It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism.

Malcolm X (1964)

The more the people understand, the more watchful they become, and the more they come to realize that finally everything depends on them and their salvation lies in their own cohesion, in the true understanding of their interests, and in knowing who their enemies 070 are. The people come to understand that wealth is not the fruit of labor but the result of organized, protected robbery. Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth (1961)

It is really impressive what a filth system capitalism is, that can't guarantee its own people employment, nor health, nor adequate education; that cannot prevent youth from being corrupted by drugs, gamble, and all kind of vices.

Fidel Castro (1991)

The less you eat, drink and buy books; the less you go to the theatre, the dance hall, the public house; the less you think, love, theorise, sing, paint, fence, etc., the more you save — the greater becomes your treasure which neither moths nor rust will devour — your capital. The less you are, the less you express your own life, the more you have, i.e., the greater is your alienated life, the greater is the store of your estranged being.

Karl Marx

Whether one likes it or not, the bourgeoisie, as a class, is condemned to take responsibility for all the barbarism of history, the tortures of the Middle Ages and the Inquisition, warmongering and the appeal to the raison d'Etat, racism and slavery, in short everything against which it protested in unforgettable terms at the time when, as the attacking class, it was the incarnation of human progress.

> Aimé Césaire, Discourse on Colonialism (1955)

In rejecting the capitalistic attitude of mind, which colonialism brought to Africa, we must reject also the capitalist methods which go with it. One of these is individual ownership of land. To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community.

Julius Nyerere

America represents more than just an economic system; it is an entire cultural and social order, a plutocracy, a system of rule that is mostly by and 072 for the rich. Most universities and colleges, publishing houses, mass circulation magazines, newspapers, television and radio stations, professional sports teams, foundations, churches, private museums, charity organizations, and hospitals are organized as corporations, ruled by boards of trustees (or directors or regents) composed overwhelmingly of affluent business people. These boards exercise final judgement over all institutional matters.

> Michael Parenti, Democracy for the Few (2010)

The existing system of capitalist imperialism is rigged up to allow a tiny group of people who don't perform any meaningful labor to control the institutions of political power and the global system of production and distribution, so that they are able to hoard a vast amount of social wealth for themselves and prevent any meaningful challenge to their power from everyone else. Consequently, access to needed resources falls unevenly on everyone else, causing

073

immense poverty and suffering to over half the world's people, and insecurity and uncertainty for everyone, especially workers.

> Rashid, Revolutionizing The Masses In Three Stages: The Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party and its Intermediate and Mass Organizations (2021)

There are no good aspects of monopoly capital, so no reservations need be recognized in its destruction. Monopoly capital is the enemy. It crushes the life force of all of the people. It must be completely destroyed, as quickly as possible, utterly, totally, ruthlessly, relentlessly destroyed.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

Decline is a very dangerous time. Capitalism will not wait quietly for its death. It will behave more and more savagely in order to maintain its position, to 074 maintain the imperialist supremacy of the centers.

Samir Amin

You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism, and all other kinds of ism, but it's hard for you to cuss that dollarism. When they drop those dollars on you, your soul goes.

Malcolm X



COLONIALISM

...A colonial economy is established on bases that are in part artificial and foreign, subordinate to the interests of the colonizer. Its normal development depends on the colonizer's ability either to adapt himself to local conditions or to change them.

> José Mariátegui, Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality (1928)

For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity.

> Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth (1961)

The settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he 076

constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother-country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves.

Ibid.

Colonialism hardly ever exploits the whole of a country. It contents itself with bringing to light the natural resources, which it extracts, and exports to meet the needs of the mother country's industries, thereby allowing certain sectors of the colony to become relatively rich. But the rest of the colony follows its path of under-development and poverty, or at all events sinks into it more deeply.

Ibid.

Colonialism has deprived indigenous people, and all people who are affected by it, of the means to develop

Digitized by Google

according to our needs, principles, and values. It begins with land... We have been made "Indians" only because we have the most precious commodity to the settler states: land. Vigilante, cop, and soldier often stand between us, our connections to the land, and justice... Land back strikes fear in the heart of the settler. But as we show here, it's the soundest environmental policy for a planet teetering on the brink of total ecological collapse. The path forward is simple: its decolonization or extinction. And that starts with land back.

The Red Nation

In the colonial countries... the policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action maintain contact with the native and advise him by means of rifle butts and napalm not to budge. It is obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force.

> Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth (1961)

The native must realize that colonialism never gives anything away for nothing.

Ibid.

In the colonies the economic infrastructure is also a superstructure. The cause is effect: you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich.

Ibid.

...No one colonizes innocently, that no one colonizes with impunity either; that a nation which colonizes, that a civilization which justifies colonization—and therefore force—is already a sick civilization, a civilization which is morally diseased, which irresistibly, progressing from one consequence to another, one denial to another, calls for its Hitler, I mean its punishment.

> Aimé Césaire, Discourse on Colonialism 1955

Between colonizer and colonized there is room only for forced labor, in-079 timidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses... No human contact, but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a class-room monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the Indigenous man into an instrument of production.

Ibid.

The peoples of Asia and Africa created brilliant ancient civilizations and made tremendous contributions to mankind. But, ever since modern times most of the countries of Asia and Africa in varying degrees have been subjected to colonial plunder and oppression. Our voices have been suppressed, our aspirations shattered, and our destiny placed in the hands of others. Thus, we have no choice but to rise against colonialism.

Zhou Enlai

Euro-American colonialism, an

aspect of the capitalist economic globalization, had from its beginnings a genocidal tendency.

> Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, An Indigenous People's History of the United States (2014)

The unprecedented rise in the wealth of the oppressor nations is directly and solely based on the increased immiseration of the oppressed nations on a global scale. The looting and killing of early colonialism continue in a more sophisticated and rationalized system of neocolonialism. But continue they do. J.Sakai, Settlers (1983)

The methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres. Faced with the militant peoples of the ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses

081

with its flags, and even with certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is 'giving' independence to its former subjects, to be followed by 'aid' for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about 'freedom', which has come to be known as neo-colonialism.

> Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (1965)

The four essential components of neo-colonialism are:

1. Economic exploitation 2. Puppet governments and client states 3. Military assistance 4. Economic "aid."

> Kwame Nkrumah, Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare (1968)

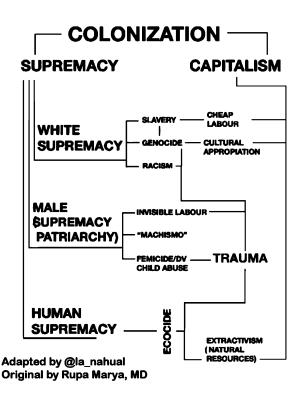
A state can be said to be a neo-co-

lonialist or client state if it is independent de jure and dependent de facto. It is a state where political power lies in the conservative forces of the former colony and where economic power remains under the control of international finance capital.

Ibid.

Imperialism, trying to preserve itself in the face of the oppressed masses anti-colonial struggle, presented neocolonialism to the masses. Neocolonialism means powerless visibility.

Kwame Ture



IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed.

> Lenin, Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917)

Imperialism is a system of exploitation that occurs not only in the brutal form of those who come with guns to conquer territory. Imperialism often occurs in more subtle forms, a loan, food aid, blackmail . We are fighting this

system that allows a handful of men on Earth to rule all of humanity.

Thomas Sankara

Imperialism is the product of aggression and plunder, and it has grown fat on ceaseless aggression and plunder. Since the emergence of imperialism mankind has suffered disasters of recurrent aggression and war, and has been deprived of immeasurable amounts of property, wealth and the fruit of labour. Kim Il-sung, For the Development of the Non-Aligned Movement (1986)

Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom.

Lenin, Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917)

A further important indicator of the character of imperialism can be seen from the fact that the high cost of 086 manufactured products and machinery, the refusal to enter into reasonable and just commodity agreements, the stonewalling of attempts to agree on a new international economic order, the refusal to accept that an international regime should be created to exploit the resources of the deep sea for the benefit of all mankind and not just for a few multinational corporations can all be placed at the doorstep of the Imperialist World.

Maurice Bishop (1979)

...More and more countries in the Third World as a whole have been focusing their attention on the struggle against imperialism. Our concern increasingly has been concentrated on the fight to regain control over our natural and national resources from the grips of the rapacious multi-national corporations backed by their power governments of the imperialists worldwide. This has led more and more Third World countries to recognize that imperialism is the greatest enemy of mankind and that the perpetrators of this rape of our resources are to be found in the imperialist world.

Maurice Bishop (1979)

Imperialism will never give up its rule over colonial and dependent countries before it is kicked out. It is in the nature of imperialism to perpetrate aggression and plunder. If there ever is imperialism which is not aggressive, it is no longer imperialism. Imperialism will not change its aggressive nature before it dies.

> Kim Il-sung, Great Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Cause of Asian, African and Latin American Peoples is Invincible (1968)

The present distribution of world economic power, wealth and living standards is manifestly unjust. It derives from the long history of imperialist expansion and control of the third world. We seek to change this order and to substitute for it a New International Eco-088 nomic Order.

Maurice Bishop (1979)

Imperialism is capitalism is colonialism.

> Rashid, On the Questions of Race and Racism: Revolutionary National Liberation and Building the United Front Against Imperialism (2006)

Imperialism is the root cause of racism. It is the ideology which upholds colonial rule and exploitation. It is the ideology which breeds fascism, rightly condemned by the civilized people of the world.

Claudia Jones

Any community seriously concerned with its own freedom has to be concerned about other peoples' freedom as well. The victory of oppressed people anywhere in the world is a victory for Black people. Each time one of imperialism's tentacles is cut off we are closer to liberation.

Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism - and it must be defeated in a world confrontation. The strategic end of this struggle should be the destruction of imperialism. Our share, the responsibility of the exploited and underdeveloped of the world is to eliminate the foundations of imperialism: our oppressed nations, from where they extract capitals, raw materials, technicians and cheap labor, and to which they export new capitals - instruments of domination - arms and all kinds of articles; thus submerging us in an absolute dependence.

> Che, Message to the Tricontinental (1967)

We are not going to eliminate imperialism by shouting insults at it. Amilcar Cabral, The Weapon of Theory (1966)

World imperialism headed by its aggressive detachment, U.S. imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war... It has set up and perfected aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to put the peoples under bondage.

Enver Hoxha (1960)

The grand destroyer of the world, and the greatest threat ... is represented by U.S. imperialism.

Hugo Chávez (2005)

This is a huge nation [Amerika] dominated by the most reactionary and violent ruling class in the history of the

Digitized by Google

world, where the majority of the people just simply cannot understand that they are existing on the misery and discomfort of the world.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)



FASCISM

Fascism was a monster born of capitalist parents. Fascism came as the end-product of centuries of capitalist bestiality, exploitation, domination, and racism—mainly exercised outside Europe.

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972)

Fascism is the bourgeoisie's fighting organization that relies on the active support of Social-Democracy. Social-Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism.

> Stalin, Concerning the International Situation, 1. The Period of Bourgeois-Democratic "Pacifism" (1924)

Fascism must be seen as an episodically logical stage in the socio-economic development of capitalism in a state of crisis. It is the result of a revolutionary thrust that was weak and miscarried — a consciousness that was compromised.

George Jackson (1971)

Capitalist and imperialist countries created the conditions for the rise of fascism in the world; and the whole fascist campaign, since its first appearance in Europe, was based on anti-communism, on communists' slaughter and on the destruction of the Soviet Union. Fidel Castro (1975)

Fascism is a deformity of capitalism. It heightens the imperialist tendency towards domination which is inherent in capitalism, and it safeguards the principle of private property. At the same time, fascism immeasurably strengthens the institutional racism already bred by capitalism, whether it be against Jews (as in Hitler's case) or against African 094 peoples (as in the ideology of Portugal's Salazar and the leaders of South Africa). Fascism reverses the political gains of the bourgeois democratic system such as free elections, equality before the law, parliaments; and it also extolls authoritarianism and the reactionary union of the church with the state. In Portugal and Spain, it was the Catholic church—in South Africa, it was the Dutch Reformed church.

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972)

Fascism was able to come to power primarily because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie.

Dimitrov

Fascism historically has been used to secure the interests of large cap-095 italist interests against the demands of popular democracy. Then and now, fascism has made irrational mass appeals in order to secure the rational ends of class domination.

Michael Parenti, Blackshirts and Reds (1997)

No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself.

> Dimitrov, The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism (1935)

Fascism, with its violence, gets rid of everything: it attacks universities, it closes them and crushes them; it attacks intellectuals, represses them and persecutes them; it attacks political parties; it attacks trade union organizations; it attacks all mass and cultural or-096 ganizations. Therefore, nothing is more violent, more retrograde and more illegal than fascism.

Fidel Castro (1971)

After the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual. The significance of the "new fascist arrangement" lies in the fact that this business-as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

Fascism has established itself in a most disguised and efficient manner in this country. It feels so secure that the leaders allow us the luxury of faint protest. Take protest too far, however, and they will show their other face. Doors will be kicked down in the night and machine-gun fire and buckshot will become the medium of exchange.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

What was fascism in Italy, in Germany? The exaltation of racial prejudices. Instead of fighting racial prejudice, which is what a revolution does, fascism exalts prejudice and turns it into hatred. Fidel Castro (1978)

What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as "Socialists," and depict 098 their accession to power as a "revolution"? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution and the urge towards socialism that lives in the hearts of the mass of working people in Germany.

> Dimitrov, The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism (1935)

Racism plus capitalism breeds fascism when the avaricious businessmen refuse to give control to the unemployed workers and their unions... Fascism breeds when the lazy, tricking, demagogic politicians lie and mislead people about the suffering that Black people are subjected to, that Brown peoples are subjected to, that Brown peoples are subjected to, that any color or minority group peoples, or any poor White peoples are subjected to... [by brutal] pig cops... 'Pig' [refers to] people who systematically violate peoples' constitutional rights.

Bobby Seale (1969/70)

099

Fascism is a false revolution. It cultivates the appearance of popular politics and a revolutionary aura without offering a genuine revolutionary class content. It propagates a "New Order" while serving the same old moneyed interests. Its leaders are not guilty of confusion but of deception. That they work hard to mislead the public does not mean they themselves are misled.

> Michael Parenti, Blackshirts and Reds (1997)

Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

The fascist arrangement tolerates the existence of no valid revolution-100 ary activity. It has programmed into its very nature a massive, complex and automatic defense mechanism for all our old methods for raising the consciousness of a potentially revolutionary class of people. The essence of a U.S.A. totalitarian socio-political capitalism is concealed behind the illusion of a mass participatory society. We must rip away its mask. Then the debate can end, and we can enter a new phase of struggle based on the development of an armed revolutionary culture that will triumph.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

Fascists are not human. A snake is more human.

Hugo Chávez (2007)

LIBERALISM

As far as I'm concerned, 'liberal' is the most meaningless word in the dictionary. History has shown me that as long as some white middle-class people can live high on the hog, take vacations to Europe, send their children to private schools, and reap the benefits of their white skin privilege, then they are 'liberal'. But when times get hard and money gets tight, they pull off that liberal mask and you think you're talking to Adolf Hitler. They feel sorry for the so-called underprivileged just as long as they can maintain their own privileges.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

What the liberal really wants is to bring about change which will not in any way endanger his position. the liberal says, 'it is a fact that you are poor, and 102 it is a fact that some people are rich; but we can make you rich without affecting those people who are rich.

> Kwame Ture, Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism (1969)

The liberal is so preoccupied with stopping confrontation that he usually finds himself defending and calling for law and order of the oppressor... The reason the liberal seeks to stop confrontation... is that his role, regardless of what he says, is really to maintain the status quo, rather than to change it... [H]e hopes to bring about justice and economic stability for everyone through reform, that somehow the society will be able to keep expanding without the redistributing the wealth.

> Kwame Ture, Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism (1969)

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the 103 revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon. But liberalism rejects the ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Mao, Combat Liberalism (1937)

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organization from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Ibid.

All loyal, honest, active and up-

right Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain people among us, and set them on the right path. This is one of the tasks on our ideological front.

Ibid.

The white conservatives aren't friends of the Negro either, but they at least don't try to hide it. They are like wolves; they show their teeth in a snarl that keeps the Negro always aware of where he stands with them. But the white liberals are foxes, who also show their teeth to the Negro but pretend that they are smiling. The white liberals are more dangerous than the conservatives; they lure the Negro, and as the Negro runs from the growling wolf, he flees into the open jaws of the "smiling" fox. One is the wolf, the other is a fox. No matter what, they'll both eat you.

Malcolm X, White Liberals and Conservatives (1963)

Liberalism has the following weaknesses:

1. It focuses on the individual rights rather than collective rights.

2. It is ahistorical. It does not have a comprehensive understanding of women's role in history nor has it any analysis for the subordination (subjugation) of women.

3. It tends to be mechanical in its support for formal equality without a concrete understanding of the condition of different sections/classes of women and their specific problems. Hence it was able to express the demands of the middle classes (white women from middle classes in the US and upper class, upper caste women in India) but not those of women from various oppressed ethnic groups, castes and the working, laboring classes.

4. It is restricted to changes in the law, educational and employment opportunities, welfare measures etc and does not question the economic and political structures of the society which give rise 106 to patriarchal discrimination. Hence it is reformist in its orientation, both in theory and in practice.

5. It believes that the state is neutral and can be made to intervene in favor of women when in fact the bourgeois state in the capitalist countries and the semicolonial and semi-feudal Indian state are patriarchal and will not support women's struggle for emancipation. The State is defending the interests of the ruling classes who benefit from the subordination and devalued status of women.

6. Since it focuses on changes in the law, and state schemes for women, it has emphasized lobbying and petitioning as means to get their demands. The liberal trend most often has restricted its activity to meetings and conventions and mobilizing petitions calling for changes. It has rarely mobilized the strength of the mass of women and is in fact afraid of the militant mobilization of poor women in large numbers.

Anuradha Ghandy, Phil-

osophical Trends in the Feminist Movement (2006)



ORGANIZATION

Organization os the weapon of the oppressed.

Kwame Ture

We believe that the most pressing political necessity is the consolidation of a United Front joining together all sections of the revolutionary, radical and democratic movements. Only a united front—led in the first place by the national liberation movements and the working people—can decisively counter, theoretically, ideologically and practically, the increasingly fascistic and genocidal posture of the present ruling clique.

> Angela Davis, If They Come In The Morning (1971)

We ain't gonna fight no reactionary pigs who run up and down the street being reactionary; we're gonna organize 109 and dedicate ourselves to revolutionary political power and teach ourselves the specific needs of resisting the power structure, arm ourselves, and we're gonna fight reactionary pigs with INTERNA-TIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. That's what it has to be. The people have to have the power: it belongs to the people.

> Fred Hampton, Power Anywhere Where Theres People! (1969)

For the revolutionary movements developing today in every country, the great contribution of Lenin was the clarity with which he put forward and acted upon his fundamental convictions regarding the vanguard party: 1) that the purpose of a revolutionary party is to take absolute power in order to revolutionize the economic and social systems as the only way of resolving fundamental popular grievances; 2) that it is absolutely essential to build a revolutionary vanguard party if you are not just playing with the phrase; and 3) that a revolutionary party can only be built by a) unceasing ideological struggle, b) strict discipline, c) organized activity of every member, and d) merciless self-criticism. Grace Lee and James Boggs, The Role of the Vanguard Party (1970)

We are quite obviously faced with a need to organize some small defenses to the more flagrant abuses of the system now. ... While we await the precise moment when all of capitalism's victims will indignantly rise to destroy the system, we are being devoured. ... Some of us are going to have to take our courage in hand and build a hard revolutionary cadre for selective retaliatory violence. Jonathan Jackson, Featured in Blood In My Eye (1971)

I repeat: realistic, day-to-day needs should be the basis of organizing people and making them conscious of revolution-- that the world, the universe, must revolve-- that it will stop, stagnate, and die for no man's privilege. George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

There should, I feel, be one branch that is purely political, operating the rent strikes, the breakfast programs, the People's Bazaar's where all sorts of food are sold, hospitals or clinics (free, of course), and what I will term cottage shops to employ those who will work for the new medium of exchange—love and loyalty.

Jonathan Jackson (1971)

Focusing on the most oppressed sectors of the empire's population means that organizing and resources should be channeled in the very places that are now neglected, viz. amongst prisoners, the poor, and communities of people of color... At mass gatherings and demonstrations, cadre should work the crowds, collecting names and needs of people of various social backgrounds and those with resources, skills, talents, etc., to determine the needs of various communities and those people willing and able to contribute work, resources and organizing to meet those needs. Another imperative will be arming the people and training them in the use of arms.

Rashid, A Practical Approach to Strategic Organizing for Popular Struggle (2005)

Any organizing must begin with an analysis of the classes within imperialist and colonized societies, to determine who are actual and potential friends, and who are actual and potential enemies of revolution. The organizers must determine what contributions each sector is capable of making and must push them in the direction of allied class struggle within their actual and potential means.

Rashid, A Practical Approach to Strategic Organizing for Popular Struggle (2005)

The notion of philanthropy, the

notion of helping people, the notion of volunteerism is something that abounds in the American psyche. Although it has often been based in a very sincere concern for people, that notion has been a source and means of control. So building a movement cannot be based on unequal relationships. It's got to be a movement where each one of us are working along side each other, and understanding that our interests are mutual, and that we need to see these changes made if we're really going to deal with this situation.

> Willie Baptist, On the Poor Organizing the Poor (1998)

The more we confine the membership of such an organization of people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally training in the art of combatting police, the more difficult it will be to unearth the organization.

Lenin

This struggle must be organized,

according to 'all the rules of the art', by people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity. The fact that the masses are being drawn into the movement does not make the organization of this struggle less necessary, it makes it more necessary.

> Lenin, the Primitiveness of the Economists and the Organization of the Revolutionaries (1901)

We've learned that organizing among the poor and building a broad movement against poverty has to entail certain basic considerations. We call them the Five Main Ingredients and the Six Panther P's:::

The Five Main Ingredients:

- 1. Teams of Indigenous Organizers
- 2. Bases of Operations
- 3. Voice-- Lines of Communication
- 4. Networks of Mutual Support
- 5. Committed Cores of Leaders

The 6 Panther P's:

1. Program

2. Protest

- 3. Projects for Survival
- 4. Press Work
- 5. Political Education
- 6. Plans not Personalities

Willie Baptist, On the Poor Organizing the Poor (1998)

Each partisan, outside of the vanguard elements, should work at radicalizing in the area of their natural environment, the places where they pursue their normal lives when not attending the rallies and demonstrations. The vanguard elements... should go among the people concentrated at the rallying point with consciousness-raising strategy, promoting commitment and providing concrete, clearly defined activity. The vanguard elements must search out people who can and will contribute to the building of the commune, the infrastruc-116 ture, with pen and clipboard in hand. George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

A new world is in the making, and it is up to us to prepare ourselves so that we may take our rightful place in it.

Malcolm X

Those who understand the nature of the struggle, our job is to organize, not to be projected as leaders.

Jamil Al-Amin

THE PEOPLE

You can't speak for the people unless you're able to walk amongst the people.

DMX

The leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal, everything else is ephemeral. That is why it is necessary to appreciate the full value of the confidence of the people.

Stalin (1937)

In the long run, the people are our only appeal. The only ones who can free us are ourselves.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of 118 world history.

Mao, On Coalition Government (1945)

No movement can survive unless it is constantly growing and changing with the times. If it isn't growing, if it's stagnant, and without the support of the people, no movement for liberation can exist, no matter how correct its analysis of the situation is. That's why political work and organizing are so important. Unless you are addressing the issues people are concerned about and contributing positive direction, they'll never support you. The first thing the enemy tries to do is isolate revolutionaries from the masses of people, making us horrible and hideous monsters so that our people will hate us.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

We must persist in the mass line: From the masses, to the masses; we must have unshakable faith in the vast majority of the masses and firmly rely on them. Both in revolution and in construction, we should boldly arouse the people and unfold vigorous mass movements.

Zhou Enlai, Report on the Work of the Government (1975)

Never become alienated from the masses; learn from them and help them. Lead a collective life, inquire into the concerns of the people around you, study their problems their problems and abide by the rules of discipline

Zhou Enlai, Guidelines for Myself (1943)

Every comrade must be helped to understand that has long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.

> Mao, On Coalition Government (1945)

If you want to help the "masses" and win the sympathy and support of the "masses," you should not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the "leaders," but must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found.

> Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920)

My God is none other than the people. Only the popular masses are omniscient and omnipotent and almighty on earth. Therefore my lifetime motto is: "The people are my God."

Kim Il-sung (1936)

The people are the masters of the revolution in each country. It is like putting a cart before the horse that foreigners carry out the revolution for them. The revolution can neither be exported nor imported.

Kim Il-sung (1976)

In a nutshell, the idea of Juche

121

means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and the work of construction. In other words, one is responsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

Kim Il-sung, Mainichi Shimbun (1972)

Revolutionaries, believe in the people and rely on them at all times and you shall always emerge victorious; if you are forsaken by them, you will always fail. Let this be your maxim in your life and struggle.

> Kim Il-sung, With the Century Vol.1 (1992)

As fish cannot live without water, so guerrillas cannot live without the people.

> Kim Il-sung, With the Century Vol.5 (1992)

FREEDDM

The idea of freedom is inspiring. But what does it mean? If you are free in a political sense but have no food, what's that? The freedom to starve?

Angela Davis (2008)

Nobody in the world, nobody in history, has ever gotten their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the people who were oppressing them.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: In Her Own Words (1998)

Freedom means warmth and protection against harsh exposure to the elements. It means food, not garbage. It means truth, harmony, and the social relations that spring from these. It means the best medical attention whenever it's needed. It means employment that is reasonable, that coincides with the individual necessities and feelings. We will have this freedom even at the cost of total war.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

It is difficult for me to imagine what "personal liberty" is enjoyed by an unemployed person, who goes about hungry, and cannot find employment. Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abolished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and every other liberty possible.

Stalin (1936)

Down with the liars who are talking of freedom and equality for all, while there is an oppressed class, while there are oppressor classes, while there is private ownership of capital, of shares, while there are the well-fed with 124 their surplus of bread who keep the hungry in bondage. Not freedom for all, not equality for all, but a fight against the oppressors and exploiters, the abolition of every possibility of oppression and exploitation—that is our slogan!

> Lenin, Soviet Power and the Status of Women (1919)

For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others.

> Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom (1995)

Freedom only comes through persistent revolt, through persistent agitation, through persistently rising up against the system of evil.

> Martin Luther King, Jr., The Birth of a New Nation (1957)

Only one thing's sadder than remembering you were once free, and 125 that's forgetting you were once free. Leonard Peltier

The capitalists often boast that their constitutions guarantee the rights of the individual, democratic liberties and the interests of all citizens. But in reality, only the bourgeoisie enjoy the rights recorded in these constitutions. The working people do not really enjoy democratic freedoms; they are exploited all their life and have to bear heavy burdens in the service of the exploiting class.

> Ho Chi Minh, Report on the Draft Amended Constitution (1959)

Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners.

> Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

> Frederick Douglass, West India Emancipation (1857)

The only difference as compared with the old, outspoken slavery is this, that the worker of today seems to be free because he is not sold once for all, but piecemeal by the day, the week, the year, and because no one owner sells him to another, but he is forced to sell himself in this way instead, being the slave of no particular person, but of the whole property-holding class.

> Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England (1845)

If you're not ready to die for it, take the word "freedom" out of your vocabulary.

Malcolm X (1962)

127

Digitized by Google

Freedom is like the morning. There are those who wait for it asleep, and there are others that stay awake and walk through the night to reach it Sub. Marcos, La Revuelta de la Memoria (1999)

A fox and a wolf are both canine, both belong to the dog family. Now you take your choice. You going to choose a Northern dog or a Southern dog? Because either dog you choose, I guarantee you'll still be in the dog house. This is why I say it's the ballot or the bullet. It's liberty or it's death. It's freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody.

Malcolm X (1964)

DEMDCRACY

Democracy is a form of the state, it represents, on the one hand, the organized, systematic use of force against persons; but, on the other hand, it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure of, and to administer, the state.

> Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich – that is the democracy of capitalist society.

Ibid.

Democracy means equality. The great significance of the proletariat's struggle for equality and of equality as a slogan will be clear if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of 129 classes. But democracy means only formal equality. And as soon as equality is achieved for all members of society in relation to ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labor and wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of advancing father, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Ibid.

Democracy cannot consist solely of elections that are nearly always fictitious and managed by rich landowners and professional politicians.

> Che, On Growth and Imperialism (1961)

A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket. Malcolm X, The Ballot or the Bullet (1964) Bourgeois democracy is democracy of pompous phrases, solemn words, exuberant promises and the high-sounding slogans of freedom and equality. But, in fact, it screens the non-freedom and inferiority of women, the non-freedom and inferiority of the toilers and exploited.

> Lenin, Soviet Power and the Status of Women (1919)

Marx grasped this essence of capitalist democracy splendidly when, in analyzing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament!

> Lenin, State and Revolution (1917)

The state system, a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes and the system of government, democratic centralism--these constitute the politics of New Democracy. Mao, On New Democracy (1940)

It is natural for a liberal to speak of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'For what class?' Lenin

The state structure of New Democracy should be based on democratic centralism, with the people's congresses at various levels determining the major policies and electing the government. It is at once democratic and centralized, i.e. centralized on the basis of democracy and democratic under centralized guidance.

> Mao, On Coalition Government (1945)

We must practice revolutionary democracy in every aspect of our Party life. Every responsible member must have the courage of his responsibilities, exacting from others a proper respect for his work and properly respecting the work of others. Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories...

> Amilcar Cabral, Tell no Lies, Claim no easy Victories... (1969)

Democracy is not compatible with financial oligarchy, with discrimination against Blacks and outrages by the Ku Klux Klan...

> Che, On Growth and Imperialism (1961)

The basic principles of [Democratic Centralism] are expressed in V.I. Lenin's slogan, "freedom to criticize, unity of action." I repeat, "freedom to criticize, unity of action." The Democratic component of DC means all Party members are free to criticize, debate and discuss internal matters of Party decisions, policy and direction in open sessions, and final decisions on such matters are reached by majority vote of all Party members.

133

The Centralism component of DC means that once decisions are reached by majority vote, all members must uphold that decision. Those who disagree with the decisions must still abide by them, they must reserve their personal opinions, but they are free at the next session to raise the issues again and struggle to change the Party's views and vote on the matters... Furthermore, no individual Party member has unqualified power. Indeed, all Party members must answer to the Party itself and to the public criticism of the masses.

> Rashid, On the Roles and Characteristics of the Panther Vanguard Party and Mass Organizations (2006)

It is not Socialism that subverts democracy, but democracy that subverts capitalism.

> Michael Parenti, Democracy for the Few (2010)

RACE & RACISM

The blood, sweat, tears, and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

> Huey P Newton, In Defense of Self-defense (1967)

As we search as a nation for constructive ways to challenge racism and white supremacy, it is absolutely essential that progressive female voices gain a hearing.

> bell hooks, Killing Rage: Ending Racism (1995)

A non-racial society can only be 135

Digitized by Google

achieved by socialist revolutionary action of the masses. It will never come as a gift from the minority ruling class. For it is impossible to separate race relations from the capitalist class relationships in which they have their roots.

> Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle in Africa (1970)

We don't think you fight fire with fire best; we think you fight fire with water best. We're going to fight racism not with racism, but we're going to fight with solidarity. We say we're not going to fight capitalism with black capitalism, but we're going to fight it with socialism.

Fred Hampton, We Have to Protect Our Leaders (1969)

The pivotal struggle which must be waged in the ranks of the working class is consequently the open, unreserved battle against entrenched racism. The white worker must become conscious of the threads which bind him to a James Johnson, Black auto worker, 136 member of UAW, and a political prisoner presently facing charges for the killings of two foremen and a job setter. The merciless proliferation of the power of monopoly capital may ultimately push him inexorably down the very same path of desperation. No potential victim of the fascist terror should be without the knowledge that the greatest menace to racism and fascism is unity!

> Angela Davis, If They Come In The Morning (1971)

Racist oppression invades the lives of Black people on an infinite variety of levels. Blacks are imprisoned in a world where our labor and toil hardly allow us to eke out a decent existence, if we are able to find jobs at all. When the economy begins to falter, we are forever the first victims, always the most deeply wounded. When the economy is on its feet, we continue to live in a depressed state. Unemployment is generally twice as high in the ghettos as it is in the country as a whole and even higher among Black women and youth. The unemployment rate among Black youth has presently skyrocketed to 30 per cent. If one-third of America's white youth were without a means of livelihood, we would either be in the thick of revolution or else under the iron rule of fascism. Substandard schools, medical care hardly fit for animals, overpriced, dilapidated housing, a welfare system based on a policy of skimpy concessions, designed to degrade and divide (and even this may soon be cancelled)-this is only the beginning of the list of props in the overall scenery of oppression which, for the mass of Blacks, is the universe.

> Angela Davis, If They Come In The Morning (1971)

Bacism and ethnic differences allow the power structure to exploit the masses of workers in this country, because that's the key by which they maintain their control. To divide the people and conquer them is the objective of the power structure. It's the ruling class, the very small minority, the few avaricious, demagogic hogs and rats who control

and infest the government. The ruling class and their running dogs, their lackeys, their bootlickers, their Toms and their black racists, their cultural nationalists - they're all the running dogs of the ruling class. These are the ones who help to maintain and aid the power structure by perpetuating their racist attitudes and using racism as a means to divide the people. But it's really the small, minority ruling class that is dominating, exploiting, and oppressing the working and laboring people.

> Bobby Seale, Seize the Time (1970)

[The] association of wealth with whites and poverty with blacks is not accidental. It is the nature of the imperialist relationship that enriches the metropolis at the expense of the colony i.e. it makes the whites richer and the blacks poorer.

> Walter Rodney, The Groundings with my Brothers (1969)

It is only the ending of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism and the attainment of world communism that can provide the conditions under which the race question can finally be abolished and eliminated.

> Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle in Africa (1970)

It is because of America's racism that black people and colored people around the world are oppressed. Throughout history black people who spoke out against America and her racism have been subjected to exile, assassination, murder, or imprisonment. So what happened to me is nothing new or different. Justice is a joke in this country for black people, and it stinks of its hypocrisy. Justice in this country means "just-us white folks." Black people must understand that there is no redress of grievances in the courts but only in the streets, through armed guerrilla action. Jamil Al-Amin

In combating racism we do not

make progress if we combat the people themselves. We have to combat the causes of racism. If a bandit comes to my house and I have a gun, I cannot shoot the shadow of the bandit; I have to shoot the bandit. Many people lose energy and effort , and make sacrifices combating shadows. We have to combat the material reality that produces the shadow.

> Amilcar Cabral, Return to the Source (1973)

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation.

> Mao, A New Storm Against Imperialism (1968)

The concept of inferior races was

141

useful to the white man's West for purposes of expansion and conquest. José Mariátegui, Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality (1928)

National and racial chauvinism is a vestige of the misanthropic customs characteristic of the period of cannibalism.

Stalin (1931)

When the Israelis pick up guns, or the Poles, or the Irish, or any white man in the world says "give me liberty, or give me death," the entire white world applauds. When a black man says exactly the same thing, word for word, he is judged a criminal and treated like one and everything possible is done to make an example of this bad n***** so there won't be any more like him.

James Baldwin (1968)

We had seen that the Black liberation struggle would be, as it had always been, a spark, a catalyst pushing 142

forward the whole working-class and people's struggle in the U.S. Far from being simply a struggle for reforms, as the revisionists claimed, it was, as Chairman Mao called it, a clarion call to all oppressed peoples throughout the world to rise up and defeat imperialism.

Harry Haywood (1977)

We say All Power to the People-Black Power to Black People and Brown Power to Brown People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People EVEN.

> Fred Hampton, You Can Murder a Liberator but You Can't Murder Liberation (1969)

The coalition emerges out of your recognition that it's fucked up for you, in the same way we've already recognized that it's fucked up for us. I don't need your help. I just need you to recognize that this shit is killing you too, however much more softly, you stupid motherWe need "allies" who are going to help us achieve a victory, not "allies" who are going to tell us to be nonviolent. If a white man wants to be your "ally", what does he think of John Brown? You know what John Brown did? He went to war. He was a white man who went to war against white people to help free slaves. He wasn't nonviolent... But when it comes time for making the same kind of contribution for your and my freedom that was necessary for them to make for their own freedom, they back out of the situation.

Malcolm X

Whites who are sincere should organize among themselves and figure out some strategy to break down prejudice that exists in white communities... they can function more intelligently and more effectively in the white community itself, and this has never been done.

Malcolm X

Whiteness is a possessive force and a system of patronage affording white people the full status and protection of citizenship, as well as income-bearing value and asset inheritance for white workers while racialized workers are enmeshed in the property relations of racial capitalism.

Harsha Walia

But what on earth is whiteness that one should so desire it? Then always, somehow, some way, silently but clearly, I am given to understand that whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, amen!

> W.E.B. Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil (1920

The major obstacle to a united left in this country [Amerika] is white racism. There are three categories of white racists: the overt, self-satisfied racist who doesn't attempt to hide his antipathy; the self-interdicting racist who harbors and nurtures racism in spite of his best efforts; and the unconscious racist, who has no awareness of his racist preconceptions.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)



AGAINST THE PATRIARCHY

No pride for some of us without liberation for all of us.

Marsha P Johnson

There will be no mass-based feminist movement as long as feminist ideas are understood only by a well-educated few.

> bell hooks, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (1984)

The struggle for women's liberation cannot be successful in isolation from the struggle to overthrow the imperialist system itself.

> Anuradha Ghandy, Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement (2006)

The worldwide movement for democracy and socialism has been enriched by the women's movement.

Ibid.

Marxist-Leninists fight to free women from household drudgery, they fight to win equality for women in all spheres, they recognize that one cannot adequately deal with the woman question or win women for progressive participation unless one takes up the special problems, needs and aspirations of women as women

> Claudia Jones. We Seek Full Equality for Women (1949)

Women's freedom is the sign of social freedom.

> Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle (1912)

A developing consciousness on the woman question today, therefore, must not fail to recognize that the Negro

question in the United States is prior to, and not equal to, the woman question; that only to the extent that we fight all chauvinist expressions and actions as regards the Negro people and fight for the full equality of the Negro people, can women as a whole advance their struggle for equal rights. For the progressive women's movement, the Negro woman, who combines in her status the worker, the Negro, and the woman, is the vital link to this heightened political consciousness.

> Claudia Jones, An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman (1949)

The construction of a new patriarchal order, making of women the servants of the male work-force, was a major aspect of capitalist development. On its basis a new sexual division of labor could be enforced that differentiated not only the tasks that women and men should perform, but their experiences, their lives, their relation to capital and

149

to other sectors of the working class. Thus, no less than the international division of labor, the sexual division of labor was above all a power-relation, a division within the work-force, while being an immense boost to capital accumulation Silvia Federici, Caliban and the Witch (1998)

In capitalism, sex can exist but only as a productive force at the service of procreation and the regeneration of the waged/male working and as a mean of social appeasement and compensation for the misery of everyday existence.

Silvia Federici, Witches, Witch-Hunting, and Women (2018)

A feminist ideology that mouths radical rhetoric about resistance and revolution while actively seeking to establish itself within the capitalist patriarchal system is essentially corrupt. bell hooks

I am not free while any woman is

unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own.

Audre Lorde, The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism (1981)

Today, it is the proletarian woman's turn to make the capitalist state conscious of her maturity. This is done through a constant, powerful mass movement which has to use all the means of proletarian struggle and pressure.

> Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle (1912)

It is not enough to say: "We must target women with our propaganda and draw women into our ranks;" we have to take things further, much further than that. The vast majority of male comrades with the exception of a half dozen right thinking types have minds infected by the most typical bourgeois prejudices.

Lucia Sánchez Saornil

An ideological consequence of industrial capitalism was the shaping of a more rigorous notion of female inferiority. It seemed, in fact, that the more women's domestic duties shrank under the impact of industrialization, the more rigid became the assertion that "woman's place is in the home.

> Angela Davis, Women, Race and Class (1983)

The struggle against racism must be an ongoing theme of the anti-rape movement, which must not only defend women of color, but the many victims of the racist manipulation of the rape charge as well. The crisis dimensions of sexual violence constitute one of the facets of a deep and ongoing crisis of capitalism. As the violent face of sexism, the threat of rape will continue to exist as long as the overall oppression of women remains an essential crutch for capitalism.

Ibid.

Like racism, sexism is one of the

great justifications for high female unemployment rates. Many women are "just housewives" because in reality they are unemployed workers. Cannot, therefore, the "just housewife" role be most effectively challenged by demanding jobs for women on a level of equality with men and by pressing for the social services (child care, for example) and job benefits (maternity leaves, etc.) which will allow more women to work outside the home? Ibid.

There is a dangerous liberal feminism that fetishizes personal choice: can you be a Feminist and wear high heels? Can you be a Feminist and shave your legs? But policing the way women present themselves distracts us from the more pressing issues at hand. Why are women the lowest paid workers? Why do women have the least access to the material resources necessary for survival? Are women free from violence? If not, then why not? The latter questions asks us to open our eyes and examine the way our society functions while the former are concerned with 'choice' as if choice exists in a vacuum.

Lola Olufemi, Feminism Interrupted (2020)

The struggle to end sexist oppression that focuses on destroying the cultural basis for such domination strengthens other liberation struggles. Individuals who fight for the eradication of sexism without struggles to end racism or classism undermine their own efforts. Individuals who fight for the eradication of racism or classism while supporting sexist oppression are helping to maintain the cultural basis of all forms of group oppression.

> bell hooks, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (1984)

Violence against women is a key element in this new global war, not only because of the horror it evokes or the messages it sends but because of what women represent in their capacity to keep their communities together and, 154 equally important, to defend noncommercial conceptions of security and wealth.

> Silvia Federici, Witches, Witch-Hunting, and Women (2018)

Birth control - individual choice, safe contraceptive methods, as well as abortions when necessary - is a fundamental prerequisite for the emancipation of women.

> Angela Davis, Women, Race and Class (1983)

When a man sells his labor-power for a limited time, the wife sells all of herself to him. The formerly social and public productive labor of women has been reduced by bourgeois monogamy to the degradation of slave-labor, dignified only by its modern-dress label – Occupation Housewife.

Clara Fraser

Like racism and all forms of prejudice, bigotry against transgendered

Digitized by Google

people is a deadly carcinogen. We are pitted against each other in order to keep us from seeing each other as allies. Genuine bonds of solidarity can be forged between people who respect each other's differences and are willing to fight their enemy together. We are the class that does the work of the world, and can revolutionize it. We can win true liberation. Les Feinberg, Trans Liberation (1998)

Trans liberation is not a threat to any lesbian woman or gay man or bisexual person. Yes, trans liberation is shaking up old patterns of thoughts or beliefs. Good! Because most of those thoughts and beliefs that we are challenging were imposed on us from above, were rotten to the core and were backed up by bigoted laws. But we're not taking away your identity. No one's sex reassignment or fluidity of gender threatens your right to self-identify and self-expression. On the contrary, our struggle bolsters your right to your identity. My right to be me is tied with a thousand threads to your 156

right to be you.

Ibid.

The wage structure of society must change, women's role must change, compulsory heterosexuality must end, the care of children must become a collective enterprise and all this is not possible within the capitalist system.

> Anuradha Ghandy, Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement (2006)

We have not always been forced to pass, to go underground, in order to work and live. We have a right to live openly and proudly...when our lives are suppressed, everyone is denied an understanding of the rich diversity of sex and gender expression and experience that exist in human society.

> Les Feinberg, Transgender Warriors (1996)

The part that the woman can play in the development of a revolutionary process is of extraordinary importance. It is well to emphasize this, since in all our countries, with their colonial mentality, there is a certain underestimation of the woman which becomes a real discrimination against her. The woman is capable of performing the most difficult tasks, of fighting beside the men...

Che, Guerrilla Warfare (1961)

My Marxist outlook pointed out to me with an illuminating clarity that women's liberation could take place only as the result of the victory of a new social order and a different economic system.

> Alexandra Kollontai, The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman (1926)

If we do not comprehend the nature of sexual violence as it is mediated by racial, class, and governmental violence and power, we cannot hope to develop strategies that will allow us to 158 eventually purge our society of oppressive misogynist violence.

Angela Davis (1985)

The women of the property-owning classes will always fanatically defend the exploitation and enslavement of the working people by which they indirectly receive the means for their socially useless existence.

> Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle (1912)

I wanted to be free. I wanted to express desires on my own, to shape my own little life.

> Alexandra Kollontai, The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman (1926)

I have learned that a woman can be a fighter, a freedom fighter, a political activist, and that she can fall in love, and be loved, she can be married, have children, be a mother... Revolution must

159

mean life also; every aspect of life. Leila Khaled (2001)

> Women hold up half the sky! Mao

In the family, he is the bourgeois, the woman represents the proletariat. Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884)

A revolutionary woman can't have no reactionary man.

Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

Monogamy was the first form of the family not founded on natural, but on economic conditions, viz.: the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism.

> Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884)

Comrades, there is no true so-

cial revolution without the liberation of women. May my eyes never see and my feet never take me to a society where half the people are held in silence. I hear the roar of women's silence. I sense the rumble of their storm and feel the fury of their revolt.

> Thomas Sankara, Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle (1990)

Capital has made and makes money out of our cooking, smiling, and fucking.

> Silvia Federici, Wages Against Housework (1975)

We want to see all gay people have a chance at equal rights, as straight people in America. We believe in picking up a gun, and starting a revolutionary if necessary.

Marsha P Johnson

I do not believe that our sexual-161 ity, gender expression and bodies can be liberated without making a ferocious mobilization against imperialist war and racism an integral part of our struggle. Les Feinberg

The only difference between the woman who sells her body through prostitution and she who sells herself in marriage is the price and duration of the contract.

> Thomas Sankara, Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle (1990)

The first act of violence that patriarchy demands of males is not violence toward women. Instead patriarchy demands of all males that they engage in acts of psychic self-mutilation, that they kill off the emotional parts of themselves. If an individual is not successful in emotionally crippling himself, he can count on patriarchal men to enact rituals of power that will assault his self-es-162 teem.

bell hooks, The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love (2004)

163

INTERNATIONALISM

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUN-TRIES, UNITE!

> Marx, the Communist Manifesto (1848)

International unity of the workers is more important than the national. Lenin (1916)

Nationalism cannot flower if it does not grow in the garden of internationalism.

Sukarno

The interests of the working class and of its struggle against capitalism demand complete solidarity and the closest unity of the workers of all nations; 164 they demand resistance to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie of every nationalist.

> Lenin, Right of Nations to Self-Determination (1904)

Though frontiers and mountains stand between us, Proletarians of the whole world come together as one family.

Ho Chi Minh (1960)

The unity of the people throughout the world and cooperation among them are the guarantee for the victory of their common cause of creating a new world.

> Kim Il-sung, For a Free and Peaceful New World (1991)

Revolutionary nationalism represented the type of nationalism that understood that there was a common solidarity between all people under the same economic and social political system.

For the socialist of another country cannot expose the government and bourgeoisie of a country at war with "his own" nation, and not only because he does not know the country's language. history, specific features, etc., but also because such exposure is part of imperialist intrigue, and not an internationalist duty. He is not an internationalist who vows and swears by internationalism. Only he is an internationalist who in a really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie, his own social-chauvinists, his own Kautskyites [reformists].

> Lenin, Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties (1916)

All countries and nations are equal members of the international community and as such have the right to independence and equality. No privilege and no arbitrariness should be tolerat-166

ed in international relations; friendship and cooperation among countries must be fully developed on the principles of mutual resect, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, equality and mutual benefit.

> Kim Il-sung, For a Free and Peaceful New World (1991)

What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selfiessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn.... We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

Mao, In Memory of Norman Bethune (1939)

So long as imperialism exists on the globe and oppresses and plunders the people, the people cannot leave off the anti-imperialist struggle even a moment. The struggle must continue till all shades of colonialism are wiped off the face of the earth once and for all, till all the oppressed and humiliated nations build their independent states and achieve social progress and nationalprosperity.

> Kim Il-sung, Great Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Cause of Asian, African and Latin American Peoples is Invincible (1968)

Marxism-Leninism is ultimately deeply internationalist and, at the same time, deeply patriotic.

Fidel Castro (1976)

ART & CULTURE

A people's art is the genesis of their freedom.

Claudia Jones

The best art is political and you ought to be able to make it unquestionably political and irrevocably beautiful at the same time.

Toni Morrison

As a culture worker who belongs to an oppressed people my job is to make revolution irresistible.

Toni Cade Bambara

All good art is political! There is none that isn't. And the ones that try hard not to be political are political by saying, "We love the Status Quo."

Toni Morrison

169

Art is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it. Bertolt Brecht

The artist's role is to raise the consciousness of the people. To make them understand life, the world and themselves more completely. That's how I see it. Otherwise, I don't know why you do it.

Amiri Baraka (2007)

I want to remind us all that art is dangerous. I want to remind you of the history of artists who have been murdered, slaughtered, imprisoned, chopped up, refused entrance. The history of art, whether it's in music or written or what have you, has always been bloody because dictators and people in office and people who want to control and deceive know exactly the people who will disturb their plans- and those people are artists. Toni Morrison (2016)

All art is a kind of confession, more or less oblique. All artists, if they 170 are to survive, are forced, at last, to tell the whole story, to vomit the anguish up. James Baldwin (1960)

Art makes knowledge accessible across class, race, gender, educational and state boundaries.

> Rashid, Interview with Comrade Rashid: On the Present State of New Afrikan/Black Crisis in America; Revolutionary Art; the United Panther Movement; and Communism vs. Anarchism (2010)

This is culture, comrades: to really understand the concrete situation of one's land to transform it in the direction of progress.

Amilcar Cabral, Cultural Resistance 1969

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as

171

art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics.

> Mao, Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art (1942)

[Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.

Thid

It's an artist's duty to reflect the times in which we live.

Nina Simone

Our aim is to stop the life cycle of the enemy culture and replace it with our own revolutionary culture. This can be done only by creating perfect disorder within the cycle of the enemy culture's

life process and leaving a power vacuum to be filled by our building revolutionary culture.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

The artist must elect to fight for freedom or slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative. The history of the capitalist era is characterized by the degradation of my people: despoiled of their lands, their true culture destroyed... denied equal protection of the law, and deprived their rightful place in the respect of their fellows.

Paul Robeson

The fault of many of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: they are not true revolutionaries. We can try to graft the elm tree so that it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. New generations will come that will be free of original sin. Che, Man and Socialism in Cuba (1965) Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.

> Mao, On New Democracy (1940)

Proletarian art will not be that which describes the episodes of the revolutionary struggle, but rather that which describes the life that emanates from the revolution, its creations, and its fruits. It is not a question, therefore, of speaking of a new art. Art, like the new social order, is passing through a period of trial and error. "The revolution will kind its image in art when it is no longer a cataclysm foreign to the artist." The new art will be produced by a new type of humanity.

> José Mariátegui, Trotsky (1924)

A culture is a total way of life. It embraces what people ate and what they wore; the way they walked and the way they talked; the manner in which they treated death and greeted the newborn. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972)

A major front in this struggle... is the cultural front. This front - which relates directly to raising the consciousness and resolve of the masses - must directly challenge and counter the dominant bourgeois culture, which reflects and promotes the corrupt values of capitalism and conceals and stifles mass culture.

> Rashid, Interview with Comrade Rashid: On the Present State of New Afrikan/Black Crisis in America; Revolutionary Art; the United Panther Movement; and Communism vs. Anarchism (2010)

The white fathers told us, I think therefore I am; and the black mothers in each of us-the poet-whispers in our dreams, I feel therefore I can be free. Poetry coins the language to express and charter this revolutionary awareness and demand, the implementation of that freedom.

> Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches (1984)

Progressive art can assist people to learn not only about the objective forces at work in the society in which they live, but also about the intensely social character of their interior lives. Ultimately, it can propel people toward social emancipation.

> Angela Davis, For A People's Culture (1995)

Writers and artists should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism... so as to enhance their own ability to understand and analyze life and see through appearances to the essence. We hope ¹⁷⁶ that more and more comrades in their ranks will become real engineers of the human soul.

Deng Xiaoping

Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend" is the policy for promoting progress in the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land.

Mao (1956)

CRITICISM/ SELF-CRITICISM

Mistakes are a fact of life: It is the response to the error that counts. Nikki Giovanni

Constructive and criticism self-criticism are extremely important for any revolutionary organization. Without them, people tend to drown in their mistakes, not learn from them.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

You grow, we all grow, we're made to grow. You either evolve or disappear. Tupac Shakur

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regu-178

larly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve". "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not" this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

> Mao, On Coalition Government (1945)

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and

criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

Mao, Serve the People (1941)

[The] democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity". To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people.

> Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957)

Marxists should not be afraid of criticism from any quarter. Quite the contrary, they need to temper and develop themselves and win new positions in the teeth of criticism and in the storm 180 and stress of struggle. Fighting against wrong ideas is like being vaccinated -- a man develops greater immunity from disease as a result of vaccination. Plants raised in hothouses are unlikely to be hardy. Carrying out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend will not weaken, but strengthen, the leading position of Marxism in the ideological field. Ibid.

Self-criticism, cruel, unsparing criticism that goes to the very root of the evil, is life and breath for the proletarian movement.

Rosa Luxemburg

The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfills its obligation towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the circumstances which gave rise to it, and thoroughly dis-

cussing the means of correcting it - that is the earmark of a serious party.

Lenin



EDUCATION, STUDY, & KNOWLEDGE

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

> Lenin, What Is To Be Done? (1902)

You may read thousands of books on theory, but if you don't learn to apply those theories in real life, you're nothing but a bookshelf.

Ho Chi Minh

There is only one way in which you can cause people to undertake their own development. That is by education and leadership.

Julius Nyerere

Theory is important to those of us who are struggling to transform society because it offers distilled experience 183 so we don't have to repeat mistakes. A scientific materialist view of theory and history gives working and oppressed peoples a roadmap to find the path toward liberation.

> Les Feinberg, Trans Liberation (1998)

No one is going to give you the education you need to overthrow them. Nobody is going to teach you your true history, teach you your true heroes, if they know that that knowledge will help set you free.

> Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1987)

Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We not only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory—we put it into practice.

> Fred Hampton, You Can Murder a Liberator but You Can't Murder Liberation (1969)

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience.

> Huey P Newton, The Correct Handling of a Revolution (1967)

The proper criterion for distinguishing "right" from "wrong" is not mysterious. It is embodied in the principles that advance the cause of the oppressed and exploited over the cause of those who live by oppression and exploitation.

> Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Still Black, Still Strong: Survivors of the U.S. War Against Black Revolutionaries (1993)

The [person] who proclaims devotion to the cause of liberation yet is unable to enter into communion with the people, whom [they] continue to regard as totally ignorant, is grievously self-deceived. The convert who approaches the people but feels alarm at each step they take, each doubt they express, and each suggestion they offer, and attempts to impost [their] status, remains nostalgic towards [their] origins.

Paulo Freire

We realize that a correct line emerges and is developed in the process of summing up practice, analyzing history, and in struggling against incorrect analyses.

> Los Angeles Research Group, Towards a Scientific Analysis of the Gay Question (1975)

Educate yourselves because we'll need all your intelligence. Stir yourselves because we'll need all your enthusiasm. Organize yourselves because we'll need all your strength.

> Antonio Gramsci, L'Ordine Nuovo (1919)

Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge, which is ac-186 quired through practice, must then return to practice. The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but - and this is more important - it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.

Mao, On Practice (1937)

Without revolutionary consciousness there can be no revolution!... We can equally affirm that without ideological training and without revolutionary action, there can be no revolutionary consciousness.

Sèkou Tourè

Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. ... If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself.... If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.

Mao, On Practice (1937)

Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.

Ibid.

When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the thresh-188 old, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis.

> Mao, A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire (1930)

Education is a weapon whose effects depend on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed.

Stalin (1937)

Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education when working among the laboring people and must on no account resort to commandism or coercion.

> Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957)

To educate the masses politically does not mean, cannot mean, making a political speech. What it means is to try, relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends on them; that if we stagnate it is their responsibility, and that if we go forward it is due to them too, that there is no such thing as a demiurge, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, but that the demiurge is the people themselves and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people.

> Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth (1961)



THE ENVIRONMENT

The Earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the Earth.

Chief Seattle (1854)

Mother Nature — militarized, fenced-in, poisoned — demands that we take action.

Berta Cáceres

All living beings, things that move, are equally important, whether they are human beings, dogs, birds, fish, trees, ants, weeds, rivers, wind or rain. To stay healthy and strong, life must have clean air, clear water and pure food. If deprived of these things, life will cycle to the next level, or as the system says, "Die."

JOHN AFRICA

There is no substitute for the eco-

191

Digitized by Google

logical environment, without which one can hardly live.

Xi Jinping

We can pay the ecological debt by changing economic models, and by giving up luxury consumption, setting aside selfishness and individualism, and thinking about the people and the planet Earth.

Evo Morales (2008)

Ecology without class struggle is just gardening.

Chico Mendes

The only solution to pollution is a people's humane revolution. Bobby Seale (1971)

They have poisoned the seas and the rivers. They have polluted the air. They have weakened and perforated the ozone layer. They have saturated the atmosphere with gases, altering climatic conditions with the catastrophic effects we are already beginning to suffer. The 192 forests are disappearing. The deserts are expanding. Billions of tons of fertile soil are washed every year into the sea. Numerous species are becoming extinct. Population pressures and poverty lead to desperate efforts to survive, even at the expense of nature. Third World countries, yesterday's colonies and today nations, exploited and plundered by an unjust international economic order, cannot be blamed for all this... If we want to save humanity from this self-destruction, there must be a better distribution of the wealth and technologies available on the planet.

Fidel Castro (1992)

Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology...only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the worker.

Marx, Das Kapital (1867)

An ever-expanding capitalism and a fragile, finite ecology are on a calamitous collision course. It is not true that the ruling politico-economic interests are in a state of denial about this. Far worse than denial, they are in a state of utter antagonism toward those who think the planet is more important than corporate profits.

Michael Parenti, Blackshirts and Reds (1997)

If we want to save the planet earth, to save life and humanity, we have a duty to put an end to the capitalist system. Unless we put an end to the capitalist system, it is impossible to imagine that there will be equality and justice on this planet earth. This is why I believe that it is important to put an end to the exploitation of human beings and to the pillage of natural resources, to put an end to destructive wars for markets and raw materials, to the plundering of energy, particularly fossil fuels, to the excessive consumption of goods and to the accumulation of waste. The capitalist system only allows us to heap up waste. Evo Morales (2008)

We shall protect ecosystems as

preciously as we protect our eyes, and cherish them as dearly as we cherish our lives.

Xi Jinping

Recognizing that "our solutions are in Nature," we could strive to find development opportunities while preserving Nature, and achieve win-win in both ecological conservation and high-quality development.

Xi Jinping (2020)

We can not have equilibrium in this world with the current inequality and destruction of Mother Earth. Capitalism is what is causing this problem and it needs to end.

Evo Morales

DEDICATION TO WIN/ DISCIPLINE

The life of a single human being is worth a million times more than all the property of the richest man on earth. Che (1960)

I don't think you and I are very closely related, however, if you are capable of trembling with indignation each time that an injustice is committed anywhere in the world, we are comrades, and that is more important.

Che (1964)

At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality... We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity will be transformed into actual deeds, into acts that serve as examples, as a moving force. Che, Man and Socialism in Cuba (1965)

If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. You got to already have practiced some type of theory. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

Fred Hampton, You Can Murder a Liberator but You Can't Murder Liberation (1969)

Everything in this world can be robbed and stolen, except one thing; this one thing is the love that emanates from a human being towards a solid commitment to a conviction or cause.

Ghassan Kanafani

I had spent many years pursu-

197

ing excellence... Now it was dedicated to freedom, and that was far more important.

Nina Simone

It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is in spate, when all people are joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the vogue, and sometimes even from careerist motives. It is far more difficult—and far more precious—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist.

> Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920)

True courage consists in being strong enough to master and overcome oneself and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, the will of the higher party body.

Stalin (1929)

Communists must at all times stand up for the truth, because truth is in the interests of the people and Communists must be ready at all times to correct their mistakes, because mistakes are against the interests of the people.

> Mao, On Coalition Government (1957)

Patience has its limits. Take it too far and it's cowardice.

George Jackson, Soledad Brother (1965/1970)

Conventional wisdom would have one believe that it is insane to resist this, the mightiest of empires, but what history really shows is that today's empire is tomorrow's ashes; that nothing lasts forever, and that to not resist is to acquiesce in your own oppression. The greatest form of sanity that anyone can exercise is to resist that force that is trying to repress, oppress, and fight down the human spirit.

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

> Mao, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains (1945)

We cannot wait around for any one else to come and do it. Why are we waiting for someone else to come and fix things? Why aren't we doing it ourselves? I would like to send my heartfelt greetings to the congress. I am convinced Socialism is the only answer and I urge all comrades to take this struggle to a victorious conclusion. Only this will free us from the chains of bigotry and exploitation.

Malala Yousafzai (2013)

Now if we do wanna live the thug life and the gangsta' life and all that, OK, so stop being cowards and let's have a revolution. But we don't wanna do that, dudes just wanna live "character", they wanna be "cartoons", but if they really wanted to do something, they was that 200 tuff, alright, let's start our own country, let's start a revolution, let's get outta' here, let's do something.

Tupac Shakur (1995)

How is the discipline of the proletariat's revolutionary party maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact, and-if you wish-merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people-primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people. Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, from their own experience, that they are correct.

> Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920)

> > 201

I have nothing and therefore nothing to lose. I have conditioned myself for every conceivable shock and strain - physically, mentally, and emotionally. I fear nothing. No threat or prospect of danger deters me; I've faced them all, continuously and by choice. I am willing to suffer with those who suffer, to die with those who die, and to struggle in the most extreme manner for their liberation. I've lived the past decade with no pleasures, no amenities, and no entertainment. I've conditioned myself for every extreme. This is the level of commitment that our struggle demands, and the level of commitment that I have, and those who share this commitment have my complete loyalty.

Rashid, Defying the Tomb (2010)

Digitized by Google

WAR

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

> Mao, Problems of War and Strategy (1938)

If peace means keeping my mouth shut in the midst of injustice and evil, I don't want it. If peace means a willingness to be exploited economically, dominated politically, humiliated and segregated, I don't want peace.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Warfare is a means and not an end. Warfare is a tool of revolutionaries. The important thing is the revolution! The important thing is the revolutionary cause, revolutionary ideas, 203 revolutionary objectives, revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary virtues! Fidel Castro (1967)

Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. People necessarily wield military and economic power.

> Mao, On Protracted Warfare (1938)

War is not only a contest of strength, but also a test of morality and ethics.

Kim Il-sung, With the Century Vol.3 (1992)

Mass struggle was utilized throughout the war by the Vietnamese communist party. It was used, first of all, because guerrilla warfare is one expression of the mass struggle. One cannot conceive of guerrilla war when it 204 is isolated from the people. The guerrilla group is the numerically inferior vanguard of the great majority of the people, who have no weapons but express themselves through the vanguard.

> Che, People's War People's Army (1964)

Either we concentrate our forces for a decisive armed struggle to achieve our objectives, or we will each fall one by one to the blows of imperialism in its present stage of open and desperate offensive.

Kwame	Nkrumah,
Handbook	of
Revolutionary	Warfare
	(1968)

Without preparedness superiority is not real superiority and there can be no initiative either. Having grasped this point, a force which is inferior but prepared, can often defeat a superior enemy by surprise attack.

Mao, On Protracted Warfare (1938)

205

Any army which does not train to use all the weapons, all the means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses, or may possess, is behaving in an unwise or even criminal manner. This applies to politics even more than it does to the art of war.

> Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920)

Why does the guerrilla fighter fight? We must come to the inevitable conclusion that the guerrilla fighter is a social reformer, that he takes up arms responding to the angry protest of the people against their oppressors, and that he fights in order to change the social system that keeps all his unarmed brothers in ignominy and misery.

Che, Guerrilla Warfare (1961)

One of the permanent concerns of the urban guerrilla is his identification with popular causes to win public support. Where government actions become inept 206 and corrupt, the urban guerrilla should not hesitate to step in and show that he opposes the government, and thus gain popular sympathy... The urban guerrilla is engaged in revolutionary action for the people, and with them seeks the participation of the people in the struggle against the dictatorship and the liberation of the country. Beginning with the city and the support of the people, the rural guerrilla war develops rapidly, establishing its infrastructure carefully while the urban area continues the rebellion.

> Carlos Marighella, Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla (1969)

THE REVOLUTIONARY

My fear was not of death itself, but a death without meaning. I wanted my death to be something the people could relate to, a basis for further mobilization of the community.

> Huey P Newton, Revolutionary Suicide (1973)

The first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man. Ibid.

I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism.

Ibid.

I do not think that life will change for the better without an assault on the 208 Establishment, which goes on exploiting the wretched of the earth. This belief lies at the heart of the concept of revolutionary suicide. Thus it is better to oppose the forces that would drive me to self-murder than to endure them. Although I risk the likelihood of death, there is at least the possibility, if not the probability, of changing intolerable conditions. This possibility is important, because much in human existence is based upon hope without any real understanding of the odds. Indeed, we are all-Black and white alike-ill in the same way, mortally ill. But before we die, how shall we live? I say with hope and dignity; and if premature death is the result, that death has a meaning reactionary suicide can never have. It is the price of self-respect.

Ibid.

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death.

Ibid.

Self-sacrifice, within the context of revolutionary action, is an expression of the very highest understanding of life, and of the struggle to make life worthy of a human being. The love of life for a person becomes a love for the life of his people's masses, and his rejection that their life persists in being full of continuous misery, suffering and hardship. Hence, his understanding of life becomes a social virtue, capable of convincing the militant fighter that self-sacrifice is a redemption of his people's life. This is a maximum expression of attachment to life.

Ghassan Kanafani

Revolutionary morality consists, in whatever circumstances, in resolutely struggling against all enemies, maintaining one's vigilance, standing ready to fight, and refusing to submit, to bow 210 one's head. Only by so doing can we defeat the enemy, and fulfill our revolutionary tasks.

Ho Chi Minh, On Revolutionary Morality (1958)

Revolutionary morality consists in uniting with the masses in one body, trusting them and paying attention to their opinion. By their words and deeds. Ibid.

Revolutionary morality does not fall from the sky. It is developed and consolidated through persevering daily struggle and effort. Like jade, the more it is polished the more it shines. Like gold, it grows ever purer as it foes into the melting pot.

Ibid.

Some see our struggle as a symbol of the trend toward suicide among Blacks. Scholars and academics, in particular, have been quick to make this accusation. They fail to perceive differences. Jumping off a bridge is not the same as moving to wipe out the overwhelming force of an oppressive army. When scholars call our actions suicidal, they should be logically consistent and describe all historical revolutionary movements in the same way. Thus the American colonialists, the French of the late eighteenth century, the Russians of 1917, the Jews of Warsaw, the Cubans, the NLF, the North Vietnamese—any people who struggle against a brutal and powerful force—are suicidal.

> Huey P Newton, Revolutionary Suicide (1973)

It is better to oppose the forces that would drive me to self-murder than to endure them.

Ibid.

Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.

> Mao, Closing Speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultive Conference (1950)

By having no family,

I inherited the family of humanity.

By having no possessions,

I have possessed all.

By rejecting the love of one,

I have received the love of all.

By surrendering my life to the revolution,

I found eternal life.

Revolutionary Suicide.

Huey P Newton, Revolutionary Suicide (1973)

Better to die fighting for freedom than be a prisoner all the days of your life.

Bob Marley

213

Digitized by Google

If you can't find something to live for, then you best find something to die for.

Tupac, Something 2 Die 4



VIOLENCE/SELF-OEFENSE

In order for nonviolence to work, your opponent must have a conscience. The United States has none.

Kwame Ture (1967)

Can the hungry go on a hunger strike? Non-violence is a piece of theatre. You need an audience. What can you do when you have no audience? People have the right to resist annihilation. Arundhati Roy (2011)

We were told that violence in itself is evil, and that, whatever the cause, it is unjustified morally. By what standard of morality can the violence used by a slave to break his chains be considered the same as the violence of a slave master? By what standards can we equate the violence of blacks who have been oppressed, suppressed, depressed and 215

Digitized by Google

repressed for four centuries with the violence of white fascists. Violence aimed at the recovery of human dignity and at equality cannot be judged by the same yardstick as violence aimed at maintenance of discrimination and oppression. Walter Rodnev. The Groundings with mv Brothers (1969)

Is it not violent for a child to go to bed hungry in the richest country in the world? I think it is violent. But that type of violence is so institutionalized that it becomes a part of our way of life. Not only do we accept poverty, we even find it normal. And that again is because the oppressor makes his violence a part of the functioning society.

> Ture. Stokely Kwame Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism (1969)

If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and 216

black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

> Malcolm X, Message to the Grass Roots (1963)

I did not plan it [use of violence] in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have a love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people... We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence. Nelson Mandela (1963) For the oppressors, it is always the oppressed who are disaffected, who are 'violent' 'barbaric' 'wicked' or 'ferocious' when they react to the violence of the oppressors.

> Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1968)

With the establishment of a relationship of oppression, violence has already begun. Never in history has violence been initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators, if they themselves are the result of violence? Ibid.

In the name of love and in the name of freedom, with love as our guide, we'll slit every throat of anyone who threatens the people and our children. We'll do it in the name of peace, if this is what we're forced to do; because as soon as it's over, then we can have the kind of world where violence will no longer exist.

> George Jackson, Blood In My Eye (1971)

Non-violence is backed by the theory of soul-force in which suffering is courted in the hope of ultimately winning over the opponent. But what happens when such an attempt fail to achieve the object? It is here that soulforce has to be combined with physical force so as not to remain at the mercy of tyrannical and ruthless enemy.

Bhagat Singh

...Because of the way this society is organized, because of the violence that exists on the surface everywhere, you have to expect that there are going to be such explosions, you have to expect things like that as reactions... When someone asks me about violence... I find it incredible. Because what it means is that the person asking that question has absolutely no idea what Black people have gone through, what Black people have experienced in this country since the time the first Black person was kidnapped from the shores of Africa.

Angela Davis (1972)

The oppressor is only opposed to violence when the oppressed talk about using violence against the oppressor... The way the oppressor tries to stop the oppressed from using violence as a means to attain liberation is to raise ethical or moral questions about violence. I want to state emphatically here that violence in any society is neither moral nor is it ethical. It is neither right nor is it wrong. It is just simply a question of who has the power to legalize violence.

> Kwame Ture, Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism (1969)

I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do.

Malcolm X, the Ballot or the Bullet (1964)

There's new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand gre-220 nades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death. The only difference about this kind of death—it'll be reciprocal.

Ibid.

Kill the slave-master, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary.

> Huey P Newton, In Defense of Self-Defense (1967)

PRISONS

Prisons do not disappear problems, they disappear human beings. And the practice of disappearing vast numbers of people from poor, immigrant and racially marginalized communities has literally become big business.

> Angela Davis, Masked Racism (1998)

It is said that 'the degree of civilization in a society can be judged by visiting its prison.' By that criterion, America is without a doubt the most barbaric nation in the world today, bar none.

Sundiata Acoli, Look for Me in the Whirlwind: From the Panther 21 to 21st-Century Revolutions (2017)

The prison has become a black

hole into which the detritus of contemporary capitalism is deposited. Mass imprisonment generates profits as it devours social wealth, and thus it tends to reproduce the very conditions that lead people to prison. There are thus real and often quite complicated connections between the deindustrialization of the economy—a process that reached its peak during the 1980s—and the rise of mass imprisonment, which also began to spiral during the Reagan-Bush era.

> Angela Davis, Are Prisons Obsolete? (2003)

The massive prison-building project that began in the 1980s created the means of concentrating and managing what the capitalist system had implicitly declared to be a human surplus. In the meantime, elected officials and the dominant media justified the new draconian sentencing practices, sending more and more people to prison in the frenzied drive to build more and more prisons by arguing that this was the only way to make our communities safe from murderers, rapists, and robbers.

Ibid.

Once U.S. prisons are recognized to be a system of enslavement, and the lie is exposed that slavery in Amerika was ever abolished, the abusive conditions that pervades them makes perfect sense.

> Rashid, Razor Wire Plantations (2014)

The majority of people who are in prison are there because society has failed them.

> Angela Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle (2015)

The process through which imprisonment developed into the primary mode of state-inflicted punishment was very much related to the rise of capitalism and to the appearance of a new set of ideological conditions.

Angela Davis

Prison kills your spirit, straight

up. It kills your spirit. There is no creativity, there's none of that.

Tupac Shakur (1995)

The political prisoner's words or deeds have in one form or another embodied political protests against the established order and have consequently brought him into acute conflict with the state. In light of the political content of his act, the "crime" (which may or may not have been committed) assumes a minor importance. In this country, however, where the special category of political prisoners is not officially acknowledged, the political prisoner inevitably stands trial for a specific criminal offense, not for a political act.

> Angela Davis, If They Come in the Morning (1971)

Most people don't quite relate US prisons to government sponsored torture. We can thank the mainstream corporate media and politicians for this. Since the 1960s and 1970s they've persistently projected the false image of US prisons as resorts where criminal predators eat chips, lift weights, and watch videos all day, much like the images given of slavery as an experience that Black folks actually enjoyed. These false images are sustainable because the real world of prisons is a hidden one, concealed behind walls and razor wire, inaccessible to the public.

> Rashid, Amerikan Prisons Are Government-Sponsored Torture (2007)

Yes, even we prisoners are human. I suppose every man proclaims himself innocent, whether innocent or not. But, I tell you, even the guilty are human. And, as for the innocent who are branded as guilty, theirs is a special agony beyond all comprehension.

Leonard Peltier, Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance 2000

Prison is a second-by-second assault on the soul, a day-to-day degradation of the self, an oppressive steel and 226 brick umbrella that transforms seconds into hours and hours into days. Mumia Abu-Jamal

It is said that no one truly knows a nation until one has been inside its jails. A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones.

Nelson Mandela

The issue after more than forty years is not guilt or innocence or whether the trials of Black activists were fair. These prisoners were and are part of a movement and after all this time should be freed irrespective of their legal guilt or innocence.

Dhoruba Bin Wahad

When the prison doors are open, the real dragon will fly out.

Ho Chi Minh

We are going to have our freedom and we'll tear down the jails with bars and the jails without bars and America will be unusable for pigs and fit for people. All Power to the People.

> Kuwasi Balagoon, Look for Me in the Whirlwind (1971)



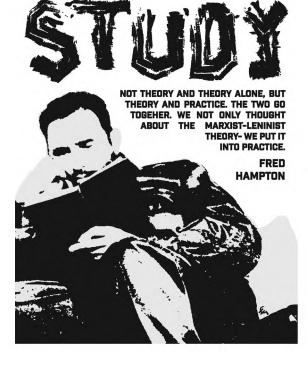
SELECTED PDSTERS by shenby

OUR WORLD WILL NEVER KNOW ANY PEACE



SO LONG AS THE PAPER TIGER OF IMPERIALISM BARES ITS TEETH: \mathbf{x}

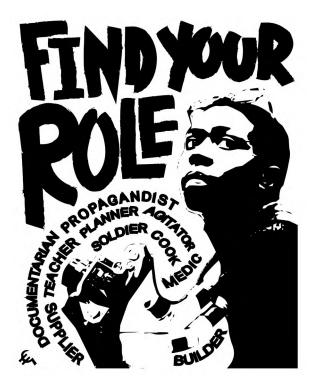
Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google







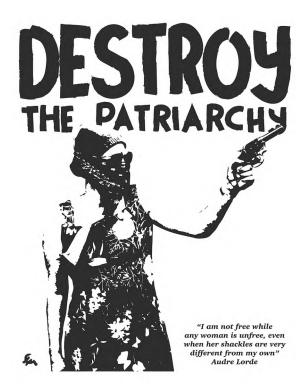
Constructive criticism and self-criticism are extremely important for any revolutionary organization. Without them, people tend to drown in their mistakes, not learn from them.

Selfauf

· Assata Shakur

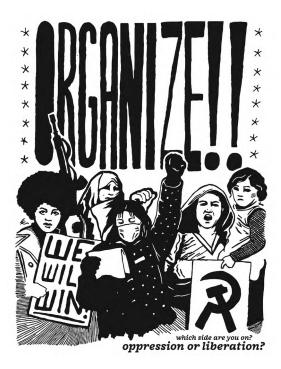


TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SHAPING OF OUR FUTURE IS TO GIVE IT UP... EACH OF US MUST FIND OUR WORK AND DO IT. AUDRE LORDE





Digitized by Google







RECOMMENDATIONS

State and Revolution - Vladimir Lenin What Is To Be Done? - Vladimir Lenin Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism - Vladimir Lenin Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder - Lenin National Liberation, Socialism, and Imperialism - Lenin The Day After the Revolution - Lenin

Quotations from Chairman Mao - Mao Zedong

On Practice - Mao Zedong

On Contradiction - Mao Zedong

On Protracted War - Mao Zedong

On Guerrilla Warfare - Mao Zedong

Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism - Kwame Nkrumah Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare -Kwame Nkrumah Africa Must Unite - Kwame Nkrumah Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution - Kwame Nkrumah Class Struggle In Africa - Kwame Nkrumah

240

Wage Labour and Capital - Karl Marx Value, Price and Profit - Karl Marx The Communist Manifesto - Marx & Engels The Civil War in the United States - Marx & Engels

Principles of Communism - Friedrich Engels Socialism: Utopian & Scientific - Friedrich Engels

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State - Friedrich Engels

Foundations of Leninism - Joseph Stalin Dialectical and Historical Materialism - Joseph Stalin

Anarchism or Socialism? - Joseph Stalin Marxism and the National Question - Joseph Stalin

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa - Walter Rodney

The Groundings With My Brothers - Walter Rodney

The Russian Revolution - Walter Rodney

Burn Down the Plantation - Revolutionary Action Movement

Open Veins of Latin America - Eduardo Galeano

Against Empire - Michael Parenti Blackshirts and Reds - Michael Parenti Inventing Reality - Michael Parenti

Washington Bullets - Vijay Prashad Red Star over the Third World - Vijay Prashad

The Wretched of the Earth - Frantz Fanon Black Skin, White Masks - Frantz Fanon

For A Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question - Harry Haywood Black Bolshevik - Harry Haywood

On the Right to Self-Determination for the Negro People in the Black Belt - Claudia Jones An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman - Claudia Jones

Blood In My Eye - George Jackson Soledad Brother - George Jackson

To Die for the People - Huey P. Newton Revolutionary Suicide - Huey P. Newton

Assata: An Autobiography - Assata Shakur

Lenin on the Women's Question - Clara Zetkin 242 Fighting Fascism: How to Struggle and How to Win - Clara Zetkin

The Social Basis of the Woman Question - Alexandra Kollontai

Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement - Anuradha Ghandy

Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle - Thomas Sankara

An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States - Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

Red Skin, White Masks - Glen Sean Coulthard

As We Have Always Done - Leanne Betasamosake Simpson

Decolonization is not a metaphor - Eve Tuck

Whose Land Is It Anyway? - Peter McFarlane & Nicole Schabus

The Haitian Revolution - Toussaint L'Ouverture

Guerrilla Warfare - Che Socialism and Man in Cuba - Che

Digitized by Google

Pedagogy of the Oppressed - Paulo Freire

Autobiography of Malcolm X - Malcolm X

Minimanual for the Urban Guerrilla - Carlos Marighella

The Fascist Offensive & Unity of the Working Class - Dimitrov

Les Feinberg - Trans Liberation

Women's Liberation is a Component Part of the Proletarian Revolution - Hsu Kwang

The Combahee River Collective Statement -The Combahee River Collective

Towards a Scientific Analysis of the Gay Question - Los Angeles Research Group

Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine - PFLP

On the Juche Idea - Kim Jong-Il

Selected Works- Kim Il-Sung

People's War, People's Army - Võ Nguyên Giáp 244 Black Power: the Politics of Liberation -Kwame Ture Stokely Speaks - Kwame Ture

Panther Vision - Rashid Defying the Tomb - Rashid

Prison Notebooks - Antonio Gramsci

Message to the Black Movement - the Black Liberation Army Black Liberation Army Political Dictionary the Black Liberation Army Open Letter to the White Left in the U.S. - the Black Liberation Army

On the Black Liberation Army - Jalil Muntaqim

Philosophy and Class Struggle - Dialego

Unity and Struggle - Amilcar Cabral Return to the Source - Amilcar Cabral

If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance - Angela Davis Women, Race and Class - Angela Davis Are Prisons Obsolete? - Angela Davis

History of the Communist Party of the Sovi-245 et Union (Bolsheviks) - Central Committee Of The CPSU

Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau - Stephanie J. Urdang

The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism: The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, and Capitalism in Seventeenth-Century North America and the Caribbean - Gerald Horne

Women and Revolution -Leira Sanchez

The Rose That Grew from Concrete - Tupac Shakur

The FBI War on Tupac Shakur and Black Leaders - John L. Potash Drugs as Weapons Against Us - John L. Potash

The Declarations of Havana - Fidel Castro

Ten Days that Shook the World - John Reed

Darkwater - W.E.B. Du Bois

Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World - Kumari Jayawardena

246

FALSE NATIONALISM / FALSE INTERNA-TIONALISM - E. Tani and Kaé Sera

Down with Colonialism! - Ho Chi Minh

Settlers - J.Sakai

This Nonviolent Stuff'll Get You Killed - Charles E. Cobb Jr.

How We Get Free - Keeanga-Yamhatta Taylor

No Name In The Street - James Baldwin

Capitalism & Disability - Marta Russell

Golden Gulag - Ruth Wilson Gilmore

Resisting State Violence: Radicalism, Gender, and Race in U.S. Culture - Joy James

Live from Death Row - Mumia Abu-jamal

War Against All Puerto Ricans - Nelson Antonio Denis

Die N***** Die! - Jamil Al-Amin

OTHER RADICAL REPRINTS

1. Catechism of a Revolutionist - Sergey Nechayev 2. Society of the Spectacle - Guy Debord 3. The Right To Be Lazy - Paul Lafargue 4. Manifestoes of Surrealism - Andre Breton Art and Religion - Max Stirner 6. Unfixing Authority - Mikhail Bakunin 7. Anarchy and the Sex Question - Emma Goldman 8. The Feminist Manifesto - He-Yin Zhen 9. Marxist Theory and Revolutionary Tactics - Anton Pannekoek 10. The Revolutionary Catechism - Mikhail Bakunin 11. The Revolt of the Unique - Renzo Novatore 12. What Was The USSR? - The Aufheben Collective 13. The Human Species and The Earth's Crust - Amadeo Bordiga 14. Dialogue With Stalin - Amadeo Bordiga 15. The Right To Be Greedy - For Ourselves! 16. A World Without Money: Communism - Friends of 4M wrkrs 17. The Holy Family - Marx & Engels 18. Paris: May 1968 - Maurice Brinton 19. What is Communism? - Paul Mattick 20. Theories of Surplus Value Vol 1 - Marx 21. Theories of Surplus Value Vol 2 - Marx 22. Theories of Surplus Value Vol 3- Marx 23. Essays on Marx's Theory of Value - I.I. Rubin 24. Capital and Community - Jacques Camatte 25. Results of the Direct Production Process - Marx 26. Mao's Quotations 27. Principles of Communism - Friedrich Engels 28. The Ego and Its Own - Max Stirner

29. Lessons of the Counterrevolutions - Bordiga
30. Fundementals for a Marxist Revolution - Bordiga
31. Reform and Revolution - Paul Mattick
32. The Joy of Revolution - Ken Knabb
33. Marx and Keynes - Paul Mattick
34. The World's First Anarchist Manifesto and The Revolution
35. The Proletarian's Pocketbook
36. The Rise of Conspiracy Theories - Aufheben
37. Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla - Carlos Marighella
38. History and Class Consciousness - Georg Lukacs
39. Dialogue with the Dead - Bordiga
40. What is Communist Anarchism? - Alexander Berkman
41. The ABC of Communism - Bukharin & Preobrazensky

COMING SOON

The Council Communist Reader (with an intro from Mattick Jr) Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts - Marx Contribution to the Crique of Political Economy - Marx The Poverty of Philosophy - Marx The Poverty of Philosophy - Marx The He-Yin Zhen Reader The Nestor Makhno Reader The Nestor Makhno Reader The Anton Pannekoek Reader The Lucy Parsons Reader The Max Stirner Reader



Radical Reprints



The Radical Database



Linktree

The Radical Reprint series is an imprint of Pattern Books and Schizine to make radical theory immediately accessible through cheap books and cheap/free zines, and is a project of translating and recirculating forgotten works.

We deserve to recieve free revolutionary theory anywhere. In order to change the world, we deserve the privilege to access awareness of the way the world operates, we deserve immediate access to everything that came before us and everything that currently exists.

The Radical Reprint books, such as this one, are printed to make press-printed books more accessible. These are not printed for profit, they are printed a few cents above the cost to manufacture. All proceeds from the print books go to mutual aid funds – directly to <u>mutualaidhub.org</u>

To keep our project alive and to expand into larger projects, consider supporting us at <u>patreon.com/radicalreprints</u> for as little as \$2/mo

To print radical reprint zines and pocket books, the PDF files are available on Internet Archive, Radical Reprint Google Drive (<u>bit.ly/20YZ3rz</u>) and <u>radicalreprints.org</u>. It is recommended you take over a printing press to print more and disseminate theory to everyone.

For more online theory/strategy/support, please check out, <u>theradicaldatabase.com</u> for more resources, mutual aid, and reading lists. For further links, scan the Linktree code.

Everyone is encouraged to make their own Radical Reprint, anyone who wants to have their reprint/comic/ zine, etc directly in the series and printed, contact radicalreprints@protonmail.com



Compiled, Edited & Designed by shenby they/she, with help from many comrades. 2021

