

# ***FROLINAN Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres***

As we rebuild our movement for national liberation under the auspices of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation (FROLINAN), a revolutionary cadre organization, many of those who are discussing it will never get beyond the point of discussion. While those who are actually beginning to organize, only a minority will be around a few years from now, but for the serious revolutionary nationalist, they will succeed in forging a durable national liberation front and revolutionary cadre organization. It is extremely important that we begin this process without delusions of the task before us, that it will require much sacrifice and determination to fight for and win our national liberation.

This is because it is not at all easy to build a revolutionary cadre organization. It takes a lot of time, patience, a lot of hard work and struggle; a continuing relationship from and to the revolutionary and progressive social forces within our society; a continuing expansion and enrichment of our own revolutionary vision and that of the revolutionary social force; the ability to think independently as well as to accept discipline cheerfully; and unrelenting self-criticism struggle to overcome our own shortcomings. This work and struggle, this time and patience, this continuing relationship, this self criticism, can only come from continuing relationship. This self criticism can only come from a continuing commitment in theory and practice to the conviction that at the heart of every great revolution is the urgent need to transform Man/Woman into a new and more advanced form of human beings by means of struggle. The only justification for a revolution is that it accelerates the evolution of man and

womenkind, particularly that of an oppressed nation fighting for national liberation.

The first thing you need for such commitment is an unshakable conviction that correct ideas matter; and that once the correct ideas are grasped by the great masses of people, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. In a country like the U.S. where there is so much respect for material things and so little respect for ideas, the number of people with this conviction is still very small, and the number whose convictions cannot be shaken is even smaller. When your friends and associates accuse you of having too much faith in ideas or in the "spirit of human nature" it takes a pretty strong person to hold firm. This is especially true when it comes to building our Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation towards freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The foregoing will be the fundamental dialectical principles and some of the most important concrete practices of a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization as a developing reality. If the members of a revolutionary cadre organization are not constantly striving to internalize the dialectical principles motivating their practices, the organization sinks into routinism. On the other hand, if they are not constantly striving to externalize the dialectical principles in concrete practices, the principles turn into empty rhetoric. Many of those reading/studying this handbook may vigorously disagree with what it sets forth. Others may draw from it the conclusion that a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization is necessary if there is going to be a successful revolution in the United States. Not all those who arrive at this conclusion are ready to propagate the principles, build or join such a national liberation front. Some may be against a revolution altogether. Others may say that they agree with the ideas theoretically, but that building or joining such a revolutionary nationalist front is a job for someone with the patience and the capacity to think more grandly.

There are those who have been active and operating in an organized formation of local, regional and national significance; they have been functioning as an individual group and organization, with vanguardist ideals, unwilling to become part of a revolutionary nationalist front. Essentially, they are contributing to sectarian politics in the New Afrikan independence movement, attempting to raise their individual organization to an elitist

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

position above and beyond the movement in general. They believe their contribution to the movement has established themselves as the most forward and leading trend or tendency, yet, have failed to forge a national strategy or agenda or national unity amongst the various revolutionary nationalist forces in NAIM. This kind of individualism, opportunism, liberalism perpetuates sectarianism, and must be identified, exposed, and rooted out of NAIM as it inhibits and prevents the building of a revolutionary nationalist front.

On the other hand, some revolutionary nationalist formations and activists decide that they do want to commit themselves to a collective and protracted struggle, they probably know one or two or a few other groups/formations and people who have arrived at the same point. These few revolutionary nationalist formations and people need some way to arrive at some kind of basic agreement on fundamental ideas and some knowledge of one another, thus the purpose of this handbook.

One way to do this is to form a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, in order to study previous revolutions and the specific contradictions in the United States which require resolution by revolution. The study of the theory and practice of previous revolutions is for the purpose of learning from them what is and what is not relevant to the specific contradictions of the United States [i.e., the relevance of a party and revolutionary organization] towards a national liberation front. Through study of previous revolutions, we can gain an appreciation of the way in which revolutions have advanced the evolution of humankind, and therefore, a profound conviction that [our] revolution must also advance the evolution of New Afrikan men and women towards national emancipation. At the same time, through the study of previous revolutions, it should become clearer to us that every revolution is unique, the specific product of specific energies of specific masses of people, specific organizations and specific leaders in a specific country under very specific conditions, all of which have been developed over a number of years, at a particular time, in a particular historical period, and which therefore can not possibly be repeated at another time and in another place.

This general truth is of crucial importance in seeking to determine the specific contradictions requiring resolution in the United States. The U.S. capitalist-imperialism face problems posed by economic abundance, whose population is the first people in human history to have discovered from their living

experiences that material well-being does not necessarily bring happiness. This is especially true for the majority of New Afrikans whose existence is subject to dire impoverishment, and therefore the people who have the privilege of pioneering the great revolution of the twenty-first century.

In forming a FROLINAN revolutionary study group, the purpose, procedures, schedules and responsibilities of each member, should be clearly worked out and accepted by all the participants at the very first meeting. It is never a good idea to leave your purposes and procedures fuzzy in the hope that you will keep some people with you who might otherwise be scared off by a straightforward statement of your goals and what will be expected of every participant. Nine times out of ten, this kind of liberal attitude does not prevent the eventual breakaway of the person or persons involved; it only postpones the crisis and makes it more painful.

A FROLINAN revolutionary study group should not be organized for the sake of study alone, but for the purpose of laying the basis for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, and national liberation front. Therefore, participation in the group should be restricted to those ready to do the systematic work required for such a study, including reading, leading and recording discussions, disciplined attendance at regularly scheduled meetings, criticism and self-criticism, over a period of approximately six months. During this period some members are bound to raise the question of getting involved in struggle over some burning topical issue. This will be one of the group's first test as to who, if anyone, in the group really accepts the principle that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice," and that without commitment to collective and protracted struggle, there can be no successful revolution. Anyone who is not able to refrain from involving the group in topical struggles until it has at least worked out some minimum ideological understanding of FROLINAN National Strategy and Program for Decolonization, of some structure and standards, is not likely to be much good for the protracted struggle.

One of the most difficult hurdles that a revolutionary study group has to overcome at its first meeting (and often at subsequent meetings) is the feeling among those present that there must be something wrong with them because they are so few. In a country like the U.S., where it is normal and natural to judge the value and importance of everything according to the size (the bigger the

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

better), it is not easy to grasp and hold firm to the historical fact that every advance that has ever been made by humankind was started by a few people, often, to begin with, by only one individual, since every beginning can only be a beginning. Someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to use a piece of stone as a hatchet or hammer or ax; in other words, to take the first step in tool-making [two million] years ago, which has now led to the machine age of latches, punch presses, computers and dynamos. Similarly, someone - it may have been a man or woman - was the first to mold a pot out of mud... Elsewhere on earth, maybe another continent, or maybe only a few miles away, another man or woman at approximately the same time may have been doing the same things. But the first man or woman to take this first crude step in tool-making or pottery did not know this. Nor did he or she stop to speculate why only he or she or just a few others were taking this step.

The practice of judging a step forward in humankind's productive or political evolution by the number of people involved is a modern, western and especially Amerikkkan prejudice. When a handful of people met in 1921 to organize the Chinese Communist Party which now governs nearly one billion people, they knew, of course, that the party had to become much larger before it could lead the Chinese revolution to victory over imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. But those present did not look around at each other and ask, "Why us rather than anyone else?" They knew that anything which men and women create, any advance which humankind makes, must have a beginning and that every beginning must be made by those few individuals who chose to begin something because they feel it should be begun. Such was the case in Oakland, California, when in October 1966 Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale started the Black Panther Party, and when March 29-31, 1968, 500 Black nationalists met in Detroit, Michigan and began the undertaking of organizing the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Hence, before something can grow, it must first be.

In this way, not only the material studied, but the way it is studied, is itself a preparation for the revolutionary cadre organization and that of the Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation - FROLINAN. Let us begin!

**A. THE ROLE OF FROLINAN REVOLUTIONARY CADRE ORGANIZATION!**

Building a revolutionary cadre organization is enormously difficult, but there is no mystery about the essential functions of such a revolutionary cadre organization. Just as the human being requires a mind to synthesize the many varied experiences which it receives through the sense, so the revolutionary social forces in a revolutionary period requires a revolutionary cadre organization of such a individual and national liberation front. (The term revolutionary cadre organization and Front will be used interchangeably so these ideas can be made applicable as they pertain to a single cadre formation or a network of cadres, and the entire Front operations comprising various organizations and groups.)

Just as the mind acts as a center for the senses giving and receiving impulses, so the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization acts as a center for the revolutionary social forces. Neither can replace the other; nor can either develop without continuing interaction with the other. They are the two poles of a developing and dynamic relationship, continually enriching one another in a never ending spiral process of "from the masses to the masses."

The dialectical concept is the key to the building of a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization. The first task of a revolutionary cadre organization is theoretical analysis and synthesis. That is to say, the revolutionary cadre organization must first reflect upon the specific social realities within which it is operating, with the aim of arriving at a clear conception of:

- A. How this social reality has developed historically;
- B. Of the contradictions within this reality, which are the basis for further development. The revolutionary cadre organization must then,
- C. Define which of these contradictions are the principal and major ones, requiring solutions if the revolution is to advance; and

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

- D. Develop a vision of what kind of new reality will be created by the resolution of those principal or major contradictions. Finally, the revolutionary cadre organization must,
- E. Determine which sectors of the society have the greatest potential for the struggle necessary to resolve these contradictions and create this new reality.

These theoretical concepts together constitute the ideology of the organization (i.e., FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory). After deriving its ideology from reflections upon the social realities, the revolutionary cadre organization must devise concrete programs (i.e., Program for Decolonization) to go to the revolutionary social forces (masses, people) in order to mobilize them in struggles to create the new reality through the struggle of resolving major contradictions of the society. In devising and projecting these concrete programs, the revolutionary cadre organization must be concerned not only to increase the momentum of struggle and the physical power of the revolutionary social forces. It must also be concerned to bring about a transformation in these forces initiative, their critical political consciousness, their sense of collective work and responsibility towards national unity, and the structures with which they can not only bring about the collapse of the existing oppressive society, but also create a new society, by freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika in the western hemisphere.

The revolutionary cadre organization, in other words, must be concerned not only with the quantitative but also the qualitative development of the mass struggle and of the revolutionary social forces. It must take seriously the fact that all of the people within a given society, including the revolutionary social forces, are shaped by the dominant values of society of which is overwhelmingly racist. In the light of the revolutions that have taken place all over the world in the past half century, beginning with the Russian Revolution of 1917 anyone claiming to be revolutionary must be willing to look beyond the question of power to what happens after the taking of power (building the Republic of New Afrika). Hence, s/he must be concerned not only with increasing the anger and militancy of the oppressed but also their determination and

capacity to transform themselves. Otherwise, willfully or not, s/he is only preparing them for despair and hence for the leadership of demagogues, and himself/herself is not a revolutionary, but a rebel or a demagogue.

At the same time the revolutionary cadre organization is also providing the framework within which the revolutionary members themselves can be constantly transforming themselves into more conscious, more responsible, more creative and more critical human beings... to whom the revolutionary masses can increasingly look for leadership because they can recognize in them actual, living witnesses to the possibility of creating new men and women and freeing the land establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

If the ideology of the national liberation front and the revolutionary cadre organization is sound; if its program meets the needs of the revolutionary social forces; if the revolutionary nationalist formations themselves are in a close and continuing relationship with these social forces, then the revolutionary social forces will begin to struggle around these programs.

In turn, these struggles will bring about new situations, involving new contradictions and new conflicts. This means that the revolutionary cadre organization must be continuously prepared to reevaluate its ideas of the social reality and to devise the means in which the Programs for Decolonization can be implemented to take to the revolutionary social forces.

Thus constantly deepening and enriching both their ideas and their relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the revolutionary nationalist never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization. It is the center from which they go outward and to which they return. It produces the framework within which they can be continuously reevaluating their theory and practice and continuously transforming themselves so as to be better able to live up to the historic task for which they accepted responsibility.

### **B. THE AMERIKKAN POLITICAL BACK GROUND**

The difficulty in understanding the role of the revolutionary cadre organization does not stem from an intrinsic mystery in this role. Rather, it stems from the lack of experience of New Afrikans



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

in the political process of continuing commitment to the kind of systemic, collective, dialectical, theoretical and practical struggle which is at the heart of a revolutionary cadre organization. For historical reasons, the approach of most New Afrikans to social problems has always been a pragmatic or problem solving approach which is essentially anti-intellectual. In what has been described as the "headache syndrome," they react to and try to resolve each problem as it arises, as if each were a sporadic, isolated or accidental problem in a system which is fundamentally sound, and therefore capable of quick and easy solutions.

In the recent period, confidence in the soundness of Amerikkkan institutions has plummeted, chiefly under the impact of the revolutionary struggles throughout the world and New Afrikan revolts (i.e., L.A., Chicago, Liberty City, NYC - Crown Heights, etc.). The result is that a great many people, New Afrikan, Latino, Asian, Native American and Euro-American, no longer think of Amerikkkan problems as isolated or accidental. They have traced their roots to the "system" of "capitalism and racism" and concluded that a revolution is necessary in the U.S. They have further identified the chief revolutionary social forces to make this revolution as the New Afrikans and other nonwhite (so-called) minorities.

However, for the most part, the majority of progressive people still strongly resist the ideas of committing themselves to the kind of collective and protracted struggle in the dialectical relationship to the revolutionary social forces outlined above. They no longer look at the problems of this society in a piecemeal fashion, to be solved one by one. But they still regard the revolutionary struggle as a series of isolated events, "happenings" and "experiences." The result is that they do not have a framework within which to do the continual evaluation that is necessary, and their angry attacks on the system turn into abstractions and rhetorical denunciations. They are without national revolutionary leadership and a national strategy.

Always "on the go," attracted to whatever or whoever turns them on, they jump from one activity or group to another, judging the revolutionary content of that activity or group by its militancy or by the excitement and relief which it offers from boredom, frustration and the immediacy of national oppression, i.e., quantitatively and subjectively. In the past, as an example, Euro-American youth, rebelling against materialism and individualism of their middle-class parents, drifted in and out of communes

and collectives. They claim to be seeking a collective life style but they were unwilling to make the long range commitment to any one group which is the prerequisite to collective struggle and collective learning. The exception would be right-wing skin heads/aryan/nazi/klan youths groups linked to parent organizations. As a result, the collectives and communes that sprung up and disappeared all over the country were little more than aggregates of subjectivity in which each individual were still doing his or her "own thing." The same is applicable amongst the various trends and tendencies in NAIM.

These young New Afrikans are functioning from a pragmatic, anti-intellectual attitudes, a new anti-intellectual attitude which is the unique product of the post Vietnam War and civil rights struggles. Raised in a world of unceasing novelty and mobility, of revolutions in production and abundance in consumption, of instant communication and space ship transportation. They have been culturally deprived of the experience of engaging in a protracted struggle, which was the good fortune of the previous generation who were involved in the civil rights movement during the 50's and 60's, since the 80's thoroughly inverted this development. As a result, they have an existentialist and nihilist philosophy or the conviction that life consists essentially of momentary experiences, much of which is expressed in "gangster rap" and the "hip-hop" subculture.

In the 1960's, the youth's lack of experience in protracted struggle was not a serious handicap. In fact, in retrospect, it was an enormous advantage since it enabled young people to leap frog the old radical organizations with their obsolete theories and programs (still stemming from the experience of 1917 revolution in Russia) and to create instead a new and unique style of politics. This "new style of politics" centered around dramatization of confrontation politics which were then carried into every living room through television. Staging these confrontations and using the mass media with enormous skills, the civil rights movement leaders of the late 50's and early 60's New Afrikans and Euro-Americans, were able to overnight bring home to the entire society the barbarism of U.S. racism and the genocidal war in Vietnam. Radicalized by these methods, young New Afrikans exploded in the streets of practically every major city in the country, creating by the late 60's a social crisis of unprecedented magnitude within the entire society, much of which is being revisited across the country today, but without the political determination of the 60's.

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

However, while the social crisis was obviously maturing, the Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Panther Party, SDS-Weather Underground Organization, and the Republic of New Afrika, as revolutionary organizations, were evolving to engage the new reality and to give direction to the emerging social forces. The U.S. government engaged these revolutionary organizations and decimated their fighting capacity via Cointelpro counterinsurgency operations. The result is that today the great majority of Amerikkans, both those who are oppressed by the system and those who support the system because of the benefits they receive from it, are completely bewildered. They feel as if they were being tossed about in the eye of a great storm with no idea where they should go or how to get there.

Likewise, in the absence of a durable militant revolutionary cadre organization, most people who played such an important role in creating the movement of the 60's have been without any framework within which they could collectively evaluate the situation, and make new projections towards national liberation. They were unable to transform themselves into more responsible, more conscious, more dedicated and more critical revolutionaries. Left to their own individual devices, the great majority of them have drifted out of the movement or have gone the way of left or right opportunism, making claims against the BLA, WUO, SLA, etc.

Arguing they had become pure adventurists, making isolated and desperate attacks on the power structure or anyone who they think supports the power structure. Other "drop out's from the struggle" have become careerists, "on the go" in one way or another, as consultants, project directors, or staff persons supported by federal, city and state agencies and by church and universities in order to co-opt the "heavies" of the movement, those who we would identify as "sell outs." While, a few others continue to work in support of political prisoners of war, and various civil and human right issues confronting the oppressed New Afrikan Nation.

What this indicates is the need for building FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization to learn the lessons of the past, to unite the various existing formations within a national strategy and push forward the struggle for national independence.

### **C. COMMITMENT IS KEY**

Against this background, it should be clear why the first step of any group of people seeking to build a national liberation front and a revolutionary cadre organization, must be the decision of each individual in the group to commit herself and himself to a collective, protracted struggle in a dialectical developing relationship with the revolutionary social forces, the oppressed masses. The group must contain those who are convinced of the need for revolutionary social change and who – out of sober reflection on the concrete experiences of the recent past – have become convinced that spontaneous rebellions, revolts and confrontations – no matter how many or how spectacular – lead not to revolution but to despair and confusion unless an organized group takes the lead, and is ready to make this commitment out of their own volition.

If, among those who have come together to discuss the question, only two groups or people are ready for this commitment, these two must resist the temptation to continue meeting with the others in the hope or illusion that by doing so, they will persuade the others to stop wavering and make a commitment. If they succumb to this temptation, they will discover in the end that they are left either with the same two people, or that they themselves have begun to waver, since the waverers are the ones who have behind them the pressure of the way things are, rather than of the way things should be.

The decision by a group of revolutionary nationalists, no matter how few, to commit themselves to this collective and protracted struggle to build FROLINAN and to reject “on the go” politics, shapes everything that follows. If their commitment is to become more than rhetorical “testifying,” they must now embark on the concrete steps necessary to create a collective out of their separate selves. As it is, they are still individuals, with their own very different ideas about what is and what should be, what they should do and how they should do it, what they can expect from each other now and what they should be able to expect from each other as they begin to struggle together.

In order for the group to start transforming their separate subjectivities into collectivity, they must first arrive, through organized discussion and an agreed upon method of decision making, an agreement on the following:

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

1. Their ideology (the Three Phase Theory);
2. A program or programs for activity within a prescribed period, long enough for them to complete some projects, and yet short enough so that they can see the end at the beginning (the Program for Decolonization);
3. A structure within which they can carry out these programs and which will also provide for the continuing growth and developing of the group as a whole and for every member in it;
4. Standards of membership (see below);
5. Methods for continuing evaluation of their activities and themselves.

Some or all of these may be modified in the course of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's continuing development. Particularly in a revolutionary period, situations change very rapidly, and the ideas of the revolutionary cadre organization must change accordingly. As situations change, different views over what should or should not be modified may at such time lead to such opposing proposals that those holding these opposing views cannot continue to co-exist in the same organization, and a split becomes unavoidable. But unless these differences have developed in relation to an original set of basic ideas, they cannot be dealt with as political differences, but will instead be interpreted as subjective or personality differences with all the bitterness that usually accompanies such interpretations (opportunism, liberalism, sectarianism). An effort must be made to overcome personal and political differences that hinders political work and building FROLINAN.

### *A-1: Ideology*

For the last 50 years most radicals/militants in the United States have thought that it was sufficient to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in terms of Marx's 19th century analysis of European capitalism and Lenin's pre-World War I analysis of

European imperialism, simply adding to these the analysis of Amerikkkan racism, usually interpreted either as a manifestation of capitalism or of domestic imperialism. In the past 20 years, New Left radicals have continued to define the Amerikkkan historical reality in these terms. However, in recognition of the post-Vietnam War struggles of Third World peoples inside and outside the United States and the increasingly middle-class character of the Amerikkkan workers, they have simply substituted Third World peoples for the working class which Marx and Lenin regarded as the revolutionary social force to destroy capitalism and imperialism.

Only a few of these radicals/militants, either in the past or recently, ever took seriously the fact that Marx and Lenin were both developing their theories in systematic reflection upon their specific historical reality, a totally different historical reality from what exists in the United States today. Marx was writing at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe 100 years ago, and Lenin in backward Russia over 50 years ago, in periods when rapid development of the productive forces were the urgent concerns of Europeans and Russians respectively. Today the United States is the most technologically advanced country in human history, producing goods and developing the productive forces with such rapidity that every politically conscious, socially responsible person is trying to think of how to slow development down, especially technology that displaces workers. Far from being in material want, even the poorest layers of the population are constantly being courted by capitalism to buy, buy, buy; and state agencies, to some degree, subsidize these layers so their publicly financed purchasing power can keep the economy going.

Yet, instead of analyzing this new social reality with the seriousness with which Marx and Lenin analyzed theirs, most radicals/militants and those claiming to be revolutionary nationalists have simply reacted to the revolt of Third World peoples by casting them in the role which Marx and Lenin gave to the working class. Subsequently, as if vying for the leading role in the social movement, women, youth, and prisoners have begun to substitute themselves for New Afrikans workers, stratifying the struggle into levels of competitive politics and resources. Now, some radicals/militants and revolutionary nationalists, reacting to the chaos and absurdities into which this kind of rivalry to take the center stage is plunging the movement, have fallen back on

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

the working class as hero, hoping against hope that spreading unemployment, inflation, taxes and other economic miseries may yet turn the working class into the revolutionary class that Marx's 19th century analysis called for.

Instead of just reacting to rebellions and to each other in sectarian and opportunist ways as these progressive organizations are doing, FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization must make its own serious analysis of the unique historical development of the United States and of the material development of struggle in their area and nationally (See: National Strategy of FROLINAN). It should then be able to recognize that the major contradiction in this country is as much an economic one, as it is a contradiction between this country's extremely advanced technological development and its extreme political and social underdevelopment, of which is generally characterized by racism and national oppression.

This contradiction is manifested in the preoccupation of its people with their own private pursuits and responsibility, competition in the job market, as well as of genuine self governing institutions that encourage the development of political consciousness and social responsibility toward the status quo, especially neo-colonial agents of the national Black bourgeoisie. It can then be seen that the chief purpose of the national liberation struggle is to accelerate the rapid growth of political consciousness and social responsibility amongst New Afrikans so that they can put politics in command of economics, instead of being ruled by economics as they are today. Hence, the Three Phase Theory puts forth an analysis that correctly determines the political reality and method by which national liberation struggle should commence.

### *A-2: Program*

Most movement groups in NAIM are reactive, issue-oriented groups who are constantly plunging into activity around the innumerable issues, usually legal defense issues, which are constantly surfacing in this period, such as "Free All Political Prisoners of War" or "Free Geromino Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Sekou Odinga and Mutulu Shakur," and "Free the NY-3," to name a few. The result is that many of them disappear as rapidly as they appear. What usually continues is:

- A. either one of the older militant organizations, or
- B. cliques of individuals, or one who is a charismatic individual or one who is particularly gifted in fund raising or
- C. social groups of alumni or veterans of various struggles of the 60s and 70s.

Few of these, if any, have ever set down to work out a program that a half dozen people could carry out over the period of a year, in order to build themselves into a viable organization with their own collective identity and specific contribution to the overall independence movement. The exceptions of course are the current trends and tendencies, who more often than not, compete with one another, rather than uniting on a national level in NAIM. By uniting they would be in a better position to continue seeking the means and method to contribute to the overall struggle to free the land. Most of the folks who claim to be revolutionaries in the U.S. can rap about the need for a planned economy, for the reorganization of the entire United States from top to bottom, and for freeing the land. But they rarely take the time to think through a PROGRAM for even a small revolutionary cadre organization, a clear conception of the PURPOSES the group is trying to achieve the METHODS by which they propose to achieve these programs, and the specific step-by-step PROCESSES. In this regard special attention should be given to the Program for Decolonization.

When a revolutionary cadre organization works out clearly such programs, it also establishes a basis for the evaluation of its programs. Thereby it does one of the most important, yet deceptively simple things that a revolutionary cadre organization can do: learn from experience or develop its theory from social practice. Nowhere more than in the U.S., is it so necessary to recognize and emphasize the importance of learning the development of theory through a continuing relationship of theory and practice. This is the only way to combat the powerful tendencies in this country toward empty rhetoric (or talk without practice), and mindless activism or reactionary militancy – such militancy that serves no more than to prove one's militancy or because it is fashionable to be militant. Rather, one should apply militant acts when one has some deeply felt convictions about the way New Afrikans can and should advance the struggle, realizing



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

that these convictions can only be tested in social practice towards national independence.

Therefore, in the initial period, the main program of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization should be internal programs. That is to say, they should be consciously aimed at transforming those who have come together on the basis of commitment into a national liberation front and collective, with a powerful sense of their developing and continuing collective identity and purpose toward national unity. The first-year programs of a revolutionary cadre organization should center chiefly around the following:

- A. The theoretical strengthening of the members (political education);
- B. The development of the literature of the national liberation front and the skills of the membership to enable them to take the ideas of FROLINAN to the New Afrikan masses (propaganda);
- C. The increase of the revolutionary cadre organization's members (recruitment);
- D. Developing principled unity and consolidation among the various trends and tendencies in the NAIM;
- E. Establish the means by which to implement the Programs for Decolonization.

The propaganda program of the organization is crucial to the development of the revolutionary struggle since as it cannot too often be repeated, once the correct ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a material force capable of changing society and the world. Particularly at this stage in the struggle, the major emphasis of the revolutionary cadre organization's propaganda must be on expanding the vision and increasing the critical political consciousness of New Afrikans, to inspire them with the broad purposes of the struggle and developing their capacity to de-mythologize and de-romanticize the U.S. colonial government. To mobilize the masses in struggle or to increase their militancy without at the same time expanding their consciousness of their

responsibility and capacity to become “new men and women,” is only to lay the groundwork for their despair. The use of a newsletter, an official publication, and applying tactical initiatives by way of agitation-propaganda would support the propaganda program.

In mapping out the recruitment program of the revolutionary cadre organization, great care should be taken to make the process of recruitment a selective one. The aim must be towards slow and qualitative growth, and not rapid expansion, taking care not to judge the growth of the revolutionary cadre organization by the numbers of its members. Membership should be determined by their commitment to the theory, ideology and programs of the FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In the matter of recruitment, the revolutionary cadre organization has few models to go on. In the past it was ridiculously easy, particularly for a worker, student, or black person from the subculture, to acquire membership in the Black Panther Party or the Republic of New Afrika. They had little contact with workers, and so few workers were attracted to these organizations, the image of these organizations inhibited black worker membership.

Since the 70s and 80s, on the other hand, thousands of young New Afrikans have been attracted to new political organizations of all trends and tendencies, ready to drift into (and out of) these organizations with a lack of commitment, particularly if the mass media has given these organizations any publicity. In turn, these organizations, living for the moment and for the spotlight, have recruited furiously in order to give the impression of a large public following. In the recent past we have had some instructive experiences with organizations who have expanded rapidly for the sake of and with the help of the media. Often they have discovered that they were recruiting many reactionary political agents. Even when this was not the case, they have still been at the mercy of their new members, most of whom were attracted to the organization in the first place by the image of confrontation politics which they got from the mass media and who have therefore led the organization into confrontation after confrontation, until its entire energies and resources were exhausted in defense activities.

For all these reasons, it is important that FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organizations seek to avoid both rapid expansion and any kind of publicity. In this way, they are giving full recognition of the fact that any rapidly expanding or publicity oriented organization has no chance to do the learning and

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

developing which are absolutely essential to preparation for rapid growth at a later stage of the protracted struggle.

For the same reasons, a revolutionary cadre organization must acquire its basic finances from dues paid by its members and from the strictly political activities of the revolutionary cadre organization (sales of literature, public meetings, etc.) and not from grants or funds from private or public agencies. The danger is not that these agencies will put direct pressure on or try to dilute any militant activities which the organization may want to engage in. The corruption is much more insidious, arising from the fact that external funding deprives the revolutionary cadre organization and its membership the opportunity and the responsibility to develop and test their own commitment and their own ideas.

### *A-3: Structure*

Regular meetings at least once a week and always starting on time, the keeping of minutes at every meeting and the reading of these minutes at the subsequent meeting, and a clearly-organized agenda for each meeting, are the elementary structural requirements for a FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization. If it seems strange to emphasize what should be obvious, it is because these are not at all obvious in the "on the go" topical political atmosphere of today's movement. They are more likely to call meetings when the spirit moves them, to disdain the keeping of minutes and to regard presentation of an agenda as incipient bureaucratization or elitism. This is often the case with the defense committees of political prisoners of war.

Through regularly scheduled meetings, each member begins to internalize the structure of the group as part of his or her own living routine. Through the promptness with which every member arrives at the meeting, the unity of everyone starting together is established. Through minutes a group takes responsibility for its programs and procedures from week to week and begins to get a concept of its own development as historical. Through a clearly organized agenda, the essentials of which should be the same from week to week, every member can prepare between meetings for his or her participation at the next meeting, thus creating a framework for the maximum participation of each member.

At the beginning of each meeting, the Chairperson is the

one responsible for preparing the agenda. This can then be revised by the membership, who must accept the agenda in its final form before the meeting proceeds. This apparently simple situation is an example of the leadership-membership relationship which is essential to the development of a revolutionary cadre organization.

The establishment of structure within which leadership and membership can be developed is a very difficult problem inside the United States. On the one hand, there is a strong tendency in ordinary non-political working people to hold back and wait for direction from those they may consider to be more capable or experienced, i.e., to see themselves as permanent rank and file. Coupled with this is the tendency to rally around and rely upon charismatic leaders to lead them out of the wilderness of class and national oppression.

Movement people, including young New Afrikans, also tend to be caught up in this "cult of personality." But there is an even more widespread tendency among young people to regard any leadership as "elitist" and "bureaucratic" and to insist instead on what they call "participatory democracy," or the uninterrupted rule of the rank and file. Although apparently contradictory, both the "cult of personality" and the "ultra-democracy" of young people actually stem from the same existentialist, ad-hoc approach of movement people to revolutionary struggle. Constantly on the go from rally to rally, living for the psychological impact of each meeting on their feelings, they are not concerned with development of collective struggle, but rather with their own momentary feelings as individuals.

The structure of the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, is created to develop a dialectical, i.e., a developing relationship between the leaders of FROLINAN and members of the revolutionary cadre organization analogous to that between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces. The important difference is that the members of the revolutionary cadre organization elect their leaders out of their own ranks, choosing those they believe to be the most capable of guiding and directing the revolutionary cadre organization, and holding them responsible for giving such guidance and direction in accord with directives and policies from the National Coordinating Council/Committee of FROLINAN.

This is one of the many ways in which the revolutionary cadre organization is constantly making creative use of the dialectical

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

interplay and tension between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism, for its own collective development. Or, to put it another way, it is precisely because collective development is so critical to the essence of the revolutionary cadre organization that it is able to make conscious and creative use of the interplay between the two opposites, Democracy and Centralism.

Most New Afrikans find it difficult to understand the principles and practices of Democratic Centralism because New Afrikans, generally speaking, proceed not from the concept of roles but from the concept of rights, privileges, and prerogatives. This concept of rights, embodied in both the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, predisposes New Afrikans to regard any relationship between individuals and leaders as an antagonistic contradiction and to look at every situation from the viewpoint of the individual preserving his or her right from external infringement. The concepts of roles, on the other hand, involves looking at the relations in terms of the development of the collective, whether this be the revolutionary cadre organization, the New Afrikan Nation as a whole, or any institution in the social order of the colonial government. At the heart of Democratic Centralism is the ideal: "All functions must be performed by each part of the structure if the collective is to be able to act as a continuum to develop into a strong nucleus of revolutionary leadership and as a framework for the continuing development and transformation of every member."

It is necessary to have leadership within the structure of a revolutionary cadre organization because it is necessary to have some persons or a National Coordinating Council/Committee (NCC) playing the role of projecting and generalizing, unifying and coordinating. If there is no chairperson within a particular committee, or no NCC within a national network of revolutionary cadre organizations (i.e., FROLINAN), who is acting in this role as "center," then there is only the plurality, the specificity and the variety of the members in the constituency. On the other hand, if the various members and the various committees or groups of the Front are responsible for specific programs and are constantly developing their operations, increasing their contact with the revolutionary social forces, discussing issues and programs of the revolutionary cadre organization, and developing their ability to think collectively, then the unity of the revolutionary cadre organization (FROLINAN) turns into homogeneity.

Thus, Discipline and Democracy are both part of the principles

of the daily practice of a revolutionary cadre organization not because they have been imposed or because they are guaranteed by statute, but because of the deep conviction of each member that these are both necessary to the development of the FROLINAN on local, regional, and national levels. Every member is bound by the decision of the revolutionary cadre organization because every member realizes that without discipline, everybody and anybody could go his or her own way, do his or her own thing, and FROLINAN would fall apart. On the other hand, the leadership is constantly encouraging and seeking to create situations in which there is full discussion by the membership. They know that if decisions are arrived at without the full democratic discussion and even debate of the members, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot penetrate to the issues involved in any decision or the dualities that are implicit in every unity. Leadership knows that agreement reached through a process of full discussion and debate is always more effective than agreement reached through unquestioning ascent. Leadership and membership both know that liveliness of mind must go hand in hand with Unity of Will if the revolutionary cadre organization is to develop. Structure should be the basis of flexibility, not rigidity.

Both leadership and membership in the revolutionary cadre organization are an art, in the sense that both leaders and members must learn to play creative roles in the development of their mutual relationship. There must be exact rules for the behavior of either leaders or members as there is in a scientific experiment, or in learning an athletic skill, where uniform conditions can be artificially set up and repeated again and again, and derive the same results after each test. However, experience has shown that certain procedures and attitudes can be immediately recognized as contrary to the general dialectical principles of Democratic Centralism. (Democratic centralism is an organizational principle which the minority is subordinate to the will of the majority, and the lower bodies to the higher bodies, while the entire organization is subordinate to the central coordinating committee. All members, committees, and groups of the national liberation front may discuss or constructively criticize and contribute to the development of a particular directive or policy, but once a decision has been made, all members, committees, and groups must abide by it.)

For example, the “rotating chairperson” (which is often proposed in the name of “participatory democracy”), destroys the

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

possibility of leadership playing its essential role as "center." The chairperson must hold office for a period of a time long enough so that s/he can develop the responsibilities of this role. On the other hand, a chairperson who is not constantly listening to the members of his or her committees will soon be speaking only from her or his limitations and will be unable to project to the members a unity which has the richness of variety embodied in it.

A chairperson must be not only efficient at running meetings, but she or he must also be willing to do "propaganda work" among the members of the committee individually in order to develop a common language with them. A leadership which resorts to agitation and exhortation of the membership is usually one which has failed to fulfill its responsibility of projecting programs and positions which embody the relationship between what the revolutionary cadre organization is doing from day to day and the long range role of the FROLINAN in the acceleration of the evolution of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. If the leadership does not fulfill its role of projecting, creating and innovating but is only reacting to the membership, then the tendency is for weaknesses of individual members in FROLINAN to surface, i.e., for individual members to "act up." In this situation leadership, feeling threatened, is tempted to overact, reminding the members of their duties and of its rights, i.e., of the chain of command, and sometimes even to mobilize those members whom it considers more loyal and supportive against those who are "acting up." But this type of administrative, disciplinary, commandist, and subjective behavior on the part of the leadership cannot possibly restore the moral authority of leadership, since by definition the role of leadership is not a defensive but a creative one.

The revolutionary cadre organization must be constantly on guard against the tendency of members on all levels to self-cultivation, i.e., the use of the FROLINAN resources only for the development of the individual groups. On the other hand, if the leadership is not playing its proper role of encouraging the independent creativity of the membership, the tendency of membership is to slip into passivity, merely receiving and supporting instructions from the leadership. As the revolutionary cadre organization then begins to stagnate, leadership again is tempted to exhort the membership to greater efforts and liveliness. But this exhortation is futile, since by definition, agitation of the members is contrary to the role of leadership.

The revolutionary cadre organization leadership should make the development and building of the independence movement the first task of the cadre. To ensure that the revolutionary cadre organization work is responsive to the needs of the independence movement, “politics in command” must be a basic operating principle. Such revolutionary leadership must be uncompromising in building the independence movement in direct relationship to the oppressed New Afrikan masses’ struggles. This also means they must guard against liberalism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionist manipulations in their political commitments.

1. Seek to establish FROLINAN in direct relationship with the New Afrikan masses struggles having the oppressed nation’s struggles become the revolutionary cadre organization’s political determination to fulfill those aspirations;
2. Place “politics in command.” The political program and strategic objectives become the basis from which to secure internal discipline, prevent liberalism and opportunism from subverting the prospects of the revolutionary cadre organization establishing a practical relationship with the New Afrikan masses, and build principled and congenial relationships with other progressives and revolutionaries;
3. Seek greater unity and working relationships amongst other political groups and activists. Combat sectarianism and revisionism by other groups and activists in the struggle by seeking to establish working alliances, coalitions and the consolidation of FROLINAN amongst progressives and revolutionaries of the various nationalities and classes.

The quality of revolutionary cadre organization leadership depends on the ability to apply these three dictates and maintain every condition that serves to consolidate and push forward the independence movement across the country. The revolutionary cadre organization leadership must work to reach a specific goal acknowledgeable of FROLINAN structure, the purpose of



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

FROLINAN and the criteria from which FROLINAN builds, develops and manifest its existence. This revolutionary leadership must hold a deep commitment to the concepts of truth, justice and equality. They must be a statesman in character, capable of speaking to the oppressed masses' discontent, addressing the U.S. imperialist government, the bureaucracy, and all vestiges of neo-colonialism. They must be willing to turn the oppressed New Afrikan masses' cries into words of discontent and upheaval, challenging the imperialist political rhetoric with revolutionary political perspective, analysis proposals for socioeconomic and political change. This revolutionary leadership must be an excellent administrator, being capable of strengthening, disciplining and consolidating the revolutionary cadre organization, to propagate the building of FROLINAN's Three Phase Theory and Program for Decolonization as a living part of the NAIM. In this respect, such an administrator will connect the revolutionary cadre organization with the New Afrikan oppressed masses' struggles, building toward particular goals and objectives within the class and national liberation struggle.

The revolutionary cadre organization leader who is "humanitarian in virtue," a "statesman in character" and an "administrator toward the revolutionary cadre organization" keeping politics in command, in his/her theoretical-ideological determinations of political motivations in struggle, will be most capable of fulfilling the arduous task of professional revolutionary – to make the New Afrikan independence movement.

In all these ways, through living and often painful experiences in the correct and the incorrect handling of the very demanding relationships between leadership and members, the leadership and members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization as a whole will begin to internalize the rhythms of the dialectical as contrasted to the administrative method. This internalization becomes decisive towards handling contradictions between the revolutionary cadre organization and the revolutionary social forces, both in the struggle for power and in the even more important and awesome responsibilities that ensue after seizing power and freeing the land.

### *A-4: Standards & Procedures*

Every collective, whether an organization, a class, a race, or

a nation, must establish standards, i.e., those values and patterns of behavior which all members are expected to strive to embody in their daily thinking and practice, chiefly in order to advance the collective and national unity. A FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization, on the other hand, establishes its standards not only to advance the national liberation front, but in full consciousness of the national liberation front's responsibility to advance the evolution of the New Afrikan Nation.

Starting from this fundamental premise, FROLINAN, as a revolutionary cadre organization in the United States, at this time must establish its standards in the light of two major realities:

1. the particular and contradictory character of the chief revolutionary social forces, subject to conditions of neo-colonialism, and;
2. the protracted struggle that will be necessary to bring about the revolutionary transformation of this society, securing New Afrikan independence.

These realities make it essential that the revolutionary cadre organization adopt as its standards those values which have proved to be most durable and universal in the course of humanity's millennium of development. Such values must include: love and respect for one's own people, not for their sake alone but as a springboard to love and respect other peoples; respect for ideas; dedication; dependability; discipline, self-reliance, and accountability; and care and development of one's body as well as one's mind.

Young people in the United States today, particularly New Afrikan, are potentially the chief revolutionary social force for the overthrow of the present society and securing New Afrikan independence. They are the ones most hostile to the present system and the ones with the maximum energy for fundamental social change. At the same time, these young people both New Afrikan and Euro-American (the latter especially insofar as they have become alienated from their communities and are imitating New Afrikan youth "hip-hop" subculture), are the ones most deficient and lacking in the above values. They are "now" people for the most part, standardless and valueless. Hence, their "revolutionary" energies are most likely to explode in rebellions

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

and rebellious activities of the most negative kind: dropping out, copping out, freaking out, “ripping off” and other helter skelter, individualistic and adventurous actions. Rebels without a positive cause, they have no vision of what the struggle must be for and therefore no concept of the “new woman/man” who must be created through the revolutionary struggle.

Typical of their inability to put the development of the New Afrikan Nation and humanity at the center of their thinking is their endorsement and encouragement of “ripping off” each other (black on black crime), people, and merchants (as representatives of the capitalist system) – as if this could possibly leave unaffected the humanity of those doing the ripping off.

The result of these negative rebellions (gangsterism) is that large sections of the population are becoming completely alienated from the perspective of revolutionary social change, either becoming passive and despairing, or in many cases, actively counter-revolutionary. Thus, instead of increasing the revolutionary potential, these potentially revolutionary social forces are actually decreasing its potential. Most liberals, and these young rebels themselves, are reluctant to face the new reality which is being created by these negative rebellions. Instead, they excuse these rebels by saying that their attitudes and actions are “only” or “in the final analysis” the product of objective and historical conditions and therefore outside their control. They point to the abundance in a capitalist society and electronic media which have provided instant gratification of every physical and psychological want to the youth generation. They point to the barbarism of racism and the genocidal wars in various parts of the world, which have demoralized young people by exposing the dehumanized character of Amerikkkan capitalism, imperialism, and political-economic-academic power structure; and they point to the failure of the older generation over the years to resist this barbarism and inhumanity.

However, in citing objective and historical conditions as an excuse for the negative rebellions and rebelliousness of young people, these liberals and the rebels themselves are evading the crucial contemporary contradiction, which is that on the one hand, these young rebels in their rebellion are the most complete expression of a corrupt valueless society. On the other hand, they and the working class are the ones with the greatest potential to bring this system to an end. In other words, the revolutionary cadre organization cannot wait upon the revolution to change

the objective conditions that have produced these social forces as they are. It must find ways and means, within the present, to bring about revolutionary transformation of these young people in order to make the revolution, i.e., in order to bring about changes in the objective institutions and conditions.

One of the most important ways that the revolutionary cadre organization can do this is by projecting and embodying its own ideas and practices. These values which have proved most universal and enduring throughout the development of humankind, the revolutionary cadre organization itself must insist on the indivisibility of politics and ethics.

This indivisibility of politics and ethics is indispensable to the development of the revolutionary cadre organization for the protracted struggle which lies ahead of it. Without the above standards, it is impossible for those within the revolutionary cadre organization to develop trust in one another and those whom they seek to lead. Without trust, no protracted struggle can possibly be successful.

In affirming the indivisibility of politics and ethics, the revolutionary cadre organization is breaking consciously with the political tradition which has dominated western thought since Machiavelli, 500 years ago, created the science of politics as a question of strategy and tactics. Marx did not challenge this Machiavellian concept chiefly because politics was secondary to what was happening in the process of production. Marx believed the very development of the productive forces and the struggles of the workers against exploitation were creating in the workers the highest standards of collectivity, discipline and social responsibility. For Lenin, politics was much more important than it had been for Marx, but Lenin had conceived the revolutionary party chiefly as a means to increase the hostility of the masses to the system as a whole so that they could then be mobilized in struggle to overthrow the system.

Today, however, in the United States, our historical conditions and therefore our responsibilities can not be the same as Marx and Lenin, just as was the case for Samora Machel in Mozambique, or Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau. Among the revolutionary social forces with whom we are the most concerned, there is no lack of hostility and antagonism to the system as a whole. What they lack is a concept of:

- A. Transformation of man/woman, which must be at

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

the center of revolutionary struggle; and

- B. Of the protracted nature of our struggle for national independence.

Together these require a new concept of the indivisible relations between politics and ethics.

The Standards and Procedures on recruitment are to ensure the revolutionary cadre organization meets with maximum success in this endeavor to construct an effective and highly sophisticated organizing and fighting force capable of sustaining the forward motion in the New Afrikan independence movement. They are also designed to guard against enemy penetration and the irreparable harm which defection and betrayal engender when rooted in ignorance.

The prerequisites for becoming a member of FROLINAN are as follows:

1. Recognition of the existence of the New Afrikan Nation as an oppressed nation within the colonial government of the United States of America in the western hemisphere;
2. Recognition that the Republic of New Afrika is the name and government of the New Afrikan Nation, a government in exile, struggling for the liberation of the National Territory of Kush;
3. Acceptance of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence Creed and Code of Umoja;
4. Recognition and support of the New Afrikan People Liberation Army (NAPLA) as the armed front of the New Afrikan Nation;
5. Support and work to manifest the National Strategy of FROLINAN as the legitimate representative of New Afrikan Independence Movements and work to support all groups in alliance to FROLINAN;
6. Must be anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist,

anti-racist/fascist, anti-sexist, pro-national independence, willing to participate in the class and national liberation struggle for land (Kush) and social democracy;

7. Believe and have faith in the creative ingenuity, spiritual quality, and humanity of our New Afrikan people, and the historically cultural, socio-economic, and political productivity of our struggle for national independence.

### **STANDARDS**

1. Potential members must have demonstrated (or should) an inclination to break with or shed the mentality of the slave, and bourgeois neo-colonial aspirations.
2. Potential members must have displayed a basic understanding of the need for unity in their daily dealing with others.
3. Potential members must have demonstrated a conscious love of humanity in their practice.
4. Potential members must have displayed a conscious desire to emulate the conduct and ethics of the revolutionary cadre organization known to them.
5. Potential members must have outgrown the lust for coveting of material goods.
6. Potential members must have proven record of honesty, integrity, and generosity.
7. Potential members must submit totally to guidance, rules, and policies of the revolutionary cadre organization.
8. Potential members must be prepared to serve

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

and function in any capacity or geographical area designated as required of them in the revolutionary cadre organization.

9. Potential members must be made to understand that the struggle demands a total commitment, a lifestyle, transcending all social levels.
10. Potential members must be able to understand to never speak of FROLINAN internal business or affairs without prior authorization from those in a position of trust, except for that information that is for the general public.

### **PROCEDURES**

1. All recruitment must begin with a sponsor, and that sponsor must be a member of FROLINAN.
2. A sponsor recommending an individual for possible acceptance within the ranks of the revolutionary cadre organization must provide a verbal and/or written background report on the potential member and the nature of that sponsor's past and present relations with the potential recruit.
3. Those in a position of trust are to delegate three cadre members to function as a screening committee to investigate all background information and relevant data provided on the potential recruit by all sources.
4. The screening committee is to have full latitude in the nature of its questioning of a potential recruit and the manner in which it conduct its investigation.
5. Background data is to include a personal history, schools attended, prior places of residence, arrest record, family background, and present and past

political and organizational ties.

6. The screening committee, for all functional purposes, is not a decision body, but instead is an investigating body. Thus, at the end of its investigation, it will render to those in a position of trust, its findings and recommendations.
7. In its determination of its recommendation, the screening committee need not be unanimous in its vote; the majority rules.
8. Those in a position of trust are bound by this determination unless it can be proven to have been arrived at outside the bounds of FROLINAN's principles.
9. In those cases where the screening committee's recommendation is favorable, all investigative findings are to be forwarded by those in a position of trust to the higher authorities for final decision. If that final decision is affirmative, this information will then flow into organization structure to the revolutionary cadre responsible for the maintenance of FROLINAN's active and inactive files.
10. In the case of considering the inclusion of an organization as a front member, such decision will be the responsibility of the Central Coordinating Committee of FROLINAN.

### *A-5: Methods of Evaluation - Criticism & Self-Criticism*

After the completion of every project, no matter how small, there must be a thorough-going evaluation of the project by the revolutionary cadre organization.

Were the purposes of the project fulfilled? Were they clearly defined and understood by everyone involved in the first place – and were they kept in mind throughout the project? Were the methods effective? Were they the best methods or the only ones



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

that could have been chosen? Were schedules maintained and was every step of the process carried out? If some steps of the process were left out, was this harmful to the project or were some of them superfluous from the beginning? What were the achievements and shortcomings of the project, and what lessons can the group learn from it? What were the reasons for the breakdown or failure of the project at any point? Which of these were outside the control of the group and which might be anticipated and prepared for in the future? What were the expense and income from the group as part of the final evaluation? Was every member clear about his/her responsibilities at every stage of the project? Were the resources of the group (skills, contacts, equipment, time) adequate to the project as planned, or did the group exhibit over-confidence and impatience in the planning?

This kind of methodical evaluation is a concrete manifestation of politics in command. In other words, it stems basically from the philosophical conviction that in all relations between human beings and their environment, human beings must assume conscious responsibility for their actions. They must do this to stop the vulgar rationalization of always blaming others or outside conditions and thus seeing themselves as passive victims.

All this may seem very elementary and common sense, but it is far from being obvious either in the general overall political atmosphere of this country, or in the particular atmosphere of the movement's helter skelter, "on-the-go" politics. Amerikkka generally tends to have a technical approach to every project, to try to overpower those whom they are seeking to influence or to defeat by the sheer weight of their analysis, equipment and technology. Or they have a "new frontier" approach. If something doesn't work out so well, or things go bad, they just abandon the project, or the place, or the people involved in it, and go onto something, somewhere, or somebody else. They are always running off to a new beginning.

Because the majority of "movement" people have failed to make a serious examination of Amerikkkan history or its philosophical environment, they have carried these same attitudes into their own activities, simply adding their own special contempt for ideas. Their love of rhetoric, their predisposition to spectacular confrontations, and their hunger for continuing emotional excitement inhibits the development of a thorough analysis and a national strategy. Engaging in activities for the sake of activism, and not in order to test clear convictions in revolutionary social

practice, they have rarely worked out clear programs with purposes, methods, schedules and processes, clearly defined, and therefore capable of careful evaluation. Hopping from one issue to the next, they have not even stayed together long enough to develop a sense of commitment to one another or to a particular constituency, which is prerequisite to the practice of evaluation. Reared in an economy of abundance, they have little or no idea of how many New Afrikan workers have to sweat for every dollar, that over half of all New Afrikans live at or below the poverty line.

Hence, we can judge a political organization by the seriousness with which the organization handles the question of socio-economics and finances. When one realizes how deeply ingrained these helter skelter attitudes and practices are in the objective environment and historical tradition of revolutionary social practice, one realizes how futile it is to depend on rebukes and reprimands to correct them. Rather, through understanding the historical and philosophical roots of these practices, the revolutionary cadre organization can arrive at a firm appreciation of why, by contrast, it must build itself step by step on completely different philosophical foundations, based essentially on the dialectical method of development through collective and protracted struggle.

The theoretical acceptance of this dialectical method, however, by no means guarantees that the attitudes and practices so deeply rooted in the history of NAIM will immediately disappear. To uproot and correct these attitudes and practices on a continuing basis, the revolutionary cadre organization must include a place for constructive criticism and self-criticism on the agenda of every meeting.

The concept of constructive criticism/self-criticism has become a popular phrase in the "movement" when it was integrated into the practices of the Black Panther Party, as a result of the BPP adopting this concept from Mao Tse Tung principles as applied in the protracted struggles leading to the victory of the Chinese Communists. It continues to play a role in the building of a new society in China and in revolutionary struggles elsewhere in Asia, Afrika, and Latin America. Conversely, when the revolutionary movements all over the world were dominated by the D-Day concept of revolution (which had been borrowed mechanically from the example of the 1917 Russian Revolution), criticism used to take the form chiefly of post-mortem analysis. For example,

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

one group or individual would insist that a particular setback in revolutionary development in a particular country was the result of a mistaken policy and therefore of the group or individual sponsoring the policy. Simultaneously, the claim would then be made that if those in charge had pursued the policy of the critic instead, then there would have been success rather than failure. This kind of arrogant subjectivism and hypothetical after thinking is completely foreign to the concept and practice of revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism.

Revolutionary constructive criticism and self-criticism is based, first and foremost on the dialectical concept of development through collective and protracted struggle. It involves the clear recognition that in every situation there is a contradiction which requires a choice between two roads. It involves the recognition that no one is immune from making a mistake or wrong choices, but that the entire group, the individual making the mistake, and indeed everyone concerned with the revolutionary struggle, can learn from the mistakes and wrong choices that have been made by the individual or the group. Moreover, the recognition, the examination, and correction of mistakes and weaknesses all provide additional energy for the advancement and acceleration of revolutionary struggle. This is the dialectical concept of the "dynamic of error."

In order for this "dynamic of error" to develop, the group must be united by certain common principles and ideas. All the members must be committed to common perspectives or a common ideology. They must share common standards, they must be committed in time, and they must share a fundamental recognition of the role that struggle itself plays in developing people and social order. Without these common principles, constructive criticism/self-criticism cannot rise above subjectivity and get to the essence of what is wrong in any particular situation, i.e., the objectivity of the mistake. Essential to the concept of objectivity is the recognition that a mistake is not just an accidental one, i.e., that it is not unique to the particular individual or to the particular occasion. On the contrary, it probably relates to the particular historical environment or to the social background of the individual involved, e.g., bourgeois cultural nationalism and intellectualism, technocratism, male chauvinism and sexism, sectarianism, elitism or permanent rank-and-file-ism. This objectivism enables the entire group to raise its consciousness and helps others with the same background to be on the alert against

these specific weaknesses.

On all levels of the social and political environment it is very difficult to make this kind of objective constructive criticism/self-criticism a real part of daily life and social practice. This again is for the very deep historical reasons already referred to, especially the tendency of New Afrikans to look upon problems as nuisances and headaches, to be gotten rid of by some external means (i.e., alcohol, drugs, pills) rather than as challenges from which one can learn. Therefore, the tendency is to cover up mistakes rather than to admit or grapple with them.

New Afrikans are also very preoccupied with their own personalities or individualities and incline to develop guilt feelings about their own mistakes. For example, an individual may apologize for making a mistake because s/he feels guilty, thinking that s/he is criticizing himself or herself when s/he is really just expressing subjective or personal feelings. Often what is put forward as self-criticism is simply self-protection against further examination of the mistake by others.

Subjectivity and liberalism assumes many different forms, e.g., the protection of one's feelings or those of others; fear of hurting feelings or discouraging people by pointing out their mistakes; attacking those who hurt your feelings by criticism; fear of taking issues with others; and not pointing out the person who makes a mistake or not pointing out mistakes at once, but waiting until the persons involved are less emotionally caught up in their mistakes and then revealing the mistake to absolve them from responsibility.

It is extremely important to not allow one's personal feelings to interfere with the quality of work and commitment essential in maintaining a durable revolutionary cadre organization. Subjectivity and liberalism erode the quality of work and principled relationships amongst revolutionary cadre members.

Embracing Chairman Mao's concepts on combating liberalism as adopted by the former Black Panther Party, FROLINAN must stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization in the interest of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Every revolutionary should take up this weapon. Liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude, and bringing about political degeneration in certain cadres and individuals in FROLINAN and the revolutionary

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

organization. Liberalism manifests itself in various ways:

1. To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship, when a person has clearly gone wrong, and to refrain from principled argument because s/he is an old acquaintance, a fellow "homie" (towns person), a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate – or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, to keep on good terms. The result is both the organization and the individual are harmed.
2. To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces, but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for principles of the collective life, but to follow one's own inclination.
3. To let things drift as if they do not affect one personally. To say as little as possible, while knowing perfectly well what is wrong. To be worldly wise and play it safe, and speak only to avoid blame.
4. Not to obey orders, but to give pride of place to one's own opinions, to demand special consideration from the organization and reject its discipline.
5. To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress, or getting work done properly.
6. To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary views or remarks without reporting them, and instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened.

7. To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries amongst them, and instead to be indifferent to them, and show no concern for their well being, forgetting that one is a revolutionary and behaving as if one were ignorant of the principles and concepts of being a revolutionary.
8. To see someone harming the interests of the New Afrikan masses and not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him/her, or reason with him/her, but to allow him/her to continue.
9. To work half heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along, believing that "so long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell."
10. To regard oneself as having rendered great services to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignment, while being unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study.
11. To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself.

More could be named, but these eleven are the principle types. They are all manifestations of liberalism. Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary cadre organization. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs FROLINAN of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through, and alienates the revolutionary cadre organization from the New Afrikan masses. Liberalism stems from petty bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interest first and the interest of the New Afrikan independence movement second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism. Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

dialectical historical materialism and revolutionary principles.

### **CONDUCT**

Rules of conduct are merely guidelines to disciplined conduct of every member of the revolutionary cadre organization. Discipline is very necessary if our objective is to be achieved. If revolutionary nationalists followed and adhered to strict self-discipline, rules would not be necessary. But to be disciplined to a certain concept, one must know what is required, i.e., rules for principled action. These rules should not conflict with chosen lifestyle, that of being a revolutionary, for revolutionary nationalists have chosen a course whereby if their conduct conflicts with these rules, they could not possibly be working in accord with the philosophy of revolutionary nationalism, or be carrying out the work of national liberation. Therefore, to safeguard and advance FROLINAN, each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible to him/her self and the national liberation front for maintaining and following the rules of conduct:

1. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is a potential leader and must at all times work toward obtaining those qualities that will make him/her the best and most efficient leader, learning when, where, and how to take the initiative.
2. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must develop and maintain consistent study habits of the political and socio-economic area (any and all publications available: books, newspapers, and magazines that will help to give social consciousness), and all materials dealing with the science of struggle and the enemy.
3. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must be selfless, sharing and providing assistance to comrades in the need of basic necessities and outside contacts if at all

possible. Commendation and recognition is to be given for selfless acts. Taking undue advantage of comrades or New Afrikan people must be disciplined.

4. Physical fitness is a must. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must maintain an exercise program. Group practice is desirable and if possible, should be systematic and punctual for cohesive effect.
5. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to refrain from cursing, unnecessary loud talking, screaming, bragging, and boisterous behavior as much as possible.
6. Discussions of pertinent value are desired. There can be no discussion between antagonists; therefore discussions of this nature are discouraged unless it is for the purpose of enhancing one's ability to destroy the enemy.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is to fear constructive criticism. Constructive criticism is the critical view or remark(s) backed by evaluation, knowledge, investigation, propriety, and concern.
8. Among members of the revolutionary cadre organization, there shall be no egoism, vanity, intentional dishonesty, intemperance, and intolerance. We recognize that there are people with different religious, racial, and political views, but members of FROLINAN will always seek to persuade others to the correctness of the revolutionary cadre organization's objectives.
9. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization will diligently struggle to attain the goals, objectives, and general policies to their fullest capacities. They will always be mindful of the quality and quantity of their service,



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

dedication and determination, and to always be willing to do what is required to bring an end to injustice, racism, terrorism and national oppression.

10. Any member of the revolutionary cadre organization in violation of rules must be disciplined according to the violation, and no punishment is to exceed the offense.
11. Each member of the revolutionary cadre organization must make an effort to teach non-members suffering from a lack of self-confidence and/or fear of the national oppressor and its neo-colonial agents, to over-come these obstacles. "Educate to liberate" is the motto for this purpose. To lead through the success of one's practice, leadership must be decisive; without sacrifice or participation in revolutionary activity, there is no leadership.
12. Each revolutionary cadre may establish additional rules in its environment to enhance the harmony in their area, keeping in mind nature of human behavior. such as, maintain respect of female comrades, and the personal relationship between comrades.
13. No rule supersedes tactical purpose, and to facilitate specific plans by design, may be broken.

### *A-6: Organizational Development*

In a revolutionary period like this, when large sections of the population have lost faith in existing institutions, the prevailing tendency in NAIM is diffusion. This is the organizational tendency to form all kinds of groups. Some groups spring together as a result of spontaneous eruption or in order to make the struggle over a particular burning issue more effective. Others are formed chiefly in order to give individuals a sense of belonging to some

collective because they have lost faith in the US government. Others exist for no other reason than that the power structure needs them as channels of communication to the potentially rebellious sections of the society, i.e. agent provocateurs.

Because of this general self-structuring by the masses which is going on all the time, and because this self structuring gathers momentum in a revolutionary period, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization's relations are basically not with single individuals and never with abstract general masses. Instead they are usually with particular groups of various kinds which can range from political to recreational to ethnic to economic. Usually most of these groups are going in their own separate directions which may be parallel or diverging, but rarely converge. However, again because of the revolutionary character of the period, there are many reasons these groups should or could converge to go in a particular direction together, rather than conflict on a particular issue. Usually a particularly raw issue is enough to bring them into conflict, although sometimes a counter-revolutionary or revolutionary group may, for reasons of its own, seek to bring about a clash and cause a split. On the other hand it is unlikely that the many groups which have within them the potential for united action in a revolutionary direction will work for any extended period of time without being under the open or quiet leadership of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

Therefore, the more rapidly various sectors of the population are in the process of self organization, the more important is the role played by FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization. In anticipation of this increasing momentum toward self organization as the crisis deepens, it is never too early in a revolutionary period for the revolutionary cadre organization to begin the painstaking task of organizing. In fact, all previous history (including that of the U.S. in the 60s) shows that once the dam of public confidence in existing institutions begins to break, the diffusion tendencies in the population far exceed the revolutionary cadre organization's ability to provide leadership. In anticipation of this development, it is important that the revolutionary cadre organization forges the means and method to develop alliances, coalitions, and the national liberation front.

Relations between the FROLINAN revolutionary cadre organization and other organizations fall into several distinct categories:

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

1. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can simply join with other organizations in an alliance or coalition as a representative of FROLINAN. This usually happens over a single, limited, momentarily very popular mass issue, usually a defense issue. In this kind of united action, the alliance or coalition usually disappears as rapidly as it appeared, i.e., it is a sporadic or episodic unity that usually does not require the leadership of the revolutionary cadre organization.
2. The revolutionary cadre organization and/or its individual members can take the initiative of bringing together a number of various organizations into a united front [FROLINAN] to carry on an extended struggle for positive goals, e.g., the community control of schools in a particular district and eventually over a much wider area. In this case, because the united front has extended resources, membership, and geographical perspective, the revolutionary cadre organization must undertake to build the united front [FROLINAN]. It is only after it has conducted careful advanced propagandistic preparation of a political constituency and has carefully trained revolutionaries who will be able to influence members of united front [FROLINAN], that they keep the struggle from disintegrating, without assuming actual leadership positions.
3. Individual members of the revolutionary cadre organization can be assigned to join one or more of these organizations, not to take over the leadership, but to influence them in a revolutionary direction. To struggle with them in combating liberalism, opportunism, and sectarian practices (particularly if they are not playing a progressive role in the general movement) they persuade groups to join in a principled way the revolutionary cadre organization practices under

the auspices of FROLINAN.

4. Individual members can sometimes be assigned to help form a group for a particular purpose, e.g., for revolutionary study or to act as a revolutionary current within the general movement of NAIM. In all these relations, FROLINAN revolutionary cadre members are always conscious of their interpenetrating role, i.e., "from the masses to the masses." They are using their contact with these groups to get a better idea of the stage of development of the social forces as well as to influence the direction of the social forces. In this interpenetrating dialectical relationship, they never lose sight of their primary commitment to the revolutionary cadre organization and the protracted struggle of NAIM, no matter how pressing may be a particular issue or how desperately a particular community or organization may want to turn over to the revolutionary cadre members the main responsibility for leading that particular community or organization.

In the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the revolutionary cadre organization must employ certain tactical initiatives to develop the movement. The most necessary tactical initiative must be thorough use of agitation propaganda. The use of agitation propaganda is essential in raising the political consciousness of New Afrikans, to arouse their hatred of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and to enhance their willingness to engage and confront the U.S. colonial government in struggle. Agitation propaganda is the basic means by which a revolutionary class consciousness is forged in every level of the class and national liberation struggle. Because the New Afrikan independence movement is protracted in nature, agitation propaganda must develop from simple slogans, leafletting, and literature toward large rallies, marches, and demonstrations. It must develop into a cultural foundation of the revolution. Such an approach evolves from a means to agitate New Afrikans and propagate the NAIM, to the historical transition of the movement establishing the criteria to sustain itself, forging a living culture

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

of struggle in securing the inevitable victory of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Thus, agitation propaganda in totality is the education of New Afrikans in revolution, and the mobilization of New Afrikans to confront capitalism/imperialism in the course of building the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

By employing such tactical initiatives as agitation propaganda, the revolutionary cadre organization is responsible for establishing the Program for Decolonization, such as food co-ops, tenant strike groups, community patrol systems, free health clinics, day care centers, community liberation schools and so on. These Programs for Decolonization are organized by the revolutionary cadre organization and are jointly led with representatives of the community. The construction of these Programs for Decolonization, led by community representatives, ties both the New Afrikan masses and the representatives of the New Afrikan independence movement together, and ensures that the political program of the revolutionary cadre organization will be thoroughly supported by the New Afrikan masses' participation in the revolutionary independence movement.

These Programs for Decolonization are the arteries of the revolutionary cadre organization [FROLINAN], establishing a life-giving system to build the revolutionary independence movement in the heart of the New Afrikan community. They are essentially part of the defensive mechanism of the independence movement, the survival apparatuses that ensure the needs of the New Afrikan masses are met as part of the revolutionary independence process. Eventually these Programs for Decolonization will develop into a network of community service organizations whose primary concept in class consciousness and being a part of the New Afrikan independence movement is to establish alternative social services which the enemy colonial government is not adequately providing. All of this is the expansion and entrenchment of the revolutionary cadre organization in the New Afrikan community, complemented by establishing collectives in rural areas, and develop communes in township and farm areas.

The revolutionary cadre organization must have the various Programs for Decolonization in support of the New Afrikan Independence Movement thoroughly entrenched in the hearts of both urban and rural communities, establishing the national strategy and political program of FROLINAN. This is termed the "Social Development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement," when the revolution becomes a social movement,

culturally – inspired and politically – determined toward liberation of the national territory of Kush.

### **CODE OF ETHICS:**

The purpose of this Code of Ethics is:

1. To develop a clear line of the revolutionary cadre organization expectations;
2. To develop a clear line of organizational and political precepts for FROLINAN cadre members to adhere to;
3. To develop clear and just methods of revolutionary cadre organizational discipline, and to facilitate the enforcement of FROLINAN policies and rules;
4. To combat and eradicate unprogressive patterns and attitudes among members of FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization;
5. To develop ideological and political cohesion within NAIM;
6. To bring the people and the revolutionary cadre organization to a closer and more harmonious relationship in unity and struggle toward freeing the land.

The success of this Code of Ethics rests with each and every participant in the New Afrikan independence movement. If the independence movement is to move forward, correct its mistakes, and fortify the revolutionary cadre organization, then it is essential all revolutionary nationalists carry out their revolutionary duties at all times, and seek to promote FROLINAN and the revolutionary cadre organization.

1. Under no condition will there be any fighting between members of the revolutionary cadre

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

organization and FROLINAN.

2. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will show respect to all New Afrikans in word and actions.
3. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization should attempt to be polite and courteous to all people, regardless of race, creed or color.
4. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will place any material commodity above or before FROLINAN, the people, or the New Afrikan Independence Movement.
5. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will display or have an arrogant, disdainful, belittling or chauvinistic attitude.
6. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization is permitted to use, produce, distribute, process, fund, or take part in the sale of heroin, cocaine (in any form), LSD, or PCP. Nor will they take any type of pill for the purpose of getting high (uppers or downers) and no member of FROLINAN will distribute such pills or take part in the sale of such pills or other illegal drugs.
7. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will engage in the sale of marijuana, or the funding or solicitation of marijuana operations.
8. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will ever appear in public intoxicated or under the influence of marijuana, alcohol, or any other illegal drug.
9. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization shall lie about his/her position

## *FROLINAN Handbook*

within the revolutionary cadre organization to another member, nor shall any member divulge his/her position (or the position of another) to a non-member.

- 10.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will reveal FROLINAN secrets to anyone.
- 11.No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will use the influence or reputation of FROLINAN for his/her personal interest.
- 12.All cadre leaders are to set up decolonization programs and/or classes in political and physical education, first aid, weaponry, and other topics such as nutrition and horticulture which will enable New Afrikans to better survive, and to be able to contribute to the survival of the revolutionary cadre organization.
- 13.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are expected to take part in the established decolonization programs and classes.
- 14.All cadre leaders will see to it that all members of the revolutionary cadre organization know and are taught how to defend themselves, and how to fire, break down, and clean firearms.
- 15.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will carry out orders given to them by their cadre leader or staff member.
- 16.All members of the revolutionary cadre organization are potential leaders and are expected to take the initiative and develop themselves to the utmost, so as to be capable of taking the initiative and providing leadership whenever it is needed.
- 17.All members of the revolutionary cadre



## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

organization will read FROLINAN's Handbook, and put to memory the code of ethics, rules of conduct, ways to combat liberalism, and points of attention as part of their everyday lives.

18. When a cadre leader is not available, members will vote and appoint one, on the merit of knowledge, experience, dedication, and courage.
19. All cadre leaders are to make available an avenue through which members can air grievances. There must exist a conscientious effort on the part of the cadre leader to resolve these grievances in a humane, patient, and sensitive manner.
20. Cadre leaders are to send dispositions of all grievances to the coordinating council or committee for review.
21. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization who are imprisoned will report immediately upon release to a designated cadre leader or other instructed location.
22. No member of the revolutionary cadre organization will take part in any type of gambling or betting or lotteries.
23. All members of the revolutionary cadre organization will participate in national elections pertaining to the development of FROLINAN and the government of the Republic of New Afrika.

### **Points of Attention:**

- A. Speak politely.
- B. Pay fairly for what you buy.
- C. Pay for what you damage.
- D. Do not hit or swear at New Afrikans or other oppressed people.

## FROLINAN Handbook

- E. Do not damage the property of the poor oppressed masses.
- F. Do not take liberties with women or men.
- G. Exert the maximum efforts to eliminate drinking, marijuana, drug, and tobacco products.
- H. Practice nutritional diets, fasting, and eating less.
- I. Learn to make bread from scratch, and how to preserve and can foods.
- J. Learn to grow and raise crops and produce.
- K. Decrease the time in which you watch TV; increase study time.
- L. Uphold organizational discipline. Tell people no lies; claim no easy victories.
- N. Listen to New Afrikan and other oppressed people to know and meet their needs.
- O. Show compassion and understanding to the oppressed New Afrikan masses who have suffered from the womb to the tomb.
- P. Try passionately and relentlessly to educate the oppressed New Afrikan masses and to learn from them.
- Q. Exercise your mind and body each day.
- R. Always set a good example for others to follow, adhering to the principles of FROLINAN.
- S. Popularize and act in accordance with the slogan, *If you will do nothing for liberation, then do nothing against liberation* – always applying theory and practice to break the chains of national oppression.

The rules, standards and procedures, methods of combating liberalism, code of ethics, and points of attention must be internalized, for they are vital to the development of revolutionary consciousness amongst New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, and to setting the proper example for the New Afrikan Nation.

It is hereby offered to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, FROLINAN's Handbook for Revolutionary Nationalist Cadres, in hopes that all revolutionary nationalists will establish study groups and study the National Strategy of FROLINAN. We hope that revolutionary nationalists will begin the necessary dialogue to bring into existence the national liberation front, applying the principles and concepts here

## *We Are Our Own Liberators*

elucidated, toward freeing the land and establishing the Republic of New Afrika.

*“Theory and Practice to Break the Chains of National Oppression”*

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