1966 sanitiation strike resulted in mass support from the black community of St. Petersburg. Here masses demonstrate in front of city hall for better wages and working conditions of black sanitation workers.

of colonial education: the high expulsion and suspension rates for African students; the humiliating treatment afforded to African students by North American professors; and the inferior education African students receive from schools which are located in our communities.

This kind of mass movement will be obviously guided by spontaneity, having no meaningful, or realistic strategic aims, and forever being victimized and run in circles by tactical moves of colonial administrators who are committed to maintaining the colonial relationship which exists between our people and the U.S. North American state.

To do work in such a mass movement, as we necessarily must, would require a different tactical approach than working in a mass movement with projected strategical aims. To do work in such a movement would require that we unite with the movement in its aspirations to upgrade the education of African people, while at the same time, using massive propaganda, educate the people to the correct nature of the contradiciton, and criticize the present incorrect course of the mass movement. From this vantage point, while still showing unity with the movement, raise slogans, and project aims which capture the true contradictions, thereby pushing the struggle forward.

When I say we must unite with the aspirations of such a mass movement, I

mean exactly that. We cannot use the tactic of Standing On The Wayside And Yelling From Afar. We should be the most trusted fighters within the mass movement. The masses must understand our fidelity to our people and our cause, and this can only be understood if we are side-by-side, with the people, in the thick of any deeply-felt struggle being waged.

Principled unity with the movement would also generally require that our efforts be directed at winning the people rather than smashing the movement, since struggle, even spontaneous struggle, heightens the fighting capacity of the people. The great problem is not so much the spontaneity of the masses, but rather it is one to be determined by our ability to give leadership to the people should spontaneous mass struggle develop.

PROJECTING STRATEGICAL AIMS

However, the type of mass movement we want to talk about is not a spontaneous mass movement. The type of movement we are concerned with at this time is a mass movement which does project long-term, strategic aims, one which is not built from spontaneous mass activity, but which has its genesis in ideological presuppositions and political predetermination.

The fact that we are concerned with "building" a mass movement is an indication of "intent." "Building" a mass movement, as opposed to simply working with a mass movement, is an indication of purpose, and to the extent that such an attempt to build a mass movement is wedded to long-term, strategic aims, has its basis in ideological clarity designed to realize political objectives, and is guided by our advanced fighters, the movement will not be characterized by spontaneity and will be capable of advancing our general struggle for political independence through self-liberation.

Any mass movement that we are building should have its basis in our attempt to realize our tactical and strategical objectives for liberation. In the last analysis, it will be our attempts to realize these objectives which will determine the political aspects of building a mass movement.

Our tactical and strategical objectives for liberation will help us to determine which forces contribute naturally, through their own self-motion, to the realization of political independence. They will help us to determine which forces, although incorrect in their direction, are not hostile toward or antagonistically contradictory to our ultimate aims and which may therefore be worked with. They will also help us to identify those forces which are hostile, and which consciously serve the forces of imperialism and African colonization. In other words, in our efforts to build mass movements we must be guided by tactical and strategical objectives for liberation if we are to separate what is historically necessary from that which is historically "guessesary."

My point here is simply this: At the moment we have determined our tactical and strategical objectives for liberation, we have completed our most serious task for determining the political aspects of all our work, including building a mass movement.

Therefore I would like to discuss briefly and generally what these tactical and strategical objectives for liberation should include as they relate to building a mass movement.

WIN THE PEOPLE TO INDEPENDENCE

Our first and most important objective should be to WIN BLACK PEOPLE TO THE POSITION OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. If the masses of Black people are not won over to the position of independence, there will be no independence for Black people. It is as simple and clear as that.

If we can agree that the masses of our people must be won to the position of independence as a prerequisite for liberation, we can already see that we automatically begin to give political definition to our work of building a mass movement. It is obviously in our best interests to identify those forces within the dispersed African colony which are most sympathetic to the Independence movement, and after so identifying them, we must win them, or a