

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 indentifying them, we must win them, or a sizeable sector of them, over to the idea of building a mass movement which meets our common strategical objective of winning our people to the position of independence.

When we talk here of the need to win our people to the position of independence it must not be assumed that our people are anti-independence or hostile to the notion of independence. Nothing could be further from the truth! Our problem here is that the independence movement has done too little in the area of systematizing and spreading a philosophy of independence which would give us the kind of philosophical influence with our people presently wielded



by the anti-independence philosophy of "Integrationism." And even in those areas where we do put forward some philosophical clarity we have too often failed, or have been unwilling to provide consistent practical leadership for the day-to-day struggles of our people which would give real meaning to the value of our philosophy in the real world.

Therefore, it seems clear to me that when we talk about realizing the strategic objective of winning our people to the position of independence we should be prepared to do so through mass propaganda and agitational work, while in the heat of mass-felt and identified struggle.

When we talk about building a mass movement, then, we are talking about doing so with the predetermined idea of realizing the strategic objective of winning our people to the position of inde-