



*Wearing red T-shirts emblazoned with the call "Victory to the People of Southern Africa," the Soweto Brigade moved 600 strong through the streets of DC on African Liberation Day. Working class youth and students from the Midwest, South and East Coast united with 1000 other demonstrators in marching on the White House May 28.*

## **Blow to Rulers, Foundation for Future**

# **1600+ March for African Freedom**

More than 1600 people celebrated African Liberation Day 1977 with a powerful march on the White House that not only expressed solidarity with the rising freedom struggle in southern Africa but was in itself a powerful blow against the U.S. ruling class and its schemes to continue dominating that area. The demonstration and rally was more than just large. It was militant and politically focused clearly on supporting the real struggle in southern Africa and linking that struggle with the struggle of the American working class and people against national oppression and imperialism. It was multinational and forged strong bonds of unity among all those who took part in it.

The success of the demonstration despite many obstacles which arose in building it—from opportunists of various stripes working to sabotage a united ALD to the KKK spewing its racist poison on behalf of the rich—shows the strong sentiments of support for the African liberation fighters which are growing among the American people. The march and the campaign leading up to it were in fact an impetus to building continued powerful support for African liberation and rebuilding the African Liberation Support Committee as an important rallying center for such struggle.

The hammer blows of the people of southern Africa against the white settler regimes now going on called for a powerful demonstration of support here, and people came forward to take up the task. Among them were many members of the African Liberation Support Committee, which once led mass ALD rallies but has been crippled by the antics of self-serving dogmatist factions recently. When members of the Workers Viewpoint Organization in ALSC obstructed plans to form a coalition to build such a demonstration, several chapters of ALSC moved on their own to form the African Liberation Day Coalition (ALDC).

Another difficulty they faced was the fact that the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, a Pan-Africanist outfit headed by Stokely Carmichael was also planning an event in Washington, around politics which failed to truly aid the struggle in Africa, to hit the U.S. ruling class and expose its Soviet rivals for their crimes or to show the true links between that struggle and the struggles of Black people and of all working people right here in the U.S. At the same time the organizing done by Carmichael's group and especially the fact that they held the permit for the traditional ALD rally site, Malcolm X Park in Washington, D.C., meant that their rally would probably draw a fair-sized crowd, the majority of them coming to show their solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia. This presented the problem of struggling for some form of united action with the AAPRP without capitulating to narrow nationalism, support for Soviet imperialism, or sacrificing the real purpose of an ALD demonstration.

Just as the only way to overcome the WVO dogmatists in ALSC was to begin the work of uniting all possible forces in the kind of coalition that was necessary, there was no way to jam Carmichael, except through building that coalition and organizing the kind of demonstration that could genuinely build support for and solidarity with African liberation.

Because of the difficulties faced in even getting off the ground, the Coalition began its full campaign less than two months before ALD. By this time it had hundreds of endorsements ranging from Julian Bond to the Iranian Students Association and active participation by dozens of militants from the Black liberation struggles, including even whole organizations like the People's College, a group with its roots in the Black movement of the '60s and early African liberation support work; and the Revolutionary Workers Congress, an organization with origins largely in the now defunct Black Workers Congress; as well as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Revolutionary Student Brigade and a number of local Youth In Action groups.

### **Theme of Demonstration**

How, given serious contradictions and a limited amount of time, was it possible to build such a significant demonstration? One important factor was the general theme for the campaign: "Fight National Oppression and Imperialism from the USA (Union of South Africa) to the USA (the United States of America)." This spoke to the real feelings among the masses, especially the Black masses, among whom there are strong feelings of kinship and solidarity with the people of southern Africa. At the same time it laid a basis for a scientific understanding of the actual similarities and differences between the two "USAs," for multinational unity against a common enemy and for making the U.S. ruling class and its Soviet rivals clear targets in the battle. None of these were offered, for instance, by the AAPRP actions which were built for under slogans about how until all Africa is "united under a socialist government," Black people everywhere, including the U.S., will have no "national home." This approach discouraged workers and others who are not Black from taking part and slid over the key task of focusing attention on the situation in southern Africa and building real support for and ties with it. Furthermore, the AAPRP rally upheld the Soviet Union and Cuba as "socialist," covering for their crimes in Angola and Ethiopia and their efforts to extend Soviet domination throughout southern Africa.

Those organizing for the demonstration concentrated their efforts primarily among strata and groups which were most ready to move around ALD, in particular Black people, students and youth, and in cities close to the D.C. rally site, particularly Washington itself. At the same time, the importance of winning workers to take part in an organized way in the demonstration was not slighted as the large workers contingent called for by the National Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, made up of hundreds of workers of many nationalities, clearly showed.

Because the tradition of mass militant ALD's had faded in the absence of clear leadership recently, and because a number of different forces were calling for ALD activities in Washington, May 28, not to mention other cities, the march on the White House could not be built simply by saying, "Come to African Liberation Day" or by proclaiming, "Ours is the real ALD."



# West Coast, Hawaii Celebrate ALD

Although African Liberation Day 1977 was centered in Washington, D.C. it was celebrated in cities around the country. Among these events were a series of actions and forums on the West Coast and in Hawaii built around the line of the march on the White House, of uniting to "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA to the USA!" Hundreds who could not make it to D.C. took part to show their solidarity with the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

As elsewhere in the country, mobilization for ALD included not only agitation but action. One of the most important demonstrations took place May 24 at the elite Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon. Over 200 students from Lewis and Clark and Portland State, along with a number of workers from the area, stopped a scheduled speech by the acting South African ambassador, Jeremy Sheaver, cold. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade and other active students helped defeat the line that the school's "esteemed guest" Sheaver had a right to peddle his racist trash under the signboard of "free speech." Not only did the action spark controversy and mobilize new forces against the *apartheid* system, it was a concrete blow against the U.S. ruling class' efforts to prettify South Africa's rulers as "reasonable men."

ALD demonstrations were held in a number of cities including Portland, Los Angeles and Oakland, California. The Oakland march, sponsored by the Committee for African Liberation, drew over 200 people from around the Bay Area. One of the targets of the march

was the Oakland City Council, which has \$16,600,000 of city workers' retirement money invested in companies with big stakes in South Africa. It is small wonder that the Oakland cops did their best to stop the demonstration, denying it street permits for downtown Oakland and taking pictures and making harassing jay-walking busts when the demonstrators marched anyway.

The successful rally was followed three days later by a demonstration that packed the chambers at the city council meeting demanding the investments be withdrawn and charges against those arrested at the rally be dropped. The mayor made a stab at defending *apartheid*, saying on his vacation to South Africa he learned "the people there don't have it as bad as you think—they're better off working for 53 cents an hour than living out in the country with no jobs." The crowd erupted in anger and the mayor quickly eased out of the room.

Another form ALD activities took was educational forums, with the *Worker* for the Los Angeles area sponsoring one a few days after the demonstration there and one held in Hawaii on the 28th. People at the Hawaii forum heard a speaker from Azania lay out the conditions in his homeland and how the masses are rising against them. The gathering voiced its solidarity with the struggling peoples of Africa and with the demonstrations that were taking place on the mainland, like the Washington march where a telegram of support from Hawaii was read to loud applause. ■

The KKK, skulking in the dark of night five days before the march, spray painted the assembly point in Kalorama Park with racist slogans and smashed the window of the ALD Coalition office with a note threatening the march with the Klan's "wrath," declaring, "Our white brothers throughout D.C. will stand together to keep you out of Kalorama."

The Coalition responded rapidly. A leaflet was printed with the Klan's threat and the Coalition's answer, declaring the march would go on and ending in the call, "Black-Latin-White—Unite to Roll Over the Klan!" A delegation of Black and white workers, including a former active member of ROAR, the reactionary and racist group in Boston, painted over the filth in Kalorama with the march slogans and went to the Senate building office of West Virginia Senator Byrd, a former open Klan member, to put those who rule this country on notice that the Coalition members knew who was behind and benefited from the Klan's actions—the rich bankers and capitalists. This bold defiance of the night-riders' threats won wide support from people in the D.C. area.

## Nazis Beaten

Although the Klan got together a few marchers, they stayed several blocks away as the marchers assembled in Kalorama Park the morning of May 28. Their white supremacist blood brothers in the Nazi Party were either stupider or more in need of martyrs—a handful of them actually showed up at the assembly point in helmets and full regalia. Within a minute of their arrival they were running, badly beaten, for the safety of police lines. White, Black, Latin, Asian, worker, student, vet, male, female—everyone had swarmed toward them to try and get a shot in!

Like the fighting spirit of the crowd, its numbers swelled as buses, vans and cars from the Midwest, the South, and the length of the Eastern Seaboard unloaded and demonstrators lined up. The rear of the march was guarded by a contingent of Vietnam veterans who marched carrying small flags attached to large sturdy staffs, in case the Klan got any ideas about carrying out their threats. Soon the marchers swung out of the park and into the streets of D.C., where they met an enthusiastic reception in the poor neighborhoods which make up much of the city. More people joined the march as it passed.

The demonstration rallied opposite the White House, pointing at the rulers of this country for their continued efforts to keep control of southern Africa. Speakers focused on the current situation in southern Africa, the reactionary role of the U.S. and USSR, and how to support the people's struggles, both directly and by building the struggle of the U.S. working class and people against the ruling class here.

Among the best received speeches were those of David Sibeko, a representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania who represented the iron determination of his people to win their freedom by any means necessary, and Fred Walters, a 62 year old white worker from Mississippi. Walters, the head of the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Workers Union, brought the house down when he described how desperately the rich strive to keep Black and white from uniting and then pointed out their failure, looking out over the multinational crowd and declaring, "Just look around here!"

The closing speaker, Abdul Alkalimat from the ALD Coalition, talked about the importance of the holiday and then emphasized that ALD was not something that was over for another year, but a solid foundation on which to further develop solidarity with southern Africa, as the struggle there blazes to new intensity.

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## ALD...

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If people were to take part in the demonstration, they had to understand its character. Popularizing the ALD theme and other slogans like "Victory to the People of Southern Africa!" and "U.S. Out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!" was only one part of this task.

The key, however, was to use the period leading up to ALD to build concrete support for the liberation struggles in three ways: first, to educate the American people as to the situation in southern Africa and the U.S. government's role in preserving it, which was done through educational conferences on campuses, slide-shows, meetings and leaflet campaigns in communities and at plants; second, collecting material aid for the liberation fighters, particularly clothing, shoes and medical supplies; and third, holding demonstrations that hit at the *apartheid* system itself, like campus pickets and building seizures against investments in South Africa and demonstrations against banks peddling the South African Kruggerand gold coin.

### Active Struggle Key

All three of these tasks were interconnected. For example, when Coalition members in Georgia helped arrange for Atlanta Hawks stars Lou Hudson and Walt Bellamy to give their basketball sneakers to a representative of the Azanian guerillas, it did more than just spur further donations—it served as a good beginning point in explaining ALD and southern Africa.

Of the three tasks, the most important was demonstrations and especially the ALD march itself. Struggle itself provided solid education not only for those who took part in the actions and had their understanding deepened but for those who saw the actions or heard about them in the media. And demonstrations which hit and expose the U.S. ruling class and hinder its freedom to maneuver and covertly support the white settler governments are the most valuable form of aid the masses here in the homeland of the imperialists oppressors of the people of southern Africa can provide.

Those engaged in building the campaign learned a great deal in the course of the work. One of the main things was how sharply broad sections of the Black masses felt the similarity of the oppression they face with that of Azanian blacks under *apartheid*. This is not to say that the ALD campaign was not controversial. On the one hand, even among backward elements in various sections of society there is little disagreement that *apartheid* is a bad, even criminal system which should be done away with. On the other hand, the Carter-Young "human rights" pitch, claiming that negotiations and U.S. pressure will bring about "gradual change" and "majority rule," has won support among

a good number of people and confused many others. For this reason, a lot of the ALD work focused on exposing Andy Young as front man for this country's capitalists and showing how he and Carter are serving their interests at the expense of the South African and American masses.

### Broad Response

This kind of intense political work resulted in an even greater than expected degree of support for and participation in the march on the White House. For instance, in Chester, Pennsylvania, a predominantly Black factory town near Philadelphia, the African Liberation Day Coalition became a real force in the community, holding street rallies and slideshows that drew up to 200 people at a given time. In Boston, organizers' phones were practically ringing off the wall in the last few days before the demonstration with calls from people who had seen leaflets or posters. The number of busses from New England had to be increased from one to four!

In Washington, there were particular problems in building the demonstration. Since many D.C. residents automatically think of ALD as taking place in Malcolm X Park, much of the agitation and postering the Coalition did had the effect of mobilizing for the AAPRP demonstration. One of the things that helped break down this confusion was the entrance onto the scene of the Ku Klux Klan.



Vietnam vets turn over old uniforms to David Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania. Stating that they had worn such uniforms fighting for the profits of the rich and that they were now giving them as concrete aid in the fight against them, the VVAW members asked Sibeko to accept the clothing for the African freedom fighters.





*Long Live Soweto! The uprising of the masses of Azanian people last year shook the foundations of the racist, white minority rule in South Africa and beamed out as a clarion call, rallying tremendous international support for the liberation struggles of the people of southern Africa. In the past year the struggle of the Azanian people has deepened and spread. The role of the U.S. imperialists in propping up South Africa has been further exposed, despite all the empty talk of Andy Young and the Carter administration about their support for majority rule. The U.S. delegation walked out on a UN meeting commemorating the Soweto uprising one year ago in which 600 blacks were murdered by South African gestapo police. But in the face of intensified repression which has jailed tens of thousands, the June 16 anniversary of Soweto brought new militant demonstrations as thousands of Azanians stood up to the regime's violence in the name of freedom and self-determination. The youth in the picture above express their hatred for police who confronted them in the Rockville section of Soweto as they left a memorial service for the 600 people killed last year.*

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The entire march and rally stood out in sharp contrast to the other ALD events in Washington that day. Uniting with Workers Viewpoint and the section of ALSC they dominated had never really been a question. The very existence of the Coalition demo was such a clear criticism of their sectarian line of making ALSC's main purpose a recruiting and training ground for the advanced, that they were forced to call their own march in order to appear to have any concern for the struggle at all. Their effort drew only a couple hundred people, many of whom drifted away as they found out WVO was more concerned about denouncing the other demonstrations than the U.S. ruling class.

### Carmichael's Rally

Carmichael was another kettle of fish. Continued attempts to form a united AAPRP/ALDC demonstration were unsuccessful, but the effort was not wasted. The issue of a united demonstration was made an open question by the Coalition, not only in the meetings of its local chapters but among the masses at large.

Wherever Carmichael spoke, he was confronted by Coalition members demanding his reasons for refusing to unite. An open letter challenging him to unite and to debate the issues was posted throughout Washington and a petition circulated, particularly among Black intellectuals and activists. All this work put the burden of blame for the existence of two separate rallies on Carmichael's hands. And in this situation, when the separate ALDC demonstration finally took place its stand and goals became even clearer.

Without the perspective of, in the words of the ALDC newsletter, "uniting all those who can be united to stand in solidarity with the African people, attack our own rulers for messing over Africa and us, and also stand against the Soviet Union," the AAPRP wound up sponsoring a big cultural festival and party in Malcolm X Park. A long series of speeches were generally ignored by most of those present.

The real impact and strength of the march on the White House was underlined by the fact that after ALD, All-African People's Revolutionary Party spokesmen tried to pull a one hundred and eighty degree switch and blame the Coalition for the lack of a united demonstration! What this amounts to is an unsolicited testimony to the effectiveness and importance of the White House demonstration, which was built based on a scientific analysis of the situation in Africa and on the spirit of internationalism—of supporting every struggle of the masses worldwide against oppression, of the mutual support inherent in every battle against the common imperialist enemy, of the special task of the working class and masses in an imperialist country to expose and weaken its own ruling class. Because Carmichael spurned all efforts to build a united demonstration, the two ALDs stood in sharp contrast, and the weaknesses of the AAPRP action, built on vague and idealist narrow nationalism, were evident even to its organizers.

### New Unity

This bears out the analysis put forward in the excerpts from the report of the RCP's Central Committee printed in last month's *Revolution*. There will continue to be "more upsurges of struggle of the oppressed nationalities against their national oppression," but these

will develop in new ways, reflecting the new spiral which is beginning in the development of the class struggle. Furthermore, it shows that, particularly if communists play their role correctly "this fight will not, as in the past, be separate from, but linked in a revolutionary alliance with the overall working class movement."

That this development is already beginning was in evidence on May 28. For many who took part in or saw the demonstration, the most impressive thing about it was the unity of different nationalities, drawn together in struggle. And this unity itself was a powerful additional force drawing more people of all nationalities into the demonstration.

This spirit was reflected in every contingent. It began with the leading, large and fiery contingent of youth and students—the Soweto Brigade—who marched in formation wearing bright red T-shirts silkscreened with the ALD emblem and whose faces mirrored the same strong spirit seen in those of Azanian youth. This unity, strength and determination was especially evident in the contingent of over 350 workers. Their life experience as wage slaves to the capitalist class gave them a strong basis to really understand the role of imperialism in using and promoting national oppression and national divisions to preserve the profits and power of a few at the expense of the many. The presence of significant contingents of students from other countries lent international solidarity to the march.

### ALSC

One other thing the ALD march made clear is the need for a fighting organization that can build support for the African liberation struggle in this critical period, and provide a rallying point for the motion among the masses around this question. After the rally dozens of activists who had worked on the ALD campaign stayed in the area another day to lay some plans. It was agreed that at the present time it is incorrect to let the sectarians of WVO destroy what is left of the African Liberation Support Committee and drag in the dirt its proud reputation as a front-line force in the fight for African freedom and against imperialism and national oppression. Representatives of several of the remaining ALSC chapters and others formed an organizing committee to rebuild ALSC, beginning by establishing solid chapters in several major cities.

The organizing committee also adopted the ALD slogan "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA to the USA," as its central theme.

The ALSC will focus its chief efforts on winning support for African liberation, and, as African Liberation Day 1977 proved, the slogan lays out the correct approach for building genuine solidarity with the heroic southern African people and for delivering the most powerful blows to the imperialists who attack and bleed us from USA to USA. ■

## Desperate Crime of Rhodesian Racists

# Mozambique, ZIPA Beat Back Invasion

On May 29, troops of the racist Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith invaded Mozambique in an effort to smash Zimbabwean guerilla bases. This outrageous aggressive move failed to achieve its stated goal and revealed the rapid weakening of white minority rule over Zimbabwe.

Rhodesian forces penetrated 60 miles into Mozambique and captured the town of Mapai. It was a repeat on a more massive and far-reaching scale of Rhodesia's invasion of Mozambique last August when they massacred over 500 Zimbabwe refugees in the UN camp at Nyazonia. Despite the proclamation of the Rhodesian government that they would hold Mapai until all the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) forces were driven from the border region, they were forced to withdraw a few days later. The Rhodesian Defense Minister admitted that in the heavy armored attack accompanied by air support the Rhodesian troops were able to capture or kill only 32 freedom fighters. ZIPA retaliated on May 31 with a heavy attack on the Rhodesian base camp at Villa Salazar.

The invasion of Mozambique brought a wave of international condemnation that further isolated the Smith regime, although the U.S. and British imperialists contented themselves with some mild hand-wringing and admonitions to the Rhodesian government that such actions would only worsen its plight. Zambia declared that a state of war exists between that country and Rhodesia, joining Mozambique which made a similar declaration last year.

It is a very bleak picture that confronts the leaders of the white settler state of Rhodesia as they struggle desperately to hang on to a rule that has virtually en-

slaved the 4½ million Zimbabweans. And it grows bleaker by the day as the liberation forces grow stronger and thousands of new recruits come into the training camps. There are only 250,000 white settlers in Zimbabwe and many see that Rhodesia is doomed, pouring out of the country at a rate of almost 1000 per month with the pace of the exodus quickening. Immediately after the Mozambique invasion the Smith regime announced that all white men under 38 years of age would be required to do a minimum of six months a year in military service and those under 50 a minimum of 70 days.

Despite continuing shipments of much needed oil and petroleum products to Rhodesia by Mobil, Standard Oil, Texaco, Shell and other U.S. and European petroleum companies, and continued aid from South Africa, the Rhodesian economy is slipping towards collapse. According to *The New York Times*, the direct costs to the Rhodesian government in carrying out the war are almost one million dollars a day.

The *Times* reports that there is increasing talk among Rhodesians that the government will have to cede the rural areas to the guerillas and attempt to draw its defense perimeters around the urban areas. The government is already paying almost \$8 million a year in subsidies to white farmers who are unable to work their farms because of guerilla attacks and military call-ups. The Rhodesian Foreign Minister recently urged the whites to prepare to "fight to the last cartridge." But this bluster can't hide the fact that the Rhodesian reactionary regime is on its last legs and its days are numbered. ■