

SUPERPOWERS CLASH IN ANGOLA US-USSR MOVING TOWARD WAR! Attempted Partition Of Angola Likely!



On December 10th, in Harlem New York a large militant demonstration sponsored by the newly reorganized Afrikan Liberation Support Committee was held to show support for the only correct line regarding the civil war in Angola instigated by U.S. and U.S.S.R. imperialist contention for control of Angola, Southern Afrikan and the whole southwest Atlantic: Superpowers Out of Angola! Only a National Unity Government of All 3 Liberation Movements Can End Civil War in Angola!!

**Call For National Unity
Government and Superpowers Out
Is Only Correct Line.
OAU Meets Amid Division
And Intrigue**

The bloody Civil War in Angola escalates and thousands of Angolans continue to be slaughtered, caught in the international vise of superpower contention between U.S. imperialism and U.S.S.R. social imperialism.

The most important question in the Angolan situation remains - Who is the real enemy? What is the principle contradiction that results in the collapse of 2 previous agreements between the three liberation movements calling for the formation of a transitional government of national unity?

Who is the real enemy that has caused the massacre of more Angolans in a self-destructive civil war than were killed during the entire 14 year armed struggle against the Portuguese that began in 1961 and waged by all three liberation movements. . . the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA.

We should be absolutely clear that the real enemy in Angola is imperialism, the worldwide quest for surplus value (profit) hegemony and spheres of influence by U.S. imperialism and Soviet

social imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds). This contention between the two superpowers extends to all parts of the world - Europe, (which is the main focus of their contention), the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Afrika. This contention increases the danger of world war which along with revolution are the two sharpest contradictions in the world today.

U.S. and U.S.S.R. contention for strategic control of Angola and the whole Southwest Atlantic, Angola being rich in oil, diamonds and other minerals is an important prize for either of the two superpowers.

The three Angolan liberation movements (MPLA, UNITA, FNLA) had successfully beaten Portuguese colonialism forcing the Portuguese pull out from Angola on November 11, 1975, adding Angola to the list of newly independent nations in Afrika in the same year (Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Principe, Comoro Island and Sao Tome). It was in Alvor,

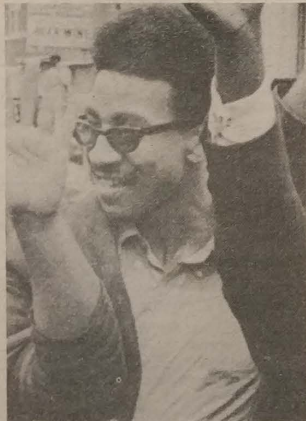
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Word On Rap

*An interview
with Ed Brown*

We'd like to thank Ed Brown for this interview. His brother H. Rap Brown is presently serving a 12-20 prison sentence at Green Haven Prison, Stormville, N.Y., which is a large behavior modification center. This interview was taped in December 1975, New York City. H. Rap Brown symbolized the rebellion and militancy of the Black Nation in the mid 1960's-70's, and he is a former Chairman of SNCC and a revolutionary nationalist who led the resistance to our national oppression. The FBI created the Cointelpro, Counterintelligence Program, to direct its most vicious attacks against the leadership of the black liberation movement. Rap Brown was one key victim of these illegal government attacks!

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Fight The Power! Pittsburgh Coalition To Stop S-1

In Pittsburgh, a number of organizations such as the Congress of Afrikan People, the Stop Killer Cops Coalition, the Black Action Society of the University of Pittsburgh, the American Civil Liberties Union, New American Movement, and a number of concerned individuals came together in opposition to the "Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975" commonly known as Senate Bill 1 (S-1).

S-1 is the title of a 753 page bill now before the Judiciary Committee of the

RAISE!
Imperialism and Revolution
Part 2 - Page 12

U.S. Senate. If passed, this bill would serve as the foundation for the implementation of a police state. As a result of the struggles waged by the oppressed nationalities in the 60's, and intense opposition to the imperialist Vietnam War, the forces of reaction moved to establish laws which would roll back the gains achieved by oppressed peoples through their struggles. S-1, if it was implemented, would destroy any illusions that democracy exists for everyone in America and clearly reveal that in this society, democracy exists only for the ruling class.

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CHOU EN-LAI

First we wish to express deep and revolutionary sympathy to the almost 900 million people of the Peoples Republic of China on the death of one of their ablest revolutionary leaders Premier Chou En Lai. But also revolutionaries and progressive people the world over mourn the passing of this great communist leader, a loyal revolutionary fighter of the Chinese people and an outstanding, long tested leader of the Party and the state. And although the bourgeois American press tries to imply that somehow Chou En Lai was a moderating force in the practical policies of the Communist Party of China and the Peoples Republic of China, in actuality, Comrade Chou En Lai fought heroically and with utter devotion for the implementation the



carrying out of Chairman Mao Tse Tung's revolutionary political line in China and internationally, and for the victory of the cause of the Chinese peoples liberation and the cause of com-

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How Nuclear War Will Come- Illusions of Detente

According to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, there are four fundamental contradictions that exist in the world today, which give shape and force to the present international situation, whose road is marked by many twist and turns but ultimately favorable for the broad masses who are the makers of history, as our Chinese comrades state.

These contradictions are, labor vs. capital, this means the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the "advanced" capitalist countries; second is the contradiction

between imperialism and the third world, this represents the struggle of the

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ANGOLA

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Portugal that the Angolan Agreement was signed recognizing the three liberation groups as the sole representatives of the Angolan people and declared the pull out of Portugal from Angola November 11, 1975 and the establishment of a transitional government of all three liberation groups.

Additional moves were made to implement the Alvor agreement at the Nakuru talks in Kenya in June where the three groups again reaffirmed their national interests and the need to implement all previous accords between them. It was the Soviet Union who immediately after these agreements began to stir up armed conflict between the three groups and began to send massive weapons shipments to the MPLA with the heavy armaments and advisors and later, Cuban troops which put the MPLA in a favorable military position.

At the same time they initiated their international revisionist propaganda machine to discredit and undermine the UNITA and FNLA forces mainly by labeling one, as "revolutionary" and the others as "counter-revolutionary" and "imperialist agents" & c.

The Soviet Union supplied tanks, armored cars, rockets and launchers to the MPLA; massive arms which were never supplied to the liberation movements in their long 14 year struggle against the Portuguese. The "natural ally" of the Third World the "socialist" supporter of national liberation struggles never aided the Angolans during their armed struggle to smash Portuguese colonialism with the same heavy weapons. The social imperialism of the Soviet Union is increasingly the main danger because it is able to undermine national liberation struggles and try to gain hegemony with its economic "aid" to many nations struggling for independence using the guise that the Soviet Union is a "socialist" country and a "Natural trustworthy ally of the Third World". Some do not understand that social imperialism is identical with U.S. Imperialism and that the Soviet Union is no longer a socialist state but that capitalism has been restored and it is a state monopoly capitalist bureaucracy under the control of the revisionist Brezhnev party clique, fascist in nature, oppressing the masses of Russian workers and oppressed nationalities. The time and the reason for the Soviet Union's intervention is important also. After the liberation groups agreed upon a united front against the Portuguese and the formation of a transitional government of national unity; this is when the Soviet arms poured in, along with Cuban troops, to stir up armed conflict between the liberation movements giving the Soviet Union advantageous position and influence.

The main aspects of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union's stated positions on Angola are to counter the "intervention" of each other into Angola. Despite the fake calls for "cease fire," "end foreign intervention," the possibility of superpower collusion also rises and the danger of some form of stalemate calling for the partitioning of Angola like Korea, Germany, or Viet Nam.

The People's Republic of China has consistently taken the correct position on the Angolan independence and the civil war by initially giving assistance to all three liberation movements and later stopping aid to all three after the Alvor agreement correctly seeing the situation then as an internal problem the Angolan people themselves would have to solve once the Portuguese were kicked out.

Both U.S. and U.S.S.R. have been sneaking around Afrika trying to get backing for their machinations. But it is a mistake to think that these imperialists are backing any "side" except their own. As Lenin pointed out, Imperialism is when the world has been completely divided by imperialism, there are no more "unoccupied" potential colonies, and so the struggle for new markets, new

sources of raw materials, new places to export capital must go on between the imperialists themselves. Some people think that the presence of South Afrika is the principle contradiction in Angola, and it is a simple question of the Angolan people versus U.S. imperialism and South Afrikan aggression. But such people must have weak positions or no positions on the U.S.S.R.'s social imperialism, and the restoration of monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union. The "pure and simple" fact is that U.S.S.R. is practicing its social imperialism in Afrika, and its constant contention and struggle with the U.S.A. for world domination, of which the dividing of the Angolan national liberation movement and the probable attempt at partition of the entire country, is a part. This contention between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. will lead to an imperialist war, with either conventional weapons or nuclear weapons. But it will lead to war!

The U.S.S.R. has the advantage now, because it's advertising reads "Natural Ally Of The 3rd World" while the U.S.A.'s advertising of "Democracy" and "The Free World" are outmoded and ridiculed internationally. That's why the Soviet Union is so dangerous, as the U.S. was when British and French and Belgium Colonialism were being driven out of Afrika, and the U.S. could sneak in. Now some 2nd and 3rd world countries are so intent on putting the wolf out at the front door (U.S.) they are not guarding against "the tiger at the back door" (U.S.S.R.). Both of the super powers are ravenous imperialists who will devour the unsuspecting, and from them the danger of world war issues. Also we know the U.S.S.R. has another advantage in that it is in this instance able to operate in the open, complete with sending in 8,000 Cuban troops with modern Soviet equipment to fight a "war of liberation" which in the Soviet Union's eyes is a war of annexation and hegemony. The Soviet secret KGB roams around undermining Afrikan and 3rd world independence and sovereignty just as the U.S. CIA. And the recent Soviet attempts to portray themselves as "heroes" and tell the world they are helping to repulse the South Afrikan invasion is, as the Peking Review points out, "A clumsy trick to divert attention" from the fact of the Soviet Union's having started the civil war, and allowed South Afrika to come in, in the first place!

"The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Afrikan peoples in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism and firmly supported the Angolan people in their just struggle against colonial domination and for national independence. We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way, and we provided them with various kinds of assistance, including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In our opinion, the three Angolan liberation organizations are fraternal organizations, who were comrades in arms in the days of arduous anti-colonialist armed struggle. They have every reason to restore their unity and no reason whatsoever for confrontation, division and war. That is why we have been trying to persuade them to seek common ground while putting aside their differences and to unite against the enemy. After they reached agreement with the Portuguese government on achieving independence

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Revolutionary Struggle Against Fascism In Spain

Though Generalissimo Franco is in the grave, and the bourgeois media try to fool us into believing that his heir King Juan Carlos I is "reforming" fascism in Spain, in fact, it will take armed struggle by a revolutionary anti-fascist popular united front to bury fascism in Spain. The fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening, and we can all see that. "The whole world is in greater turbulence and unrest." (Chiao Kuan-Hua, Chinese Foreign Minister) Revolution and war are the main trends in the world today, where the people are rising up against imperialism and at the same time the sharpening contradictions among the two imperialist Superpowers, U.S. and USSR, bring the world to the danger of a world war. The popular resistance to fascism in Spain has exploded all the imperialist public relations and propaganda about a new breed of Spanish democracy and a "timetable for democracy" — the people have burst these illusions of a peaceful end to fascism in Spain, with their massive upsurge and struggle against the bloody stench of entrenched fascism in Spain today!

Democracy without a revolutionary civil war in Spain is nothing but a political forgery invented by U.S. imperialism and Spanish fascists, who fear the rising tide of revolution in Spain today and want to divert the people away from the road to revolutionary struggle. What kind of "democratic" reforms are these where the masses in Spain are still deprived of their most elementary political rights? The firm and militant labor and popular resistance to fascism, which is the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital," demonstrates that with continuous revolutionary struggle the days of fascism in Spain are numbered. (Dimitroff, The United Front Against War & Fascism, Gamma Publishing Co.) And at the same time Juan Carlos has had to thoroughly expose the future he plans for Spain, by using Franco's fascist methods of labor repression, i.e., calling the brutal suppression of more than a hundred thousand striking postal and railway workers a "draft". Dimitroff, the heroic Bulgarian communist who developed tactics to defeat fascism, pointed out that fascism, "actually converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs* of capitalist society stripped of rights, destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalists prevails." (Ibid, page 9, our emphasis) This is Juan Carlos' "New Spanish Democracy," a criminal regime headed by the same murderous butchers and sadists that date back to Hitler,

Mussolini and Franco. Only an imperialist wolf would try to hide the bloody hand of fascism in Spain under the guise of democracy!

And U.S. imperialism openly justifies the system of fascist tortures and inquisitions to which the savage butchers have subjected the masses of democratic anti-fascist forces in Spain. While on the other hand, the Soviet social imperialists colludes with fascism thru its revisionist agent, the old bankrupt fake communist party in Spain, which in the midst of revolutionary struggle against the fascist goons calls for "peaceful transition" from fascism and in an attempt to divert the energies of the masses from revolutionary armed struggle against fascism, they talk of "ballots not guns" as the solution. But neither the U.S. imperialists, nor USSR social imperialists can hide Juan Carlos from the revolutionary tide of popular resistance in Spain being led by the revolutionary anti-revisionist Communist Party of Spain (M-L), and the militant united front called the Revolutionary Patriotic Anti-Fascist Front (FRAP).

*pariahs - outcasts

Chou En-Lai

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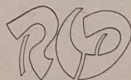
munism, to which he selflessly dedicated all his energies throughout his life. Chou En Lai's great work in building the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, that is the workers control of Chinese society, and of strengthening international revolutionary forces and to struggling against imperialism and social imperialism and modern revisionism won him the whole hearted love, respect and admiration of millions of people the world over. We say: Long Live Comrade Chou En Lai! Great Proletarian Revolutionary of the Chinese people and outstanding communist fighter!

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MOTION!!



The oppressed Arab masses of Lebanon, led by Anti Zionist, pro-Palestinian Lebanese forces fought together successfully to paralyze the reactionary Phalangist gunmen in their attempt to cripple the revolutionary movement in the Middle East. Backed by U.S. imperialism and Zionism, the Lebanese ruling class used the Phalangists (pictured above with cross and helmet) to provoke the war. This civil war is a class war, between the Lebanese ruling class, a handful of large feudal Christian landowners and the masses of Lebanese people who are both Muslim and Christian, who want to overthrow the yoke of imperialism and zionism in Lebanon.

U.S. Imperialism Behind Indonesian Invasion Of East Timor. Indonesian paratroopers transported by American made warships, planes, tanks, & helicopters invaded the capital of the newly independent People's Republic of East Timor, in blatant violation of the sovereignty of the Timorese people. Over 500 Timorese, mostly women & children were massacred. East Timor occupies the eastern part of the island of Timor in Southeast Asia. Since 1525 the people of East Timor have waged a protracted struggle for national liberation from Portuguese colonial rule. The Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) proclaimed independence on November 28 & the founding of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. FRETILIN was formed in 1974 by a coalition of independence groups. Modeling itself, after FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation movement, FRETILIN set up dozens of health centers and schools within a single year's time - more than Portugal in 450 years of colonial rule. FRETILIN called for the establishment of a democratic anti-colonial and anti-imperialist republic, land reform and development of the national economy. But Indonesia, ruled by a fascist dictatorship backed by U.S. imperialists, wants to annex East Timor & with the help of reactionary forces in East Timor, invaded East Timor under vague words "endangers the security of Indonesia". But the East Timor People valiantly fought back & have been supported by progressive governments around the world who strongly condemned Indonesia's invasion.

Wounded Knee Trials End in One

Conviction. Even though there were over 147 indictments, mostly involving Oglala people from the Pine Ridge reservation by various grand juries - the majority of these indictments were dropped for no evidence. The bourgeoisie thought they could teach a lesson to the Indians who stood up at Wounded Knee, & run them through the courts the way Indian people are always run through. As pointed out by AIM (American Indian Movement) "This isn't to say that the acquittals and dismissals prove that there's justice, the government should have spent the money they used on the trials - millions of dollars - to improve life on Pine Ridge." The first of the Wounded Knee trials began January 1974 with AIM leaders Dennis Banks & Russell Means, which lasted 9 months & was dismissed due to government misconduct & continued out of a total 147 indictments, there were 19 trials and one special hearing. All other indictments were dropped, but most of those indicted had to spend almost 2 years constantly facing the threat of trials & possible imprisonment disrupting their lives. The actual guilty one is the government - ruled by the bourgeoisie who control all the wealth, and who oppress & exploit the masses of working people in this country. In the course of the 2 years of trials, the court decisions found the Pentagon guilty of illegal activity at Wounded Knee, the FBI guilty of misconduct in court and in investigations; and government prosecutors guilty of lying and suppression of evidence. This is not surprising in view of the bourgeoisie's desperation in trying to prove the Indian people of Wounded Knee guilty of more than an effort to get their just grievances heard & responded to. Dennis Banks, leaders of AIM said that "On February 27th, an historic event took place,

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because for the first time, it presented an opportunity for a race of people to bring to the American public the real tragedy that's happening on the reservations."

U.S. Imperialist Military Build-Up
The new Pentagon strategy of using elite front line troops transported to distant battlefields rapidly is being done thru the development of the C-5A jumbo transport, the world's largest & most powerful airplane, which can transport 1,000 soldiers at a time. Although there's been a lot of furor over the cost of the C-5A's (4.8 billion), attention has been diverted from the actual function of the plane, which is for military intervention. And to insure that U.S. army shock troops carried abroad on C-5A transports will have sufficient air cover in future interventions, the Tactical Air Command have "bare base kits" that convert an unimproved dirt strip into a fully-equipped fighter base in less than 24 hours, using self-equipped, air-transportable containers that open up to become hangars, barracks, machine shops and kitchens. U.S. scientists are developing ammunition that will produce certain death no matter what part of the target's body is hit, plus "terminal homing" devices that can steer a shell to its intended target with pinpoint accuracy. Plus "mini-nukes", small tactical nuclear munitions that can be carried by one man in a small knapsack.

With all this military build-up, the U.S. imperialists have been unable to deal with the major factor - the people. No matter how well equipped with machines - an army cannot function effectively without people. But the military faces a crisis. After the Vietnam defeat, the army was in a state of collapse w/units avoiding or refusing combat, murdering their officers, drug-ridden and dispirited. These conditions are found all over. While the deepening economic crisis and rising unemployment has helped somewhat (the army was able to trick more people into the army), the army still faces problems of drugs, racism, apathy, mutiny.

Movement in the Struggles Against the Brutal Penal & Court System: Martin Sostre Freed, Inez Garcia Wins New Trial, Assata Shakur Not Guilty on Robbery & Kidnapping Charges. Martin Sostre, Puerto Rican activist finally won his freedom. After a persistent struggle by Sostre and his supporters, Governor Hugh Carey of New York granted him executive clemency. Sostre was arrested in 1967 on a trumped up charge of selling drugs, but the real reason was the attempt to stop his consistent struggle against the oppressive capitalist system. In prison, Sostre organized & won legal cases against the degrading rectal searches, illegal solitary confinement, right to religious practice, due process for prisoners, censorship of mail and the right to receive revolutionary literature. Sostre says his struggle began in prison. "At the time I came to prison I wasn't politically aware of the forces and the classes that control people's lives. At that time I didn't know that the law was oppression politicized and being used by the ruling class to oppress and eliminate dissidents."

Inez Garcia wins new trial through reversal of her 2nd degree murder conviction on the basis of an "instructional error" by the judge during the trial. Inez Garcia, a Chicano Woman, was convicted for defending herself against

rape. On March 19, 1974, Luis Castillo raped her, assisted by Miguel Jimenez. Afterwards Inez Garcia got a rifle & went after the two men. She found them in an alley beating up her roommate, Fred Madiano, who had gone to get help. Jimenez threw a knife at her and she shot back, killing Jimenez. But because of the Capitalist system and the special oppression of women, Inez Garcia was charged w/ a crime and the judge refused to allow the question of rape as part of the trial. This new trial will give Garcia a chance to struggle for the right to defend herself.

Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) received not guilty on bogus charges of Robbery & Kidnapping in New Jersey. But she still needs support, because she has to face fake murder charges in New Jersey. As the new phase of the Cointelpro, government counter intelligence program, to destroy Black militancy and revolutionary and radical movement continues.

Harassment of Chicano Activists

Police have stepped up efforts to harass and victimize members & supporters of the **Crusade for Justice in Colorado**. During the past year there has been an intensification of repression that amounts to a massive attack on the entire structure of the Chicano movement. During this time over 100 Crusade activists have been arrested. The fact that all this has been harassment and open repression and that all these charges against our people are due to the malice of the system, is shown by the fact that out of the scores of arrests and trials that have taken place, the courts have only brought in one bogus conviction. The most recent attempt was the arrest of Chicano activists & key members of Crusade for Justice for "unlawful use of explosives, theft, conspiracy to commit these crimes and conspiracy to commit murder" in what police claimed was "an apparent plot to bomb police substations in Denver". One of the activists, Clorinda Nuñez, an administrative assistant at Crusade was released for lack of evidence. Two others, Juan Haro and Anthony Quintana are being held at ridiculously high bails of \$100,000 each. Despite harassment the Crusade for Justice has continued to gain mass support. In his speech on Chicano Liberation Day, Corky Gonzales, leader of Crusade for Justice said "The Chicano Movement is alive and growing. That while other people are taking abuse and misuse without taking a stand, without voicing their opinions or facing the raw truth, the Chicano still marches, sings and carries on the struggle for justice and liberation."

Indira Gandhi Move To Consolidate Fascist "State of Emergency"

Indira Gandhi is moving to consolidate her fascist hold on India, after having manipulated the laws to "clear herself" of illegal election procedures. Everyone expected this to happen since Parliament had retroactively amended the laws so that whatever Mrs. Gandhi did was no longer illegal. There has been no change in the repressive conditions in India. Emergency measures are still in force, and Gandhi is moving to make these measures permanent. Three proposals have been put before parliament by Gandhi, which will probably be passed, even though progressive forces boycotted Parliament in protest. These proposals are to postpone elections for a year, re-examine the constitution to effect changes, an indefinite extension of the state of emergency until the so-called "dangers of internal and external subversion have been fully surmounted." Since Gandhi's Congress Party has majority in Parliament & support of the revisionist Communist Party of India (none of whom are among over 60,000 political prisoners being held) these measures will pass. Press censorship and "preventive detention" measures instituted in the "emergency" are being also made permanent.

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National Fightback Conference



The October League's National Fightback Conference was held in Chicago, December 27-28th, which brought together over 1500 workers and unemployed committees from around the country. The purpose of the National Fightback Conference was to organize a national Fightback Organization in mass struggle against unemployment, the layoffs, budget cuts, in health, welfare, housing etc.

On December 27-28, 1975, the October League held their first national Fight Back Conference in Chicago, Ill. for the purpose of uniting the many local Fight Back workers and unemployed committees which they had been organizing around the country into a mass national Fight Back organization. The Congress of Afrikan People participated and endorsed the Conference which registered approximately 1,300 people, despite the fact that there was a glaring absence of other anti-revisionist formations.

There were 16 workshops set up at the conference with some of the main ones being Busing, National Oppression,

Trade Unions, Police Repression, and Women. The one factor that characterized all workshops was that the O.L. lines dominated all **PRE-PRINTED RESOLUTIONS** and were not to be altered by democratic ideological exchange in the workshops. CAP holds the position that there should have been more principled ideological discussion between the participants to insure that the **CORRECT LINE** is developed and maintained. This did not happen even though CAP repeatedly struggled against lines that were being put out that were not proletarian lines. All that was allowed was "discussion", all voting was

deferred until the plenary session in those workshops where the middle forces seemed to be swaying away from the O.L. line. But where there was a clear support for O.L.'s line, the workshops were gotten to vote support of the resolutions and make "friendly amendments" as in the Busing workshop. CAP cadre maintained principled discussion and struggle in the workshops and did not attempt to disrupt or obstruct their movement whenever they decided to invoke the "rules and regulations" to avoid discussion around the lines. The undemocratic handling of the workshops smothered any real attempts at active ideological discussion and we see this as being very detrimental because if there is no thorough ideological discussion how is the correct line to come about?

Some of the major workshops were: **Busing Workshop** - The pre-printed resolution in the packet took a straight out bourgeois integration line that supported busing and equality in education. They did not deal with the democratic rights of Black people that were violated when they were bused, they did not discuss Black people's right of self-defense, nor did they raise the question of why there is no quality education in working class communities. In fact the moderator, who was a O.L. cadre took advantage of his position to play up anything in support of busing and squash everything that was against it. People were told to vote on this resolution and if they had any opposition they would have to raise it on the floor. CAP cadre were only allowed to speak once, not allowed to clarify or answer questions and not called on again.

Role of Women Workshop - Most of the time was devoted to discussions around the different struggles that the panelists were involved in. Was a brief discussion on feminism whereas the word "bourgeois" was added to say "bourgeois feminism" so that the class nature of the cry that men are the enemy is known. This was not clear in the pre-printed resolution but near the end of the workshop it was pushed through anyway. Both the workshop and the resolution tended to overlook and gloss over the special oppression of 3rd World women and women from oppressed nationalities in the U.S. One positive aspect was that the fact Imperialism is the root cause of women's oppression was made clearly and agreed upon. Also the call by the Black Women's United Front for a Multi-National Women's Conference in March was raised.

Trade Union Workshop - In the trade union workshop, discussion was geared towards different economic struggles and exposure of some trade union caucuses at different workplaces. But very little discussion was allowed to develop on the other approaches in doing trade union work, besides forming rank and file caucuses. Principally,

there was little discussion around the burning question of the need to fight economism. In fact, one could characterize the way the workshop was handled as being economism because when various participants raised the question on economism, building factory nuclei, and methods of bringing Communism to the workers, this was cut off several times by the person conducting the workshop.

Police Repression Workshop - There was no discussion on the pre-printed resolution but it was passed because they said most of the things that were discussed were included in the resolution. CAP raised the use of Civilian Complaint Review Board as a method of struggle to raise the contradictions and to expose the class nature of the state. The O.L. and their forces, which was 90% of the workshop, voted it down stating "the masses and the mass movement was the method of struggle for today" then proceeded to ratify the National Fightback organization. The resolutions committee later met and decided that they would include the PRB resolution but the O.L. forces would struggle against it when it was raised on the floor. One constructive thing was that they supported the Robert Williams Defense Committee.

Overall CAP feels that the conference was a positive step towards building a national workers, welfare recipients, and unemployed mass organization, though as we stated before there still remains the need for more principled ideological discussions (especially between anti-revisionist forces) to insure the correct political line is being put out when we don't have those discussions it actually helps to push and promote bourgeois ideology which we are supposed to be struggling against.

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(Continued on page 5)

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As we enter 1976, it becomes increasingly clear that the bourgeoisie will be making fewer concessions and reforms, and is moving towards out and out repression and fascism at home, and that war between the USA and USSR is inevitable. In light of this rightward movement, the Congress of Afrikan People advanced a basic tactic "Strategy '76" aimed at building a mass movement around the upcoming '76 presidential election, by raising a clear alternative to the rightward motion of the democrat-republican parties and the move by the far right wing of the bourgeoisie to mount growing support among the masses of people for fascism at home and imperialist war abroad. We called for a coalition of anti revisionist forces, in an effort to pull together a campaign, select candidates and most importantly a platform to unite all who could be pulled together, into a popular front that was anti-democrat, anti-republican, anti-depression and anti-repression in character. We tried to involve at the core of the coalition honest anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist forces whose ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and "who understand that it is the masses of people led by the working class and its vanguard party that must through their own experience, come to understand that "capitalism is their enemy and revolution is their weapon to smash it forever." What was needed was an anti-revisionist vanguard party or a strong core of anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist forces at the base of the coalition, uniting through struggle around the correct line and organizing to build a new mass movement and contributing to the eventual formation of a new revolutionary vanguard party. Such a front or coalition would struggle to gain ideological clarity in theoretical struggle and day to day practice, uniting in concrete practice over a long period of time and struggling against the social-democratic forces who only see the necessity for a "mass party", a replacement for the bourgeois dem-republican parties. We would also be struggling to win the mass s over from the old misleaders of the mass movement, who compromise the class struggle of the working class and oppressed nationalities for

"peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie and its lackies, and the continued exploitation and oppression of the masses by imperialism.

But now at the beginning of 1976, after over a year of struggle within the movement, we must abandon the "Strategy '76", partially as a result of our inability to involve Marxist-Leninist forces in the building of the "Strategy '76" coalition, though we still see the necessity for struggle in the electoral area. To quote Lenin extensively from his "Speech on Parliamentarism", The 2nd Congress of The Comintern, page 68 of Speeches At the Congress of the Comintern, V.I. Lenin: "Parliament is a product of historical development, and we cannot eliminate it until we are strong enough to disperse the bourgeois parliament. It is only as a member of the bourgeois parliament that one can, in the given historical conditions, wage a struggle against bourgeois society and parliamentarism."

"You have said that the trade unions are also opportunist, that they, too, constitute danger. On the other hand however, you have said that an exception must be made in the case of trade unions, because they are workers' organizations. But that is true only up to a certain point. There are very backward elements in the trade unions too: a section of the proletarianized petty-bourgeoisie, the backward workers, and the small peasants. All these elements really think that their interests are represented in parliament. This idea must be combated by work within parliament and by citing the facts, so as to show the masses the truth. Theory

International Womens' Day

International Women's Day is a working women's holiday throughout the world signifying the solidarity of working women struggling against oppressive conditions and for full equality. International Women's Day has been actively supported by Socialist countries and Anti-Imperialist forces around the world, since 1910 when it was proclaimed as an international day of observance of women's struggles by Clara Zetkin. March 8th was the day selected for it, for it was on March 8, 1908, when thousands of garment workers from the Lower East Side of New York waged a protest demonstration against the system of capitalism and its manifestations directly affecting them - wage slavery - child labor - long hours - abusive management - unsafe and unhealthy working conditions.

Today the democratic rights of women are still being fought for in a day to day struggle by working class women, in the form of equal pay for equal work, the end to job discrimination in hiring practices and promotions on the job, free and safe voluntary abortions, proper education and equal access to free and safe birth control and free and low cost day care. 1975 has been a period of continued layoffs and Ford's vetoes and cutbacks in social programs such as day care, food stamps, Medicaid, housing and welfare having a critical impact on working women. This is because they are among the last hired and first fired. Therefore with the layoffs, minority women are the first to lose their jobs forcing more and more on unemployment, welfare and food stamps and other programs in order to survive. With the increased cutbacks it is making it harder for women to get on or stay on these programs. For example, Ford's cutbacks in the Food Stamp Program will not allow some families to get food stamps while others will have to pay more for them.

In 1975 JoAnn Little was finally acquitted. A Black woman who defended herself against a sexual attack by a racist jail guard in North Carolina. Her case

represented the triple oppression Black women face of race, class and sex. In another case, Dessie X. Woods and Cheryl S. Todd on June 17, 1975, defended themselves from a man who is known for his sexual attacks on Black women. They were charged with murder and armed robbery in Wheeler County, Georgia. The state is now in motion to lynch these women. Much support is needed for this case, financial and mass support. (Send to P.O. Box 11486, Atlanta, Georgia 30301). There are cases like this all over the United States and they can't be won without the mass strength and further struggle of the people.

Last year there were two coalitions formed to plan for mass activities for International Women's Day, one an Anti-Imperialist Coalition aimed at drawing the working class and 3rd world communities. The other led by the fake "communist" party CPUSA characterized by its leadership who are defenders of the U.S. monopoly capitalist system. The Anti-Imperialist demonstration was a militant one beginning in the historic Lower East Side. In the literature passed out at the demonstration by the coalition it was pointed out that imperialism is the cause of hunger, unemployment and women's inequality. The unity of the working class and oppressed nationalities is needed to fight this oppressive system and we must take up this fight everyday of the year. It was agreed after last year's demonstration that more work should have been done to bring out the masses of people to the demonstration. In view of this, work has begun to bring out the masses of people to observe this working women's holiday. It is as necessary now as in 1910 to raise the consciousness of the people and unite with all those who are willing to fight this oppression. Women, oppressed nationalities, and the whole working class must show resistance as long as there is repression.

The Anti-Imperialist International Women's Day Coalition will hold a march and rally beginning in the Lower East Side and ending at the United Nations building on Sunday, March 7,

1976. The exact route will be printed up soon, along with other information concerning the demonstration. The main slogans, around which there is still discussion are: 1. Full Equality for Women 2. Down With Imperialism 3. End Superpower War Preparations and 4. Support the Struggles of Third World Women and Peoples. The Anti-Imperialist Coalition also unites around the principle of unity of no united action with revisionists, i.e., no participation, in the revisionist led coalition for International Women's Day.

The Anti-Imperialist Coalition is putting forth a call to all anti-imperialist organizations to join in and help build a truly anti-imperialist coalition, one that will put forth an anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist line directly around International Women's Day. This is important because Imperialism, the world wide search for profit by monopoly capitalism through its lackey governments and transnational corporations, is under attack all over the world and is responsible for and is the root cause of the oppression of women in the first place. If we are to observe this working women's holiday then we must as Marxist-Leninists expose imperialism openly as the enemy of the people along with Soviet Social Imperialism which is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds. The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country capitalism has been restored.* At this time these two superpowers (U.S.A. & U.S.S.R.) are in contention and struggle that will ultimately lead to war. And only revolution can stop the war! The super powers are each fighting for hegemony, bigger shares of the world's wealth, raw materials, for new markets and for new spheres of influence. Marxist-Leninists must look at this for instance in analyzing the situation in Angola with the two superpowers posing a direct threat to the true sovereignty and independence of Angola. In looking at this we see the need to build a broad based anti-imperialist coalition and break away from the revisionist leadership.

In contrast to the revisionist, the anti-

-imperialist forces can struggle to unite around such demands as "Down with Imperialism," "Down With Soviet Socialist Imperialism the Main Danger In The World Today," "End Super Power War Preparation, Only Revolution Can Stop The War," "Workers of the World And Oppressed Nations Unite," "Super Powers Out of Angola." Also demands that speak to the democratic struggles of women, "Full Equality For Women, Our Way of Liberation Is Revolution," "Free and Public Day Care," "Equal Pay For Equal Work," "Low Cost Public Housing," and "Free and Safe Birth Control."

This coalition has also endorsed the Multi-National Women's Conference sponsored by the Black Women's United Front to be held on March 6 in New York. The coalition encourages everyone to participate in both events. The discussion and planning meetings for the coalition are held every Sunday, 3 P.M., at the McBurney YMCA 215 W. 23rd St. (between 7th and 8th) N.Y., IRT 1, IND 1, IND AA, E trains and PATH. If you have questions or would like further information call Nancy (212) 768-7017. Housing and Childcare are being coordinated with the Multi-National Women's Conference for that weekend.

Last year at the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico the head of the Chinese delegation Li Su-wen said, "Clearly, the primary task at present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism and particularly hegemonism of the two superpowers. Only when this struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily." With this task in mind join and build the Anti-Imperialist International Women's Day Coalition!

*For further reading: 1. Social Imperialism. 2. Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR. 3. Following Article In Peking Review, Number 51. (Reprint).

Strategy 76

(Continued from page 4)

will have no effect on the backward masses they need practical experience." "We are obliged to carry on a struggle within parliament for the destruction of parliament." "You say that parliament

is an instrument with the aid of which the bourgeoisie deceive the masses. But this argument should be turned against you, and it does turn against your theses. . . How will you expose the various parliamentary manoeuvres, or the positions of the various parties; if you are not in parliament, if you remain outside parliament. If you are Marxists, you must admit that, in capitalist society, there is a close link between the relations of classes and the relations of parties. How will you show all this if you are not members of parliament & if you renounce parliamentary action. The history of the Russian revolution has clearly shown that the masses of the working class, the peasantry, and the petty office employees could not have been convinced by any arguments, unless their own experience had convinced them."

"It has been claimed here that it is a waste of time to participate in the parliamentary struggle. Can one conceive of any other institution in which all classes are as interested as they are in parliament? This cannot be created artificially. If all classes are drawn into the parliamentary struggle, it is because the class interests and conflicts are reflected in parliament. If it were possible everywhere and immediately to bring about, let us say, a decisive general strike so as to overthrow capitalism at a single stroke, the revolution would have already taken place in a number of countries. But we must reckon with the facts, and parliament is a scene of the class struggle. . . the repudiation of parliamentary action by a great many of the new Communist Parties stems from their weakness. . . the vast majority of the really revolutionary workers will follow us and speak up against your anti-parliamentary theses" (pg. 68, 69,

70, 71 Lenin) CAP feels that the ideological struggle and discussions around electoral politics in 1975 were invaluable, but that the Congress of African People cannot do it alone, supporting candidates and in an active campaign, without the involvement of other Marxist-Leninist forces, in that coalition, not just social democrat types. Another factor contributing to this decision is the recent takeover of the National Black Assembly by the emerging Black petty bourgeois bureaucrat elite, a new comprador - petty bourgeoisie of anti-poverty officials, black studies instructors, smaller bureaucrats and elected officials, who have taken over the NBA and destroyed its' coalition character, through repression and fraud, liquidating all of the basic work and programs of the NBA and cutting all connections with the masses of Black people, and now despite an "anti-democrat platform" have raised Julian Bond as their presidential candidate, and negated the basic "Strategy '76" program outlined by vote of the Assembly. Bond, who is a homing pigeon of the Democratic party will lead these compradors straight back into the democratic party where they long to belong, much like the Gary convention and trip to the Miami Democratic Convention in 1972. CAP had seen the NBA as one of the basic organizations for such an electoral tactic as the "Strategy '76" was supposed to be, in order to make certain the thrust of this program had a strong base in the black community. The new compradors in the NBA stalled the "Strategy '76" the better part of a year (it takes that long to get on the ballot in some states) until they had taken over the complete leadership of the NBA, and were then able to raise someone like Julian Bond before the people misleading the masses into

thinking that Bond will represent something other than the democratic party.

It is our understanding that the central task of all communists in the USA at this time is the building of an anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard party, but it is also necessary to build a new mass movement led by the working class and oppressed nationalities, from which the party will emerge. We saw "Strategy '76" as a non-sectarian vehicle of unity and struggle of anti-revisionist forces, who could bring together a broad popular front electoral campaign aiming a direct blow at all the misleaders of the mass movement (the petty bourgeois elected officials, labor aristocrats and revisionists), which must educate and

(Continued on page 7)

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PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

The series "Pre Civil War Black Nationalism" was put together in 1966, by Bill McAdoo, as part of the "Black Liberation Commission" of the Progressive Labor Party. McAdoo was one of those arrested for refusing to testify against PL's Bill Epton who was charged with "Criminal Anarchy" in the Harlem Rebellion in 1964. Obviously the Epton-McAdoo period, and the article itself, are from a time when PL was struggling to take progressive stands. Since then however, and sadly Progressive Labor has become the most outrageous carriers of the American sickness, white chauvinism, and are now not even a serious communist organization. Unfortunately white chauvinism has always stood in the way of the construction and growth of a truly vanguard communist party, in the USA. Now as then!

Part 8

In 1822, Denmark Veazie (Vesey), of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellow men. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed.

"The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Veazie (Vesey). He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

"Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque the hero of the *Amistad*. He was a native African, and by the help of God he emancipated a whole shipload of his fellow men on the high seas.

"Next arose Madison Washington that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, bound to New Orleans, that great slave mart, with a hundred and four (sic) others. Nineteen struck for liberty or death. But one life was taken, and the whole were emancipated, and the vessel was carried into Nassau, New Providence.

"Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been—you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. *Rather die freemen than live to be slaves.* Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

"Where is the blood of your fathers? Has it all run out of your veins? Awake, awake; millions of voices are calling you! Your dead fathers speak to you from their graves. Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust.

"Let your motto be resistance! *resistance!* RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make, you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency.

Garnet's *Call to Rebellion* is self-explanatory. It is a brilliant achievement, which needs no further amplification.

Instead, we will present a few additional excerpts from the address, which contain elements of comparison between the black people's struggle for national liberation and the American Revolutionary War of 1776:

"You will not be compelled to spend much time in order to become inured to hardships. From the first moment that you breathed the air of heaven, you have been accustomed to nothing but hardships. The heroes of the American Revolution were never put upon harder fare than a peck of corn and a few herrings... Your sternest energies have been beaten out upon the anvil of severe trial. Slavery has done this, to make you subservient, to its own purposes; but it has done more than this, it has prepared you for any emergency.

"Fellow men!... behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of merciful God, and by all that life is worth, let it no longer be a debatable question whether it is better to choose *Liberty or death.*"

Garnet's Response to Abolitionists

Garnet came under attack from the white Abolitionists as a result of his *Call to Rebellion*. One such attack appeared in *The Liberator*, which was run by the white Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In Garrison's absence, the paper was edited by an Abolitionist poet and writer, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman. She condemned Garnet's address in terms which exposed her white supremacist mentality. Garnet sent a sharp reply to her in the form of a letter from his home in Troy, New York, November 17, 1843. Here are excerpts:

"Respected Madam: Some time ago you wrote an article in the *Liberator*, condemnatory of the National Convention of colored people, which was held in the city of Buffalo, in the month of August last... I was born in slavery, and have escaped, to tell you, and others, what the monster has done, and is still doing. It, therefore, astonished me to think that you should desire to sink me again to the condition of a *slave*, by forcing me to think just as you do. My crime is, that I have dared to think, and act, contrary to your opinion... If it has come to this, that I must think and act as you do, because you are an Abolitionist, or be exterminated by your thunder, then I do not hesitate to say that your abolitionism is abject slavery. Were I a slave of the Hon. George McDuffie, or John C. Calhoun, I would not be required to do anything more than to think and act as I might be commanded. I will not be a slave to any person or party.

"...the address to the slaves you seem to doom to the most fiery trials. And yet, Madam, you have not seen that address—you have merely *heard* of it; nevertheless, you criticised it very severely. You speak, at length, of myself, the author of the paper. You say that I 'have received bad counsel.' You are not the only person who has told your humble servant that his humble productions have been produced by the 'counsel' of some Anglo-Saxon. I have expected no more from ignorant slaveholders and their apologists, but I really looked for better things from Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, an antislavery poetess, and editor *pro tem* of the Boston *Liberator*. I can think on the subject of human rights without 'counsel,' either from the men of the West, or the women of the East. My address was read to but two persons, previous to its presentation at Buffalo. One was a colored brother, who did not give me a single word of counsel, and the other was my wife; and if she did counsel me, it is no matter, for 'we twain are one flesh.' In a few days I hope to publish the address then you can judge how much treason there is in it. In the meantime, be assured that there is one black American who dares to speak boldly on the subject of universal liberty."

BLACK RESPONSE TO GARNET'S CALL

From the very emergence of revolutionary nationalism, which can be dated as far back as 1829 when that great revolutionary nationalist, David Walker issued his appeal to rebellion (*Walker's Appeal*), the white Abolitionists stood in firm opposition. They believed that the black man should remain non-resistant (non-violent), abide by "law and order," and depend upon an appeal to the tender mercies of the oppressor (moral suasion). Moreover, the white Abolitionists believed that the black man should follow their lead in all matters. Those who didn't were bad "niggers." The emergence of revolutionary nationalism undermined the corrupt role of these white liberal managers in black conventions and in other gatherings of black people.

The *Michigan Negro Convention* held in Detroit on October 26-27, 1843 reflected the growing revolutionary nationalist influence by including in its *Convention Call* the following excerpts which appear to have been taken right out of Garnet's *Call*:



Henry Highland Garnet made the call for militant armed resistance to slavery. Garnet made it clear that Black "zionist" Back to Afrika schemes would not work, nor would Blacks moving 'en masse' to England or to nearby Mexico, in the struggle against the oppression and exploitation of slavery during this period preceding the civil war. Stay and Fight was the cornerstone of Garnet's message, taken up then and now by the masses of Black people and truly revolutionary Black nationalists such as Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and others.

"...For as we are an oppressed people wishing to be free, we must evidently follow the examples of the oppressed nations that have preceded us: for history informs us that the liberties of an oppressed people are obtained only in proportion to their own exertions in their cause. Therefore, in accordance with this truth, let us come up, and like the oppressed people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, band ourselves together and wage unceasing war against the high-handed wrongs of the hideous monster Tyranny. ... Then, come, dear brethren,

If we would be free, We must demand our Liberty,

And strike the blow with all our might. For Liberty is the Balm of Life."

The *State Convention of Ohio Negroes* met in Columbus, January 10-13, 1849, with 41 delegates, under the leadership of the black revolutionary nationalist, Charles Henry Langston, and others. It was of particular importance in showing the influence of revolutionary nationalism because it dealt a direct blow to white liberal managers. White Abolitionists like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Benjamin Lundy, who have previously been mentioned in regard to their presence, or influence at National Negro Conventions, believed that the black man should be gradually and voluntarily emancipated and then returned to Africa or colonized somewhere else. A great section of the white Abolitionists shared these views and they were also the views of Abraham Lincoln. These so-called "friends" of the black man were in essence more rabid racists than the promoters of the *American Colonization Society*. The *American Colonization Society* wanted to get rid of the free blacks in order to make slavery more secure. It was clearly a matter of dollars and cents with them. The white Abolitionist supporters of colonization wanted to banish the black man entirely. We will hear more about this later, but first here are a few revealing resolutions from the Ohio convention of 1849:

"1. To sternly resist, by all the means which the God of Nations has placed in our power, every form of oppression or proscription attempted to be imposed upon us, in consequence of our condition or color. ...

"6. Resolved, That we will never submit to the system of Colonization to any part of the world, in or out of the United States; and we say once for all, to those soliciting us, that all their appeals to us are in vain; our minds are made up to remain in the United States, and contend for our rights at all hazards. ...

"12. Resolved, That we still adhere to the doctrine of urging the slave to leave immediately with his hoe on his shoulder, for a land of liberty, and would accordingly recommend that five hundred copies of Walker's Appeal, and Henry H. Garnet's Address to the Slaves be obtained in the name of the Convention, and gratuitously circulated. ...

"29. Whereas we believe in the principle that who would be free, himself must strike the blow; and

"Whereas, Liberty is comparatively worth nothing to the oppressed, without effort on their part, therefore

"Resolved, That we recommend to our brethren throughout the Union, that they, thanking their white friends for all action put forth in our behalf, pursue an independent course, relying only on the right of their cause and the God of Freedom. ..." (To be continued)

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The Black Womens' United Front Calls For A Multi--National Womens' Conference in New York Saturday March 6th In Line With An International Womens' Day Demonstration March 7th

Riverside Church 490 Riverside Drive at 122 St. - 9 a.m.

In this time of economic crises caused by imperialism, budget cuts in housing, education, welfare, Medicaid, day care, layoffs and rising prices women are hit the hardest. The last hired, women are the first fired, day care centers are being closed down, which means that some women will either have to pay the high costs of private baby sitters or quit work. Medicaid in N.J. for example has been canceled except for the barest medical assistance. There have been cuts in education, so our children who were never receiving a quality education are now receiving less of an education. Housewives are confronted with the rising cost of living without enough income to feed and clothe their families. Women in general suffer a double oppression under imperialism: 1) class oppression - exploitation because we are workers, 2) sex oppression-because we are women we are the lowest paid, with the lowest seniority, coupled with exploitative chauvinist relationships in the home. Third world women suffer an additional oppression as well: racial oppression as oppressed nationalities.

These are the conditions surrounding the first year of development of the Black Womens' United Front. Answering the call sent out at the Afrikan Womens' Conference, in Newark, July 1974, women came together to form a united front that would be anti racist, anti capitalist, and anti imperialist (intrinsically anti sexist through the struggle against the triple oppression of black women). Anti-sexist was later added as a fourth principle of unity. The members of the BWUF have worked since January 25, 1975 (the first meeting

held in Detroit) taking surveys to find out the problems and concerns of Black women across the country. From these surveys work has centered around: jobs, housing, day care and education as well as participation in International Womens' Day (March 8th), support of Jo Ann Little, and participation and support of the National Fightback Conference in Chicago. The BWUF is currently doing work in support of Desie X. Woods and Cheryl S. Todd, 2 black women who have been charged with murder in Georgia for defending themselves against a racist who was attempting to rape them. The bourgeois state machine, the judges, courts and police, in Georgia are doing everything they can to hang these 2 women.

All of this work has led the BWUF into multi-national worker's struggles and multi-national coalition work around various issues. It is these struggles that bring the working class closer together, to fight against the common oppression of the entire working class - imperialism: exploitation, oppression and repression in every aspect of our lives.

This is why the call for the conference. For the purpose of mass education of the women who attend the conference. Education around the issues and the nature of our oppression. The theme of the Multi-National Womens' Conference is: "Abolition of every possibility of exploitation and oppression." There will be speakers in the morning session on: "What is the Black Womens' United Front and what are the goals of the BWUF," "Why the need for the Multi-National Womens' Conference," "The Struggles of women as an anti-

imperialist struggle - Defeat bourgeois feminism and what is the role of men in the struggle against women's oppression," and "Issues that affect women under Imperialism i.e., welfare, rape, sterilization, etc." Workshops at the conference will be: 1) Soviet Social Imperialism the history of women's struggle against revisionism, 2) Triple oppression of 3rd world women, and 3) Women Fightback against the crisis caused by imperialism, to include discussion regarding "Women in Factories, women migrant workers and deportation, women on welfare."

The Black Womens' United Front Steering Committee is planning and mobilizing for the conference across the country, aided by a multi-national advisory committee that has been formed to help with the conference.

The multi-national advisory committees can be contacted through the local BWUF chapters. The conference organizers are also working towards International Womens' Day. This day has historically celebrated the struggles of women around the world for over 60 years. The International Womens' Day march is planned for March 7th and all conference participants are urged to join this demonstration and make this the working women's weekend. A weekend that will further cement solidarity between multi-national working women. The principles of unity of this march are: Anti-imperialist and No united action with the revisionists (to expose the capitalist and imperialist nature of the USSR).

The strategic leadership for the revolution in the USA is the multi-national working class in alliance with

the oppressed nationalities. This is the force necessary to overthrow the capitalist ruling class and smash everything in their control that is used to suppress the masses of working people. This Multi-National Womens' Conference is a move in educating and uniting this force. It is a move toward building the Marxist-Leninist party in this country that is needed at this time in the face of rising contradictions and a heightening of the degree of preparedness of the working class with only revisionists, petty bourgeois splitters, and other various opportunists calling themselves parties. What is needed is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party "a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the working class in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal. Without such a party it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism, of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat." This conference is a step in building this new party, by beginning to unite and politicize masses of working women. It is a step in the long protracted revolutionary struggle.

All are urged to attend to discuss and learn what is the true basis of women's oppression, to bring information, and clarity.

For further information call (201) 622-4135.

Abolition of every possibility of oppression and exploitation! Unite the many to defeat the few! Workers of the world and oppressed nations unite!

Angola

(Continued from page 2)

at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations. The Soviet slander about Chinese interference in the internal affairs of Angola is the despicable trick of a thief crying 'catch the thief!' Nothing can cover up the countless crimes committed by social-imperialism in Angola".

"It is our sincere hope that the three Angolan liberation organizations, taking to heart the national interests of Angola and bearing in mind the overall situation, will eliminate their differences and unite themselves against the common enemy, root out the superpower meddling and intervention and work together for the establishment of a truly independent Angola of national harmony, solidarity and unity" (Lai Ya-li, U.N. General Assembly November 24,

1975, excerpts from Peking Review #50 Dec. 12, 1975).

The response in the U.S. to the situation in Angola has taken many different courses which in many cases reflected just political opportunism or lack of information; some have jumped on a revisionist created international bandwagon to support the one liberation movement because of the Soviet social imperialist and CPUSA, revisionist propaganda which is being used not only to push one liberation movement but to white wash the U.S.S.R.'s social imperialism and picture them as "progressive". As if one wing of imperialism was more progressive than another. One organization, CORE, in Harlem put forward a highly questionable scheme, apparently backed by CIA to recruit Blacks from the U.S. as mercenaries to go fight in Angola. This is patently absurd. On who's side? Some organizations have openly endorsed one liberation

movement largely because they do not understand the nature of imperialism. They see South Afrika as the key link without understanding that South Afrika can't go to the bathroom without the direct assistance of the U.S. and also that unfortunately Cuba is playing the same role as tools of Soviet Union aggression and penetration in Afrika. Or else as we said they have no positions on Soviet social imperialism. And for Marxist-Leninist organizations this is a right error that will surely lead to revisionism if not corrected. The Congress of Afrikan People should make some self-criticism for our backing of one liberation movement even after the Alvor agreement which should have brought about a national unity government. Our original backing of UNITA was based on our analysis that they were hooked up with neither of the SUPERPOWERS but once the Alvor agreement was signed we should have altered our stand at once to support all three liberation movements, which we did not do, until the escalating civil war made the incorrectness of our support for one liberation movement obviously incorrect. But to try to confuse our current position on Angola which is Superpowers Out of Angola! All 3 Liberation Movements should Form A Government Of National Unity, with support for one liberation movement or even two, is falsehood.

The OAU emergency session held in Ethiopia saw 46 Afrikan nations reach an impasse around the Angola question. The assembly ended deadlocked with 22 nations favoring recognition of the MPLA as the official governing body of Angola and 22 nations refused to recognize the MPLA and maintained the correct call for a government of national unity (with UNITA, FNLA, & MPLA) as the only real solution to the Angolan civil war. The 3 day debate centered around two resolutions, one put forward by Nigeria which demanded recognition of the MPLA and OAU military and material aid to aid the MPLA.

The Senegalese resolution called for the condemnation of the South Afrika and equally all other foreign intervention, calling for troop withdrawal and

Strategy 76

(Continued from page 5)

organize the people against S-I, expose the bourgeois parties and politicians, at a time when they have been clearly exposed as bankrupt and working not in the interests of the masses of people. We still feel that many of the forces organized around "Strategy '76" can at the least mobilize mass demonstrations around International Womens' Day, May Day, Afrikan Liberation Day, all speaking out against and exposing the bourgeois parties, and against the national conventions of the democrats at Madison Square Garden in NYC and republican party. Most important though is bringing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the working class and oppressed nationalities, wresting the leadership of the mass movement away from the intermediate lackey sector, raising the masses to understand their class interests i.e. the interests of the proletariat, and winning the finest elements of the mass movement, the advanced workers to M-L-M and the Party. The Party will not be built by proclamation! It will only come into being through uniting Marxist Leninists in struggle around the correct political line and by waging a tit for tat struggle against the misleaders of the mass movement, and winning the confidence and leadership of the working class and oppressed nationalities, building the mass movement capable of struggling against unjust wars and fascism, directing the main blow against the bourgeois state, in socialist revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Stalin pointed out in Foundations of Leninism, "The Party is the advanced detachment of the working class." (p. 103) But that "The Party cannot only be the advanced detachment. It must at the same time be a detachment of the class, a part of the class, clearly bound with it by all the fibres of its being." (p. 104) He goes on to point out that "The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party enjoys

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COMMUNIST LINE

CONTENTS



- COMMUNIST LINE NO. 1, 51, 25. AGAINST OPPORTUNISM: History of the CPUSA's role in the rise of modern revisionism, with analysis of their line on: Nature of the Party; Black National Question; Trade Unions; United Front. (With reading lists)
COMMUNIST LINE NO. 2, 51, 25. LIQUIDATION OF THE CPUSA: Major polemic against modern revisionism written in the 1960's by leading U.S. Marxist-Leninists, Harrison George, William Dunne, Burt Surta.
COMMUNIST LINE NO. 3, 50, 75. THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS: Articles from ALBANIA TODAY and other sources on the nature of the working class today, reformist and revisionist trade unions, labor aristocracy, etc.
COMMUNIST LINE NO. 4, 50, 50. MARXIST STUDY GUIDE ON THE CPUSA: A basic bibliography for the study and investigation of the two-line struggle within the CPUSA on questions facing the revolutionary movement; Party Building, United Front, Black National Question, Trade Unions, etc. With extensive lists on material from "The Communist International" and the CP's theoretical journal "The Communist".

Theoretical Journal of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee BOX 26457, S.F., CA 94126 USA

Listen To The People!!

How does superpower contention affect people in the U.S.?

Clay Claiborne, St. Louis, Mo.: I think the 2 major capitalist countries are in control of the world and oppress people in their own country and throughout the world.

Blair Stampley, Chicago, Ill.: It hurts people a lot to live under an imperialist country like the U.S. Everybody is affected by it. 20 million people out of jobs.

used as surplus labor. Look at the projects, how everyone is crowded into it. There's a lot of land here. People should be able to live comfortably. There's enough money. Imperialists are greedy.

John O'Connor, Denver, Col.: The effect of superpowers have very little in the interest of the people of this country. Superpowers represent a class that

doesn't represent my interests. People have to go fight their wars and become their cannon fodder and profit nothing from those wars.

William, Haiti: Everybody can see this in the problem of unemployment and the aggressiveness of superpowers on all of the small countries like the Caribbean.

We can see it in the cutbacks, like school budgets. They make the poor people, the workers pay.

Nuclear War

(Continued from page 1)

peoples of Asia, Afrika, and Latin America against imperialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism and the superpowers, these struggles have borne great victories for the people of these countries fighting for national liberation. These struggles are the motive force of revolution in the world today. Next is the contradiction between imperialism vs. imperialism the most intense being, the struggle of the two superpowers for world domination with U.S. Imperialism on the one hand and Soviet Social-Imperialism on the other, these superpowers represent the danger of a new world war, and the threat of this war comes mainly from the Soviet Union.

Many may think the Soviet Union is a socialist country, it is not, it once was a land of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and as such represented a guiding light for the countries, nations and people of the world struggling for independence, liberation and revolution. But, it has restored capitalism, this was done by opportunists within the party who consolidated a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class under the leadership of traitor and revisionist Khrushchev, and in doing so, "The entire superstructure of Soviet society degenerated. The former dictatorship of the proletariat was transformed into a fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the socialist Soviet State was transformed into a social-imperialist state." (The Soviet Economy-A Completely and Definitely Capitalist Economy, Aristotel Pano, p. 43; Albania Today, July-August 1975.)

The fourth of these contradictions is imperialism vs. the socialist countries.

Of these four basic contradictions, two are the sharpest in the world today, they are imperialism vs. the third world, and between the superpowers, imperialism vs. social imperialism. The contention of the superpowers, a contention that raises its deadly mouth like a "JAWS" throughout the world, its

ugly power hungry face has raised up in Angola, Portugal, the Middle East, Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the South Atlantic Ocean. This rivalry between imperialist powers is leading to world war, and is why they each have raised the cry for "disarmament" and "detente" as a smokescreen to continue their arms build-up and attempt to lull the revolutionary fighting spirit of the people to sleep.

To lay bare these imperialist designs, the following facts must be understood regarding this question. There have been three agreements signed between the United States and the Soviet Union on "limiting arms expansion," "the first agreement, the partial nuclear test ban treaty, was signed in 1963, the Soviet Union apparently was inferior in nuclear arms. At the signing of the second agreement, the 1972 strategic arms limitation agreement, it was not far behind the United States in nuclear strength. However, it had for the most part caught up when the Vladivostok (Haushenwai) agreement was signed in 1974. That agreement sets no numerical 'limit' on either party since both have to exert themselves before they can attain the stipulated amount of nuclear warheads, while qualitatively it sets no limit at all. Therefore, the agreement is a new starting point for the nuclear arms race, a call for an 'upward equilibrium'. The record of the nuclear arms talks shows that the more agreements concluded, the fiercer the arms race." (Peking Review, #2, January 1976, Growing Danger of New World War.)

The two superpowers claim that "disarmament" and "detente" will provide a "relaxation of the international tension," but nothing could be further from the truth. International tension intensifies under the cover of "disarmament" and "detente" which one day will explode, this is why the people of the world must prepare in order not to suffer defeat!

The Soviet military budget, during the period of "continued detente," has spiraled to its highest level in history, and surpassed that of the United States, according to the Hsinhua News Agen-

Angola

(Continued from page 7)

cessation of arms supplies to all factions, a cease fire at present positions and the formation of a government of national unity.

The vote was deadlocked due to the abstaining of Uganda and Ethiopia. As the session ended OAU Chairman Idi Amin of Uganda, called for the selection of 6 heads of state to form a panel to study all peace proposals and to shelve the divisive issue of recognition of the MPLA, or a national unity government and an end to all foreign intervention.

During the OAU meeting Cuba announced that it would not honor any agreements formulated at the OAU meeting and will continue to militarily support the MPLA. Also the fighting continued as the OAU meeting was in session despite a partial truce called by the UNITA and FNL forces.

The OAU meeting showed the extent of superpower contention, that is, sowing confusion and great division throughout Afrika on the question of

cy... in a statement of July 14, 1975 former U.S. Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said that the Soviet Union is "forging ahead with a strategic program which is impressive in its magnitude." The United States "cannot ignore it" but keep pace with it. The budget message for the 1976 fiscal year (from July 1, 1975, to June 30, 1976) presented to Congress by the U.S. Government last February set military outlays as 97,000 million dollars, a peace-time record. The Soviet Union has never made public its actual military spendings. Schlesinger pointed out that the Soviet Union spends 60 per cent more than the United States in strategic forces, and 20 per cent more than the United States in military research and development and conventional forces."

The Soviet Union represents the threat of a new world war and have outarmed U.S. Imperialism, but this fight for world hegemony between warmongers is one the U.S. bourgeoisie won't take lying down, this was shown recently in the State of the Union speech given by lacky Ford when he called for a fundamental change of governing and a "new realism," in a country with more than 8 million people unable to provide food, clothing, and shelter for their families, lacky Jerry says we must, referring to the money he represents "end the redtape of bureaucracy... build centralization of policy that allows flexible direction; health services must be put into one 10 million program; for 'crime' punishment must be swift and certain. I will build four new federal prisons, with 500 additional agents in 'high crime areas'; our military is without equal and I intend to keep it that way!" To paraphrase Chairman Mao Tse-Tung of the Chinese Communist Party, all this said because the inevitability of war is growing daily, the Soviet revisionists are in an advantageous position, already having a State-Bureaucratic Monopoly-Capitalist machine, it is already "fascist dictatorship of the Hitler-type."

In order for the United States to fight a war it must centralize its economy and almost certainly move to fascism, "the

Angola. The possibility that the civil war will intensify has increased while at the same time superpower collusion and the possibility of a partitioning of Angola is also increased.

"The war in Angola instigated by the Soviet Union is a bad thing, but a good thing too. It is good precisely because it serves as teaching material by negative example. All revolutionary movements are bound to go through twists and turns. We believe that the broad masses of the Angolan people, after experiencing setbacks and detours, will certainly uphold unity, persist in struggle, frustrate the superpowers and particularly social imperialist schemes and achieve their independence and liberation. Their temporary difficulties and sacrifices will not only greatly enhance their own political awareness, but provide a profound lesson for the liberation movements of the oppressed nations throughout the world." (speech excerpts from Chiao Kuan-Hua, Chairman of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, at the 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, September 26, 1975.)

open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (Georgi Dimitrov, Selected Works, Sofia Press, Volume 2, p. 8.)

But for all the big mouth of these two superpowers they are in reality "paper tigers" who are outwardly strong looking but inside weak and feeble and the contradiction of the war they will fight which is independent of man's will, will further weaken these bullies, and allow socialist revolution to free the oppressed and exploited of these countries, just as the imperialist war number 1 and 2 allowed the masses in the Soviet Union in October 1917 led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party to spring free of its bloody grip and in China the victory of the workers and peasants in October 1949 led by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Communist Party.

"The dialectics of history are ruthless. Countries want independence, Nations want liberation and the People want to make revolution - this has become the tide of the time."

We must prepare for the defeat of our own bourgeoisie in the event of a world war. To do this we must have an Anti-Revisionist Vanguard Communist Party bold enough to lead the people in the fight for power. To establish the dictatorship of the proletariat! This will take a relentless fight against opportunism the principal danger in the communist movement, and a sound grasping of the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought! "Cast away illusions, prepare for struggle!"

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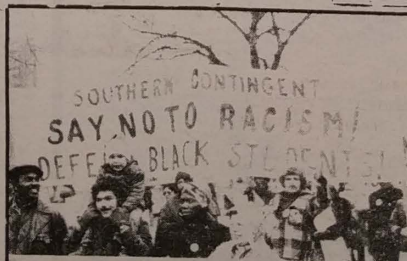
Internationalist Glossary

Social Imperialism - That form of imperialism which emerges from the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, as a result of the usurpation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by "those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture" of a socialist state, turning socialist economy into a state monopoly capitalist economy. "This new type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class not only exploits and oppresses the peoples of its own country, but it necessarily engages in rabid expansion and aggression, joins the company of world imperialism, in redividing the world" Lenin's, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, page 131-32, indicates the origin of the term social imperialism in his exposure of the people in the 2nd International. "The leaders of the present day, so-called, "Social-Democrats" Party of Germany are justly called "social-imperialists," that is, Socialists in words and imperialists in deeds."

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Who is the Enemy?

(Part IV concludes this series. Part I consisted of a breakdown of the two Primary Financial Groups - Rockefeller and the Morgan - and the Secondary Financial Groups, Part II, History of the Financial Groups, and Part III, Financial Groups and Asians in the Third World.

Inner Dynamics of Financial Groups

We have outlined how the financial groups exercise vast political power in this country. We have explained how American history is little more than the interaction of these groups. We will now begin to explain how these groups operate and how they interact dynamically to absorb smaller corporations.

Investment - Key of Capitalism

Another word for capitalism is investment. As soon as any corporation begins to turn in a profit, it immediately re-invests the capital back into corporate expansion. A typical corporation may generate profits at a rate of 15-20%, which is then generally plowed back into re-investments for corporate growth and expansion. But if a corporation is to remain competitive, or if it is to retain its marketing potential, it is often desirable and very possible to expand at the rate of 70-100%, far greater than the rate at which a corporation can internally generate profits.

It is a fundamental principle of capitalism that a successful corporation cannot internally generate profits sufficient to expand to the limits of the market's demand, and hence must rely on selling stocks. But even stocks are often not sufficient, whereupon giant corporations must, hat in hand, apply for a sizeable loan, and there are only two banks large enough to satisfy the appetite for corporate expansion with loans in the hundreds of millions of dollars, the banks of Rockefeller and

Morgan. But these mammoth loans from the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Morgan Guarantee Trust come only at a very high price: the placement of Rockefeller and Morgan bankers on the corporation's board of directors. As more loans are granted, more New York bankers enter the boards of directors, until the corporation falls into the hands of Wall Street.

Power of Rockefeller & Morgan Groups - Cases of Howard Hughes & Saul Steinberg

The classic example of how a corporation, founded by the ingenuity of an entrepreneur falls under the financial domination of the New York banks, is the famous case of TWA and Howard Hughes, an obscure billionaire (by group standards). In 1960, Howard Hughes' TWA was growing faster than its ability to internally generate profits for corporate expansion. Feeling secure knowing that he owned 78.23% of the stock of TWA, Howard Hughes gambled on a \$340 million loan from Dillon, Read & Co. (the Rockefeller investment banking firm) and Morgan banks, on the condition that his controlling shares in TWA were to be administered by a voting trust formed by his creditors. But in 1961 his creditors went to court to oust Howard Hughes from TWA. The courts, in a well-know decision, granted the stocks to the Rockefeller and Morgan banks, and then fined Howard Hughes \$137 million for mismanagement." Howard Hughes, for all his vast billions and entrepreneurial skills, apparently did not know who rules this country.

Because the financial groups control the media, they have little intention of publicizing their existence and keep much of their internal struggles away from the public domain. In an earlier era, the muckracking publicity surrounding the corruption and greed of the robber barons did much to adversely affect the profits of the financial groups. The ignorance of the true structure of finance of this nation even extends to billionaires, as was seen above.

Another famous example occurred in February 1969, when Saul Steinberg's conglomerate, Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp., tried to seize the Chemical Bank of New York, which is firmly part of the banking structure of the Rockefeller Financial Group. Though he didn't realize that he was infringing on the financial domain of the nation's mightiest financial group, the response was immediate and devastating:

Leasco stock plunged from 140 to 106 in two weeks. Though even Leasco's Saul P. Steinberg would never admit it publicly, it appeared that bank trust departments and perhaps other institutions dumped their shares to protect Chemical. "I always knew there

It is the same everywhere for me:
On the docks at Sierra Leone,
In the cotton fields of Alabama,
In the diamond mines of Kimberley,
On the coffee hills of Haiti,
The banana lands of Central America,
The streets of Harlem,
And the cities of Morocco and Tripoli.

Black:
Exploited, beaten, and robbed,
Shot and killed,
Blood running into
DOLLARS
POUNDS
FRANCS
PESETAS
LIRE

For the wealth of the exploiters—
Blood that never comes back to me again.

Better that my blood
Runs into the deep channels of Revolution,
Runs into the strong hands of Revolution,
Stains all flags red,
Drives me away from

THE SAME

SIERRA LEONE
KIMBERLEY
ALABAMA
HAITI
CENTRAL AMERICA
HARLEM
MOROCCO
TRIPOLI

And all the black lands everywhere.
The force that kills,
The power that robs,
And the greed that does not care,
Better that my blood makes one with the blood
Of all the struggling workers in the world—

Till every land is free of
DOLLAR ROBBERIES
POUND ROBBERIES
FRANC ROBBERIES
PESETA ROBBERIES
LIRE ROBBERIES
LIFE ROBBERIES—
Until the Red Armies of the International Proletariat
Their faces, black, white, olive,
yellow, brown,
Unite to raise the blood-red flag that
Never will come down!

The Negro Worker,
September/October 1932
Langston Hughes

was an Establishment," said Steinberg at the time. "I just used to think I was part of it." (Business Week, July 25, 1970)

A times, certain billionaires and entrepreneurs assume that they can escape the all-powerful influence of the New York banks by playing the field: i.e., by playing off the Rockefeller and Morgan banks. For example, General Motors on Dec. 9, 1953, was forced to go to the New York banks to finance corporate

expansion; it received \$300 million in bonds from Morgan, Stanley & Co., a Morgan investment house, with Rockefeller's First National City bank as a trustee. After floating 13 more bonds via Morgan and Rockefeller investment banks, power was quietly wrested away from the original owners over to the New York bankers. Today, General Motors is run by a coalition of Rockefeller and Morgan bankers.

(To be continued)

Soviet Social-Imperialism

(Continued from page 10)

handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique controlling the state machine and directly manipulating the national economy as a whole as well as all economic lifelines. The state of the dictatorship by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class becomes "the ideal personification of the total national capital" and all the monopoly capital of the Soviet Union is completely controlled by such a centre. As a result, compared with capitalist-imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union has more exclusive control, a higher degree of concentration and tighter state control. A handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists monopolize the country's economy and domestic market, ruthlessly exploit the Soviet working people, bring their rate of exploitation to two fold of that in Tsarist Russia and thereby sharpen various contradictions in the country. Domestic monopoly will inevitably lead to international monopoly. Just as Lenin pointed out: "The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits." In order to gain maximum profits, the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class has stepped up aggression abroad, annexed new territories, expanded spheres of influence, plundered raw materials at low prices, exported huge quantities of commodities and capital and shifted crises onto others. Soviet social-imperialism has become one of the biggest exploiters of the world. In the era of imperialism, monopolistic domination has displaced free competition but competition still exists and is even greater and fiercer than before in its scale, depth, intensity and devastation. Lenin pointed out "In fact it is this combination of antagonistic principles, viz., competition and monopoly, that is the essence of imperialism." The monopoly capitalist classes of both superpowers try their utmost to monopolize the resources and markets of the world on the basis of monopoly of their domestic economies. Thus they are bound to compete with each other fiercely and in an all-round way. The degree of concentration and monopoly of domestic economy by a

handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists is incomparable by private and state monopoly capital in any capitalist-imperialist country. Therefore, Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class is striving desperately to edge out all its competitors in the whole world.

A change has taken place in the balance of forces between the two superpowers in the past few years owing to the uneven development of imperialism. "With its swelling military and economic strength, Soviet social-imperialism has become more rapacious in its ambition to attain world hegemony by means of war.

Modern history has proved that war among imperialist powers for world domination are closely linked with their uneven development. Lenin pointed out that "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism" and that "any other basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants in the division, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc., is inconceivable." In the stage of imperialism, the further aggravation of uneven development of imperialist countries brings about rapid changes in their relative strength. As a result, this inevitably sharpens their contradictions and leads to fierce struggles among them for the re-division of the world. Both the First and Second World Wars broke out against such backgrounds. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has been hard hit in the wars of aggression against Korea and Viet Nam and its political and economic crises have steadily deepened. It has fallen from its prime and goes downhill with each passing day. On the other hand, the newcomer, Soviet social-imperialism, tries its utmost to become the global overlord in place of U.S. imperialism. As Soviet social-imperialism lags behind its opponent, U.S. imperialism, in economic and financial strength and other fields, it is bound to try desperately to increase its military strength in its quest for world domination. The state apparatus of fascist dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, combined with highly-concentrated state monopoly capital, facilitates as speeded-up militarization by Soviet social-imperialism. (To be continued)

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DIALECTICAL and HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

from History of the Communist Party Soviet Union
(Bolshevik) 1939

part 5

As to Marxist philosophical materialism, it is fundamentally the direct opposite of philosophical idealism.

2) The principal features of Marxist philosophical materialism are as follows:

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

"The materialist world outlook," says Engels, "is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservations." (MS of Ludwig Feuerbach.)

Speaking of the materialist views of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, who held that "the world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down," Lenin comments: "A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism." (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Russ. ed., p. 318.)

b) Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a grave error. Engels says:

"The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy. . . The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature. . . comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 430-31.) And further:

"The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality. . . Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter." (Ibid., p. 435.) Concerning the question of matter and thought, Marx says:

"It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes." (Ibid., p. 397.) Describing the Marxist philosophy of materialism, Lenin says:

"Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of consciousness, sensation, experience. . . Consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best, an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) reflection of it." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 378.) And further:

(a) "Matter is that which, acting upon

our sense-organs, produces sensation; matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation. . . Matter, nature, being, the physical—is primary, and spirit, consciousness, sensation, the psychological—is secondary." (Ibid., pp. 208, 209.)

(b) "The world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how 'matter thinks.'" (Ibid., p. 403.)

(c) "The brain is the organ of thought." (Ibid., p. 125.)

c) Contrary to idealism, which denies the possibility of knowing the world and its laws, which does not believe in the authenticity of our knowledge, does not recognize objective truth, and holds that the world is full of "things-in-themselves" that can never be known to science, Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice.

Criticizing the thesis of Kant and other idealists that the world is unknowable and that there are "things-in-themselves" which are unknowable, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our knowledge is authentic knowledge, Engels writes:

"The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical fancies is practice, viz., experiment and industry. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural process by making it ourselves, bringing it into being out of its conditions and using it for our own purposes into the bargain, then there is an end of the Kantian 'thing-in-itself.' The chemical substances produced in the bodies of plants and animals remained such 'things-in-themselves' until organic chemistry began to produce them one after another, whereupon the 'thing-in-itself' became a thing for us, as for instance, alizarin, the colouring matter of the madder, which we no longer trouble to grow in the madder roots in the field, but produce much more cheaply and simply from coal tar. For three hundred years the Copernican solar system was a hypothesis, with a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand chances to one in its favour, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced the necessity of the existence of an unknown planet, but also calculated the position in the heavens which this planet must necessarily occupy, and when Galle really found this planet, the Copernican system was proved." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33.)

Accusing Bogdanov, Bazarov, Yushkevich and the other followers of Mach of fideism, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our scientific knowledge of the laws of nature is authentic knowledge, and that the laws of science represent objective truth, Lenin says:

"Contemporary fideism does not at all reject science; all it rejects is the 'exaggerated claims' of science, to wit, its claim to objective truth. If objective truth exists (as the materialists think), if natural science, reflecting the outer world in human 'experience,' is alone capable of giving us objective truth, then all fideism is absolutely refuted." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

Such, in brief, are the characteristic features of the Marxist philosophical materialism.

end part 5

Commentary By Hsinhua Correspondent:

Soviet Social-Imperialism Most Dangerous Source of War

Peking, January 3, 1976 (Hsinhua) ^{Part 1}
With the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, locked in an ever fiercer contention for world hegemony, the danger of a new world war is visibly growing and they are bound to go to war against each other some day. The wildly ambitious Soviet social-imperialism is precisely the most dangerous source of war today.

Soviet social-imperialism is engaged in unbridled aggression and expansion abroad and is contending for world hegemony and this will inevitably lead to war. This is first of all determined by its social system.

The Soviet Union, once a socialist state in the world, has degenerated into a social-imperialist state as a result of the renegade Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique's usurpation of Party and state power, pursuance of a revisionist line and restoration of capitalism in an all-round way.

As it has slid down to the ranks of imperialist states, it is necessarily subjected to the basic law of imperialism and buffeted by multiple inherent contradictions of imperialism. Social-imperialism is, therefore, identical with capitalist imperialism in nature. Lenin pointed out on many occasions that imperialism is war itself. He noted: "Modern war is born of imperialism." Certain characteristics of the system of Soviet social-imperialism make it more rapacious and truculent in its aggression and expansion abroad.

The political system of Soviet social-imperialism is in essence brutal fascist dictatorship. Chairman Mao points out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie". The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."

This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's has profoundly exposed the class nature of Soviet social-imperialism and its reactionary character. The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique which is utterly reactionary, inveterately hostile to an morbidly afraid of the people can only rely on the most barbarous fascist dictatorship to buttress its reactionary rule. The hands of the state usurpers, Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their followers, are stained with the blood of the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union. They even dispatched military police force, tanks and armoured cars in sanguinary suppression of mass strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in Tbilisi, Chimkent, Kharkov, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Kaunas, Tallin, Minsk, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and other places. A host of decrees, rules and decisions have been promulgated, and organs of dictatorship established and amplified since the Soviet revisionist

renegade clique took power. In particular, military police and special agents are persecuting and keeping under close surveillance the broad masses of the people, cadres and soldiers throughout the country. The new Tsars' oppression of national minorities is even more ruthless. Today, all those who show any discontent with or resistance to the dark rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and even those under such "suspicion", will be subjected to persecution. Millions of people have been put in jail, "psycho-neurological hospitals" and "labour camps" and even sent into exile. The Soviet Union of today has been reduced to the "prison of nations". While exercising fascist dictatorship at home, Soviet social-imperialism is pushing hegemonism abroad. In recent years, the Brezhnev clique has trotted out an assortment of imperialist "theories including the theory of "limited sovereignty", the theory of "international dictatorship", the theory of "big community" and the theory that "our interests are involved" to feverishly seek for world hegemony.

The economic base of Soviet social-imperialism is state monopoly capitalism which came into being after the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped political power. Lenin pointed out: "The deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly." This has found the most striking manifestation in Soviet social-imperialism. In capitalist-imperialist countries, "private and state monopolies are interwoven" with private monopoly as the main form and with the presence of big financial groups. In essence, state monopoly means that private monopoly groups use the state machine as an instrument to grab maximum profits. In the social-imperialist Soviet Union, state monopoly, capitalism directly takes the form of ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, with a

(Continued on page 9)

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MOTION!!

U.S. Concentration Camps: Trenton, NJ State Prison -

The incident Jan. 19, that ended in the death of John Clark, & the wounding of another inmate, was clearly nothing but another attempt by sadistic prison officials and Supt. Butcher Alan Hoffman, Commissioner Ann Klein, to eliminate any inmates who speak out against the barbaric conditions in that prison. Community forces are demanding **Hoffman's immediate firing, an independent investigation by a citizen's committee, and the end to all harassment of inmates.**

Kawaida Towers Demonstration Attacked by Newark Police - Jan. 17 peaceful demonstration and rally in Newark's Military Park against the racism and corruption of Gov. Byrne and State Senator and demagogue Anthony Imperiale, who have stalled Kawaida Towers since 1972, was brutally attacked by dozens of tactical police while the rally was being addressed by a labor union speaker. People were knocked to the ground and clubbed and arrested by police. But this will not stop anti-racist forces from rallying to go to the Feb. meeting of the New Jersey Housing Finance Agency to demand the construction of Kawaida Towers.

Fight The Power

(Continued from page 1)

In 1966, Lyndon Johnson appointed a committee headed by former California Governor Pat Brown to revise criminal law. The commission became known as the Brown Commission, and in 1971, they submitted a majority report to Richard Nixon. Unacceptable to Nixon and his "law and order" clique, he gave the responsibility of further revising this bill to his partners in crime, then Attorney General John Mitchell, and his successor, Richard Kleindienst. Speaking on the bill, Nixon said, "Law and order are code words for decency. . . The only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people - without pity." Nixon, however, was treated with much pity (\$200,000 and a full pardon's worth) for the crimes he committed. The reason for that was because Nixon acted in the interest of the few who will not be affected by S-1 ("16 families" - Rockefeller, Mellons, Morgans, etc., i. e., the bourgeoisie) and for whose benefit the bill was created in the first place.

Provisions in the bill show that the very existence of the bill is to ensure that any opposition to the layoffs, budget cuts, and the high rate of unemployment in the U.S., or opposition to imperialist schemes in Angola, the Middle East or elsewhere in the world, will be dealt with harshly. (See October 2nd Edition - Unity & Struggle). S-1 would reverse the Supreme Court decision outlawing the

whole question of what happened to Fred Hampton, which has never been resolved, we don't know whether it's apart of the whole Cointelpro effort, I'm convinced it was. But it hasn't been revealed yet. I don't think an adequate job has been done in exposing all of the dirt and illegal activities of the FBI, directed against the movement at that period. Most of the accusations have been around the war movements and dissident groups. But nobody has really focused in on the relationship of all those illegal activities to the Black movement of that period, and that has yet to be uncovered, and that is still an untold story.

Q: What is the status of Rap's case now?

A: Well as I indicated he has two cases on appeal, the New Orleans and the New York State conviction. We feel that he has a very good constitutional ground for having those cases overturned.

Q: Has Rap been doing any writing since he has been in prison?

A: He hasn't been doing a great deal of writing, what he has been doing is a great deal of reflecting, and reading. Part of the whole problem in prison of course is whatever you write is scrutinized and censored. So not to give anybody an excuse to penalize him for anything, he thoughts are his own, and he spends most of his time reading and studying.

Strategy 76

(Continued from page 7)

no moral and political credit among the masses." (p. 105) The vanguard must unite but it must win the advanced to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and many of those advanced will come only from mass movement in struggle against imperialism, and the eminent danger of war and the new rise of fascism. In 1980, there might not be the opportunity to put out communism in a popular way, with S-1 in the wings and the Nixon-Ford Supreme Court baring its poisoned fangs.

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death penalty. In addition to murder, capital punishment would be reintroduced for certain classifications of treason, sabotage and espionage, whether the offense was committed in peacetime or war. Sentencing would be long and bail rates extremely high.

As a result of this onslaught on the rights of the masses of people, the Pittsburgh Coalition to Stop S-1 was formed to expose the criminal nature of this legislation and organized mass support in opposition to it. In addition to radio and T.V. appearances by members of the coalition explaining the dangerous nature of the bill, petitions have been circulated and a letter writing campaign to Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee and co-signer of the bill has been initiated. A number of events are being planned by the Coalition and different organizations in it. The Congress of African People, in conjunction with the Stop Killer Cops Coalition sponsored a forum entitled "Repression and the Oppressed Community - the S-1 Bill" on Sunday, January 18 at 7:00 p.m. at the Hill House Association Auditorium. These are merely stop-gap efforts, however, because we understand that in the final analysis, what is needed to ensure democracy for the multi-national working class and oppressed nationalities is a second civil war - a war between the classes and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

**LET THE CAPITALIST TAKE THE FALL!
STOP S-1!**

RAISE!!

(Continued from page 12)

Socialist society is where the means of production are owned publicly as state property under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as capitalist society is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in the U.S.A. it is .6 of 1 percent of the population that controls the means of production, so socialist society is a dictatorship of the proletariat, the majority, a dictatorship of the working class. Whoever controls (owns) the means of production also controls the state, and exercises state power. The state mechanism by which this state power is wielded is the army, police, C.I.A., F.B.I., courts, prisons, government bureaucracy. Even the laws of bourgeois society serve only the bourgeoisie ultimately. The laws in fact are simply the economic relations of society (the production relations) codified and put in legal language, making it legitimate and "legal" for the bourgeoisie to privately own the means of production, and making it a crime to challenge or attempt to reorder these economic relations.

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Word on Rap

(Continued from page 1)

Interview with
Ed Brown
Dec. 7, 1975

Q: Can you tell us Ed Brown some background information on Rap, and what is Rap being charged with?

A: Rap is the former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and let me try to outline for you in some kind of order, the reverse order of his case and the particular status it's in at the moment. Currently Rap is serving a 5-15 year sentence in New York Correctional Institution at Green Haven. He was charged and convicted of, "possession of dangerous weapon, armed robbery and assault." That case is currently on appeal, based on a number of factors including the prejudicial statements that were issued by some of the key prosecution witnesses, as well as action on behalf of the judge, in excluding some of our witnesses. Another key point is statements made by several New York City police officers, who themselves were under investigation for perjury.

Then the second case is the case around New Orleans, and Rap was charged with carrying a weapon across state lines while under indictment. He was convicted to 5 years and \$2,000 fine. The judge ordered that that case be consecutive to the New York sentence as opposed to concurrent to the New York sentence. We are currently appealing that conviction. In addition to that there is a motion that is related to the case, which calls for judgement to be overturned because of prejudicial statements that were issued by the judge, during a party being held by the Louisiana Bar Association. He made statements to the effect that he was going to stay in good health so that he could get that nigger, quote unquote. And we are appealing that conviction, also have a motion pending to overturn the conviction.

There is one other case; that was the case in Maryland, which started all the stuff rolling in the first place. Rap was charged with inciting to riot, and arson. That case was not prosecuted, because

of insufficient evidence and because the key witness to the prosecution had lined up were no longer available. Rap was sentenced to a 1 year sentence, to run concurrent with the New York sentence, for failure to appear for trial in that case. That is basically the status of the cases at the moment.

Q: What is the relationship between Rap's whole legal status now, and the Cointelpro, CIA, FBI investigations that are now, presently being made.

A: It is very interesting, I mean people used to accuse the so-called radicals and etc., of being paranoid about the CIA-FBI and their activities now as it appears they were not being paranoid, they were being prophetic, and the FBI and CIA and other investigatory agencies embarked upon a campaign to either eliminate or silence certain prominent leaders during the 60's. One of the spokesmen during that period, was Rap, and there was a specific attempt on the part of the FBI and the whole Cointelpro Program to silence him and get him off the streets. The original charges of arson and inciting to riot was a fraudulent charge, and indeed one of the prosecutors in Maryland admitted that it was fraudulent and trumped up so they could have FBI involvement and Federal involvement in the case. But I don't know if people remember specific incidents in that situation, but the town of Maryland maintained an old delapidated school which was burned down and now they accuse Rap of having done that. The fact of the matter, Rap could not have done that because on that particular night that it happened Rap was injured, he was indeed shot that night, I don't know if by one of the authorities there, but by someone, he was shot in the head with shot gun pellets, so that it was virtually impossible for him to have done it. But none the less they kept that case over his head for almost 5 years, as part of the attempt of the FBI and the other investigatory agencies to silence him. The subsequent charge of carrying a weapon across state lines while under indictment, is a law that is very rarely used. That is a law that has not been used since 1930. It was used and designed specifically in terms of the Mafia of that period, and it hasn't been used since he was prosecuted under it. But they did prosecute him under it, as part of the Cointelpro, and he was as I indicated earlier convicted and sentenced to 5 years and \$2,000 fine. So that there was a deliberate attempt, not only to silence Rap but many of the other prominent spokesmen of that period. I mean the evidence has already come out about Martin Luther King, and I'm sure this is only the tip of the iceberg. If we begin to dig deeper, I'm sure there is a

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Imperialism and Revolution

RAISE!!

AMIRI BARAKA
Part 2

When we speak of the rising tide of revolution in the U.S.A., and in the Euro-American industrialized countries, including Canada, we should make it clear that that is the only way the changes the masses of working people in these societies need to have made, in fact can be made, by revolution. And as part of the Black Liberation Movement for some time, it is important that we point out that the Black Liberation Movement is growing everyday more conscious not only of the need for revolution in the U.S.A., the history of the Black Liberation Movement has always been a history of revolutionary struggle, against slavery, against repression and racism, and for democratic rights and self determination, but the Black Liberation Movement is at this point in history growing in many sectors openly aware that only socialist revolution can make the social changes our people have sacrificed their lives for again and again through history! In recent times some activists and militants like C.A.P. who were once strong advocates of Black Nationalism and Cultural Nationalism, have openly declared themselves to be seeking to gain clarity about the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, which is the science of revolution! In doing this we were consciously trying to break with all bourgeois ideology, particularly bourgeois nationalism, which negates class struggle and unites with the bourgeoisie against the working class, including the justifying of neocolonial oppression by blacks of the black masses "because they," these neocolonial lackies, "are black". We have to struggle to free ourselves of bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois ideology generally and perhaps have not always been successful. Nevertheless, we are waging fierce struggle against it. But we also feel the tendency is totally incorrect and harmful for "new socialists" to make the left opportunist, white chauvinist error of seeing the entire black liberation movement as bourgeois nationalist, and measuring the various liberation movements based on how "close they were to M-L-M". These movements to paraphrase Lenin must be measured according to whether they are struggling against imperialism or not. Hence once recent summary of the Black Liberation Movement (this summary, we are told has been rewritten-so we will await the newly written version

before full comment) delivered at an Afrikan Liberation Support Committee meeting in Atlanta, by one new Marxist-Leninist organization, described the Black Liberation Movement, attributing all progressive tendencies to one group, including their own earlier organization, and showing other groups as wholly bourgeois nationalist. This thesis was so weak that they had to leave Malcolm X out of their analysis since Malcolm came from the most metaphysical and bourgeois nationalist oriented organization of them all, the Nation of Islam. Imagine a history of the Black Liberation Movement without Malcolm X!

Our organizations have undergone and are undergoing all around changes ideologically and structurally to reflect our commitment as United States revolutionaries whose ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, the best of all possible weapons for the liberation of the people from the bloody beast imperialism and its stinking racism.

And when we speak of Black Liberation we know now that there will be no Black Liberation, nor can racism be destroyed, until the economic foundation of Black national oppression and racism is destroyed, which is monopoly capitalism.

The history of the Black Liberation Movement has taught us profound lessons that must be built upon after they are understood. Failure to do so will result in the repetition of serious fundamental errors in our struggle, we might even end up supporting our enemies. The movement of Black Liberation in the 50's and 60's from civil rights, which was a mass struggle for democratic rights led by the Black national bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie in the person of Martin Luther King and the civil rights and student movements, carried the Black Liberation struggle to the point at which the unfinished bourgeois democratic revolution of the U.S. civil war was pushed even further, to the extent to where basic democratic rights supposedly were extended formally to the masses of Black people specifically in the Southern Black Belt, which is the homeland of the oppressed Black Nation in the U.S.A. But ultimately that civil rights movement, because it was led by a Black national bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, extended those democratic rights including some economic and political development to the Black national bourgeoisie and sections of the petit bourgeoisie. It was they who most benefited by the marches, sit

ins, freedom rides, affirmative action bills, and who have broadened their numbers and consolidated as an expanded class today. Though the movement also took on a more militant Black nationalist stance when it reflected Black working class sentiments thru Malcolm X, who despite the metaphysical and cultural nationalist base of the Nation of Islam still put forward a Black nationalist line that we Black people were an oppressed nation with the right of self determination, self respect and self defense! It was very significant when Malcolm X was thrown out of the Nation of Islam, for criticizing the U.S. and Kennedy when Kennedy was assassinated, and it summed up the split between the political teachings of Malcolm X, which were essentially revolutionary and the bourgeois nationalism that characterizes the Nation of Islam.

And in the years that followed, Stokely Carmichael's identification with the cry of Black Power, Rap Brown's identification with the rebellions that rocked the U.S.A. (and even today he remains in jail as a figure of terror to the ruling class because he called for rebellion not just self defense. He laid the foundations for the later cries of Revolution). All carried the Black Liberation Movement forward.

And then the Panthers who spoke first of self defense, then of Marxism and revolution. Who popularized Chairman Mao's Red Book in the Black community and an anti-imperialist line, even though finally their political analysis was faulty when they said the lumpen proletariat, the pimps, hustlers, dope addicts were the social force to make revolution in the U.S.A. This was a romantic analysis, and once we understand that most Black people in the U.S.A. are part of the multi-national working class, some 96% of us, then it is clear that that revolutionary social force is the working class.

The movement also took on, again initiated by Malcolm, an attention to Afrika, and the Afrikanism of people like "US" and Maulana Karenga and the PanAfrikanism of people like SOBU, MXLU, and others was positive, because for some of us, once we had moved past the superficial romantic Afrikan semicult practices, the more we focused on the actualities of Afrikan people today, the more we realized that the Afrikan people like most of the people in the world were locked in a life and death struggle with imperialism. The more we grew clear on the struggles in Afrika, and came to understand what brothers like Amilcar Cabral were saying, the more we took on an anti-

imperialist consciousness, the more we rejected the reactionary worldview that the fundamental contradiction in the world is between Europeans and Afrikans. Especially when faced more and more by the emergence of neocolonialism, as pointed out by Nkrumah, and Toure and Cabral, and focused directly on in the 6th PAC in Dar es Salaam in 1974 which redefined PanAfrikanism as a Revolutionary movement against imperialism, disassociating itself from "all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or national chauvinism". . . calling for the unification of all oppressed peoples saying that even in the U.S.A. where "the material base of racism distorts class consciousness and sets White workers against Black workers" it was still the duty of revolutionaries "to work for the unity of the multi-national working class" to struggle for "the complete development of humanity as well as working for socialist societies."

It was this development not only in ourselves but in larger and larger sectors of the Black Liberation Movement, to come to understand that the enemy of Afrikan people and Black people all over the world, as well as the enemy of the majority of the people in the world, was the system of imperialism/monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism is characterized basically as the private ownership of the means of producing wealth (the means of production) in society. All societies must answer the question of how the food, clothing and shelter of that society are produced, this is called the mode of production. The mode of production consists of the means of production which are the tools and what the work is done on. . . i.e., the machines, factories, land, mineral resources, energy resources — oil wells and coal mines, & c. The other aspect of the mode of production is the production relations, i.e., the pattern of ownership of the means of production and the relations in production and society created by that ownership. In capitalist society those means of production are owned privately therefore the society is exploitative. Even though the work is done collectively and publicly by workers who produce everything of value in society with their labor — all wealth comes from the labor of laborers — but the private ownership of those means of production allows the capitalists (who are the private owners — capital is wealth used to exploit) to appropriate the greatest part of the wealth created by the work of the workers. All the value (wealth) created by the workers which they don't get is called surplus value!

(Continued on page 11)

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(219) 882-8912 | New Jersey
Newark CAP
502 High St.
Newark, N.J. 07102
(201) 621-2300 | Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh CAP
2280 Centre Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219
(412) 268-3506 |
| Elkhart CAP
1804 Siermas Ave
Elkhart Indiana 46514
(219) 521-1064 | Camden CAP
227 Washington St.
Camden, New Jersey
(609) 541-4359 | Philadelphia CAP
6200 Webster St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19143
(215) GR. 6-3191 |
| Indianapolis CAP
3317 N. Bancroft St.
Indianapolis, Ind. 46218 | Jersey City CAP
P.O. Box N. Lafayette Station
J.C. New Jersey 07304
(201) 332-8205 | Texas
Houston CAP
3323 Wichita
Houston, Texas
(713) 523-1822 |