

Super Powers Ravage Angola

See Page 2

NEO-COLONIALISM* THE MAIN FACE OF IMPERIALISM IN AFRIKA!

ZAPU'S TREACHERY IN ZIMBABWE: Nkomo's Secret Deal With Smith



In a secret deal between ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo and colonialist prime minister, Ian Smith, plans were made to replace the military and nationalist political line of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle with moderate ones that would accept both a longer "transitional period and majority rule" that in reality is neo colonialism. ZANU, rejects both, hence the collusive effort by Imperialism to eliminate ZANU leadership and cadres. Pictured above Nkomo and USSR social imperialist backers!

Venue - Gov't House in Bulawayo. In attendance - PCC: Nkomo, Muzorewa, Jirira (businessman in Salisbury), G.T. Dube (Southampton Insurance Co. rep. in Bulawayo), Savage (Nkomo's uncle, his businesses' manager and businessman in Mpopoma South in Byo). RF: Dupont, Smith, Wrathall and Lardner Burke.

Time - Immediately after Nkomo's return from Jamaica.

There has been concluded a secret deal between Nkomo and Smith. It has been agreed that Nkomo should work hard to win the leadership of the ANC

from Muzorewa and that the ANC congress be held before June 25, 1975, the date of Mozambique's independence. Nkomo will then attend Mozambique's independence celebrations as President of the ANC. Here he will plead with the Mozambique government and those of Tanzania and Zambia so that the Frelimo government will not close the Rhodesian railway routes to Beira and Lorenzo Marques arguing that Africans in Rhodesia will suffer mostly and that this too will harm Mozambique's economy and those of

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NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY HOLDS ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

500 Black people went to Atlanta, Georgia, August 1st, 2nd, and 3rd to discuss what is the correct program that will guide Black people through the Depression and the crisis in capitalism? What program will come to grips with the crisis that Black people find ourselves faced with? These pressing questions were the center of the discussion at the Economic Conference, sponsored by the National Black Assembly, a Black United Front, entitled, "The Current Depression and the Survival of Black People: What is to be Done?" This conference was called at a moment in history, that Black and other oppressed people in the U.S. and throughout the world are seeking a way, a path to end their oppression.

The conference lasted for 2 days and covered the following areas in Workshops: Employment, Consumer Concerns, Legislation, Existing Programs, & Political Education. Both the general assembly and the workshops were presented with different strategies & tactics and information around the question of Black people liberating themselves from oppression under the capitalist system.

Out of the Employment Workshop came a key resolution that will initiate the mobilization of a Black Workers' Conference, this proposal put forward by Fightback and Black Economic Survival two New York based Black worker organizations along with the Congress

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* NEO-COLONIALISM - is the continued rule of imperialism, past the colonial stage, by means of "native agents". By means of the Bourgeoisie (or petit bourgeoisie) of the oppressed people themselves. Neo-Colonialism, as Kwame Nkrumah pointed out, is a stage of imperialism, the last stage of imperialism. Neo-Colonialism forms out of the superficial political "independence" many third world countries gain, which includes usually a head of state, flag, parliament and national anthem, perhaps even some mercedes benzes to ride around in. (The Tanzanians call such people wabenzi, the tribe that rides in the mercedes benzes). But economically such states are still tied directly to, if not completely subservient to, imperialism. Colonialism was outright foreign domination, Neo-Colonialism seemingly elevates the

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SUPERPOWERS ENDANGER INDEPENDENCE IN ANGOLA

Day by day news of bloodshed in Angola is demonstrating clearly to us that the two Superpowers, U.S. Imperialism & U.S.S.R. Social Imperialism, are the principal enemy of liberation & socialism throughout the world today. Before Angola can proclaim its independence from Portuguese colonialism, fierce fighting broke out between F.L.N.A. (native agent for U.S. Imperialism) led by Holden Roberto and M.P.L.A. (native agent for U.S.S.R. Social Imperialism) led by Dr. Agostinho Neto, and now has become an armed attack against the only popular liberation force in Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi. But historically, UNITA was the only liberation group based inside Angola itself, leading armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. And, even today Portuguese troops may intervene against UNITA under the influence of Soviet social imperialism, as UNITA represents the armed determination of the Angolan people to liberate the nation from Imperialist domination. The absolute war between the Superpowers is a fundamental law of imperialism, but the main trend of history that is sweeping the face of the earth today is clearly revolution.

Detroit Still Hot - 8 Years Later Rebellion and Repression in Detroit



Courtesy DFP

Detroit was lit up again in response to the racist killing of young Obie Wynn. It brought back memories of 1967, but this time we seek organization, and not just rebellion. We need a Second Civil War - Socialist Revolution!

On July 23, 1967 Detroit, Michigan, like many other urban cities where Black people live, exploded into the most devastating and powerful Black urban rebellion in recent times. The 60's Rebellions are an important part of the history of the Black Liberation Movement. Now, 8 years later, Detroit explodes again. This time under the administration of Blacks, headed up by Coleman Young, Mayor.

On Monday, July 28, 1975 Obie Wynn an 18 year old Black youth was brutally murdered outside of Bob Boltens Bar. Obie was shot in the back of the head by the white owner of the bar, Andrew Chinarian, supposedly for breaking into a car in the lot, (witnesses have said that Obie was sitting on the car). A crowd of angry Black people from the surrounding community gathered at the bar demanding justice. Demanding that the police bring Chinarian out under arrest and in handcuffs, to assure the crowd that he was going to jail. This was not done. The crowd got bigger and the word spread fast. The rebellion was on.

Groups of Black people started to gather (mostly working class black

youth) and small skirmishes began with the police. A few stores were entered, but most of the activity Monday night was centered around fights with the hundreds of police who had flooded the area.

The police response was to begin arresting people and to saturate the black community with teargas. The police made several attempts to disperse the crowds of Black people in the community, but each time they were met

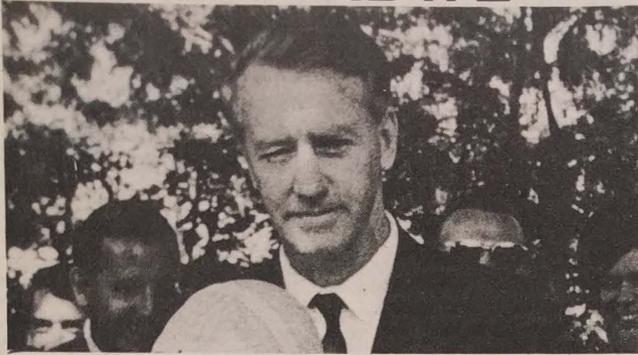
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ZIMBABWE



Ian Smith - head of "Rhodesian" white minority settler regime, who has manipulated certain leaders of ANC and ZAPU, to enter into agreements with the intent to maintain white "Rhodesian" colonial rule in Zimbabwe as long as possible and gradually have a "peaceful transition" to neo colonialism instead of real self determination for the Zimbabwe people.

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Zambia, Malawi and Botswana. It is agreed that Zambia will back Nkomo on this issue. Nkomo will also add weight to his argument by saying that he is going to have constitutional talks with Smith and that since by June 25 he will have had preliminary talks with Smith he will inform them that according to his own point of view got from these exploratory talks, the constitutional talks will be a success.

Also after Nkomo has become president of the ANC he will automatically become Commander-in-Chief of the ANC army. He will thus use his position to appoint his stooges into the army and remove all the radicals from posts in this army. Having done this he will then call for a cease-fire. If any units refuse to obey the cease-fire call they will meet with combined attacks from these units loyal to Nkomo and the Rhodesian army.

Smith on his part will ensure that Nkomo wins the leadership of the ANC. This will be done by Smith's police arresting all ZANU members who are likely to vote against Nkomo at the Congress. Also all those in the old ANC who are likely to challenge or vote against Nkomo will be arrested or detained. This is why Smith launched a massive campaign of arrests particularly in Bulawayo, Southern province and Manicaland. There is also to be a joint effort on the part of Nkomo and Smith to see that certain of the ANC officials are to be eliminated. Muzorewa was supposed to have been attacked at the ANC meeting on the 1st of June, 1975 held in Highfields which led to the violence which left many people dead in Salisbury. Ruffled up at that same meeting were Dr. Sithole, Nkala and Malianga all ZANU leaders and anti-congress group. Later on Muzorewa's house in Marimba Park was bombed. After that same meeting too Gabella was threatened by the PCC group and had to remain in Salisbury arranging his own protection. The bomb attack at Muzorewa's house was clearly planned to take place when Nkomo was out of the country in Botswana on a private visit so that he would not be a suspect.

The role Smith will play in all this is one of negligence. His police will not be able to arrest the PCC people responsible for these actions so that they will continue with their activities. Smith will also remove most of his policemen from the African townships so as to give the PCC thugs a free hand in their activities. Smith will loan some of his CID and SB chaps to Nkomo so that they will carry out some of the actions for him as

happened on the 1-6-75 when they assaulted Nkala, Sithole and Malianga and started the violence which led to the deaths of many people in Salisbury. All these things will take place in Salisbury and not Bulawayo where Nkomo resides so that he will be out of the pale of any suspicions.

After Nkomo has won the leadership of the ANC he will then start serious constitutional talks and come to an accommodation with Smith. There will be a multi-racial capitalist government in which PCC and RF will participate. When this has been concluded they will then start to integrate the ANC army into Smith's army and police forces. This gov't will receive immediate recognition from Britain, Zambia, Malawi, S. Africa, Mozambique and Botswana. (This is why Nkomo is trying to cement his relationship with the Botswana gov't. evidenced by his visit there and serious efforts to see Sir Seretse at his home in Serowe). Since he will have convinced Samora in L.M. recognition will be automatic.

Nkomo was frankly told by Smith that without support from Smith in Rhodesia he can never win the ANC leadership on his own. He is aware of this and this is why he was accepted to work with Smith. Because of his economic policies he would also like to continue the present system of government in Rhodesia. His economic policies are similar to those of the Rhodesia Front and Britain. The last two would like a moderate African controlled capitalist government - in Rhodesia hence that is why they are building Nkomo. Nkomo on his part will also work as a bridge between Britain and Smith. He is the only one who has said that Britain should be in the talks. Smith has not refused this.

For all this he has received funds from Zambia, Britain and the Rhodesia Front through the Indian Community in Bulawayo most of the money coming from people like Lilford. They are all out to see that the deal succeeds and they believe it will. There is total silence on the deal. This is why Nkomo has refused to answer Chikerema on the deal.

It is reported that Nkomo was very happy when he left Gov't House that day. Before this he had openly asserted to his close friends that he was finished politically and that he was prepared to put all his weight behind N. Sithole in the hope that Sithole would offer him a senior post and that he would then try to moderate Sithole. But after the meeting he started telling people that he was going to be President since he had some organization nobody could challenge—the machinery being Smith's support. To those who have seen him recently he is already acting like he has already succeeded.

He called two of his supporters from foreign missions, Bumiso and Nyati to brief them on developments. This was in Gaborone in Botswana. (see letter page 10)

President Kaunda, what has happened to the "Chitepo Commission of Inquiry"?

IMPERIALISM'S ANGOLAN CONNECTION

Part 1

by Bod Yeggero

The specter of civil war looms large on Angola's horizon despite the Mombasa Agreement, which provided a common political platform for Angola's three principal liberation movements at the independence negotiations with the Portuguese at Panina, Portugal, and the investiture of a transitional government. Journalists have, of late, been describing the Angola situation as "fluid." The fluid it most resembles is nitroglycerin.

The old class, tribal and ideological differences which have existed among Angola's principal nationalist movements - the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) - have resurfaced after being briefly submerged at the Mombasa talks of January 3-5. The contradictions are as sharp as ever - especially between FNLA and MPLA. Charges and countercharges are flying between FNLA president Holden Roberto and MPLA head Dr. Agostinho Neto. The rivalry has been complicated by the presence in Angola of forces loyal to MPLA renegade Daniel Chipenda.

An armed separatist movement, the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC), is active in oil rich Cabinda Province. There are at least 30,000 Portuguese troops, not scheduled to be fully withdrawn from Angola until February 29, 1976 - 3½ months after formal independence. There are a half million whites - 40,000 of whom are reported to be training for counterrevolution in South African-held Namibia. And finally, there are the thinly disguised maneuvers of U.S. imperialism, and, in the words of

Agostinho Neto, "reactionaries abroad supported by certain African countries, even neighbors..."

The fall of Portuguese colonialism in Africa comes at a time of new awareness of the strategic importance of the continent and may mark a decisive stage in the second scramble for Africa. The proven vulnerability of the Suez Canal after two Middle East wars since 1967 and the development of the super-tankers to transport petroleum make control of the sea route from the Persian Gulf around the Cape of Good Hope a prime concern of Western defense strategies.

The Soviet military presence in the Indian Ocean - a task force of 16-20 ships with port facilities at Berbera, Somalia - was met by an American buildup in the area. The U.S. Navy and Air Force plan to build a support base on Britain's Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia, which may house a permanent U.S. aircraft-carrier task force in the Indian Ocean. The Economist (Jan. 25, 1975) reported that the United States is also negotiating with the Sultan of Oman to use the airfield on his island of Masirah.

South Africa's long-standing claim that it is an integral part of the "Free World's" defense perimeter has been given official credence by the West. NATO has extended its sphere of operations below the Tropic of Cancer. Contingency plans have been drawn up for military intervention in Southern Africa to protect Western interests against the threat of the mythical communist bogey.

Henry Kissinger's recently revealed Option 2 on Southern Africa outlines the Nixon and Ford Administrations' posture in the region. It dovetails neatly with South African Prime Minister Vorster's initiatives toward detente with

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NIGERIAN COUP HOLDS NO PROMISE OF CHANGE FOR THE NIGERIAN MASSES

The bloodless and almost polite "Coup d'etat" that visited Nigeria's military ruler, Yakubu Gowon is that country's fourth major upheaval since gaining "independence" from Britain in 1960. This most recent coup, headed by Muretala Mohammed came while General Gowon was out of the country, attending the OAU meeting in Uganda. It was reported that Gowon's family had been transferred to the safety of London, England prior to the coup because General Gowon was "suspicious". Apparently, his financial account has been in the safe books of British and Swiss banks long before now.

Brigadier General Mohammed upon assuming power in Nigeria, denounced

the Gowon administration for its "insensitivity to the desires of the Nigerian people". Gowon's military governors were immediately fired in an attempt to appease the masses growing hatred and contempt for them. Gowon had announced earlier in 1975 that the transfer of power to civilian democracy scheduled for 1976 would not take place. Such an announcement was a joy to the imperialists and Nigeria's national bourgeoisie because continued military rule more effectively secures and protects imperialism's daily plunder of Nigeria's vast resources as well as exploitation of labor and the home market. But it came as a blow to the as-

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MOTION!!

imperialism, nor the OAS can contain revolution in Latin America.

Puerto Rican Cement Workers' Strike Continues - Puerto Rican cement workers have been on strike for 7 months against the filthy rich millionaire Ferre Family, which owns factories, hotels, banks, a newspaper & a political party.

The Ferre Family intends to crush the union by using professional strike-breakers, the local police and the FBI in the fight to suppress the worker's struggle for decent wages in Puerto Rico where the U.S. and its compradors get superprofits by paying workers a few cents a day for their labor power. The Cement Workers see their struggle as our struggle, and are asking for economic help from workers in the U.S.

Puerto Rican Militants Tortured in Dominican Republic - 3 members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party are being held (20 days first without admitting it) & tortured by electric shock & beaten with rubber sticks in military prisons in the Dominican Republic. Johnny Sampson, Raul Garcia, & Angel Gandia (a member of PSP's Central Committee) are among 400 political activists jailed in the Dominican Republic as Dictator Joaquin Balaguer teams up with the Puerto Rican government and U.S. imperialism to repress national liberation in Puerto Rico. But repression will speed the revolution sweeping the Caribbean. The people are a rising tide against imperialism.

Superpowers Provoking War in Portugal - Superpower contention over the control of Portugal intensified and spilled over into violence, as the Portuguese Revisionist "Communist" Party gained more influence in the coalition government and the U.S. imperialist controlled Portuguese "Socialist" Party was forced out of the coalition. The Military troika, leaning toward the USSR's boys but essentially representing

the Portuguese national bourgeoisie, Carvalho, Gomes, & Goncalves is preparing for armed struggle as the CIA is creating the same kind of chaos in Portugal as they did to overthrow Allende in Chile. In fact, Philip Agee, author of the controversial CIA Diary, says that he saw 10 CIA agents he was trained with in the U.S. when he travelled in Portugal last month, agents trained in chaos and sabotage. Meanwhile the real communist forces in Portugal who lead large masses of Portuguese against imperialism are being politically suppressed.

Bloody Hands Sign Detente Pact in Helsinki - Ford & Brezhnev led 35 nations from East & Western Europe and North America to sign the latest snow job about peace, while U.S. & USSR pens dripped with the people's blood from the Middle East to Southern Afrika, and Portugal to Angola. The danger to the independence of the middle sized states in Europe increases as the Superpowers are making bargains over questions in dispute between themselves, without listening to the medium-sized countries who want the troops withdrawn from Europe. Albania was the only European country that did not sign the sham pact, and the Albanian people are in the vanguard of European forces that remain vigilant against the Superpower's imperialist deeds.

OAU Boycott - Tanzania & Zambia, Botswana boycotted the recent OAU meeting in Kampala, Uganda because of the murderous military regime of General Idi Amin. Amin has frequently threatened war against Tanzania. Although Idi Amin has spoke of "invading" South Afrika, concretely he has killed approximately 200,000 Afrikans during his regime. The OAU made Amin its new head at the Kampala sessions.

Delegation from Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Visits Cambodian Capital - A delegation from Hanoi, led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, held successful discussions with the new people's democracy in Cambodia to work on a united stand to wipe out all the political and economic by products of U.S. imperialism in Indo-China. The talks led to firm agreement on a united front against imperialism & for political and economic progress in Indo-China.

Laos Patriotic Front Defeating Neo-Colonialism - The Central Committee of the Laos Patriotic Front says, "the life-and-death struggle between the revolutionary forces of our people and the counter revolutionary forces of the traitors is going on very fiercely." Under neo-colonialism Laos was continuously menaced by the hunger & hardships of U.S. exploitation & people were deprived of all their rights, so the masses of people arose to struggle, and many ultra-reactionaries who colluded with US imperialism have already fled. The Front holds that the mass uprising of workers, peasants, students, army men & police to abolish the reactionary political and military apparatus of neo-colonialism & "to seize power into their hands is a very correct & legitimate action." Now the struggle is being waged from town to town in Laos, and imperialism is in retreat.

Revisionist Parties Attack Revolutionary China - A host of Soviet Social Imperialist controlled revisionist party leaders of Latin America, who have blocked the path of revolution in Latin America for decades, used a meeting in Havana, Cuba to attack the People's Republic of China. This same revisionist line is responsible for the assassination of late President Salvador Allende Gossens & the reactionary coup that brought Imperialist domination back to Chile. Revisionism's role is to disarm the people by cutting out the core of Marxism, the science of revolution.

But the bankruptcy of the revisionist line is clearer & clearer everyday in Latin America. They will not be able to put out the flames of revolution, and as imperialism is overthrown, social imperialism will be smashed too.

OAS Ends Cuban Blockade - The U.S. controlled Organization of American States voted July 29 to lift its 11 year economic & political blockade of Cuba. Since the Cuban Revolution in 1959 U.S. imperialism cut off sugar imports, and all exports to Cuba, and used the OAS to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America on one hand & attempted to assassinate Fidel Castro on the other. But neither U.S.



JoAnn Little - FINALLY ACQUITTED - a Black woman who defended herself against a racist sexual attack by a white jail guard in North Carolina last year. Her "case" represented the triple oppression Black women face of race, class, and sexism. Masses of people have come to the defense of JoAnn Little resulting in the national exposure and pressure for her freedom. But there are JoAnn Little's all over the United States who will not go free without further struggle.

Neo-Colonialism Subverts Independence in Comoro Islands - Clearly neo-colonialism is the main danger in Afrika, as new Head of State Ahmed Abdallah, who took militant & uncompromising stand against French imperialism's control of his newly independent nation, was overthrown only 30 days after they declared independence. Ali Soilih's first statement after the coup he led, betrayed the whole plot - "We need France..." But in reality France was exploiting the natural resources of the Comoro Islands; France needs the Comoro Islands for superprofits and has overthrown the new government thru native agents. The Comoro Islands are the world's second largest producer of vanilla, & exports essence of perfume (supplying 70% of France's production), coconut fibre, sisal, cocoa, clove, coffee, pepper, wood & lava for construction.

Sao Tome & Principe Independent - After years of protracted struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome & Principe was proclaimed by its new President, Manuel Printo de Costa, the General Secretary of the Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome & Principe (CLSTP). The new nation has a population of 80,000 off the west coast of Afrika.

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"What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony."

Excerpts from Peking Review

NEO COLONIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

subject people to superficial state power, but the economics are firmly controlled in New York, London, Paris, &c. Or if they are client states of Soviet Social Imperialism, the economy will be controlled in Moscow.

Neo-Colonialism is so dangerous because there is a superficial appearance of national independence, when all the time the politics will ultimately be determined by the economic domination of imperialism. In Afrika, states like Zaire, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Liberia, and many others are neo colonialist and unfortunately even Zambia seems to be moving clearly into that definition. Neo-Colonialism is the main force of imperialism in Afrika, and the main danger in Afrika. Everybody is hip to colonialism, even the Liberal Bougeoisie (World Council of Churches) puts it down. Meanwhile, Neo-Colonialism opposes the genuine liberation of the masses, and makes the march to socialism that many heads of state speak of a sham.

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ECONOMIC CRISIS: NBA HOLDS ECONOMIC CONFERENCE



August 1, 2, 3 saw the National Black Assembly hold an economic conference which theme was "The Current Depression and the Survival of Black People": What is to be done? Hundreds of Black people from across the country held serious workshops and forum discussion on the causes and effect of the current depression in the Black community and what can be done to struggle against this mass poverty and exploitation which allows the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer, but the only way to solve this problem is socialist revolution.

(Continued from page 1)

of Afrikan People, backed & actively supported by the NBA. Also coming out of this workshop was acceptance of a proposal for a national day of demonstrations against the political and economic attacks on working people put forward by the Revolutionary Workers Congress. Consumer Concerns produced a resolution against the utility monopolies, calling for struggle against those institutions that exploit black people, such as the banks, food industry, fuel companies, & real-estate agencies, which are all in the hands of the big bourgeoisie in the U.S. And the Legislation Workshop critically backed the Full Employment bill pending before U.S. Congress, and outlined some housing legislation that would undermine the rule of the slumlords and put power in the hands of the tenants to control public housing, urban development, & rent control boards, jailing slumlords who will not provide decent housing for the people, while they steal people's rents.

The Existing Programs workshop outlined the danger of the stinking breath of fascism in the S-1 Bill which is a blow to people's rights & which is pending in the U.S. Congress & must be organized against.

STOP KILLER COPS EAST ORANGE, N.J.

The fact that police repression continues to rampage throughout America today, only reveals further how fascism is on the rising tide in a period when imperialism is in its greatest crisis ever. In East Orange, N.J. on July 15th, Black 18 year old Derek "Ricky" Humphrey was murdered by white police officer Bob Tanfield. A recent East Orange High graduate, Humphrey was shot during an argument which occurred between James Tanfield, father of the police officer, and Derek Humphrey following a near car accident in front of Tanfield's house. Officer Tanfield came out of the house with two guns in his pocket; shot Humphrey point blank in the face and threw one of the guns in his car, which Tanfield later used in his claim of "self-defense."

Immediately following the Humphrey killing, the people began demanding that Tanfield be jailed immediately and held without bail for murder. However, what the people demanded differed from the **Misleaders** of the people, those petty bourgeois politicians in East Orange; namely, E.O. Mayor Hart, Councilman Holt, and Freeholder Cook. These lackies openly showed how they are the collaborators with the bourgeois and their hitmen, the police. At several community meetings held, East Orange politicians with the exception of Councilman Thomas refused to act or support the people's just demands and instead called for an "investigation" or "Maybe it was self defense," which is what Tanfield and the fascist PBA are now claiming. Even the Black policemen's organization The Kinsmen

The Political Education Workshop passed 2 resolutions. One resolution to further develop the '76 Strategy by calling on the NBA and its Political Task Force to meet with the National Coordinating Committee for a 1976 Electoral Strategy (a coalition of black, Third World and white organizations & individuals) to get the work of the 76 Campaign off the ground with the broadest possible participation. And, the other resolution was for the NBA to go on record supporting the independence of Angola, armed struggle in Southern Africa & opposing the bankruptcy of detente, denouncing neo-colonialism as the principal danger to the Afrikan masses, and calling for an end to all U.S. aid to fascist dictatorships by the U.S. while it depletes funds for social programs.

In the workshops the discussion also brought out a lesson very important to the liberation of our people about the relationship between reform and revolution: to the reformist, as Stalin said, reforms are everything, but to the revolutionary reforms are a by-product of the revolution! (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 98) Both the position that says reforms are everything (the right error) and reforms are nothing (ultra-left error) are incorrect.

end Part 1

have openly condemned the PBA.

Forming out of several mass meetings, an Ad-Hoc Committee called The Coalition to End Police Brutality has been established to act on the people's demands which include:

1. Tanfield be jailed immediately and held without bail.
2. Creation of a Civilian Review Board free of city administration.
3. Psychological testing periodically for all police officers.
4. Resignation of Police Chief Daher.
5. Abolishment of the board of police commissioners.

On July 29th, the coalition held a memorial march and rally with 300 people against the police murder in the Derek Humphrey case and all victims of killer cops. The demonstration was successful despite several attempts by reactionary Hart and the fascist PBA to block and undermine it, i.e., attempted to enforce a \$200 fee to hold a rally.

Due to the mass demonstrations and actions by the people throughout that week, Tanfield was indicted by an Essex County Grand Jury but given only a \$5,000 bail, which further exposes the STATE thru the Courts entire legal and judicial system protecting their hitmen, the police, especially when a Black life was taken. A \$5,000 bail while everyday Black and other oppressed nationalities are locked up with higher bails for doing nothing.

The Coalition plans to mobilize and organize a campaign to implement the 5 demands and struggle against killer cops.

Stop Killer Cops

South-Bend, Ind.

Robert Lee Fultz, a 22 year old black man, has been arrested and charged with Armed Robbery and First Degree Murder of South Bend Police Officer, Thomas DeRue. From the time of his arrest to the time of his trial, Robert Fultz has been the victim of many brutal attacks by the racist South Bend and St. Joseph County Police.

Robert had been casually walking toward the scene of the robbery and murder, when he saw one of the State's hit men glaring at him from a police car. Robert is an ex-convict, who is supposed to be in Indianapolis during his parole, so he thought they wanted to arrest him for parole violation. So he turned to walk the other way only to be captured a few minutes later in the LaSalle Hotel where he was arrested and taken back to where the robbery occurred.

Robert Fultz describes the plan the "protectors of the rich" have for him. "Now what are the facts? A downtown store is robbed... a white police officer is shot and killed, now the woman who was operating the store can't identify the man who robbed her, so the police are now at a great disadvantage, because the robber can't be identified, only the color of his skin. So the police are now vamping on every black male until they find a likely black suspect. But they can't have just any suspect, but one who's got a record... so I happened to be in the area of the crimes, I'm black and an ex-convict, and... I'm trying to avoid a police car, one block from the scene of the crime heading toward the scene..."

Here's another reason why Robert was singled out. During the hearings of the Coalition Against Police Repression (CAPR), Robert was very helpful in exposing to the people the sadistic repression of South Bend's Police Force. Their true role of mindless terrorism and murder. People were reminded of the murders of Howard Warren and Jimmy Ward and the crippling of Wallace Sconiers, and Melvin Phillips, all shot down by these wretched fascists.

Even though Fultz wasn't identified as the man the police were looking for,

he was still detained and taken to the station. There he was savagely beaten about the head and kicked in the back (while handcuffed). This is how the system's hit men operate. They act as judge and jury and sentence us to gangland brutalizations... as far as they are concerned, Robert is guilty because he's black and poor. The reality is that... many times we are arrested for crimes and convicted for crimes we did not do, due to that vicious by-product of Capitalism, called racism. Black people and the other oppressed nationalities are the national scape goats for all the society's ills.

Robert was then taken to a line up where a white witness whose husband once stated on T.V. that they only saw the back of the man who shot officer DeRue, now claims they are positive Robert did it. A gun and some clothing in the hotel where Bro. Fultz was arrested magically turns up as evidence. Also a black police woman "suddenly remembers" (i.e. lied) that she saw Robert wearing the jacket the robber wore (The State makes good use of it's native agents). The contradictions are clear: How is it Robert could be found only 1 block from the scene 1/2 hour after the crime? Why would he lead Police to the room where the "murder weapon" was kept? (Which wasn't even there at the time of his arrest).

When will justice be done?? When will these Appointed terrorist goons (black-faced chumps included) be punished for ripping off the human rights of Robert Fultz and countless others?

Since the Police are nothing but the hired guns of the Super-Rich, justice can only be done when these assassins (Police, FBI, CIA etc.) are crushed by the revolutionary upheaval of oppressed people against Capitalism which will imprison forever the wealthy parasites of society (Rockefellers, Fords, Duponts etc.) and their lackeys for their crimes against the people.

Smash National (Racial) Oppression
Stop Killer Cops
The People United Will Never Be Defeated

U.S. CONCENTRATION CAMPS MURDER AND OPPRESS BLACKS!!!

RUCHELL MAGEE

"H. Rap Brown: Concept of Government's Tolerance"

Can barbarism go into the communities dressed up in the name of law without undermining completely the people and force the world to yield to tyrants, if we don't stop these judicial destructive fools?

Isn't Hubert "Rap" Brown the Black who placed his life on the line many of times to educate the people throughout this country?

In the government, CIA, FBI conspiratorial plot to isolate and murder comrade Rap there's no secret, especially now in the light of recent exposure of government clowns spying, counter intelligence, assassinations & executions of black moderate or militant leaders Fred Hampton and Martin L. King.

Many people have failed to understand the compassion within comrade Rap that represents the strength & dedication of the brother. He's not silent

voluntarily, but he won't plea with fence straddlers or those who fail to comprehend his revolutionary political and Islamic faith and practices. As in his own words, "If they don't know what I'm about now they never will." Precisely what is the people's investment in Rap? It's suppose to be reliable reality that we love the brother. Isn't it fair to say that there's no other unfallen comrade who has proven by word and deed in theory & practice his unremitting love & devotion for the Black, poor & oppressed and our just struggle for National Liberation.

The government's frame-up charges against "Rap" Brown and their racist intention of killing him in prison must be countered by progressive revolutionary forces who avowed to the dialectical principles, the unity & struggle of opposites as it applies to

(Continued on page 11)

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION

PART 2

SELF-DETERMINATION

In the era of imperialism, as we have stated, the world is divided into oppressed and oppressor nations. "Under imperialism the division of nations into oppressing and oppressed ones is a fundamental, most important and inevitable fact." Lenin - Soc. Rev. and the Right of Nations. . . This gives rise to a violent imposition of the will of the oppressor nation on the people of the oppressed nation. Thus stunting the development of the oppressed nation. This imperialist domination is characterized by the destruction of the pattern of free development of the subjugated people, which in essence is the violent usurping of the peoples' right to self-determination.

"The principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violently usurping the free operation of the process of development of the productive forces" Amilcar Cabral - National Liberation and Culture. We see that the domination, oppression, of a nation by imperialism, means the immediate end (imposed by military force) of the oppressed nations ability to determine its own destiny.

The struggle for socialism is at base a struggle to topple the old social order of capitalist exploitation. It is in essence, the path to the abolition of all oppression and exploitation. It must give the direction to the fight for complete democracy, democratic rights, which in its fullest sense for nations means the right to self-determination. The ability to decide the direction of our own lives. Socialism must liberate the oppressed nations from the oppressor nations and bring about the complete equality of nations. Lenin said, "socialism must achieve complete democracy and consequently, not only bring about the complete equality of nations but also give effect to the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e. the right to free political secession."

The true basis for equality is the ability of both parties involved to decide freely if they want to be involved or to what extent they want to be involved. The right of the oppressed nations to

self-determination means in essence the right of political independence. The right to decide means also the right to free political secession from the oppressing nation if that be the choice of the oppressed nation. Lenin. "The right of nations to self-determination means only the right to independence in a political sense, the right to free political secession from the oppressing nation."

"The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny. . .

"The right of self-determination means that a nation may arrange its life in the way that it wishes. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign, and all nations are equal." J. Stalin - Marxism and Nat. Ques.

The point is, nations must have the right to decide their own destiny.

"Thus, the right of self-determination is an essential element in the solution of the National Question" Stalin-(Ibid.)

The right of self-determination is an important aspect to a clear understanding of the struggle for Black liberation. For the character of our oppression lies not only in the exploitation of our people as mostly workers, but also in the super exploitation that comes from the oppression we suffer as part of a nation under the rule of an imperialist oppressing nation. **Black people are an oppressed nation in the U.S.**

Only by understanding this fact and only by supporting the just demand for self-determination of the Black nation can we truly advance the struggle for Black liberation. There can be no Black liberation without a transfer of political power, to the Black masses, i.e. the right of self-determination. "Without the perspective of political power, the negro peoples movement is reduced to an impotent appeal to the conscience of humanitarian instincts of the country and the world." Harry Haywood - For a Rev. Position on the Negro Question-

Let us look at the historic communist position of support for the demand of self-determination for the Black Nation.

(Continued Next Issue)

HOUSING STRUGGLE IN BALTIMORE



Black people in Baltimore, Md. are struggling like in all other cities where we are boxed into substandard housing against poor housing, high rents to profit hungry mostly absentee "landlords" and against day to day competition with rats, roaches, no heat, hot water and crumbling buildings which continue to make landlords rich off our misery and exploitation.

To live in the U.S. is to live in a society uncertain of its future. More and more people are exposed to the real nature of capitalist society and more people concretely realize their democratic rights are being stripped away. The tenants of Uplands Apartments in Baltimore, Maryland have joined the ranks of the increasing number of the masses of people educated by bad experience in that a decent life in the U.S.A. under capitalism is a sham and a hoax played always with the same few winners (Rocky, DuPont, Henry Ford, etc.).

The people at Uplands Apartments were made believers by the Baltimore Police Department, July 9th, by the hard facts of night sticks as they were clubbed, beaten, collared, dragged and arrested. This mad assault involved some of the children being arrested with their parents, but more cold-blooded than this was when one of the women arrested pleaded to be allowed to get her baby she had left in the house unattended and she was turned down. This struggle is not a newly-developing one. The "Uplands Tenant Association" (UTA) was formed in March, 1974 to initially focus on and force the management to solve the problems involving inadequate maintenance, lighting, security and related burglaries, and rapes, disease-carrying rats, mice and roaches. A Steering Committee (composed of volunteers) acts as the voice of tenant grievances and demands.

Residents of the Uplands Apartment complex have also held their rent in escrow since April, refusing to pay an additional 18% increase, which means for some that 30% of their income would be used for rent.

In June UTA, local unions, community groups and individuals set up patrols and defeated an eviction attempt by the management. (The tenants were in the process of another such "peaceful" demonstration on July 9th when they were set upon by the mad dog killer cops).

Earlier this year the Department of Housing and Urban Development was ordered by the federal court to pay 1/2 of the 18% increase. Tenants would pay the remaining increase. How can tenants afford to pay additional rent during this economic depression when wages are

extremely low, while the cost of living is steadily rising?

Uplands tenants, the majority of whom are low-income, question why Sarubin, a multi-millionaire should be allowed to rake in profits at the expense of poor, Black people. Sarubin, a small-time Rockefeller, is robbing tenants of the money that they have worked hard to earn. To pay 30% of their income for rent leaves little for food, clothing, transportation, medical services and other living expenses. To understand the root cause of this attack on poor people, the system of capitalism must be exposed.

Under the system of monopoly capitalism, a few rich are able to increase their profits while the masses of people remain poor, owning only the ability to work. Capitalism is characterized by private (minority), ownership of property and public poverty. And so what become apparent is that capitalists are more concerned about their wealth (money and property) than they are about the lives of people who are tenants in their houses, or who work in their factories. As the economic crisis intensifies, with increasing layoffs, plant shut-downs, high food prices and high unemployment rates in general, more people see the need to organize to immediately destroy capitalism, the root cause of their problems. Housing is but one area around which workers can unite, building mass movements to bring an end to exploitation and oppression of all working class people, and understand that the system of monopoly capitalism must be totally eradicated.

Only through socialist revolution will workers be able to control those things that affect their lives. Millions of people work for Rockefeller and Dupont to make them even richer. But where is the real wealth that they produce? The masses of people work eight hours a day, forty hours a week, plus overtime, while Rocky sits on his estate and orders his lackies to oppress us. Sarubin is one of those lackies. Tenants know what is needed in their apartments and where to get those goods and services. All of the Rockefellers, Duponts and Carnegies as well as their lackies like the Sarubins need to be evicted! **Evict the capitalists, not the workers!**

Tenants are now re-organizing to determine what further actions they will take. It is clear to most residents that by organizing and struggling together, Sarubin will have to provide services and quality housing for tenants at Uplands, providing a catalyst for other tenants and tenant organizations across the country.

**VICTORY TO THE UPLANDS TENANTS!
VICTORY TO PEOPLES' WARS!
VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!**

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY . . .



"We would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."
—Amilcar Cabral

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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 2 BLACK POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

It was in the North, where free blacks did at least have the right to assemble, speak and publish, that we find a multitude of black organizations during the period under consideration (1830-1860). It is only natural, then, that the documentation which will be presented in this study of black nationalism originated from the northern free black population.

From 1830 until 1850 there were at least seven National Negro Conventions which took place exclusively in the North; 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1853. In addition, there were numerous State Negro Conventions in the North during this same period of time.

These conventions took place exclusively in the North and, with a few exceptions, the representatives were all from the free black population in northern states. Moreover, these representatives were members of the northern free black middle class. There is cause to wonder why the National Negro Conventions assumed such an imposing title since those present represented only the black population residing in the North which was only 5 per cent of the total black population in America during this period. It would be more accurate to observe that these "national" conventions represented the deliberations and aspirations of sections of the northern free black middle class. This is precisely why these conventions

are of immense importance to this study. The chief black nationalist spokesmen of this period were members of this same small, northern black middle class which participated in these conventions. We wish to contrast the political position taken by the national and with the predominant political position taken by these conventions.

We must state at the outset: the National Negro Conventions were managed and manipulated at the top by white liberals and moderates who were present at the conventions. These white liberal managers, who were called "philanthropists" by the black convention representatives, also formed the leading core of the white-controlled, so-called Abolitionist movement which also sprang up in the 1830's.

A white Abolitionist minister of New Haven, the Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, was one of the main "engineers" of the First Annual Negro Convention of 1831. Among other whites also present at the convention were W. L. Garrison, Arthur Tappan, and Benjamin Lundy. The following excerpts from the convention address will give some insight as to the role of these white "philanthropists."

"...Oh, then, by a brother's love, and by all that makes man dear to man—awake in time! Be wise! be free! Endeavour to walk with circumspection; be obedient to the laws of our common country, honour and respect its lawmakers and lawgivers; and, through all, let us not forget to respect ourselves."

"During the deliberations of this Convention, we had the favour of advising and consulting with some of our most eminent and tried philanthropists—men of unblemished character and of acknowledged rank and standing. Our sufferings have excited their sympathy; our ignorance appealed to their humanity; and, brethren we feel that gratitude is due to a kind and benevolent Creator, that our excitement and appeal have neither been in vain. A plan has been proposed to the Convention for the erection of a College for the instruction of young men of colour, on the manual labour system, by which the children of the poor may receive a regular classical education, as well as those of their more opulent brethren, and the charge will be so regulated as to put it within the reach of all. In support



Sojourner Truth, a freed slave in the North, electrified many anti-slave audiences as she agitated against slavery at mass meetings. Her life was dedicated to the struggle against slavery and sexual oppression.

of this plan, a benevolent individual has offered the sum of one thousand dollars, provided that we can obtain subscriptions to the amount of nineteen thousand dollars in one year."

The above excerpt speaks for itself. Black people are called upon to be obedient slaves. Moreover, there is no secret made of the guiding role played by the "eminent" white "philanthropists" during this Convention.

The white Abolitionist advocated a policy of moral suasion and non-resistance as the proper road for the black man to follow in his quest for liberation. This, of course, is the same path advocated by Martin Luther King today. Non-resistance was the equivalent of what is called non-violence today.

In short, the white Abolitionists were opposed to revolutionary struggle on the part of the black man. An exception to the rule was John Brown, a white revolutionary calling himself an

abenevolent philanthropists of our country, to acquire a moral and intellectual strength, that will unshalt the calumnious darts of our adversaries, and present to the world a general character, that they will feel bound to respect and admire...

"You there see that your country expects much from you and that you have much to call your own action, morally, religiously and scientifically. Prepare yourselves to occupy the several stations to which the wisdom of your country may promote you. We have been told in this Convention, by the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, that there are causes which forbid our advancement in this country, which no humanity, no legislation and no religion can control. Believe it not. Is not humanity susceptible of all the tender feelings of benevolence? Is not legislation supreme—and is not religion virtuous? Our oppressed situation arises from their opposite causes. There is an awakening spirit in our people to promote their elevation, which speaks volumes in their behalf. We anticipated at the close of the last Convention, a larger representation and an increased number of delegates; we were not deceived, the number has been ten fold. And we have a right to expect that future Conventions will be increased by a geometrical ratio; until we shall present a body, not inferior in numbers to our state legislature, and the phenomena of an oppressed people, deprived of the rights of citizenship, in the midst of an enlightened nation, devising plans and measures for their personal and mental elevation, by moral suasion alone..."

"Be righteous, be honest, be just, be economical, be prudent, offend not the laws of your country—in a word, live in that purity of life by both precept and example..."

The National Negro Convention of 1853 gives us a clear insight concerning the one white liberal source of funds for the conventions.

In the following excerpt from the Convention Call the Harriet Beecher Stowe being referred to was the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin:

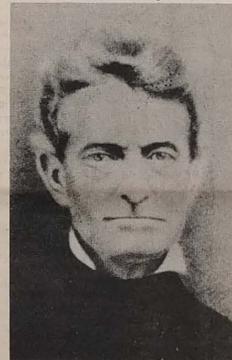
"... Among the matters which will engage the attention of our Convention will be a proposition to establish a NATIONAL COUNCIL of our people, with a view to permanent existence. The subject is one of vast importance, and should only be disposed of in light of a wise deliberation. There will come before the Convention matters touching the disposition of such funds as our friends abroad, through Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, except appropriate to the cause of our progress and improvement. In a word, the whole field of our interests will be opened to enquiry, investigation and determination..."

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

The Abolitionist movement itself was a gathering place for all sorts of white political opportunists who were primarily white supremacists. At a convention of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, held in Utica, September 20, 1837, a black minister, Reverend Theodore S. Wright, made a blistering speech against the predominant influence of opportunism and white supremacy in the Abolitionist movement.

"... Now a man may call himself an Abolitionist and we know not where to find him. Your tests are taken away. A rush is made into the abolition ranks. Free discussion, petition Anti-Texas, and political favor converts are multiplying. Many throw themselves in, without understanding the breadth and depth of the principles of emancipation. I fear not the annexation of Texas, I fear not all the machination, calumny and opposition of slaveholders, when contrasted with the annexation of men whose hearts have not been deeply imbued with these high and holy prin-

ciples. Why, sir, unless men come out and take their stand on the principle of recognizing man as man, I tremble for the ark, and I fear our society will become like the expatriation society; everybody an Abolitionist. "They lifted up their voices against slavery and the slave-trade. But, ah! with but here and there a noble exception, they got but halfway. When they come to the grand doctrine, to lay the ax right down at the root of the tree, and destroy the very spirit of slavery—there they are defective. Their doctrine is to set the slave free, and let him take care of himself. Hence, we hear nothing about their being... viewed and treated according to their moral worth. Our hearts have recently been gladdened by an address of the Annual Meeting of the Friends' Society in the city of New York, in which they insist upon the doctrine of immediate emancipation. But that very good man who signed the document as the organ of that society within the past year, received a man of color, a Presbyterian minister, into his house, gave him his meals alone in the kitchen, and did not introduce him to his family. This shows how men can testify against slavery at the South, and not assail it at the North, where it is tangible..."



John Brown: a white revolutionary who clearly, in his deeds and words, believed that every true abolitionist ought to be a revolutionary. John Brown's revolutionary course was opposed by almost all white "abolitionists".

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

The American Colonization Society was a white organization of slaveholders, representatives and representatives of northern capitalism dedicated to returning all free blacks to Africa. It had its beginnings in 1800, after the great black slave leader Gabriel Prosser staged an abortive insurrection in Virginia, which some authorities claim involved as many as fifty thousand black people. Slave revolts and conspiracies intensified enormously during the period of 1800 to 1860, and there is much solid historical evidence that free blacks were intimately involved in these revolts. During this period, free blacks in the South were being driven out by the slaveholders who were becoming more and more desperate with each new revolt.

Free blacks who were forced out of the South poured into the North. The northern rulers were alarmed by the growing presence of free blacks in their domain and were just as determined to get rid of them as were the southern slaveholders. In 1800, immediately after Gabriel's revolt, the Governor of Virginia met with the President of the United States to take up the question of colonizing "persons obnoxious to the

laws, or dangerous to the peace of society." The President, in turn, summoned Rufus King, who was then U.S. Ambassador to the English Court, and instructed him to ask the British if they would allow the U.S. to deport "undesirable" blacks to the British colony of Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa. These negotiations were fruitless because the British were having their own problems in this colony without the introduction of rebellious blacks.

The presence of free blacks was a constant danger to the institution of slavery. Not only did the number of slave rebellions intensify during the period of 1800 to 1860, but the number of escapes from slavery also mounted sharply. Along with this, political activity and organization among the free blacks of the North grew with amazing intensity from 1800 to 1860.

In 1816 a meeting was held in Washington which resulted in the formation of the American Colonization Society. Among those "great patriots" present at this meeting were Henry Clay, the compromiser; Francis Scott Key, the author of the Star Spangled Banner; John Randolph, a member of the United States Senate from Virginia; Judge Bushrod Washington, a brother of George Washington; Charles March, a Congressman from Vermont; Elijah J. Mills, a Congressman from Massachusetts; and Elisha B. Caldwell, Clerk of the United States Supreme Court.

Representatives of the American Colonization Society approached the U.S. government concerning the sending of free blacks to Africa. The matter was taken up by President Monroe and upon his recommendation it was agreed to purchase a small strip of territory on the Senegal River on the western coast of Africa. These racist hypocrites had the audacity to name this strip of land Liberia ("land of freedom") and to name its capital Monrovia in honor of President Monroe. A white Harvard professor, Professor Greenleaf, drew up a constitution for Liberia.

The territory finally brought under the control of Liberia was 43,000 square miles. The territory was annexed by force of arms. Both English and American ships and men participated in the killing of African tribesmen who resisted Liberia's encroachments upon their territory.

During the life of the American Colonization Society, only a few thousand free blacks were convinced to go. Colonization was resisted by the free black communities in the U.S. and the whole fraud was a flop.

Nevertheless, at its zenith, the Colonization Society sent agents throughout the country, spreading hatred for the black man. Even black agents were employed by the slaveholders and their northern cronies to do this dirty work. These black agents were usually members of the southern black middle class.

At this point it is important to note that Abraham Lincoln was one of the strongest advocates of colonization of the black man. His law emancipating the slaves of the District of Columbia, enacted April, 1862, provided \$100,000 for the colonization of the black man. During the same year, he summoned a group of eminent black men before him and issued forth the following remarks:

"... And, why should the people of your race be colonized and where? Why should they leave this country? You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason why we should be



Osman, one of many runaway slaves who lived in maroon communities in the swamps, mountains and forests of the

separated?—Abraham Lincoln, 1862. These were the words of the Great Emancipator and if one cares to read either his Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 or his other remarks about preserving the union with or without slavery, one can observe the true role of Lincoln as regards the black people. But he was not a hypocrite. He said what he meant. It is the white liberal hypocrites and their Uncle Tom flunkies of the present day who are attempting to pawn him off to the black people as a great liberator.

BLACK RESPONSE TO COLONIZATION

Typical of the responses from free blacks on the colonization menace are the following excerpts from an address by William Hamilton before the Fourth Annual National Negro Convention, held in New York in 1834:

"... But as long as last as the Colonization Society exists, will a Convention of colored people be highly necessary. This society is the



Harriet Tubman escaped from slavery in Maryland at 25, and devoted her life to anti-slavery agitation and freed more than 300 slaves thru the Underground Railroad. Capitalist slavery intensified the contradictions in the U.S. for slaves and freedmen, so the political activities and protests among the free slaves in the North intensified.

(To be continued)

South. He was found in 1856 in the Virginia swamps.

great Dragon of the land, before whom the people bow and cry, Great Jehovah, and to whom they would sacrifice the free people of colour. That society has spread itself over this whole land; it is artful, it suits itself to all places. It is one thing at the south, and another at the north; it blows hot and cold; it sends forth bitter and sweet; it sometimes represents us as the most corrupt, vicious, and abandoned of any class of men in the community. Then again we are kind, meek, and gentle. Here we are ignorant, idle, a nuisance, and a drawback on the resources of the country. But as abandoned as we are in Africa we shall civilize and christianize all that heathen country. And by this preaching continually, the wave disseminated into the minds of the community a desire to see us removed.

"They have resorted to every artifice to effect their purposes, by exciting in the minds of the white community, the fears of insurrection and amalgamation; by petitioning State legislatures to grant us no favour; by petitioning Congress to aid in sending us away; by using their influence to prevent the establishment of seminaries for our instruction in the higher branches of education..."

When Governor Hunt of New York proposed, during his annual message to the Legislature in 1852, that money be appropriated to advance the work of the American Colonization Society, an immediate response was evoked from the free black community in N.Y. The New York State Convention of Colored Citizens of January 20, 1852, went on record as follows:

"Thirdly—We protest against such appropriation, because the American Colonization Society is a gigantic fraud... a mouler of, and a profiter by a diseased public opinion, it keeps alive an army of agents who live by plundering us of our good name.

"And lastly—We protest against this appropriation, because 'we remember those that are in bonds as bound with them'; bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, may evil be done when the hope of gain, or the fear of oppression, shall compel or persuade us to forsake them to the rayless gloom of perpetual slavery."



Amistad: The death of Captain Ferrer and his crew during the slave rebellion, led by Joseph Cinque, aboard the Amistad, off the Cuban coast July 1839. Out of the increased cruelty and harshness brought on by King Cotton's large scale production and capitalist "slavery" (as contrasted with early patriarchal slavery) with the introduction of the cotton gin, came large slave revolts of that period.

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Abolitionist but who clearly, in his deeds and words, believed that every true Abolitionist ought to be a revolutionary. John Brown's revolutionary course was opposed by almost all white Abolitionists.

The Second Annual National Negro Convention of 1832 again reflected the direct influence of these white liberal managers who called themselves Abolitionists. Here are a few excerpts from the convention address:

"We yet anticipate in the moral strength of this nation, a final redemption from those evils that have been illegitimately entailed on us as a people. We yet expect by due exertions on our part, together with the aid of the

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QUESTION: What do you want to see come from the economic conference?
(Asked at NBA Economic Conference)

Marian Bell, Atlanta, Ga: Resolutions that would speak to how national black community mainly the Black working class is affected by this system and show who is responsible for economic crisis, so we can mobilize, organize against capitalist class.



Gwen Young, Boston, Mass: We as a people need programs that are self-help programs-not hand in hat...pooling of Black resources (dollars & cents) there are 2 classes, the ruling class & the working class. Programs must address needs of Black working class. Like in Boston, where cutbacks are happening all of the time - in health, education, welfare (especially) need a program that can speak to needs of these programs right then.



Jaha, Columbia, S.C.: Want to see principle contradiction in America exposed - capitalism and imperialism. Analyze concrete situation and work and organize workers around that. Black people need to understand that the only way Black people will be free is when capitalism and imperialism is destroyed. Begin to study universal principles and apply to our situation Blacks must be creative and understand that revolution is creative.



Fundisha, Columbia, S.C.: Black people have to begin to analyze how we fit into economic situation in U.S.A. and how it will only be through struggle, study and analysis that we can begin to unify in order to fight class oppression. Also Black people must begin to understand the role of woman in the struggle, and the triple oppression women suffer - class, race and sex.



Detroit Still Hot

(Continued from page 1)

with a barrage of bricks, bottles, and pipes that drove them back to the main streets, and out of the interior of the black community. This lasted all night Monday.

The rebellion was sparked by the killing of brother Obie Wynn. It centered around Black people seeking justice for the community, but also in protest of the all-around injustice and oppression that black people suffer under capitalism. The injustice of unemployment in the black community at 45-50% and among the youth around 70%. The injustice of police brutality and murders and so on. It was a response to the killing of Obie Wynn, which was a violation of the democratic rights of all Black people, just like when a brother or sister was lynched in the south it was an attack on all black peoples right to live. The rebellion was a response to all of this plus the inability of our so called city leaders to lead Blacks out of our oppression.

The immediate response of the city administration was to call together the entire black middle class elite, and use them along with hundreds of Black cops, to begin and carry out what was called the "cool-it" campaign. This campaign was like the black show of stars, with most of the ex-60's militants, Barry Hankerson, Larry Nevells, Tom Moss, Jim Ingram (all who are now on the city payroll in one position or another), plus the council of Baptist Ministers, Joe Madison, Ex. Director of the Detroit NAACP, Rev. Holly head of Detroit PUSH, Tom Turner, Pres. Det. AFL-CIO, Larry Doss, President of NEW DETRIOT. The whole middle class black superstar elite group turned out to tell the black working class to go home. And this entire circus is led by Coleman Young.

On Tuesday morning, the Congress of Afrikan People continued to work in the area of the rebellion. Making contacts, organizing and talking to the community residents about the incident, and how that was an attack on all black people's rights. There were also several calls made to different forces in the Black Liberation Movement as well as the New Communist Movement, throughout Tuesday. The Republic of New Afrika as well as some of the members of the Pan-Afrikan Congress were talked to along with some of the independent Black Liberation forces. The October League, the Revolutionary Workers Congress and some of the independent Marxist forces were also called to find out what they were going to do. The response was zero from all but the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), who agreed to do some joint work, with CAP.

In the rebellion area Tuesday night, CAP continued to put out a line that we needed to fight for justice and defend our democratic rights, but that we needed to organize. This was in direct opposition to the "cool-it" group whose line was "go home" and "be cool". And as each of these sellouts got up to the front of the crowd of some 800 people they were totally isolated from the masses as one by one they were shouted down, and called "Uncle Tom" and "Sellout", and some of them even got bricks and bottles thrown at them in response to their lies.

At one point the sellouts tried to trick the crowd by telling them to come down to a church a few blocks away from the point of confrontation, by telling the people that they had a plan and a program and that the brothers and sisters should come down to the church to talk about it and get our stuff together. The comrades in CAP as well

STOP KILLER COPS

Murder In Wilmington

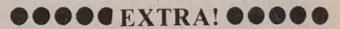
The killing of (Erevu) Isaac Wilson on May 7, 1975 at his home in the early morning by Wilmington's tactical killer cops, has, along with the political line (Stop Killer Cops) being put forth in the community by the Congress of Afrikan People generated the formation of concerned citizens and organizations, under the banner of the United Front Against Fascism.

Since its inception the U.F.A.F. has held forums, meetings in different sections of the city, put out leaflets, flyers and posters, explaining the nature of fascism and calling for the United Front. Recently at a meeting called by the Wilmington branch of the NAACP the question around the killing of Isaac Wilson dominated the meeting. The NAACP had invited, to serve on a panel, some petit-bourgeois politicians and representatives of the Wilmington and New Castle County fascist police department. Representing Wilmington police were Chief John McCool and commissioner of public safety Patrick O'Rouck. McCool has a history of brutality and harassment of community people. O'Rouck, on the other hand is somewhat new to Wilmington, having come here via New York City Police Department. But we know from the line he put forth, i.e., mounted patrols, beefed up foot patrols and more tactical weapons and training for killer cops, that the ruling class has chosen well in their selection of leadership for their "hit men" killer cops. Many members of the U.F.A.F. were present at the meeting and took the lead in exposing the cops as hit men for the state. Dr. Emma Durrazo, pres. of the Wilmington NAACP took the floor at one point and began to spout about the need for more black police officers and how beneficial this would be to the community. This line was shot down by members of the U.F.A.F., showing it to be nothing but opportunism, the United Front put forth that we have seen the rise of "Black Faces in High Places"

since the 60's, in politics, heads of community agencies, and in most strata of society, but the material conditions for the masses of people continues to deteriorate, and that nothing short of total control of police by the community will put an end to harassment, brutality, and murder of the people, it was also raised by United Front Members as to why the NAACP has not become a member of the United Front after numerous attempts through personal contact, mail and telephone to invite them to join. Dr. Durrazo attributed this to a lack of communication and said that the NAACP would be present at the next U.F.A.F. meeting.

More recently the U.F.A.F. is planning to present to city council thousands of signatures of people who have signed a petition in support of the 3 demands put forth by the United Front in reference to the killing of Isaac Wilson. The 3 demands are:

1. The firing of killer cops Larry Collins and Leroy Landon.
 2. A new investigation of the killing to include community people selected by the community.
 3. The establishment of a community review board, ultimately only the total dictatorship of the working class (proletariat) will put an end to, once and for all, the era of killer cops.
- JOIN THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM!
DEFEAT KILLER COPS!
DEMAND A COMMUNITY REVIEW BOARD!
UNITE THE MANY TO DEFEAT THE FEW!



13 yr. old black youth, Sheila Ferrell shot in the back for allegedly "stealing a peach from a peach tree." Delaware CAP chairman arrested for "inciting to riot" during demonstrations following the shooting. Full details next issue!

as some community forces began to shout behind them "it's a sellout, it's a trick!" And soon everyone on the street refused to go to the church. Next we began struggling with the sellouts saying if you got a plan tell it to us here. The people then demanded of them to tell them their plan right on the block. In reality the superstar sellouts had no plan. And it openly revealed their lies to everyone.

Now, it was on. The cops had issued a warning to the people about a half hour before that saying that we had 1 half hour to disperse. After the treachery of the sellouts had been revealed the line became (like the O'Jays say) "Time to get down"! Bricks and bottles flew at the line of 200-250 cops blocking the street. Bricks flew through some windows, 2-3 cocktails flew and set the street on fire. The cops charged the crowd, shooting

teargas canisters, and trying to arrest people. We retreated for a couple of blocks. During the retreat, a group of about 100 of the youth turned around and ran straight back at the police line throwing bricks, bottles, and pipes, that made the police halt momentarily.

For the rest of the night there was small running battles with the cops.

CAP met up with the comrades from the RNA and discussed action to be taken. We suggested a mass meeting for Wednesday (the next day), and a demonstration for Thursday, at the police station. Agreed.

(To be continued)

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ANTI-MOBUTU PRP LIBERATION FORCES IN ZAIRE TELL THEIR SIDE OF STORY

MOBUTU: A PUPPET TREMBLING WITHOUT THE MASTER PULLING STRINGS-

PART 2

by Mwana wa Lumumba



JOSEPH SESE SEKU MOBUTU - puppet president of Zaire, and former aide to Patrice Lumumba and later an accomplice in the CIA's overthrow and murder of Lumumba. Murderer Mobutu has made Zaire safe for U.S. imperialism to the tune of over \$200 million in U.S. military and economic aid (80% of Zaires incoming capital). Mobutu has tried to front off as progressive with his fake "Afrikan authenticity" campaigns while he murders and represses revolutionary liberation forces like the PRP, who are struggling for true national liberation and self determination for the masses in Zaire from U.S. imperialism and its lackies and native agents like Mobutu.

The PRP is led by its President Laurent Kabila, former military commander of guerilla forces in the east and its Secretary-General Gabriel Yumbu, a former Minister of Finance in a Stanlyville Government and now a major bone of contention between the PRP and the Tanzanian government. Kabila and Yumbu first brought together roving bands of Simba guerillas, who ineffectively remained in the forest after the fall of the eastern front, and began their ideological remoulding. New guerillas were recruited despite the death of arms. Great emphasis was placed on developing the infrastructure needed to support a self-reliant struggle. And most importantly the peasant masses were mobilized for a protracted peoples war.

In 1969, three years before Mobutu's authentically campaign, the armed struggle - which precipitated the name changing mystification - was launched. Mobutu responded brutally but the elusive guerillas used favorable terrain to frustrate and kill pursuers and augment their small arsenal. By 1973, the PRP had released pictures of a downed Zairean army helicopter and reported the death of a Zionist advisor in the second attempt encirclement of the liberated areas.

Gabriel Yumbu, the PRP Secretary-General, was sent to Tanzania in the first quarter of 1973 in an attempt to contact friendly embassies and follow up letters sent to the Tanzanian government by the PRP that had not been answered. Unofficially contacts were made with TANU, the Tanzanian ruling party. The PRP was interested in obtaining arms destined for the Congolese liberation forces that had

been seized by the Tanzanian government in the late 1960's and opening up a route for the supply of badly needed medical supplies, clothes, and other essentials needed in the liberated areas. The talks were inconclusive.

While in Dar-es-Salaam, the Tanzanian capital, Yumbu was spotted by one of the many Zairean agents haunting the city, and followed. He boarded a train for Kigoma, a port on Lake Tanganyika twenty-five miles from Zaire. At Ruvu, a station fifty miles from Dar-es-Salaam, he was taken off the train by the Tanzanian police and Zaire Embassy officials and returned to Central Police Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam. Since that time his whereabouts have been unknown.

Two possibilities existed. Either he was turned over to the Zaire government or placed in detention. Recent revelations support the former hypotheses.

Following Yumbu's capture the PRP sent repeated requests for his repatriation to the liberated areas. As always the communications were not answered. Over two years passed before PRP guerillas resorted to the abduction of four foreign students, three Americans and one Dutch, from an animal research station twelve miles from Kigoma to force the release of Yumbu and other PRP patriots held in Tanzanian prisons.

On May 19, forty (PRP armed) guerillas crossed Lake Tanganyika and abducted four Stanford University students studying at an animal research station without leaving a ransom demand. The Tanzanian government mounted a huge search operation and branded the guerillas bandits.

A few days later the guerillas' identity was known. Barbafo Smuts, one of the kidnapped students, was returned to Tanzania under the noses of the search party with a ransom note. The PRP demanded \$450,000.00, a large quantity of arms and ammunition and the release of Gabriel Yumbu, S. Kalenga, and other PRP members held in Tanzania prisons. The Tanzanian government's reply was a categorical no.

At first Tanzania intimated that both Yumbu and Kalenga had been previously released in a general amnesty and then picked up again because of the ransom demands. Later it was denied that Yumbu was ever in custody. Finally the government contradicted itself and said that there was no record of Yumbu since he was expelled from the country in 1973. Both statements are lies. Yumbu was turned over to the Zaire government and probably killed. A 1973 report from Ukonga Prison, where Tanzanian political prisoners including the Marxist former Minister Abdul Rahman Babu, are held, said that a

Imperialism's Angolan Connection

(Continued from page 2)

black Africa. Code named "Tar Baby," Option 2 postulates that there is no hope for the violent overthrow of the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa and that change can come about only gradually and under the leadership of the whites. "There is no hope for blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence which can only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists." It was thought that by a gradual relaxation of its stance against the colonialist and racist regimes, encouragement of diplomatic contacts between black and white states, and greater economic assistance to black states that the U.S. could "help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence for peaceful change."

Amidst all this talk of detente and "peaceful change," the United States is feverishly readying its combat capability - especially for limited wars and police actions lasting anywhere from a few days to several months.

Three combat divisions are to be added to the army by September 1976. The Pentagon recently reactivated the Rangers, elite commando units disbanded since 1944. Three 588-man battalions of Rangers are to be ready for combat by July 1975, while research and development to improve the accuracy of U.S. strategic delivery systems pose the genocidal threat of limited nuclear war.

The loss of Southeast Asia, a severe economic downturn coupled with seemingly uncontrollable inflation, unprecedented transfer of wealth to the oil producers, and the continued successes of the liberation movements in Southern Africa together present the most serious challenge to Western global hegemony since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. With ultimate defeat facing American interventionism in Southeast Asia, all signs indicate that in spite of talk of detente, imperialism is preparing a new battleground - Africa - as it scrambles to secure its position.

Neo Colonialism Is The Main Danger In Afrika!

ALSC

DANGERS OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT WILL BE DEFEATED BY REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM!

Recently, Kalamu ya Salaam, head of a pseudo-Kawaida collective, did an article on the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), which attempted to analyze the dangerous political trend of ALSC's liquidation of the question of Afrika, but in the main Kalamu uses this article to attack the introduction of scientific socialism into the Black Liberation Movement. This article will cut through the reactionary & subjective approach that Kalamu makes at the reality of the contradictions in the Black Liberation Movement today, and specifically the united front in support of Afrikan Liberation, and present some crucial issues we face in the ALSC right now.

The ALSC is definitely in crisis, but the crisis in ALSC is rooted in the internal contradictions within ALSC today, the struggle between revolutionary nationalism and bourgeois ideology, is crucial to understanding the dynamic of ALSC. Kalamu thinks that ALSC is "unified along ideological lines", and by that bears witness to the fact that he is not even faintly connected to the reality of ALSC 1975, where a 2 line struggle is raging, that reflects the 2 line struggle between Third World liberation movements and imperialism all over Afrika today!

The incorrect line that dominates ALSC right now, is the crux of the problem that those forces serious about Afrikan Liberation are battling against in ALSC. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable... If one's line is correct even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained." "The crux of the matter is the line. This

is an irrefutable truth." This quote by Mao Tse Tung & Chou En Lai must not be taken lightly, especially by those of us who are committed to making revolution. As Kalamu belittles the importance of ideology in the Black Liberation Movement, he opens our eyes to the dangerous limitations of his brand of reactionary nationalism.

Cabral was crystal clear when he observed "the ideology deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movement - which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform - constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all."

The clearest example of the struggle in ALSC is the 2 line struggle around the Zimbabwe Revolution, where armed struggle has raged since 1965 & coupled with the victories in Vietnam, Cambodia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, the victory of national liberation in Southern Afrika will bring imperialism to its knees. Since Vorster & Smith are losing the war of armed suppression of the liberation forces in Zimbabwe, they are attempting to win ground with the political deception of "Detente." Inside Zimbabwe, U.S & British imperialist backed Afrikan National Council (ANC) and Soviet Social Imperialist backed Zimbabwe Afrikan People's Union (ZAPU) are collaborating with Ian Smith to talk of peace, while actually attempting to wipe out the armed forces of Zimbabwe liberation with increased armed suppression. In the meantime, President Kenneth Kaunda used the opportunity of the funeral of assassinated Zimbabwe Afrikan National Union's chairman Herbert Chitepo, to arrest 52 political and military leaders of ZANU in a futile attempt to put out the flames of armed struggle in Zimbabwe. This is Kaunda's role in the whole smoke screen of Detente, and reveals the fact of the actual, not theoretical, collaboration between Neo-Colonialism and the most extreme enemies of Afrikan Liberation, the white racist minority regimes of So. Afrika. What was ALSC's response to this?

(to be continued next issue)

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- presently serving 12-20 year prison sentence
- Revolutionary Black Nationalist, led resistance to national oppression of Black Nation
- former Chairman of SNCC, symbolized rebellion & militancy of Black Nation during mid 60's-70's
- framed by FBI & CIA

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

(Continued from page 14)

Revolution or in the words of Al-Hajj Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X), "An eye for an eye, that's a good religion, the old time religion," and "A life for a life, a head for a head."

Comrade "Rap" Brown must be freed, he must be liberated immediately and we don't have to explain to the government, nothing except we will kill pigs!! The fascist is already aware of the fact that "Rap" Brown, Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), the New York 5, the Attica Brothers, the San Quentin 6 and countless others are P.O.W.'s in the fight against fascist imperialism.

Criminal frame-ups, phony charges, & conspiratorial railroads are to be expected when the enemy of our freedom & justice fails in their pig attempts to assassinate and execute the true leaders of our Black Liberation Movement. Just as in the case of Joanne Little—there, a phony charge was placed upon her, by racist pigs who hate her because of her skin being Black, and because she fought for her dignity, that's not justification!

Comrade Rap Brown's name don't need to be made known, because we already know him, he is not a criminal, he's a Black Revolutionary Muslim of the highest degree. No secret unlawful conditions can change him! Rap must be freed from the poison hands of these nasty, diseased minded racists with their totally fascist behavior!!!

(to be continued next issue)

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RAISE

(Continued from page 12)

son in ways they would not choose. Excessive "studentism" is one clear drawback to organizing some of the would be revolutionaries into cohesive communist forces, where M-L-M, as "the science," is talked to death, but very little practical work is ever attempted, and people are crammed full of theories drawn from other peoples revolutions and intense beery polemic sessions, but the working class remains hooked up to the intermediate lacky sector of petit bourgeois politicians, labor aristocrats, revisionists of one persuasion or another and outright social-democrats. While the ultra democracy that Mao Tse-Tung described as emanating from the "petit bourgeois individualistic aversion to discipline" completely undermines any fighting capacity an organization might try to develop.

Some forces, having been dominated by petit bourgeois types, and talking a good "sink roots in the class" line but nevertheless remaining unconnected to any class except the petit bourgeois college professors that assign them nightly readings of the bourgeois classics, make opportunism not merely an incorrect tendency but their political line and style of work. So strong is this kind of connection between some would be revolutionaries and the intermediate lackies as a result that these elements will say that our criticism of them is "too abrasive." E.g., some so called revolutionaries objected to our "Tom Of The Month" column or our characterization of the scum who will next year come into our communities selling us Scoop Jackson or maybe George Wallace as "Nigger Punk Politicians." But we view the petit bourgeoisie in a dialectical fashion seeing both the progressive wing and the reactionary wing, as well as a middle sector which can go either way, and we will unite with the progressive wing, try to win over the middle sector, and expose and oppose the reactionary aspect. But these same forces who object to our "too abrasive" approach to our enemies say that what

we need from these compradors is "some leverage," so we can get over in the big time with these biggyniggies. These "calmer" types also say that to come out for communism now is too dangerous, that it will alienate the people (not to mention the bourgeoisie) and they say we should just put forward such slogans as "30 hours work for 40 hours pay" or "the nationalization of the food and banking industries" as a maximum line! But to us, this is merely opportunism and reformism. **Our maximum line is communism.** A line in between the maximum and minimum lines must at least speak of the need for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialism. No minimum line should ever be put out, without at least the masses being told that it is a minimum line. That it will not solve our problems. A mass line should be a line gotten in part from the masses, which will be their urgent needs, but then these ideas must be made "concentrated and systematic" and given back to the masses, "from the masses to the masses." We must combine the urgent needs of the masses with the longer range vision of the revolutionary. As the "... Proposal Concerning The General Line of the International Communist Movement" (Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 30, 1963) states, "While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat, that is out and out social democracy."

(to be continued)

ON PRACTICE

(Continued from page 10)

revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.

(End of Series)

MOBUTU

(Continued from page 9)

Congolese political prisoner was returned to Mobutu and thrown out of a plane over Lake Tanganyika. A search of the list of people released in the general amnesty showed no trace of the name S. Kalenga. It can only be concluded that Tanzanian government officials are lying to cover up their active collaboration with the Mobutu regime.

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AGAINST SOME BOGUS TYPES POSING AS REVOLUTIONARIES

Part 1

RAISE!!

Generally, it's been agreed that the main danger in the communist movement today, is opportunism. What we at CAP have called "easy way outism", the settling for short term "advantages" by sacrificing the long range revolutionary objective. The material base for opportunism, as Lenin pointed out long ago, is Imperialism, specifically the superprofits which imperialism derives from super-exploiting the peoples and nations of the Third World. These superprofits in turn are used to bribe and bourgeoisify considerable sectors of the working class in Europe and America, as well as set up mechanisms for the dissemination of bourgeois ideology to the working class.

One of the most important contributions to the struggle for socialism in the United States that the black liberation movement can make is to bring to that most important struggle a resolute determination to fight against opportunism, since we have come from peoples who suffer not only the exploitation of capitalism but a national oppression as well. A double oppression that has forced us to take the lead in struggling for ultimate social change here in the U.S., just as Third World people generally have taken the lead in fighting against imperialism throughout the world! In the main we have not been so bourgeoisified by reforms that our struggles have been suffocated by opportunism. Though the cooptation of some of the erstwhile progressive forces in the black community by the rebellion bred "reforms" of the late sixties and early seventies should be clear by now. Certainly the whole neocolonial development of letting black faces in high places try to pretend that our movement for self determination can be brought about by other than revolutionary struggle, should be pretty clear to many people by now. It will be much clearer to many more in a very short time. There is opportunism even in the Black Nation, to be sure, and in liberation movements and revolutionary organizations.

For some there is opportunism around the concept of organization. Many people let the word "revolution"

fall out of their mouths, but that is as far as it goes or is meant to. It is an elementary concept that no revolution can be made without an instrument of revolution, and that instrument is a revolutionary party. A party guided by the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Such a party, or even organizations which aspire to build such a party (and in the United States we have no such party) must construct that organization, even as a pre-party formation, on the principles of Democratic Centralism, Democratic Centralism is the organizational form of Scientific Revolutionary Organizations, of organizations guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. That is:

"(1) The individual is subordinate to the organization;
(2) The minority is subordinate to the majority;

(3) The lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and

(4) The entire membership is subordinate to The Central Committee" (Selected Readings of Mao Tse Tung - Party Discipline)

It is the dialectical combination of Democracy plus Centralism, that supports and is a method of bringing scientific socialism. At one aspect the Organization is the ultimate authority, the people, and the majority of the people, must see to the overall direction of the party and the revolutionary movement if it is to succeed, and be victorious over monopoly capitalism & national oppression, and this majority of the people elect the Higher Levels and the Central Committee, and after the extensive democratic process of unity-criticism-unity, a decision is reached, and all forces within the whole must support the decision and carry it through until the end. Marxists-Leninists demand discipline and commitment to principles, an even greater discipline than bourgeois organizations because not only have the majority actually spoken on any given issue, but fierce struggle can be waged before a decision is reached, but once that decision is reached "Discipline of steel" is expected, because the revolutionary communist party must be the "general

staff" of the working class, prepared to lead the class to the armed seizure of state power, which is the only method of waging revolution.

Since the time of the Second International (1889) opportunists, bourgeoisified elements of the working class and petty bourgeois elements have been opposed to Democratic Centralism, and instead favored "loose assemblages of squabbling intellectuals" to disciplined revolutionary fighting parties. Socialist Revolution cannot be waged by loose study circles or individualistic little cliques. The protracted Peoples War that will bring socialism to the USA must be waged by an armed force of the people led by the working class and its revolutionary party. **The Bourgeoisie will not be talked into exile, they must be beaten in warfare.**

Certain people who think that individualized study circles "who may or may not practice democratic centralism" are the leading element in revolutionary struggle are idealists or

idlers. Though study circles are positive contributions to the recruitment of new forces into the struggle. CAP, for instance, is trying to set up study circles all over the country. But the study circle should know itself as that, and endeavor to raise itself past that toward becoming part of some higher revolutionary formation, first by understanding the basics of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and then by understanding and beginning to practice democratic centralism, as Marxist Leninist organization or pre-party formation rather than remain a formless huddle of self indulgent intellectuals. One of the major stumbling blocks to building revolutionary forces is the kind of petit bourgeois (middleclass) consciousness that is so subjective and individualistic that it views democratic centralism as an oppressive ordering about of their per-

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NATIONAL CAP OFFICE
AMIRI BARAKA Chairman
502 High Street
NewArk, N. J. 07102
(201) 621-2300

CAP DIRECTORY:

Delaware
Wilmington CAP
2123 Pine Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19802
(302) 656-9697
Mwanafunzi Rahsaan

District of Columbia
D.C. CAP
1542 9th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 462-1705
Mumba Kali

Indiana
South Bend CAP
1416 Linden Avenue
South Bend, Indiana 46628
(219) 234-3522
Kaimu Dadisi

Gary CAP
P.O. Box 396
Gary, Indiana
(219) 882-8812
Fano Mahiri

Indianapolis
3317 N. Bancroft St.
Indianapolis, Ind. 46218
Maisha

Elkhart CAP
1804 Stevens Ave.
Elkhart Indiana 46514
(219) 522-1064
Malik Nyerere

Maryland
Baltimore CAP
2230 N. Eutaw Place
Baltimore, Maryland 21217
(301) 462-5655
Mwanafunzi Sababu

Missouri
St. Louis CAP
1401 Rowan St.
St. Louis, Missouri. 63112
(314) 382-2763
Jeledi Endesha

Michigan
Detroit CAP
9117 Lenwood St.
Detroit, Michigan 48206
(313) 899-0481
Cheo Pili

New Jersey
Newark CAP
502 High St.
NewArk, N.J. 07102
(201) 621-2300
Chairman Amiri Baraka

Camden CAP
210 Benson Court
Camden, New Jersey
(609) 541-4359
Ndugu Weusi

Jersey City CAP
P.O. Box N, Lafayette Station
J.C., New Jersey 07304
(201) 332-8205
Ndugu Kabili

New York
Albany CAP
353 Clinton Ave.
Albany, N.Y. 12210
(518) 463-5026
Dalila Kudura

New York City CAP
509 Weiker Ct.
Bronx, N.Y. 10456
(212) 665-2461
Cheo Simba

Ohio
Cleveland CAP
8009 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103
(216) 721-4308
Mwanafunzi Sababa Akili

Pennsylvania
Pittsburg CAP
2200 Centre Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219
(412) 288-2656
Kiongozi Sala Udin

Philadelphia CAP
6200 Webster St.
Philadelph, Pa. 19143
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