

Inside USA

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

ONE OF FOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY, OF CAPITALISM TURNED INTO IMPERIALISM, WHICH IMPERIALISM CARRIES TO "THEIR LAST BOUNDS, TO THE EXTREME LIMIT, BEYOND WHICH REVOLUTION BEGINS."



The dangerous Soviet Social Imperialism, having scored temporarily in Angola now has its nose wide open for further bites out of succulent Afrika, all the time with its slick cover story of "socialism." Zimbabwe seems the next place for it to peddle its poisonous wares. But though the principle contradiction in Zimbabwe is between the people and the colonialism of the racist Smith regime, the struggle is also a struggle against imperialism, and hegemonism. (Story on page 2)



Across the USA people, like the ones shown here in Baltimore, Md, have been drawn into the struggle against monopoly capitalism, as the crisis in imperialism deepens, and the state steps up the police rule and brutal repression.

Renegade Brezhnev Clique's Revisionist Congress



USSR Congress held by Brezhnev clique was a screen for fact that today the CPSU is an instrument used by a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists of the Soviet Union to carry out aggression & expansion abroad and contend for world hegemony.

The renegade Brezhnev clique held its revisionist congress in Moscow to serve as a screen, not only for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR after the death of Comrade Stalin, but more important today, the new imperialist offensive of the Soviet Union's ruling clique in their struggle for world hegemony against the other Superpower the U.S. imperialists. All the "revolutionary" phrasemongering and goulash "communism" about the "dictatorship of the whole people" and the "party of the whole people", have been scientifically exposed and "Marxist-Leninist Parties the world over scathingly denounced this sinister stuff, criticized it and pointed out that this 'party of the whole people' was every inch a political party of the bourgeoisie." (Peking Review, #10 1976, page 14, our emphasis) Moscow's propaganda is bourgeois ideology, the ideology of capitalism, disguised as Marxism, to screen us from the fact that the "Communist Party" of the Soviet Union "today is also an instrument used by the handful of bureaucrat-mono-

poly capitalists of Soviet revisionist leading clique to carry out aggression and expansion abroad and contend for world hegemony." (Ibid, page 15).

Specifically, the Chinese pointed out in their now famous letter criticizing the revisionist line of the CPSU in 1963 that, "The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and future interests, because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people." (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, CPC, 1963, page 42)

Historically, revisionists have attempted to liquidate 3 fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And moving from theoretical struggle to political struggle the first attack is aimed by the bourgeoisie and its lackies at the weapon, the instrument of the proletariat that must give guidance and leadership to class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the party of a new type, the vanguard communist party.

The sharpening of the class contradictions in capitalist-imperialist USSR, is reflected in the economic crisis of the restoration of capitalism where "the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists appropriate as they please the Soviet people's fruit of labor and live in

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There is great disorder in the world today, caused by the sharpening contradictions of imperialism throughout the world. The main trends in the world today are revolution and war, i.e., the danger of world war caused by the sharpening of Superpower contention between U.S. imperialism and the USSR social imperialism and on the other hand the rising tide of revolution, especially in the Third World the people are struggling for national liberation and kicking U.S. imperialism in the behind all over Afrika, Asia and Latin America.

Clearly U.S. imperialism is the Superpower on the decline, the wounded tiger, and inside the U.S.A. the struggles are sharpening more and more as a result of the fundamental contradictions of monopoly capitalism, and intensifying the wave of crisis and chaos that temper the people's struggle here. Soviet Social Imperialism is clearly the most dangerous Superpower.

In New York City, the bourgeoisie is openly dictating the policy of massive layoffs and cutbacks in vital social services in hospitals, education and public transportation to the state apparatus, so that the banks can make maximum profit. The masses of people must understand that it was and still is Rockefeller's investment groups, the Robber Barons, who have sent the city into the crisis of bankruptcy, through their maneuvers to fill the vaults of the major lending institutions with billions of dollars at the expense of the people. Day by day the role of the labor aristocrats is exposed by their open attempts to confuse and mismanage the labor movement so that it cannot effectively wage a revolutionary struggle, & find a revolutionary parth out of this crisis. With the massive layoffs and cutbacks, more and more workers can see the bankruptcy of the labor aristocracy that has done nothing but pimp off of the labor movement and attempt to justify capitalism.

Across the country the people are rising up against monopoly capitalism's yoke. In Camden, New Jersey the same

kind of oppressive measures have been taken to shift the brunt of the imperialist economic crisis on the backs of multinational working class and oppressed nationalities, by trying to break the rent strike at East State Street Village. Police and court harassment were employed by the bourgeoisie in an attempt to break the collective will to struggle of the Camden County Tenant United Front. Recently, the tenants were denied their democratic rights to have a fair hearing by the courts when they notified the group of their court cases just a week before time of some 36 cases on one day and another 26 another day in attempt to discourage tenants from waiting for their case to be heard, since this process would take days to complete. The courts always act and rule in the interest of the landlord, and that's why they were set up in the first place, to suppress the struggle of tenants and enforce the collection of rents for landlords. But every trick, every hardship, tempers the people's struggle against monopoly capitalism and sharpens their class consciousness and understanding of the role of the state.

In Elkhart, Indiana a new regulations passed on from the Housing and Urban Development, (HUD), in Washington, D.C., requires welfare recipients

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Why 10 States & Some National Black Organizations Withdrew from NBA!

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

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living in public housing and receiving Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) to pay more and more money for rents and utilities. But there has been mass reaction to this hike and organizations such as the Elkhart Tenants Organization, the Urban League, Family Development Agency, the Welfare Rights Organization, the Church Community Service, the "Y", and the Congress of Afrikan People have been holding meetings to discuss political actions to fight the rent increases, increases that would mean a mother and children will have to pay from half to two-thirds of their monthly income for rent not counting utilities, food stamps, medical and other living expenses. But these increases are no random accident, but part of the planned move on the part of the monopoly capitalists to protect maximum profits by cutting back on any kinds of reforms and concessions and by putting that money into the instruments of repression. Under the crisis, the double yoke of oppression that women must suffer under monopoly capitalism is intensified, and the triple oppression of women of the oppressed nationalities all adds to the superprofits of monopoly capitalism. Generally, women in the multi-national working class are exploited based on their class, doubly exploited based on their sex, but black, latin and asian women suffer the yoke of race, class, and sexual oppression. And in these cases, the welfare departments in each city are the particular arm of the state apparatus that delivers the blow against the people's families.

And as people on welfare intensify the struggle against these measures, some welfare departments try to confuse and divert that struggle from its revolutionary course linked with the struggle of the working class as a whole, and try to stagnate these struggles with reform-oriented welfare conferences. These superficial conferences fear to raise the actual horrors of the system of monopoly capitalism, and how the masses can struggle against this oppressive system. Therefore, more and more people have learned of the bankruptcy of these conferences sponsored by the state and are calling for conferences and workshops that deal with the major problems and pose some serious solutions. The first thing any serious workshop would have to do is to get to the source of the chaos and crisis and the cutbacks in the delivery of social services. The people are the victims of the exploitation of this capitalist system, and the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, is responsible for the crisis we are in now.

But as more and more people get clearer about the nature of their oppression and see the bloody hand of the bourgeoisie, the ruling class intensifies the brutal use of instruments of repression, and give the police a freer hand in brutalizing the masses of people. Wanton killings are frequent today more than ever before, and cases like the one in Baltimore where a young black woman was raped by a white police officer of the Baltimore City Police Department, show where monopoly capitalism is headed.

The sister was raped on her way to school and violently assaulted by Officer Roy Stephen Drain. The Black Women's United Front in Baltimore has staged demonstrations and protests against the police and demanded Drain's dismissal from the force as the first step in dealing with this brutal crime. But this act is not isolated, but a by-product of the oppression of women of the oppressed nationalities under capitalism, an oppression that will only die with the overthrow of the capitalist system itself through socialist revolution.

Rape has increased with the sharpening of the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society, because the exploitative production relations of monopoly capitalism are reflected in the

exploitative social relations in capitalist society. Yvonne Wanrow, an Indian, is facing 25 years in prison for defending herself and family from Bill Wesler. Wesler, a man known for child-molesting, tried to homosexually rape Yvonne's 11-year-old son, actually raped Yvonne's babysitter's 7-year-old girl, Shirley, and when he attempted to rape Yvonne—she killed Wesler in self defense! The courts charged her with second degree murder, and this is characteristic of the role of the courts in the cases where women, especially women of oppressed nationalities, defend themselves against rapists. The women are convicted as if they are criminals. And this is one of the reasons that the struggle of women against monopoly capitalism is on the rise. We can see the evils of male and white chauvinism and racism involved in these cases too!

In Wilmington, Delaware, where a 13-year-old black girl was shot to death by a racist John Bailey. The police, the courts and the welfare system have collaborated not only to cover the murderer; but there has been constant harassment from the welfare department because they want Sheila Ferrell's mother, Mrs. Carolyn Snow, to reimburse Medicaid for her daughter's medical expenses. Since there was a local and national outcry against this racist murder, more than \$7,000 was raised to cover the medical expenses for Sheila Ferrell before she died. And the state of Delaware is actively after Ferrell's mother to take this money.

These racist and repressive acts have already precipitated mass demonstrations and protests from the community. Sheila Ferrell died last August 30th, having never regained consciousness from a bullet wound in the back and her lungs.

John Bailey's defense is now saying that he did not murder Sheila and that "a black man standing in the street behind Bailey shot little Sheila!" Upon cross-examining by Deputy Attorney General John Denny, concerning why he had waited so long to come forth with the story, the witness said, "he hadn't wanted to make trouble for his family at the time of the arrest, but was finally moved to testify because of nightmares in which he saw a noose around Bailey's neck." This is one of the most bizarre stories the racists have produced to justify the murder of black people. But as always we understand that the racism is supported by monopoly capitalism, and is an aspect of black national oppression caused by imperialism, and the bourgeois state apparatus, like the FBI, is supporting these murders all the way. Just like the FBI covered up the evidence pointing to the murderers of the 4 little black girls bombed and murdered in a Birmingham church in 1963.

Back in New York City, in Harlem 27 year-old Otto Lee was killed in a rampage led by 4 laid-off policemen. Victims and observers said that the cops went up and down 8th Avenue and 134th Street cursing, threatening, pushing, and shoving anyone on the streets and even in shops along the avenue. In New York, acts of police repression have heightened. The beating of one prisoner, Luis Santiago and the beating to death of another, Carlos Rodriguez, both of whom were arrested and once at the station house, were beaten with

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Southern Afrika: Fuse For Imperialist War? Superpower Intrusion Bars Angolan Independence

The seeming "victory" of MPLA in Angola must be viewed by Marxist-Leninists and all advanced and progressive forces as one blatant indication of how far the "wildly ambitious" superpower, the Soviet Union will go in its attempt to dominate the world. To dominate the world it must struggle with the old Superpower the U.S.A. The USSR's one-up-manship is gained firstly because it uses the "signboard" and disguise that it is "Socialist". It calls itself the "natural ally" of the liberation movements, and thus throws goober dust in the eyes of the unsuspecting, when in reality since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR in the 60's, after the death of Josef Stalin, and the political coup led by the traitor Nikita Khrushchev brought a new and some of the old line bourgeoisie to power in the Soviet Union, meant that the USSR was Social Imperialist, Socialist in words only, but Imperialist in deeds.

We must also realize that the USSR and its revisionist snakes everywhere are using the Angola caper to try to resuscitate and whitewash Soviet social imperialism (SSI). But their unprincipled backing of one liberation movement came only after the three liberation movements had signed a peace treaty with the Portuguese at Alvor, and had also agreed, at Alvor, and later at Nakuru in Kenya, to organize a national unity government of all three liberation movements to govern an independent Angola in which the three movements would peacefully work out their political differences within the framework of such a government. In the U.S. the revisionist CPUSA and new fellowtravelers taking the opportunist line, and quite a few genuinely confused forces, put out the line that only MPLA is progressive and

all the rest of the liberation movements are merely tools of imperialism. But what is key is that the civil war in Angola which was caused directly by Soviet intervention, and intensified by U.S. Imperialist contention with the Soviet Union, both forces using Cuban and South Afrikan surrogates and proxies to wage the brutal fire fights that led to the slaughter of more than 150,000 Afrikans is not over by a longshot. And our confused persons and opportunists should understand that the Soviet Social Imperialist civil war cost the lives of Afrikans, more than in the war against Portugal! Some Afrikan lives were lost directly at the hands of the Social Imperialists warships who "bombed the country's coastal cities, thereby staining its hand with the blood of the Angolan people."

"As a result of Soviet intervention and aggression there are now over one million refugees out of a total population of six million. Many of these homeless people had to flee to neighboring countries."

"The Angolan economy is now in chaos. Ports, railways, factories and other economic installations are seriously damaged. Production has come to a standstill and transport has been interrupted. With food and daily necessities in short supply, the Angolan people are living in dire misery."

And as we said, by no means is the Angolan civil war over. Because the Soviet Social Imperialists were allowed to intervene and so step up their contention with U.S. Imperialists, there is still no independent Angola. Soviet Neo-Colonialism is not independence, and the people will be the first to yell out loud and clear as this neocolonial

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Internationalist Glossary

4 Fundamental Contradictions of Imperialism are:

1. The contradiction between labor and capital, i.e., the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist countries. "Imperialism brings the working class to revolution."
2. The contradiction between imperialism and imperialism, i.e., imperialist powers in their struggle for hegemony. "... the struggle for a redivision of the already divided world," a struggle waged with particularity to what they've already seized. The highest expression today of this contradiction is the contention between the two Superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism, for world domination & hegemony. This contradiction will lead to a Third World War!
3. The contradiction between imperialism and the 3rd World, the handful of imperialist powers and the "hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world." "The purpose of this revolution. This is the motive force of revolution in the world today!"
4. The contradiction between Imperialism and the Socialist countries, e.g., China, Albania.

The 2nd and 3rd contradictions, war and revolution, are the leading trends in the world situation today! War brought by the contention between the superpowers and revolution from liberation struggles in the Third World.

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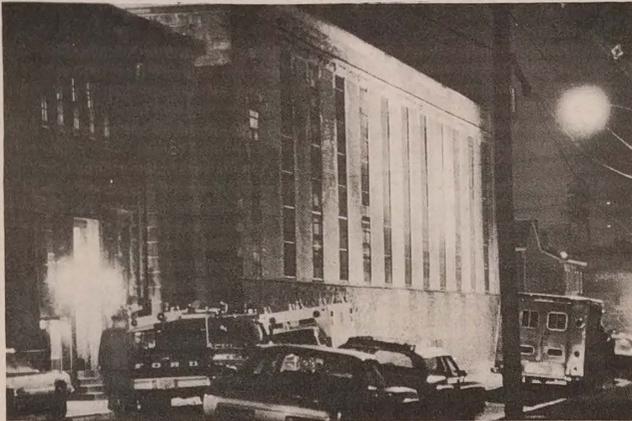
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Trenton State Prison, the scene of many bloody struggles the last 3 months, is part of the state's attempt to run prisons like Nazi concentration camps. See story on page 7.

U.S. Imperialist Bomb Kampuchea
On February 25, US Aircraft bombed the town of Siemreap in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia). These bombings caused the death of at least 15 people and wounded 30 plus considerable damage to the hospital, children's center and the school. The Government of the Democratic Kampuchea strongly condemns "this act of barbarous and savage aggression." "The U.S. imperialists suffered the most ignominious defeat in Kampuchea following their devastating war of aggression which lasted more than 5 years. The U.S. imperialists are ceaselessly continuing to commit the same acts of destruction against the people of Kampuchea... The U.S. imperialists are greatly enraged because they have suffered successive & ignominious defeats at the hands of a nation which, although small, is engaged in a steadfast and valiant struggle... This latest act of aggression by U.S. imperialism exposes still more before public opinion in the nation and among the people of Kampuchea and before international public opinion as a whole the aggressive, barbarous and cruel nature of U.S. imperialism and the impasse in which it finds itself. It only reinforces the hatred and the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and of other peoples in the world against U.S. imperialism. It is certain that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys everywhere will suffer other ignominious and bitter defeats in Kampuchea and throughout the world."

Fascist Park Chung Hee Continues Repression. Twelve opponents of Park's fascist rule issued a Declaration on Democracy and National Salvation calling for Park's fascist government to rescind the emergency decree and restore all political freedoms that have been restricted under the 1972 Constitution, freedom of all political

prisoners, plus asking Park to resign and take full responsibility for his dictatorial control. Park's immediate response was to arrest and imprison everyone plus anyone else he felt supported this Declaration using as his excuse the same 1972 Constitution which took away the democratic rights of the people, making it a crime to criticize the government. Progressive forces around the world have denounced Park's Fascism, which is being propped up by US imperialism. The Korean people refuse to be repressed and exploited and will continue the struggle against Park's Fascist government until it is smashed, just as the U.S. puppet governments in Cambodia and Vietnam were smashed.

Indian Leader Dennis Banks Arrested: Repression of Indians Continues. Dennis Banks, one of leaders of American Indian Movement, was arrested in California and is facing extradition to Oregon on trumped-up charge of firearms violation. Banks was also convicted by an all-white jury in South Dakota on flimsy evidence of "riot" and "assault" during a demonstration against the murder of an Indian, & the continual repression - beatings, jailings & other forms of harassment - suffered by the Indians. The trial and conviction of Dennis Banks as well as Russell Means and other Indian leaders came as a result of the Indian people's struggle for sovereignty and self-determination. The U.S. government's reaction has been to brutally repress the Indians in its imperialist determination to control Indian territory and resources. Over 380 treaties were signed between the Indians and the U.S., but the US honored none of these and proceeded to kill off and shove the Indians onto to reservations. Dennis Banks wife, Ka-mook Banks is also being held without bail in a

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People's Struggle

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chairs, nightsticks and fists. Santiago received such punishment that a bone protruded from his fractured jaw, as he lay bleeding without medical attention for at least a half hour on the floor of the cell. Rodriguez received such a vicious beating that his spleen was split in two, two of his ribs were broken and he suffered massive internal bleeding. Mass struggle has forced these police under indictment, and the people understand that only mass struggle will stop the police from getting off clean.

The New York Coalition Against Repression (NYCAR) was formed out of one of these struggles, the case of the senseless police killing of Claude Reese, Jr., a 14-year-old shot in the back of the head by the police. But as the cases mount, more and more people are coming to the conclusion that we need an organization, a political party that can lead the masses in the struggle to seize political power, a socialist revolution that would smash the bourgeois state and replace this oppressive rule with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The most reactionary sector of the bourgeoisie, is advocating the rule of the bourgeoisie by fascism, the outright rule of the bourgeoisie by terror. And as the crisis in imperialism deepens, the ruling class, which must rule either by force or by deceit, is using less and less programs of reforms and concessions to rule, and is putting more and more emphasis on rule by police force and brutal repression. Moves like the one in Baltimore, Maryland, where they have instituted a Juvenile Curfew Bill that makes it illegal for youth 15-years-old and under to be on the streets or in a public place past 10 p.m. on weekdays and other violations of the people's democratic rights are the beginning stages of the menace of fascism. People in Baltimore have mobilized against this law and the forces joined together to form the Kill the Curfew Coalition to oppose the Curfew Law.

S-1, the infamous bill to legalize the initial steps toward fascism, has been the basis for many coalitions forming against repression throughout the country. S-1 is the Criminal Justice Codification, Revision & Reform Act, known as Senate Bill 1, which would legalize much of the repression that had been done undercover up to now by the FBI-CIA and local police.

Groups like the NYCAR have sponsored forums and discussions on S-1 going into the reason why there is an S-1 proposal before the Senate. Such forums have included the Congress of African People, Black Women's United Front, the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, the October League, El Comite - MINTP, Lincoln-DeTox and Fightback, in New York City. In Pittsburgh, Pa., the Pittsburgh Coalition to Stop S-1 has been sponsoring meetings and forums on S-1. Hundreds have

come out - people ranging from revolutionary communists to community groups, to the American Civil Liberties Union to expose S-1 and its provisions to legalize the lurch to the right of the most reactionary sector of the bourgeoisie.

Clearly, the capitalist system is on its deathbed and the bourgeoisie has no way out of the imperialist economic crisis. And as declining U.S. imperialism, the wounded tiger, becomes more repressive at home, and the face of U.S. imperialism that is clear to the people of the Third World becomes clearer and clearer to the people right here in the U.S.A., the people's struggle against monopoly capitalism will lead into a revolutionary struggle as part of a world united front against imperialism.

Because of these massive upheavals and great disorder throughout the U.S.A., people are being tempered in struggle. Every day more and more people are drawn into the struggle against monopoly capitalism, and the question of how can we throw off the yoke of capitalism is becoming the order of the day.

The fusion of the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the working class movement and the movement of oppressed nationalities is clearly a growing trend in the U.S.A. And Marxist-Leninists are taking up the central task of our struggle, the building of an anti-revisionist, revolutionary communist party, the party of the new type, a bolshevik party to unify and lead the whole multi-national working class and oppressed nationalities and other revolutionary forces to overthrow capitalism. At this point in this motion, the question of how to unite Marxist-Leninists and how the advanced elements are to be won over to communism are questions that occupy the new communist movement. And the intensified struggle of the people against monopoly capitalism, clearly places party building at the top of the agenda of genuine Marxist-Leninists, who understand that a revolutionary communist party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, is necessary to raise the level of mass struggle to a revolutionary struggle to deliver the blow that will crush monopoly capitalism, national oppression and racism forever.

Brezhnev Clique

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extravagance and dissipation, the broad masses of the working people are often canned, forced to roam from place to place and live in poverty." (Peking Review #8, 1976, page 15) Contrary to the loud propaganda that the Soviet social imperialists run about "economic gains", the miserable truth in the USSR is that the ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) was a failure with the growth rates of national income, industrial output and farm output actually lower than the rates in the period of 1966-1970. Grain production in the USSR has fallen consistently over the last decade, but especially this year the USSR grain production fell 80 million tons below the planned target and 30 million tons below the level of the serious crop failure yielded in 1972. (Peking Review #52, 1975, page 16) In fact, "In per capita consumption, the 1975 crop was lower than that of tsarist Russia in 1913." (Ibid, page 17)

These contradictions of monopoly capitalism are the basis for imperialism. There is an acute contradiction between the expansion of spending in the production of arms for war preparation and the drastic cutbacks in the production of consumer goods in the USSR. Some 85% of spending going to capital goods & war related industries and 15% to production of consumer goods. The USSR now has more than a million prisoners in concentration camps. Some comrades only "crime" was to say they

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Recommendation For Withdrawal From the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee



CAP has withdrawn from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) because of their reformist line on the liberation of Puerto Rico, hooked to their slavish alignment with the USSR's social imperialist line. Violent overthrow of the colonial Puerto Rican state is the only way independence and socialism will come, as proven in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee (PRSDC) was organized to put together the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Demonstration Oct. 27, 1974 in Madison Square Garden. After the demonstration the committee continued into the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC).

The PRSC states its purpose is to build support within the United States for the full independence of Puerto Rico and the self-determination of the Puerto Rican people.

The National Board of the PRSC is made of largely petty bourgeois Social Democrats who came together around the independence of Puerto Rico. But decision-making is carried on through an Interim Committee that meets between Board meetings. The Interim Committee is a smaller committee of the National Board whose character is petty bourgeois, vacillating and heavily influenced by PSP.

We are suggesting withdrawing from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee for the following reasons:

1. The line of PRSC is dominated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The political analysis of the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico against imperialism is from the PSP. Their line on Puerto Rican independence is closely aligned with that of the Soviet Union and its "detente", revisionist policies. The PSP has not put forth any clear lines on the overthrow of the colonial state apparatus. An example of their line on struggle for socialism in Puerto Rico is from a document from their 2nd Party Congress held December, 1975 in San Juan, Puerto Rico where Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of PSP explains the participation of PSP in the 1976 elections in Puerto Rico by saying: "... in order to denounce the colonial regime and its electoral process... the use of elections does not imply that the organization is renouncing the use of all forms of struggle including armed struggle, in order to achieve the construction of an independent, socialist republic."

2. This statement puts forth a reformist line, because there is no way Puerto Rico could become an independent Socialist state without armed struggle, that is the complete overthrow of the colonial regime. Violent overthrow of the colonial Puerto Rican state is the only way independence and socialism will come. Peaceful co-existence with imperialism will not bring independence to Puerto Rico or any other oppressed nation, this was proved in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

3. PSP's non-line on Socialist Revolution is revising Marxism-Leninism. They purport to be a Marxist-Leninist Party, but in fact they down-play the basic principles of Leninism which are proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Lenin said: "Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks & Socialist-

Revolutionaries) who are striving to win over the toiling masses of the peasantry and to put an end to the revolution by a compromise with imperialism." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 13)

This is exactly what PSP's line does, it compromises with imperialism when it revises Marxism-Leninism, it also liquidates the fact that in Puerto Rico, "Revolution is the only Solution."

5. Our withdrawal from PRSC has come as a result of the lines through the National programs of PRSC. The main national program of last year was the sponsoring of the "International Conference in Solidarity with Independence for Puerto Rico" held in Havana, Cuba. The PRSC endorsed all of the mandates and documents that came from that Conference, which was dominated by the Soviet Union Revisionists.

6. Other programs have been the tours of Puerto Rican representatives from the labor and independence movements. PSP in interpreting the liberation movement on the island also is the primary force by which PRSC uses to select who will do the tours, that is those who are most closely aligned to their lines are the ones who have been on the tours. The tours have been to cities in the U.S. that have PRSC chapters.

7. The PSP recognizes the Soviet Union as "a socialist country", that is why they collaborated with the Social-Imperialists in calling the Havana Conference, which objectively put the Soviet Union in a position to have their line dominate in the Conference.

8. During the recent PSP 2nd Congress, they criticized the Peoples Republic of China for their position in the U.N. on Puerto Rico. The resolution in the Decolonization Committee was proposed by the Cuban delegate. Soviet inspired resolution on Puerto Rico was no fashioned to liberate Puerto Rico but to help the Social imperialists penetrate the Puerto Rican liberation movement and eventually Puerto Rico. The divide and conquer tactics of all imperialists were equally evident in the Soviet resolution which sought to split the 3rd world countries on resolute opposition to imperialism in Puerto Rico, and instead substitute a proposal which did not have the general sanction of the 3rd world anti-imperialist forces. The Peoples Republic of China simply did not vote on the resolution.

PSP's reactionary criticism of China is simply another Revisionist version of Social imperialism's cracked notes.

9. Another example of the influence of PSP's opportunist line in PRSC is through their organ, "Puerto Rico Libre". PRL is a monthly news bulletin which mainly has news about the political, economic, and social conditions on the island, but these views and analyses are from the PSP who get news from the PSP on the island. The same analyses that is in "Claridad" is also in the Puerto Rico Libre.

Our recommendation for withdrawal is based on line. We cannot be a

(Continued on page 11)

Report From CAP's Central Committee Meeting

February 1, 1976 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania the Congress of Afrikan People held an historic Central Committee Meeting. We view this meeting as a qualitative step in CAP's move to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, because we made some basic changes in organization structure and social practices intended to further our development as a communist organization.

ORGANIZATION & SOCIAL PRACTICE

A new organizational structure was adopted, which will allow closer follow up on political work. This also included reorganization of the Central Committee for more equitable representation. At the meeting Organization Committee was charged with doing more research and work to represent a fully developed proposal defining the scope and duties of Commissions that will continue the ideological and political work in major areas, i.e. Afro-American National Question, Party Building, The Woman Question, Labor Organizing, International Questions, Agitation & Propaganda and Organizational.

In line with these structural changes, there were important recommendations for cutbacks in mass work, continuing changes in social practices, stabilization and priority on theoretical study and reduction of expenses. One social practice we voted to abolish was the umuzi system, a collective or communal living system (the term & idea based on study of the Bantu communal living system). Originated in CAP during its nationalist period, the umuzi system was one attempt to development collective consciousness and share economic responsibility among organization members by moving together in houses of several families and houses of single members. But when we created the umuzi system we were not Marxist-Leninists. Now using the science of Marxism-Leninism we can understand that the concept of an umuzi system under monopoly capitalism is idealism, because it is an attempt to force new social relationships without changing the economic base. It was not done with a clear understanding of the existence of classes and class struggle. While this social practice did have some positive features, in the main it has given rise to a heightening of petit bourgeois irresponsible attitudes, elitism and parasitism, and separated us from the masses of working people.

Part of this report was also the recommendation that more cadres find employment. There is ongoing work being done on the need for more developed lines and practice in labor organizing and we are struggling against handicaps of previous underemphasis on this area, and the present economic crisis which makes it more difficult to get jobs. But this will be pursued because we know it is fundamental in Party Building.

CAP also had other aspects of Afrikan Traditionalism and Kawaida Nationalism which had been instituted as an opposition to cultural aggression that accompanies imperialism, but which we can now see as practices that support petit bourgeois ideas, separation from the masses and bourgeois nationalism. Among these practices officially eliminated at this Central Committee meeting was the performing of marriage ceremonies and naming of the children by the Chairman. These practices are too cult-like and would continue presenting the Chair in a priest role and the organization as quasi-metaphysical. Also we decided that comrades should drop their titles (these were indications of ranks or stations in the organization stemming from Kawaida Nationalism para-military practices), unless they want to use them as names; and that comrades no longer have to use the swahili name they took during the cultural nationalist period but can use American names if they want, or keep

the swahili names, &c.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

At our last General Assembly, October 1975, CAP had voted to have a National Conference in February 1976 to take up two main questions, The Afro-American National Question and The Woman Question. At this Central Committee Meeting comrades heard a Report on the National Conference, which gave a brief overview of where we stand in relationship to the world situation and the need to build a Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party. The summation correctly pointed out that while in reality since October 1975 we had enough time to plan the National Conference, we did not have enough clarity. Due to this lack of preparation - ideological, political and organizational - we had to cancel the Conference. The continuing struggle within CAP to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought has been obstructed by right opportunism. Before we can move forward with such a conference that would have to be viewed in relationship to the overall party building motion, we must struggle harder inside CAP to defeat opportunism and bourgeois ideology, to have self-criticism and criticism and principled open and above board discussion on questions, and gain the theoretical clarity demanded of a genuine communist organization.

OTHER MAJOR DECISIONS

A recommendation for CAP withdrawal from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee was accepted. PRSC is a well known committee originating after the organizing of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Demonstration and Rally, October 27, 1974 at Madison Square Garden. The National Board of PRSC is largely petty bourgeois Social Democrat types, and heavily influenced by Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Briefly, our reasons for withdrawing from PRSC are based on its present line being dominated by the PSP whose line now seems clearly aligned with the Soviet Union detente, revisionist policies (based on analysis of the last PSP Party Congress reports & line struggles within PRSC). The PSP line on Puerto Rican independence is reformist, not clearly stating the necessity for armed struggle to overthrow colonialism & imperialism, but posing armed struggle as "one of the possible forms of struggle", along side electoral processes, for achieving an independent Socialist state in Puerto Rico! This line has manifested in many PRSC programs and propaganda and CAP cannot be a part of an organization whose politics is dominated by such reformism and collaboration with Soviet Social Imperialism. The Central Committee decided to print a full criticism (appearing in the U & S and send a letter or resignation to PRSC).

The Central Committee also received a report on work being done at that time for International Working Women's Day weekend activities, a Black Women's United Front Conference and the Anti-Imperialist Coalition March & Demonstration at the UN. A brief summation of the line struggles in several New York coalitions was reported and these were to be fully summed up after that weekend.

The National Question Committee gave out some additions and corrections

(Continued on page 11)

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NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY: CHAPTERS WITHDRAW

On January 31, 1976, delegates from 10 states, the District of Columbia and some National Black Organizations, met in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania to discuss the National Black Assembly and our future with it. It was the unanimous decision of the body meeting there, to resign from the National Black Assembly (NBA). Some of the reasons stated were: Lack of commitment to the concept of a Black United Front, on the part of the new leadership of the NBA, and the continuous lack of work on the many proposed programs of the NBA.

Historical View of the NBA

The National Black Political Convention (NBPC) came together in Gary Indiana in 1972, bringing out over 8,000 Black people, most of them seeking a new and independent Black political movement. The NBPC was seen by most as a Black United Front that encompassed a broad cross-section of the Black community. At that first historic convention there were Black people from all walks of life and all political tendencies, there were hundreds of organizations represented and many of the major figures in the Black community. People like, Amiri Baraka, Jesse Jackson, Richard Hatcher, Corretta King, etc. were also in attendance at the first convention.

Out of this first dynamic convention came the National Black Assembly, the ongoing political organization of the NBPC.

Since the time for the first NBPC in 1972, there have been over a dozen NBA meetings and another convention was held in Little Rock, Ark., in 1974. By November, 1975, only one of the national leaders who sat on the platform of the first convention remained within the NBA. The rest had demonstrated that they were never really interested in the day to day work of building and organizing for political power and self-determination for the Black masses. The Black leader who did commit himself to the day to day work of the NBA and who continuously demonstrated this was Amiri Baraka, who was elected to 2 consecutive terms as Secretary-General of the NBA. Because of this, he was also the target of continuous attacks within the NBA, as those who sought to attach the NBA to the Democratic party saw Amiri Baraka as a staunch opponent of any attempt to do so.

Even though there have been 2 conventions and many Assembly, Political Council and Executive Committee, meetings, the work of the NBA has suffered severely. It has been constantly obstructed by the sabotage of elected officials, and others trying to take the NBA into the camp of the Democratic party.

It has been stifled by constant attempts to destroy the united front character of the NBA, and limit its membership to certain classes, political tendencies and ideologies, in the Black community.

Most of the many resolutions to come out of the conventions and meetings have not been implemented and only remained on paper.

Problems on a State Level

The problems within the NBA are not only national problems. These problems also manifest themselves on a local level in several of the states within the NBA. Often the reason for the problems on the local level is that many of the national leaders of the NBA are also in responsible positions on state levels.

In states such as Maryland, Ohio, New York Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, and the District of Columbia, the local work of the assembly has been slowed down or completely stopped by people in leadership positions who's only work in the NBA was to go to national meetings and conventions.

In many of the states the work has suffered because of the under-handed and unprincipled behavior of many of the states leaders. For instance, outright lying and calling illegal secret meetings in New York; or holding fake conventions to certify delegates in Pennsylvania; in Ohio the entire city of Cleveland was decertified illegally after they had just refused to pay an outrageous \$20.00 registration fee for an Ohio Black Convention; in Indiana the former state chairman refused to call meetings or send out information, and when he finally did call a meeting, it was the same weekend as the NBA Economic Conference; in Michigan the chair has constantly opposed any work projects and even assumes leadership positions in the NBA while all the time preparing to leave the country to go live in Africa, and will not even be here to take care of those responsibilities.

These are a few of the many problems that plague the NBA on the local level.

Problems on a National Level

On a national level, the problems of the National Black Assembly have continued to mount since the very first struggles at the Gary Convention. The problems were always struggled with inside the NBA as the united front sought to stay together, but as a new leadership of middle-class college professors, poverty program officials, and democratic party members sought control of the NBA for the Democratic Party, the contradictions in the NBA got sharper.

So important an event as the Economic Conference (August '75 in Atlanta, Georgia) and its positive resolutions, has been completely case aside and never acted upon. In fact, the NBA meeting which was to have dealt with ratification of these resolutions, was disrupted by the current leadership of the NBA when the Chair failed to recognize the duly authorized Women's Caucus, and though the leadership and those influenced by it left, more than 1/2 of the registered delegates remained.

The Strategy for 1976 has been completely sabotaged, and it's clear that it was never the intent of this new leadership for this plan to be put into effect.

The vote in favor of a women's caucus, insuring women their democratic rights and full participation within the Assembly, has never been recognized by the Chair (Ron Daniels) and therefore, a recurring issue at the past 4 meetings. And committees which were voted to be 1/2 male and 1/2 female remain as they were.

(Continued on page 6)

Kawaida Towers: Struggle Against Racism

The plan to undermine Kawaida Towers is totally unacceptable. And in no way can we bow to the racism and vicious attack on the people that master-minded this bogus scheme! We started out with a 210 apartment development, aimed at the immediate needs of the masses of people in Newark for decent low and moderate income housing for families in a town where 20% of the land mass is vacant lots and the rest of the city suffers from a criminally high rate of substandard housing conditions. People cannot find a decent place to live for their families! Kawaida Towers has 210 decent apartments for low and moderate income families with many amenities for the people, such as a day care center for the children, a 200-seat theatre for the people, a huge community room and kitchen, an audio visual room, a library, a hobby shop, a wood shop, laundry room and garbage compactor to avoid the ills of the incinerator. It was a 16-story building with balconies and centralized air conditioning.

But what has been proposed by the state, the New Jersey Housing Finance Agency, is totally unacceptable to the people! This bogus plan reduces the building to 9 stories for the lowest kind of political maneuver to appease racism that blocked Kawaida Towers. It cuts out all the balconies and centralized air conditioning. But even more important the core of Kawaida Towers has been robbed! The states wants us to act as the rubber stamp for their racism and brutal exploitation, by accepting a building where no families could live! All the two bedroom apartments, some 75 have been taken out of these plans, and replaced with a building that has only efficiencies and one bedroom apartments! All provisions for day care have been politically erased from these plans because the state refuses to deal with the needs of low and moderate income families for decent housing. And these are the people whose interests we are committed to serve.

We reject this attempt to make us the agents for capitalism, which is clearly on its deathbed, in its attempt to shift the oppressive burden of the imperialist economic crisis on the backs of the working class and oppressed nationalities! We will not rubber stamp the policies that rob the workers and oppressed nationalities of decent housing for their families at a price that they can afford. How can a family live in an efficiency apartment, that has no bedroom, a one room apartment that must serve as the kitchen, living room & bedroom all at once? In fact, the average families in Newark need 2, 3, 4, and even 5 bedroom apartments at a price they can afford to take care of their families—this is our struggle!

The fact is that even though the racism of Anthony Imperiale & Co. in the streets and the racism of Governor Byrne, Pat Sheehan and William Hyland in high places in bourgeoisie state government worked hand in hand in the brutal conspiracy to stall Kawaida Towers and ultimately to destroy it, the facts show that the racism of the state actually was what colluded to kill Kawaida Towers, as it was designed to serve the interests of the working families that struggle from day to day to get decent housing for their families! Finally, the state used its power, not to stop the racist obstruction to us getting decent housing, but they used their power to strip this building until it excluded the people who need decent low cost housing the most, working people with families! And this is a direct reflection of the function of the bourgeoisie state in the first place, to suppress the working class and oppressed nationalities so that this tiny .6 of 1% of the population can continue to own and control 90% of the wealth in the U.S. at the peoples expense.

We cannot accept the political straight-jacket put on this plan, that



The latest scheme proposed by the New Jersey Housing Finance Agency is totally unacceptable to the people. And in no way can we bow to the racism & vicious attack on the people that master-minded this bogus plan, that they want us to rubberstamp.

forced it to be 9 stories, only to undermine any possibility of it being built, because it would require a new tax abatement from Newark's city council that has openly committed itself to blocking any housing that will serve the people. Particularly, corrupt councilmen Earl Harris and Jesse Allen have advocated no tax abatements precisely because they are the lackies of the bourgeoisie's decision not to build housing and to maintain these acres and acres of vacant lots, simply because they are only guided by the motive of maximum profit and they cannot make maximum profit building housing for low and moderate income families. Harris and Allen must justify this policy, while the bourgeoisie spends billion after billion for the arms build up to fight an imperialist world war with the U.S.S.R.

And also the factor of the heavy toll this struggle against tremendous odds has taken on us. The cost of court case after court case, dozens of arrests and constant police harassment, and legal fees that go into tens of thousands of dollars make it impossible for us to continue to struggle on this level. And clearly this was the state's conscious attempt to divert our efforts away from the mass political struggle that is necessary for the tenants to shift the burden of the capitalist crisis back on the backs of the capitalists where it came from in the first place. We need to focus on the mass tenant struggle against evictions, astronomical rent hikes for cold water flats and the murderous conspiracy of the landlords to kill our people with fires so that they can reap quick insurance claims at the expense of the lives of the people, especially women and children and elders.

The primary question is why is it that the whole multinational working class (black, latin, asian, white) cannot get decent housing for their families under monopoly capitalism? And it is only through these mass political struggles to shift the burden of the imperialist economic crisis back on the backs of the bourgeoisie, and building of a multinational anti-revisionist vanguard communist party to lead this struggle that we will be able to defeat capitalism!

Actually, this last ditch attempt to sell this bogus scheme is a reflection of the bourgeoisie dying out, gasping for its last breath, and trying to take us with them, but actually the overthrow of this dying bourgeoisie is our only salvation! The people and the people alone are the makers of history. "Mankind always advances in storm and stress. The road is tortuous, the future is bright. We are full of optimism and confidence in the future of mankind."

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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!

Ballots or Bullets

The conventions of Ohio black people became a veritable stronghold of revolutionary nationalist influence. The Ohio Convention of Negro Men, held at Columbus City Hall, January 16-18, 1856, indicated what the revolutionary nationalist program held for the "free" North and Ohio in particular. Here are excerpts from the Convention's address to Ohio State Legislature in which the bold revolutionary nationalist warning stands out clearly:

"... We ask you to ponder the danger of circumscribing the great doctrines of human equality... to the narrow bounds of races or nations. All men are by nature equal, and have inalienable rights, or none have. We beg you to reflect how insecure your own and the liberties of your posterity would be by the admission of such a rule of construing the rights of men. Another nation or race may displace you, as you have displace nations and races; and the injustice you teach, they may execute; perchance they may better the instruction. Remember, in your pride of race and power..."

"Now, admitted that we are men, how are we to defend and protect life, liberty and property? The whites of the State, through the ballot-box, can do these things peacefully; but we, by the organic law of the State, are prevented from defending those precious rights by any other than violent means. For the same document that asserts our right to defend life, liberty and property, strips us of the power to do so otherwise than by violence. We ask you gentlemen, in the name of justice, shall this stand as the judgment of the State of Ohio?..."

"If we are deprived of education, of equal political privileges, still subjected to the same depressing influences under which we now suffer, the natural consequences will follow; and the State, for her planting of injustice, will reap her harvest of sorrow... She will contain within her limits a discontented population—dissatisfied, estranged—ready to welcome any revolution or invasion as a relief, for they can lose nothing and gain much..."

Rock's Declaration 1858

Dr. John S. Rock, whom we have previously quoted and identified as a distinguished black doctor and lawyer, was one of the most brilliant minds of his generation. His wit, satire and knowledge of history were almost unmatched. During a speech he delivered at Boston on March 5, 1858 (at a meeting commemorating the Boston Massacre), he displayed his revolutionary nationalist influence in a brilliant defense of the black masses against the charge that the black man was a coward.

White Americans have taken great pains to try to prove that we are cowards. We are often insulted with the assertion, that if we had had the courage of the Indians or the white man, we would never have submitted to be

slaves. I ask if Indians and white men have never been slaves? The white man tested the Indian's courage here when he had his organized armies, his battle-grounds, he places of retreat, with everything to hope for and everything to lose. The position of the African slave has been very different. Seized a prisoner of war, unarmed, bound hand and foot, and conveyed to a distant country among what to him were worse than cannibals; brutally beaten, half-starved, closely watched by armed men, with no means of knowing their own strength of the strength of their enemies, with no weapons, and without a probability of success... take a man, armed or unarmed, from his home, his country, or his friends, and place him among savages, and who is he that would not make good his retreat?..."

"The courage of the Anglo-Saxon is best illustrated in his treatment of the Negro. A score or two of them can pounce upon a poor Negro, tie and beat him, and then call him a coward because he submits. Many of their most brilliant victories have been achieved in the same manner. But the greatest battles which they have fought have been upon paper. We can easily account for



Dr. John S. Rock was one of the most brilliant minds of his generation. His commitment and knowledge of history were almost unmatched.

this; their trumpeteer is dead. He died when they used to be exposed for sale in the Roman market, about the time that Cicero cautioned his friend Atticus not to buy them, on account of their stupidity. A little more than half a century ago, this race, in connection with their Celtic neighbors, who have long been considered (by themselves, of course,) the bravest soldiers in the world, so far forgot themselves, as to attack a few cowardly stupid Negro slaves, who, according to their accounts, had not sense enough to go to bed. And what was the result? Why, sir, the Negroes drove them out from the island like so many sheep..."

"The black man is not a coward. The history of the bloody struggles for freedom in Hayti, in which the blacks whipped the French and the English, and gained their independence, in spite of the perfidy of that villainous First Consul, will be a lasting refutation of the malicious aspersions of our enemies. The history of the struggles for the liberty of the United States ought to silence every American calumniator..."

"The white man contradicts himself who says, that if he were in our situation, he would throw off the yoke. Thirty millions of white men of this proud Caucasian race are at this moment held as slaves, and bought and sold with horses and cattle. The iron heel of oppression grinds the masses of all the European races to the dust.** They suffer every kind of oppression, and no one dares to open his mouth to protest against it. Even in the Southern portion of this boasted land of liberty, no white man dares advocate so much of the Declaration of Independence as declares that 'all men are created free

and equal, and have an inalienable right to life, liberty,' &c.

"White men have no room to taunt us with tamely submitting. If they were black men, they would work wonders; but, as white men, they can do nothing. 'O, Consistency, thou art a jewel!'"

"Now, it would not be surprising if the brutal treatment which we have received for the past two centuries should have crushed our spirits. But this is not the case. Nothing but a superior force keeps us down. And when I see the slaves rising up by hundreds annually, in the majesty of human nature, bidding defiance to every slave code and its penalties, making the issue Canada or death, and that too while they are closely watched my paid men armed with pistols, clubs and bowie-knives, with the army and navy of this great Model Republic arrayed against them, I am disposed to ask if the charge of cowardice does not come with ill-grace..."

"I do not envy the white American the little liberty which he enjoys. It is his right, and he ought to have it. I wish him success, though I do not think he deserves it. But I would have all men free. We have had much sad experience in this country, and it would be strange

indeed if we do not profit by some of the lessons which we have so dearly paid for. Sooner or later, the clashing of arms will be heard in this country. . . 150,000 freemen capable of bearing arms, and not all cowards and fools, and three quarter of a million slaves, wild with the enthusiasm caused by the dawn of the glorious opportunity of being able to strike a genuine blow for freedom, will be a power which white men will be 'bound to respect.' Will the blacks fight? Of course they will. The black man will never be neutral. . . Judge Taney may outlaw us; Caleb Cushing may show the depravity of his heart by abusing us; and this wicked government may oppress us; but the black man will live when Judge Taney, Caleb Cushing and this wicked government are no more. White men may despise, ridicule, slander and abuse us; they may seek as they always have done to divide us, and make us feel degraded; but no man shall cause me to turn my back upon my race. . .

*The Haitian Revolution of 1793.

**The various brutal European monarchies and despotisms of that period.

(To be continued)

NBA

(Continued from page 5)

Contrary to the vote by the Assembly to lower all registration fees (from \$25 for conventions and \$10 for Assembly meetings), the present leadership has maintained the same fees, in the midst and in spite of economic crisis.

The crowning insult was the last meeting, in Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 14-16, 1975, when this new leadership actually instrumented its election to the Executive Committee, in a completely unprincipled and undemocratic manner. From the issuance of bogus, illegal documents; to the ramrodding of unpassed rules; to the class distinction between "delegates" and the "observer class"; to the use of pro and con mikes with the chair in a biased way deciding who would speak; to the bringing of illegal delegates sponsored by anti-poverty pimps who threatened to take peoples jobs if they did not attend; from beginning to end, it was blatantly clear that principled struggle within the NBA would not be the trend. Once accomplishing their preorganized election, they refused to complete the business of the NBA which people had travelled great distances to cover - namely, the work of the NBA - and, without notification to the people present, cancelled the meeting scheduled for that Sunday.

It is clear to us that the function of the NBA under its new leadership will merely be as a part of the Democratic party - which is exactly what 8,000 Black people who travelled from all parts of

this country decided we would not do. Which readily points out the fact that bettering the lives of the people is not what the new NBA leadership is interested in, but rather simply making gains for themselves.

New Directions

At the meeting of January 31, 1976, the representatives from the 10 states and various organizations agreed to resign from the NBA, but we do not intend to stop struggling or even slow down. We also decided to go back to our local areas and organize the masses of Black and working people around the urgent issues facing us. We agreed to go back to our states and organize around the issues facing the masses such as unemployment, housing, police brutality, repression, welfare, education, etc. And to form fighting mass organizations in these areas.

It was also decided to meet within 1 year to summarize the work in the states and review the work of building the local mass organizations.

Therefore, we make public our resignation from the NBA but also our continued commitment to organize and fight in the interest of Black and working people, which brought us to the NBA in the first place and also makes it urgent that we now leave.

Signed - Indiana Black Assembly, New Jersey Black Assembly, Missouri Black Assembly, Members of the Michigan, Ohio, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Delaware, Black Assemblies, Congress of Afrikan People.

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Southern Afrika

(Continued from page 2)

relationship becomes more unmistakable. Angolan struggle cannot be solved by Cuban troops!

Revolution cannot be exported, and it is a totally incorrect and bankrupt political line, to call oneself a Marxist-Leninist and take an idealist position such as the export of revolution. Revolution must be made by the people based on the internal contradictions and development of the country itself. Aid is necessary, though we must always depend on self-reliance be willing to struggle and sacrifice and take the correct ideological and political line. Obviously there must be much struggle inside Cuba now since the export of revolution fallacy and the sickening domination of Peoples Cuba by the Soviet Union must inflame the wrath of genuine Marxists-Leninists within the Cuban Communist Party. But to see Peoples Cuba turned into mercenaries of Soviet Social Imperialism is sickening in the extreme, but we must remember that this happened because of the incorrect political line dominating the Cuban Communist Party.

The civil war in Angola will continue, the Peking Review quoted Angolans in opposition to the Soviet Social Imperialist takeover of Angola, "For our freedom and our motherland we are determined to continue the fight in the forests, mountains and valleys. The Soviet invaders will meet with the same fate as the Portuguese colonialists in Afrika." The Chinese organ continued saying on its own "This is the Angolan peoples best reply to the Soviet neo-colonialists who are trying to enslave again the Angolan people in place of the old colonialists." (PR #10, March 15, 1976, p. 21).

We cannot be fool enough to support the new neo-colonialism, the new Imperialism-Soviet Social Imperialism—and think somehow we are supporting Angolan or Afrikan independence. Lenin was clear, "Present day democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other of the imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Any other decision will, in reality be national-liberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism." (Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol 21, pp. 143-44, Under A False Flag)

Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania

The dangerous Soviet Social Imperialism, having scored temporarily in Angola now has its nose wide open for further bites out of succulent Afrika, all the time with its slick cover story of "socialism." Zimbabwe seems the next place for it to peddle its poisonous wares. The principle contradiction in Zimbabwe is between the people and colonialism of the racist Smith regime. The superpowers at this point are colluding, more or less, both putting

(Continued on page 9)

Brezhnev Clique

(Continued from page 3)

were, are and always will be communists i.e., Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists.

In the contention between the two Superpowers while U.S. imperialism gets its behind kicked out violently from Afrika, Asia, and Latin America, the USSR like sly wolves run quickly to sneak in the back door. That is, while the national liberation movements are moving through peoples democratic revolutions and onto socialist construction, the USSR is trying wildly to penetrate these Third World countries by imperialist exploitation and turn them into client states just like the U.S. imperialists neo-colonize the Third World. The only difference between the two Superpowers is the rhetoric.

Historically, the Soviet Social Imperialists betrayed the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and by this not only disarmed the proletariat and all working people in the USSR of their most powerful weapon against the bourgeoisie, but at the same time with this restoration of capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the USSR, the Soviet Social Imperialists destroyed the possibility of unity based on proletarian internationalism in their revisionist camp. But genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations throughout the world uphold proletarian internationalism, and we are uniting our ranks against the two Superpowers, so that we can continue on the road of peoples democracy and on to socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that will bring the liberation of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the true friend of working and oppressed people throughout the world, but the Soviet Social Imperialists try to swindle us off of the road to our liberation with a sham congress of the "dictatorship of the entire people," which is the same dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and imperialism that people are uniting to defeat all over the world.

The doom of the small Brezhnev clique in the USSR is inevitable, because the rising tide of mass resistance fused with the leadership of the underground revolutionary organizations that are working hard to bring revolutionary theory to the people of the Soviet Union, will smash the Soviet's bureaucratic-monopoly capitalist state apparatus. And both in the US and the USSR, we must take up the revolutionary call of Marxist-Leninists in imperialist wars, i.e., to turn the imperialist war between the two Superpowers into the civil war we need between the tiny ruling class and the masses led by the proletariat under the guidance of its vanguard anti-revisionist communist party. This revolutionary road is the only solution to the horrors of Superpower domination and contention, the only road that can avert imperialist world war three.

Trenton State Prison: Another Attica or Worse???

Trenton State Prison (TSP) for the last three months has been the scene of many bloody struggles which have caused two people to die and many others to get hurt. For the last 4 years the state has attempted to run TSP like a Nazi concentration camp and this should give an idea of what the Bourgeoisie (the ruling class) has in mind in terms of running this country (check out the S-1 bill). Butcher Superintendent Alan Hoffman and the rest of the gang have failed thru the old way (which is the reforms, that they give in order to stop any kind of struggle) to halt the struggle of the brothers who are determined not to submit passively to the brutal way they are being treated. The Congress Of Afrikan People and many other organizations have been working in Trenton to organize a mass organization to expose the fascist kind of rules that are being practiced at TSP.

On March 2 The Congress Of Afrikan People, Black Youth For Progress, a mother of a prisoner on 7 wing (Management Control Unit) and the Prisoner support committee, met with Commissioner Ann Klein head of Institutions and Agencies of N.J. for an hour and a half to discuss the TSP situation. CAP began by laying out our demands, which were: 1. Firing Alan Hoffman as Superintendent of TSP; 2. Independent Investigation by Citizens of the community; 3. Ending of The Management Control Unit (7 wing). We continued by telling Klein that as long as Hoffman is superintendent that there will always be confrontation that will end with lives being taken (the majority will be the prisoners). We don't make these charges on unfounded truths but on hard cold facts. Here are a few examples.

In September of 1974 at a black studies banquet Arnold Bank was brutally beaten by a number of guards. After the incident there were two indictments (Officer Trautman and Wise) but these two guards were found innocent even though one of the guards admitted that they beat Banks up!

On October 16, 1975 TSP Officials under the direction of Alan Hoffman set up a confrontation between two Islamic groups (The Nation Of Islam And The New World Of Islam) that left one person dead and others hurt. Hoffman had these two groups put together knowing that if they did that, it would end the way it did with lives being taken. But the prison Officials maintain that they had to put the groups together because it was illegal to have them separated without cause. What cause do they need?

On January 19, 1976 John Clark was murdered by Hoffman and the gang and John Douglass was wounded. The reason that the prison officials gave was that the inmate had guns and was trying to escape from TSP. The prison officials try to lay out a whole thing on how the prisoners try to escape and the fact they had guns. But the story which they gave holds no water whatsoever. Because there is no way that the prisoner can get a gun into the prison, they are strip searched when they go to a visit and when they come back. If anything, it was brought in by one of the guards. It was a known fact that John Clark (Adiliwa) was an outspoken person and that he was continually trying to educate other prisoners to struggle against the fascist dictatorship that they are trying to run in the prison. But the creation of The Management Control Unit, "7 wing" was to stop anybody who might struggle against the injustice that they were performing at TSP. Now Hoffman and the rest of the gang are finishing the rest of the plan to take all reforms and rights away from the prisoners. For example, they took contact visits away for 7-W, there is no medical treatment for the prisoners; they don't have access to law materials that would allow them to work on their case; all radios, T.V. and things of this sort has been taken away; food packages are limited to just meats,

eggs and fish. This is the only way they can bring in a 25-pound package, and on top of all that, they are locked in their cells 24 hours a day. So with these facts we came to the conclusion that they have set all these incidents up to justify their action and as you can see there is more in store. To put more in reality Trenton State Prison is like a time bomb. After laying out our facts, we asked Commissioner Klein if her philosophy was one in the same with Hoffman's. Klein said no and went on to say that TSP wasn't fit for human habitation and that it needed to be closed. She said that she is doing everything she can to deal with the situation. Klein said her hands are tied. A CAP representative pointed out to Klein that her so-called "liberal philosophy" was abstract if it can't be put into practice. Hoffman's philosophy was real and in control because it is what is being practiced now at TSP.

The Prisoner Support Committee presented Commissioner Klein with an eye witness account of what happened on the night of January 19, 1976. This is part of a letter from a prisoner who witnessed the whole incident. The murder of John Clark was perpetrated by the racist administration to murder more brothers than they did. The alleged escape attempt was planned by the administration to systematically murder certain brothers. John Clark was not dead when he was first shot. He fell on the floor and was shot at for some time, while many watched helplessly one cell away from him. The other prisoner Douglass was shot while he walked down the tier with his hands over his head. He was following orders of Lt. Fiscor when he came out. Fiscor told him nothing would happen if he placed his hands on his head and gave himself up. By trusting that racist he was shot. Two other prisoners beside this witnessed this incident, one of them white. Fiscor made a promise to the white prisoners while the shooting was taking place. After the incident was over, the white prisoners were transferred to another institution. Probably the reason was so that he could be a witness for the administration if this was ever brought to trail. "When Lt. Fiscor shot Douglass, I yelled at him that I saw him shoot Douglas with his hands over his head." After we gave Klein this letter she said that she didn't believe it. At the end of the meeting she said that about Hoffman being fired, that she would discuss this matter. The point about the Independent Investigation by citizens of the community Klein said that it would not serve any purpose because the Prosecutor's office, the state troopers and the grand jury have made an investigation, and finally Klein said that Management Control Unit will remain as long as needed. People shouldn't be disappointed with Klein's response, because she is only representing the class interests of the bourgeoisie (the ruling class). First, we should understand that a prison is an instrument of state power, it is an instrument of the state. And the state is an instrument used by one class to suppress another. That is what the state is, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung have pointed that out many times. And the entire mechanism of the state power—it's courts, jails, army, police are simply the instrument that one class uses to suppress another class. In a capitalist society, like the United States, it is the capitalist class that controls the state, that wield's state power. That bourgeoisie ruling class that composes 6% of 1% of the population of the United States, plus another 1% who are their lieutenants that run their various enterprises like the United States Government or G.E., ITT and Chrysler. This 1% of the population controls directly or indirectly 90% of the wealth in this society. After the January 19th incident CAP called some other people and organizations together to

(Continued on page 8)

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Listen to the People

QUESTION: How will this conference help struggle against women's oppression?

Goldie Baker, Baltimore: I think that all organizations need unity. Then from unity is strength. If all women here could unite around an issue i.e., unemployment,



jobs, police brutality, then define who to fight - people vs. whatever power it is, then that's good. Because then the complaints that you have are real. But I wanted concrete issues to be discussed, or something. I can't understand disagreement being opportunistic. What's needed is a unity of action. I got concrete issues that we're dealing with in Baltimore.

Alex Hung, N.Y.: There was a lot of struggle around what is the source of women's oppression. Conference brings together different forces that have different and various lines and openly dealt with the lines. Conference did move in the correct direction. Not qualitative leap, but step in right direction.



Ibiade, Albany, N.Y.: I'm for building this Multi-National Women's Organization. You are able to get to masses with organization to deal with different problems that people have, and how they are oppressed. This type gathering lets different ideas that are important come out. I am not discouraged by the talk, out of it can be built a women's organization.



Jenquden Lenchek, Wash., D.C.: By taking concrete examples, conference shows triple oppression, ex. (Cheryl Todd) by using personal experience of her, we can broaden that and unite to defeat the whole prison system. By uniting for concrete struggle and around essentials we can learn each others views, etc. Need experience and lessons of whole.



Question asked at Multi-National Women's Conference sponsored by Black Women's United Front.

Trenton State Prison

(Continued from page 7)

discuss ways to expose what was happening at TSP.

The group named itself the Prisoners Support Committee. On February 14 in front of TSP the PSC held a demonstration in protest of the murder of John Clark and to give support to the rest of the prisoners in TSP who are struggling against repression and for democratic rights. About 25 people showed up to show their solidarity with the brothers inside. While we were out there the police showed their rotten faces, breathing their hot breath on us. They said that we couldn't use a bull horn, because it was against the law for oppressed people to raise objection to being exploited. But this should not mislead anybody because this is the role of the police. The role of the police is to keep the order in such an oppressive society. The order whereby a few superbillionaries become even more super rich and the majority of us labor in near poverty all our lives. It is the police's job to maintain this order, the law courts and prisons role to keep this order. To keep the rich, rich and the poor intimidated, in their place. Only a fool would willingly be poor. We are poor against our wills, starved, uneducated, diseased, exploited against our will and suppressed by the state so we won't rebel. And if we do, we are called criminals and locked up. Blacks are only 12% of the population, but 40% of all prisoners in U.S. prison's are black. 8% California is black and Chicano but 46% of the state prisoners are black and Chicano. 12.8% of Illinois population is black but 52% of the prisoners are black. 13% of New York State is black and Puerto Rican but 68% of the state's prisoners are black. **We are 75% of the prisoners in big city prisons, and of these more than half are still waiting trials, some for over a year and have not even been convicted of anything.** The Congress Of Afrikan People urges all progressive and concerned people to involve themselves with the Prison Sup-

port Committee to expose the state in their attempt to repress the brothers in TSP. But finally we must understand that the Trenton State Prisons of the world will remain until the working class and the majority of oppressed nationalities rise up, and smash this degenerate system through Socialist Revolution and establish the dictatorship of Proletariat. This Revolution must be guided by a Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party, utilizing the Science of Revolution Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought the best of all weapons for people trying to free themselves from the bloody claws of Imperialism.

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Revolutionary Review: Critique of the Black Nation Thesis

Part 2

The two main areas that these racism researchers use to attack the Black Nation, are common territory and common economic life.

The land base of the Black Nation is the Black Belt south and the border areas. What most black people refer to as "down home." In their attempt to dispute the existence of this as our national territory, the racism researchers point to the fact that the analysis is done based on Black peoples relationship to whites. And that the analysis should be made based on the internal conditions in the Black Belt. But what they fail to see is that the analysis is based not on Black peoples relationship to whites as such, but based on black peoples relationship to slavery and then to capitalism and imperialism.

They continue to try and disprove the existence of the Black Nation with statistics, saying that over 45% of the Black population is no longer in the South, and the territory is over 40% white. But the fact that there was a large migration of Black people from the south does not dispute the existence of the nation, and any close look at the migration would show that black people left the south by force, violence (KKK), economic coercion, and the lack of promise of jobs.

The existence of whites in the south no more disputes the existence of the nation, than the existence of Blacks in the north dispute the existence of the American nation. Only, people using bourgeois logic as there tool of analysis would make such an absurd statement.

The Racism Research Project contends that Blacks do not have a common economic life. But as we can see through looking at the historical development of Black people in the U.S.

It was the emergence of a class structure, a black market created by segregation and served by a Black Bourgeoisie, among black people and the consolidation of those classes through reconstruction and after, that signified a definite common economic life among black people. The Black Bourgeoisie is stunted by imperialism, and kept from reaching the level of some of their U.S. (white) counterparts, but there is still an economic cohesion in the Black Nation based on a developed class structure with a Black market "served" and exploited by a Black Bourgeoisie. Though it is true N.C. Mutual can not hire as many wage workers or exploit as many blacks as Prudential. But penetration of 3rd World Nations by imperialism is not unique with the Black Belt. And even with employment by the imperialists the wage level and the standard of living is lowest among Blacks, and especially in the Black Belt, where all the workers wages are pitifully depressed by the national oppression of the Black Belt. And even outside the Black Belt that blacks in effect make up an almost separate labor market, even as an oppressed nationality as part of the multi-national working class.

The racism researchers contend that there is no Black bourgeois. That they are just the upper-strata of the proletariat. But, the fact that imperialism stifles and prevents the Black Bourgeois

from getting as large as the American Bourgeois, should not be confused with their role in production and society. The Black bourgeois like all bourgeois own wealth that is used to exploit and this wealth they own comes from their exploitation of labor.

A section of the pamphlet dealing with Black Nationalism, claims that Black nationalism is only the call for Nation Building, and the need for Black solidarity against racism. But again, the racism researchers have negated the historical call of different Black organizations for "land and Power," in the historical homeland. The fact that Black nationalism is indeed a call for solidarity against racism, points to the continuation of the national character of our struggle outside of the Black Belt, and the continuing national character of our oppression even in Northern urban centers where we live in almost exact duplication of the conditions inside of the Black Nation.

The racism researchers refuse throughout the pamphlet to explain that racism is a product of the slave trade and early capitalism, institutionalized as a part of the western capitalist superstructure by the trade in Afrikan slaves. Or that racism is used as a tool that has/does objectively divide the working class, just as it was a tool to keep slaves and poor white peasants divided and just as it is used today to keep the Black nation and Black Nationality (elsewhere) oppressed.

The "Critique of the Black Nation Thesis," is an expose' of the rampant chauvinism and anti-Marxist positions that are in the communist movement today. Real communist revolutionaries should expose this pamphlet as a perpetuation of white chauvinism and racism, and move to uphold the rights of self-determination. Because finally the Black nation is not a thesis, it is a fact, and it will be liberated, just as there will be a socialist revolution in the U.S. The revolution will be led by a vanguard communist party, and the party will be built faster by communists taking a correct line on the Black National Question, sweeping aside all chauvinists.

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Dialectical and Historical Materialism:

From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union
(Bolshevik) 1939
(Part 7)

There are different kinds of social ideas and theories. There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society. Then there are new and advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society; and their significance is the greater the more accurately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of society.

New social ideas and theories arise only after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But once they have arisen they become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society. It is precisely here that the tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, new political views and new political institutions manifests itself. New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.

Thus social ideas, theories and political institutions, having arisen on the basis of the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, the development of social being, themselves then react upon social being,

upon the material life of society, creating the conditions necessary for completely carrying out the urgent tasks of the material life of society, and for rendering its further development possible.

In this connection, Marx says: "Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses." (*Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie*).

Hence, in order to be able to influence the conditions of material life of society and to accelerate their development and their improvement, the party of the proletariat must rely upon such a social theory, such a social idea as correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, and which is therefore capable of setting into motion broad masses of the people and of mobilizing them and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society.

The fall of the "Economists" and Mensheviks was due among other things to the fact that they did not recognize the mobilizing, organizing and transforming role of advanced theory, of advanced ideas and, sinking to vulgar materialism, reduced the role of these factors almost to nothing, thus condemning the Party to passivity and inaction.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism are derived from the fact that it relies upon an advanced theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, that it elevates theory to a proper level, and that it deems it its duty to utilize every ounce of the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of this theory.

That is the answer historical materialism gives to the question of the relation between social being and social consciousness, between the conditions of development of material life and the development of the spiritual life of society.

(To be continued)

Southern Afrika

(Continued from page 9)

American Imperialism, when it really wants to come in the back door with the same kind of ravenous appetite characterizing all imperialism the "old" or the "new"!

In Zimbabwe as in Southern Afrika generally, we must see to a unifying of all true liberation forces to struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Unify in order to fight the armed struggle against colonialism, and in places such as Zimbabwe, while we are wholly in accord with the tactic of using "dual revolutionary" tactics against dual counter-revolutionary tactics, that is we might negotiate in unity, still such negotiation must be based on armed struggle since usually such "negotiations" are a trick of the colonialists anyway to lessen our will to fight. Armed struggle is primary against colonialism. So in Zimbabwe we call for unity of all true liberation forces against colonialism, the primacy of armed struggle (and such negotiations as Nkomo's can be almost totally discounted as the collusion of the superpowers since both have an interest in Smith negotiating neo-colonialism with Nkomo - the U.S. to stop further warfare - the USSR because Nkomo is one of their old line forces). We also demand that President Kaunda of Zambia stop merely sounding off about the liberation of Southern Afrika and do something he can do easily, i.e., release the ZANU supreme political council from Zambian jails, give support to our comrades in Namibia and not turn his back on them because of a desired detente with the South Afrikans. We also demand that

the cadres of fighters in Tanzanian and Mozambique camps be given real aid and that supplies they have received be released to them by those governments. In order to defeat Colonialism, we must unite and depend on the masses and armed struggle. But we must also be aware of the shadow of superpower intrusion and especially in this period the "new imperialism" of the USSR, it is the same old imperialism, but now dressed up under the cover of "Socialism."

In a February 4 editorial from "Renmin Ribao" published in the February 6 Peking Review, page 9, talking about the need for the Superpowers to be kicked out for Angolan independence, "building up an independent, unified, nationally united, new Angola," they go on to speak of the task at present for all Afrika. "The road to this goal is by no means smooth or easy, but its realization is inevitable and beyond doubt. Similarly, the great Afrikan people who have stood up will certainly do away with superpower aggression and interference, close their ranks, heighten their vigilance, distinguish the true from the false and friend from foe, and push the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, white racism and Zionism ahead to a new stage."

Superpowers Out of Angola! And Cuba and South Afrika too! National Unity - Government in Angola. Unity Against Colonialism, Imperialism, Hegemonism, Racism and Zionism.

LIBERATION OF THE
BLACK NATION
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
VICTORY TO ALL
OPPRESSED PEOPLE

Commentary By Hsinhua Correspondent:

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR

Part 3

Goaded on by their frenzied ambitions for aggression and expansion, the Soviet social-imperialists pursue a policy of war adventure, ready for both nuclear and conventional wars with their strategic key points very prominent.

As latecomers at the feast of world imperialism and discontent with the present situation, the Soviet social-imperialists have gone all out in an effort to redivide the world, taking the offensive in their global contention with the U.S. imperialists. Over the past years, apart from carrying out political control, military occupation and economic annexation in some former 'fraternal nations' within the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance", they have tried to make their way into the undermine the U.S. imperialists' spheres of influence while carrying on feverish penetration and expansion in both the second world and the third world. Soviet revisionist leaders have clamoured repeatedly about the need for the Soviet Union to take an "historic offensive" on the "entire front of global confrontation" and, "backed by its military might", to "start an extensive and real general attack" abroad. At a recent Moscow meeting, Brezhnev arrogantly declared that the Soviet Union will "start an active offensive on the international arena" in the wake of its "strengthened economic and defense capabilities."

The Brezhnev clique has laid stress on the necessity to be "ready to fight a war with any weapons", "with nuclear weapons or otherwise" and "under certain conditions, probably only with conventional weapons."

The Soviet revisionists have become increasingly unrestrained in making a show of force and threat of force. They advertised that "in all circumstances, the Soviet army and navy will use or will not use nuclear weapons to carry out combat tasks in great depth and at a high speed, and successfully accomplish their tactical and strategic missions on whatever scale," that "the role of a surprise attack has become ever greater and, therefore, surprise attacks have become a factor of strategic importance" and that the Soviet armed forces are required to be prepared at all times to "fulfill offensive tasks".

Europe, a land of contention among imperialist powers in history, was made the main battlefield in the last two world wars. To date, it is also the key point of Soviet-U.S. contention. Placing Europe in the "central position" of its global strategy, the Soviet Union declared that its "fate depends on how developments evolve in Europe".

Having kept Eastern Europe in its firm grip, the Soviet Union is trying to swallow up western Europe, a piece of juicy meat. It deploys three-fourths of

its troops in Europe (including the European part of the Soviet Union proper), constantly renews their weapons and equipment and increases the number of its soldiers. A total of more than half a million of Soviet troops are now stationed in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The Soviet Union is now arrogantly stepping up military deployment in the southern and northern flanks of Europe in a bid to outflank the continent. Meanwhile, the Brezhnev clique resorts to "detente" tactics on the European arena to cover up its arms expansion and war preparations, and intensifies its political expansion and economic infiltration into western Europe, trying to split and disintegrate it and squeeze out the United States.

However, numerous facts after the conclusion of the "European Security Conference" masterminded by the Brezhnev clique with painstaking efforts indicate that far from being a "milestone" of European security, the conference was a new starting point of the Soviet social-imperialists towards war. "Historical experience merits attention."

It was precisely amidst the lullaby of "peace", "security" and "disarmament" that Hitler abruptly unleashed a "blitz war" and the iron heel of the Nazi fascists trampled on nearly the whole western European Continent. Several years ago, Brezhnev and company suddenly sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia while holding talks with Czechoslovak leaders and issuing joint statements of "friendship". These facts are most useful for the people to see clearly the present European situation and the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. This is a stark reality. Against this, the revolutionary

(Continued on page 11)

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MOTION!!

(Continued from page 3)

Wichita, Kansas jail on charges of interstate transportation of unregistered firearms. When jailed, although Kamook Banks was pregnant, she was thrown into solitary confinement. When the child was born, it was immediately taken from her. Law enforcement officials, US marshals, FBI agents and the legal system - lawyers, judges, courts, all of these are tools of the capitalist state being used against the Indian people. Elaborate charges, exorbitant bails and false imprisonment on fabricated charges, are being used to harass, intimidate and subjugate the Indian people, but these action only serve to heighten the Indian people struggle against the capitalist system.

Mass Arrests & Torture Continue in the Philippines. President Marcos has launched a mass campaign against the growing opposition of the workers, students, & peasants. Reports reveal Marcos has instituted mass arrests, merciless torture and incarceration of political prisoners. Recently arrested were leading elements of the anti-fascist resistance Jose Luneta and Satur Ocampo, plus Nelia Sancha, head of the finance committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) who are being tortured to reveal the whereabouts of other leaders of the resistance. With vicious hatred for the masses of people, Marcos has lashed out to destroy the people's resistance movement. However the people are fighting back with even more demonstrations and mass protests. Each

series of arrests have brought wave after wave of new protests from the people. Being rocked one after the other by these open and public confrontations, Marcos is being forced to reveal the fascist character of his regime by attempting to use brutal repression on the people. The recent mass arrests add to the 50,000 political prisoners already detained since martial law was instituted. A complete news blackout was also placed on the media in the midst of this crisis as part of Marcos strict censorship and control. Though the arrest of many of the leaders of the resistance has created some setbacks to the resistance movement, it is by no means any "fatal blow" as the regime has tried to project. The armed struggle continues in the Phillipine country side, and the Phillipine people, continue to struggle against Marcos fascist regime.

PRSC Withdrawal

(Continued from page 4)

part of any organization whose line is dominated by those who think the Soviet Union is not social-imperialist and who bogusly criticize the Peoples Republic of China, telling them that they need to "adopt a position more in line with proletarian internationalism." We think this position of PSP comes from the Revisionist Soviet Union. Now that PSP has openly come out supporting the Soviet line, we feel that they will influence the PRSC to take the same line.

This is our basis, for recommending withdrawal from the National Board and any other affiliation that we have with the PRSC.



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FREE RAP BROWN!

We urge our readers to write and demand information on the status of Rap's case! If you are in the area, call and harass the prison officials for this, write directly to the prison officials

H. Rap Brown has just been transferred to Green Haven Prison, Stormville, N.Y., which is a large behavior modification center.

- 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

Soviet Social Imperialism

(Continued from page 10)

people and many nations the world over are heightening their vigilance and making preparations. In history, past and present, those who start an aggressive war all come to no good end. At present, profound changes have taken place in the world situation. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of our time. Despite their truculence and ferocity, the Soviet social-imperialists are strong only in appearance but brittle inside; they are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by crises. At home, class antagonism and national contradictions are sharpening day by day with deepening political and economic crises. The resistance of the people of all nationalities is growing in depth and the new Tsars are sitting on a volcano.

Internationally, the vast third world nations and people have seen more and more clearly the true features of Soviet social-imperialism in their struggle against the two superpowers. The struggle of the second world against the superpowers, the Soviet social-imperialists in particular, continues to surge forward. The tendency of the western European nations to combat hegemony in unity grows unabated. Chairman Mao points out that "imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers" and that "revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." The Soviet social-imperialists are doomed to be destroyed for good should they dare unleash a new world war. "It is the people who will win the war, win the peace and win progress."

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CAP Meeting Report

(Continued from page 4)

to the main line document they are developing on the Afro-American National Question, to be circulated and discussed for final decision at the next Central Committee Meeting.

Our final decision was on a new name for the organization! Each district had been charged with having discussions and coming with recommendations for a new name suitable for a Marxist-Leninist organization. The importance of using Marxist-Leninist references in taking up all major questions was raised, and there were important questions arising from the discussions in the districts such as, whether to have Communist in the name, whether to reflect multinational character, and the use of M-L or M-L-M as a part of the name. There was emphasis on the significance of this last question throughout the World Communist Movement, and a Central Committee directive that detailed research and analysis must be done regarding the use of M-L-M in an organization's name. A committee was designated to do a total summation on the new name that was finally decided on. After this summation is thoroughly discussed throughout CAP, our new name will be publically announced.

During this time CAP will continue to struggle internally to make more necessary changes in practices, continue the struggle to defeat opportunism and bourgeois ideology in order to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We will strive to develop correct political lines on major questions, and re-build the organization to take our stand alongside other comrades in the Communist Movement, to forge principles Marxist-Leninist solidarity and do our part in building the Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party USA.

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Black Liberation Today

RAISE!!

(Part I)

AMIRI BARAKA

Since the 50's the Black Liberation Movement then entering its civil rights phase, has undergone many dramatic changes, transformations and developments. The civil rights movement on one hand was a mass movement but led by the black national bourgeoisie, with a line most objectively represented by Martin Luther King. National black bourgeoisie because we refer to that sector of our bourgeoisie that has some objective antagonistic contradictions with imperialism. That sector of our black bourgeoisie that is in reality struggling for control of the black market, which they can never get because the Imperialists will not give up control of this market without revolution, and on the other hand when there is revolution it will not be a revolution that will put the black bourgeoisie into hegemony over the black nation in the black belt south, or the black oppressed nationality that is spread throughout the rest of the U.S.A. state.

It was the national wing that could articulate some struggle against our national oppression, i.e., against our oppression as a black nation, but who because of their class interests could never carry the struggle beyond the civil rights phase. The extension of democratic rights that marked equal access, voting rights, the most overt apartheid in the South, and slight economic liberalism that black capitalism was supposed to signify really only totally benefited a small sector of the black population, in the black bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, i.e., the upper class and middle class. Though there were some distinct cosmetic changes proffered towards the black working class and small farmer, these were for the most part illusions, and by now, with the rising tide of economic crisis throughout the capitalist world these illusions have been rapidly destroyed.

On the other hand, the comprador wing, that part of the black bourgeoisie that directly represents imperialism, articulated by the leadership of the NAACP and Urban League, could never really lead the black liberation movement, since the Booker T. Washington days, although the bankrupt Communist Party USA, which had by the 50's turned totally revisionist, i.e., cut out proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat from out of their sham version of Marxism, so they pushed the compradors, led by Roy

Williams, as the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement. In their slimy revisionist illogic they now said that bourgeois integration was the road to socialism. And while we favor the voluntary union of all nationalities in common struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism, the bourgeoisie's fabric of delusion and illusion have nothing to do with the communist goal of unification of the whole multinational working class. The CPUSA went as far as to characterize the great working class black revolutionary Malcolm X as "a police agent," and said that the "nationalism of Malcolm X was the same as the nationalism of the Ku Klux Klan."

Why was this? Because once the CPUSA turned its back on Marxism-Leninism, it reversed its line on the Black Nation. It no longer viewed black people in the black belt of the U.S.A. as an oppressed nation, which they are with the right of self-determination ("up to and including secession") whose struggle for liberation is part and parcel of the overall struggle of the whole working class and oppressed nationalities for democracy and socialist revolution. The CPUSA began to say that Black people in the U.S.A. had already achieved self-determination and we had opted for integration into America under imperialism. Truly a traitorous statement!

Malcolm X's development and articulation that black people were a Black Nation with the right of self-determination, self respect and self defense, signaled the re-emergence of the black working class into a leadership position in the black liberation movement. And although the mass civil rights movement was led by the black national bourgeoisie, in the future it will be understood that the most significant and far-sighted leader of the black liberation movement during the 60's and throughout the whole period was Malcolm X. Even though there were a host of movements organizations, different class strata and interests being sounded all as part of the over all black liberation movement. Once Malcolm X came forward, even though he came out of the religious and cultural nationalist framework of the Nation Of Islam, he took a consistently and developing revolutionary black nationalist and clearly anti-imperialist position. The dramatic split between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam came shortly after John Kennedy was assassinated by the CIA, and Malcolm called it "Chickens coming home to roost." He was fired from the Nation Of Islam, as fast as Robert

Williams was fired from the Monroe County NAACP earlier for hospitalizing a racist when "non-violence" was the battle cry of the black bourgeoisie. These kinds of splits showed the development of the black liberation movement away from the leadership and control by the black bourgeoisie, and toward the leadership of the working class, who are the most militant fighters for democracy and ultimately socialism.

Malcolm knew that black liberation was a political struggle, not a religious struggle. He knew it was an anti-imperialist struggle not a struggle for black capitalism. Malcolm knew it was an international struggle, and he sounded the struggle of third world people versus imperialism, which is still one of the sharpest struggles in the world, and the motor for revolution around the world. And as a result of Malcolm's political line, the student movement, characterized by SNCC, which had been influenced by the bourgeois line of non-violence and bourgeois assimilation, began to turn around under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown. Stokely who was identified with the cry Black Power, which was a further thrust of the Black Nationalism and that Malcolm talked about. And Rap who was identified with the national eruption of black rebellions from Harlem to Watts, to Newark and Detroit, which showed the truly revolutionary nature of the BLM!

The calls and movements for self defense identified with Robert Williams, the Black Panthers, the Deacons from La. all were indebted to the political line of Malcolm X representing the articulation and re-emergence of the black working class into leadership. The Afrikanism and Pan-Afrikanism were also inspired by Malcolm's call for black people in the U.S. to recognize our Afrikan origins, as part of the struggle against the cultural aggression that is part of imperialist oppression but also Malcolm was pointing out the need for unity by the 3rd world against imperialism, which Chairman Mao Tse Tung still calls for even today.

The splits in the black liberation movement bear out the fact that one splits into two, that the contradictions inside a thing, the confrontation of opposites that is the dialectical definition of development, can also make a thing split in half, into two opposites. The Malcolm X - Nation of Islam split; The Robert Williams - NAACP split. The SNCC - Panther split; The Panther - US organization split, all revealed the truth of one splitting into two. The black liberation movement as its name suggests was and is a broad front of

various organizations, class strata, and interests, generally united against black national oppression. But on how (or if) that national oppression is to be ended forever, the divergency widens.

The Black Panthers for instance made significant contributions to the struggle for black liberation. They raised to a higher level Malcolm's line on Self Defense, and carrying guns into the California legislature in 1967 established in the consciousness of Afro-Americans from coast to coast that we had the right to armed self defense, and didn't have to merely turn our cheek as our little children got blown up in churches or, as we ourselves were beaten in the street. The Panthers also introduced talk of Marxism-Leninism into the Black Liberation Movement again, not for the first time, since the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood of the early twenties actually put forward scientific socialism as the only ideology to liberate black people and had a delegation go to Lenin's 3rd International. Also during the 30's Marxism-Leninism made a distinct impression on the black liberation movement, but that was reversed with the traitorous actions of the CPUSA when they turned revisionist and reformist.

But the Panthers error was 1st that they turned the correct cry of self defense into a gun cult, and secondly, that they identified incorrectly the lumpen proletariat, the pimps, hustlers and prostitutes as the social force that would make revolution in the U.S.A, when in reality it is the working class, the black working class in unity with other sectors of the working class, the other nationalities, who led by a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party will make socialist revolution. The notorious split between the Panthers and the US organization was of course largely the work of police agents and the FBI who now openly admit it. But the "US" organization and its spearhead of Afrikanism, that others raised to a higher level of militant PanAfrikanism in support of the Afrikan Liberation Movements, also made critical errors. For instance seeing whites as the enemy rather than the system of monopoly capitalism, and thinking that by imposing some neo-traditional Afrikan culture on blacks in the U.S., that would produce a revolutionary movement. These are errors of bourgeois nationalism and petit bourgeois idealism, of which CAP was also guilty, and for which we must still make extensive self criticism.*

*In the June issue of Unity & Struggle the entire issue will be given to a historical summary of CAP.

(Cont. next issue)

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