

**BLACK  
PEOPLE  
MUST UNIFY**

# UNITY STRUGGLE

**THE  
STRUGGLE  
CONTINUES**

NATIONALISM \* PAN-AFRIKANISM \* SOCIALISM (UJAMAA)

VOLUME 3 NUMBER 5

MEI, 1974—1st Edition

20 CENTS

ON MAY 14th ...

## VOTE COMMUNITY'S CHOICE!!

**DEFEAT NEO-FASCISM! SUPPRESS NEO-COLONIALISM!**

NewArk needs a Team: The Community's Choice - one man can't do it alone!

Five candidates emerged from the Citywide Political Convention with endorsement of the community. They are the Rev. Ralph Grant, best known for his work as director of Action Now; James Nance, the progressive and outspoken member of NewArk's police department; and Lawrence Hamm, the youngest member of the Board of Education, whose youth, commitment, and progressive ideas have constantly exposed the backward and Neo-Colonialist tendencies and practices of the Board. These three brothers are running for Councilman-at-Large. Then there is Sis. Juliet Grant, who is running for Councilwoman of the East Ward, and who is a well known worker at NewArk's Martland Hospital. And finally there is the incumbent Councilman of the Central Ward, the Rev. Dennis Westbrooks, who is the

(Continued on page 3)

	Councilman At Large	Councilman At Large	Councilman At Large	Councilman Central Ward	Councilwoman East Ward
<b>A</b>	<div style="border: 2px solid red; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <b>B 23 Grant</b>   <b>B 24 Hamm</b>   <b>B 25 Nance</b>  <small>For Councilman At Large</small> </div>			<div style="border: 2px solid red; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <b>C 36 Westbrooks</b>  <small>Councilman Central Ward</small> </div>	<div style="border: 2px solid red; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <b>C 41 Grant</b>  <small>Councilwoman East Ward</small> </div>
<b>B</b>	  				
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<b>E</b>					
	<b>REV. RALPH   LAWRENCE   JAMES</b> <b>GRANT   HAMB   NANCE</b>			<b>REV. DENNIS</b> <b>WESTBROOKS</b>	<b>JULIET</b> <b>GRANT</b>
	<b>B-23   B-24   B-25</b>			<b>C-36</b>	<b>C-41</b>

**One Man Can't Do It Alone — We Need A Team**

**REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM:**

The belief that our people make up a nation. A nation without power, a cultural nation, i.e., a people with a common past, a common present, and hopefully a common future. Our task is to gain, maintain, and use power for National Liberation, the freeing of our people from foreign domination. We do this through the internalization of a revolutionary value system and the development of alternative institutions, the most basic of which is the Revolutionary Afrikan Nationalist Cadre.

**PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT FALLS IN COUP!!**

**BUT BEWARE OF NEO-COLONIALISM!**

The Portuguese Army rebelled against the Fascist regime of President Marcello Caetano on Thursday, April 26 at 0645 AM. Caetano surrendered to General Antonio de Spinoza, who became leader of the seven man junta ruling Portugal. The junta promised many reforms, including open elections, freedom of the press, and end to Portugal's thirteen year old wars against the Afrikan people in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.

(Continued on Page 7)



LISBON, Portugal—Angry crowd, shouting "murderers! murderers!," tries to stop tank, carrying policemen who surrendered to the army, April 26th, at downtown headquarters of security police.

UPI

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**PAN-AFRIKANISM:**

The global expression of Nationalism. The belief that Black People all over the world are Afrikans, with a common struggle and a common enemy and that we must unify Afrikans all over the world to struggle for the unification and independence of Afrika under socialism, and for the self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense of Afrikans all over the world.



**MARCH IN AFRIKAN LIBERATION DAY!!**  
 May 18 in NewArk — May 25 in Washington, D.C.  
 For Information Call (201) 621-2300

Sura Wa Taifa Photo

**ALD MONTH: MAY ACTIVITIES**

- May 19 - Sun. "Malcolm X and Afrikan Liberation" with Owusu Sadaukai, former Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University and past National Chairman of the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee. Also, the music of the Brotherhood of Sound; and a new play by Imamu Baraka, at West Kinney Jr. High School. 5 p.m. - \$2.00.
- NATIONAL ACTIVITIES:
- May 23-24 Thurs. & Fri. ALSC National Conference, Washington, D.C.
- May 25 - Sat. Afrikan Liberation Day National Demonstration, Washington, D.C.

(Continued on page 6).

**SOCIALISM: UJAMAA**

Familyhood. An attitude of mind. Cooperative economics: to build and maintain our own stores, shops and other businesses and to profit together from them. To struggle for cooperative economics (communalism, socialism) as a scientific world system for the reorganization of world society and the redistribution of the world's wealth.

## NEO-COLONIALISM AT MARTLAND HOSPITAL

Workers at Martland Hospital continue to be subjected to a neo-colonialist administration that pretends to represent the interests of the people, but who actually have the same interests as the suburban bourgeois racists of The New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, the president and deans and faculty physicians. Economic exploitation



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

Despite working long hours under deplorable conditions, switchboard operators at Martland still receive sub-standard salaries.

accommodates itself with the neo-colonialist administration, and this can be clearly seen in the struggle the switchboard operators are presently waging at Martland. These operators are still receiving sub-standard pay with no raises, and are forced to work long hours with an increasing work load. The NewArk Association of Workers is struggling along with the operators for economic equity, and is negotiating for a basic salary raise throughout the hospital. This is because there are many workers, especially Black workers, who are paid less than \$6,000 a year.

Specifically, the switchboard operators are demanding from this exploitative, neo-colonialist administration:

1. Salary increase
2. Establishment of Shift leaders
3. Hiring of Spanish-speaking operators
4. Hire two full time switchboard operators
5. Removal of old and out-moded equipment
6. End of harassment by supervisors
7. Listing of telephone extensions

The NewArk Association of Workers views the switchboard operators' struggle as part of the total community struggle against what workers and patients alike have been subjected to, deplorable conditions, and irresponsible and racist attitudes at Martland.

Recently, we witnessed this total lack of concern toward human life and development in the case of a 16 year old patient, who is now in critical condition and under intensive care, for "systemic infection" caused by so-called doctors who sewed a sponge in her abdomen during an operation!

The NewArk Association of Workers and several members of the Board of Concerned Citizens, along with many community people have been demanding the formation of an assembly of workers and community and college personnel to decide on policies and procedures that will govern the institution, so there will be quality health care, health education, and equal input from workers into management of this institution.

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## POLICE BRUTALITY AT NEWARK AIRPORT ... ASSAULT INDEPENDENT CAB DRIVERS!

The Port Authority Police continue to attack NewArk cab drivers. The most recent attack, on NewArk cab driver Joe Capriglioe by the Port Authority Police exposes again how the monopoly capitalists such as the billion dollar Port Authority must always use violence and brutality in order to maintain their economic order to maintain their economic exploitation and racial discrimination against workers such as the NewArk cab drivers. On April 18th, NewArk cab driver Capriglioe was viciously brutalized by patrolman Charles Pigeon, and later locked up for assault on a police officer and resisting arrest, plus other trumped up charges. This attack as well as the previous attacks on NewArk cab drivers are clear examples of police repression. Cab Driver Capriglioe has filed charges with the Prosecutor's Office, and will also be filing a civil suit.

The NewArk taxi cab drivers have been having a series of job actions to inform the people in NewArk and around the country of the economic exploitation and racial discrimination involved in the Port Authority and the NewArk Airport's refusal to allow NewArk cab drivers to work in Terminal A at the NewArk airport. At present Terminal A is serving 6

airlines and Terminal B is serving only 5 airlines. There is and never will be enough service at terminal A for passengers desiring taxi service. Yet Port Authority is allowing Elizabeth taxi drivers to double and triple passengers to different destinations, while 75 to 100 NewArk taxis sit and wait for hours, one block from Terminal A at Terminal B.

Port Authority makes several hundred million dollars a year, yet it refuses to pay the city adequate taxes and now wants to victimize NewArk workers by refusing them access to the "lily white" Terminal A in the "lily white" NewArk airport. Both Black and White independent cab drivers have organized against this action.

In order for the whole taxi operation to function properly, the taxi cab drivers need licensed starters and not policemen at the cab stand. It is an often stated fact that abuse and harassment stem from the fact that police officers take it upon themselves to overreact in a manner that is not in accordance with their duties. The fact that Port Authority chooses to deal with the NewArk drivers as a police problem reveals the ruthlessness of economic exploitation under capitalism.



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

Newark International Airport, a billion dollar operation, pays no taxes, yet rips off billions of profits, and hires savage Port Authority policemen to attack and beat cab drivers for no reason at all.

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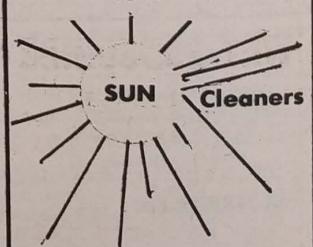
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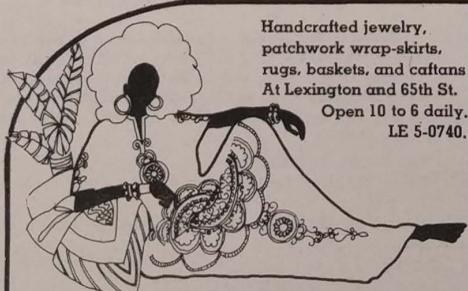
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# IMPERIALE NEO FASCISM, GIBSON NEO COLONIALISM !!



Neo-Fascist Imperiale

NEW ARK, N.J. - City elections take place in Newark on May 14, with over seventy candidates running for Mayor and the nine city council spots. While the city continues its downward spiral, this has been an almost silent campaign, with few candidates dealing with concrete issues.

Of the five mayoral candidates, only two have a chance at winning the election. The two are Anthony (Ant Knee Imperialism) Imperiale, and incumbent mayor Kenneth Gibson. So the race for mayor of Newark is

between Imperiale and Gibson, the Neo-Fascist versus the Neo-Colonialist!

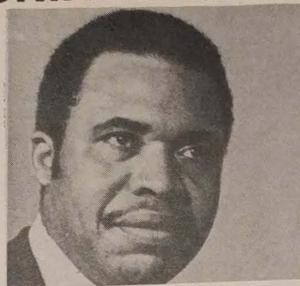
In the 1970 elections, the line was sharply drawn for the Black Community, with Gibson, who then seemed progressive, running against Hugh J. Addonizio, an old corrupt convicted criminal. The Black community came together as a united front, and pushed Gibson into office, along with three Black city councilmen, all of whom ran as "The Community Choice Team", having been nominated by the Black and Puerto Rican Convention.

However, since things always change into other things, and generally into their opposites, we have watched Gibson, the progressive Black mayor, speedily change into Gibson the neo-colonialist. He runs Newark for the profit of Prudential, Public (private) Service, Port Authority, and other huge corporations that run in and around and through and out of Newark paying little or no taxes while no housing is built, no education is provided, and no

pushers run out of town!

His chief rival, "Ant Knee Imperialism" is a fat Neo-Fascist and racist, in the mold of Hitler, Mussolini, and J. Edgar Hoover. He has become minutely famous for opposing the legitimate needs of the Black community at every available opportunity. His most infamous deeds have been in connection with his opposition to Kawaida Towers. He has been misleading white North Ward residents against building Kawaida Towers, telling them that Black people will cause crime, filth and pollution. Imperiale should actually be leading his people against the forces that actually do cause those social evils, the racist capitalist corporations that run and control American society.

The people of Newark actually need neither neo-colonialism nor neo-fascism. We need a mayor that will take control of the "Ant Knee Imperialism" controlled police department, and put the police in the hands of the people, who should have police protection instead of being forced to



Neo-Colonialist Gibson

seek protection from the police. The people need housing, and schools for their children, better services from City Hall, not a fascist mayor who will have them beaten and supports gas chambers, nor a neo colonialist mayor who is too weak willed, or too in league with the peoples' enemies to exercise true control of city government and place his power with the people.

But unfortunately, the masses of the people are put in the position that "we'll have to go for slow (Gibson), or backward (Imperialism) will get in."

The Community's choice, a progressive team on City Council is the only way!

## VOTE COMMUNITY'S CHOICE!!

(Continued from Page 1)

most diligent and most accountable to Black people of the present councilmen.

These are not new names in our community; they are well known servants of the community who have been involved in the struggle to gain, maintain, and use political power in Newark in order to benefit the masses of the city's residents.

The Community's Choice candidates have run a campaign based on issues that reflect the concrete needs of our community at the present time. They have given their full support to the movement that is in progress to establish a Civilian Complaint Review Board that can end police brutality and corruption, abuse of

authority, and racial and economic discrimination by Newark's Police Department. The candidates have been speaking of the need to see a unified tenant movement in the city, composed of all the tenant unions, block associations and community organizations, that can move to stop the racist evictions taking place at Stella Wright, and in other city housing projects, and at the same time, force the city to provide adequate goods and services to its tenants. The Community's Choice candidates say that "Tenants should control public housing!!"

They are also pushing for new housing construction in Newark to provide housing to all who need it, based on family size and income. In

line with this, they have given their whole-hearted support to the immediate construction of KAWAIDA TOWERS.

In Education, they have supported the right of parents to make unannounced visits to the schools to check on health facilities, food, security, safety, and educational environment. They have also spoken in favor of the city providing for the needs of Senior Citizens in our community.

On May 14, Vote for Power, Change, and Progress! VOTE COMMUNITY'S CHOICE! One Man Can't Do It Alone! We Need a Team! VOTE FOR THE COMMUNITY'S CHOICE!!



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# YOUNG BLACK NATIONALIST ASSASSINATED

## By UNKNOWN (?) RACIST VIGILANTES!!



Brother Larry Hicks was shot down in cold blood by racist vigilantes of this corrupt system.

We all know there is a vigilante neo-fascist in the Mayoral race. And we should know what some of his vigilante like followers have done!

Tuesday night, April 2, 1974 between 9pm and 10pm young Larry Hicks who resided at 600 15th Avenue, Newark, New Jersey was shot down in cold blood by racist vigilantes of this corrupt system. There is no question concerning this murderous assault. Larry Hicks was shot in the forehead by his assailants and fell on his back, never to regain consciousness, and died a week later, a victim of racism, repression and imperialism.

Larry was aware of his identity, his Afrikan origin. He believed in self respect and self determination for Afrikan people all over the world. He was actively involved in the struggle for freedom and a better life for Afrikan people for this reason, he was cruelly assassinated. So this young Black soldier—unheralded and unsung, joins the ranks of other more famous known Nationalists who also were shot down in their quest for freedom and self determination—Malcolm X, Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.,

Amilcar Cabral, Medgar Evers, Patrice Lumumba, Eduardo Mondlane, the numerous Black Panthers and many others we could name.

There is a serious question in our mind concerning the racist police of Irvington who beat and attacked Larry Hicks a little over a year ago and then had the racist gall to prefer charges against him for assault and battery. This was done because Larry was actively involved in the struggle against repression, discrimination, and racism that prevails in Vailsburg High School where at the time he was a student. Larry Hicks was an ardent supporter of Nationalism, PanAfrikanism and Ujamaa. We say asante sana young Black Brother for your dedication and commitment to the struggle and we promise you we will do all in our power to track down your assailants.

A Luta Continua, the struggle continues.

**VOTE MAY 14th,  
The COMMUNITY'S  
CHOICE. A  
Progressive City  
Council is What  
NewArk Needs!!!**

*al henderson*  
PHOTOGRAPHY  
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# DONALD MACKEY: IMPERIALE'S LACKEY!!



Donald Mackey: "... suspected government agent."

Donald Mackey, a perverted nigger lackey, is now managing Imperiale's headquarters, located at 489 Springfield Ave., in the heart of the Black community. This cheap sell-out artist, who has a slave mentality, and who, with-out shame, brazenly sits in white racist Imperiale's headquarters, is surely the spook who sat by the door. It was just a few months ago that Imperiale, the known white racist vigilante leader, led a pack of ignorant whites in protest against Black people building decent homes in NewArk's north ward. A predominately Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood on Lincoln Avenue. Check it out! This cheap excuse of a man must be exposed as a traitor to the struggle for Black self-respect and self - determination.

Black people will succeed in the struggle for better housing, better jobs, better education and the building of our own shops and businesses. Also, most important, the formation of an independent political structure that deals with and serves the needs of Black people all over the nation and throughout the world.

## TOM OF THE MONTH!



Johnny Ford



Imperiale's Central Ward headquarters; is managed by a traitorous enemy of Black People!

Mackey was once very briefly a member of the Committee For Unified New Ark (1969) but was tossed out when his personal perversion was revealed and in addition he was suspected of being a government agent. This sorry nigger must be exposed and pointed out to all Black people so that he can be shunned and put down by Black people all over the world, and that his own children who he has betrayed will condemn and disavow him now and forever more. This backward nigger had his picture taken while sitting atop a tractor with meat-ball Ant-knee Tony Imperialism. This was during the time when Black people were trying to build decent homes such as Kawaida Towers in NewArk, inspite of spineless ingrates as nigger mackey.

Johnny Ford, far less dependable than a broken-down car of the same name, is da mayor of Tuskegee, Alabama. Johnny-boy, long the owner of a colonized mind, has shown us again that he is either insane or one of the lowest form of political prostitutes of our time. "Mayor" Ford has jumped on the wallace for governor bandwagon in Alabama. Wallace you'll remember has threatened to drive us all into the sea and other assorted places, yet johnnie ford has put his own financial interests above the needs of the people, much like the demented colonized negroes who parade around NewArk supporting Ant Knee Imperialism and other enemies of the people. Johnny-boy calls himself playing practical politics, but in reality he is a traitor. And the Honorable Ahmed Sekou Toure has said, "Traitors Go To Hell!"

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# DISTORTED ANALYSES of 1974 NBPC CLARIFIED!!

## REACTIONARY & OPPORTUNIST LEADERS TRIED TO CAUSE DISSENSION

Since the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, March 15-17, an array of distorted versions of what happened has appeared from various persons and the media who were there, and many people who were not there! Most are part of a reactionary element of American society, black and white, whose interests objectively are at variance with any Black moves for political independence and actual self-determination.

Some of this purely abstract and negative criticism comes from negroes who have never, in any way that can be measured, moved to orange and build anything Black and self-determining.

Self named "representatives of the people," like a Charles Kenyatta, one time bodyguard for Lindsay and Rockefeller, some worn out civil rights pleaders, and NAACP's John Morsell, one of the various native agents of imperialism who continuously lay down a barrage of negative responses to the success and continuing political dynamism of the National Black Assembly.

One serious question that must be raised, is what about the betrayal of Black peoples' efforts to organize, by various people, including many Black Elected Officials and media made "star" leaders? Are they the basis for unity and progress in the NBA?

What about Black politicians and others who choose to represent enemy interests with continued compromise and opportunistic relationships? Since america is not electing a president this year, the superficial aspect of a political fashion show is diminished for negroes whose careers are examples of political opportunism complete with various power broker sell-out schemes, applicable at cir-



Charles Kenyatta: An opportunistic pseudo militant. Is progressive unity possible with this element or elements like John Johnson, EBONY-JET Bourgeois???

cuses like the 1972 Democratic National Convention. In Gary, there were large numbers of election year glamour seekers and convention goers who saw Gary as something chic, and the Black politicians who saw a chance to get paid for "delivering" the Gary vote to one or another of the presidential candidates.

The purpose of the Little Rock convention was not to play number games or to "surpass" Gary, but to move to have a more serious gathering and work sessions so people would leave with concrete information on how to organize in local areas to build strong state assemblies.

While the theme at Gary was "Unity Without Uniformity," the theme at Little Rock was more serious, "Organizing For Political

Power." This time the concept of a Black United Front was added, on a higher level. (Jet magazine as usual, is late with its misinformation, and serving the interests of our growing pseudo bourgeois and petit bourgeois nigger jet set.)

Does a Black convention need an ideology? Of course! This has been the problem, total lack of ideology, or either some confused ideological understanding that does not include a study of our history and current concrete conditions. A political line



Mayor Richard Hatcher, Dick Gregory, and Imamu Baraka addressing the press at the close of the 1974 National Black Political Convention.

emanates from your ideological framework.

The question of how to build a progressive Black United Front, taking in all the progressive tendencies in our national community, yet struggling against the easy opportunism of the typical big-time Black Elected Officials, poverty pimps and other collaborationist elements!

In response to Charles Kenyatta's charge about "disruptive elements" in Little Rock, he was a part of those who had anti-convention agendas and purposes along with other various would be militants who tried to be disruptive to the extent that they continuously represented something counter to the will of the convention majority, and in support of the interests of our enemies. Robert's Rules of Order was used in place of consensus because some folks refuse to deal with anything unless white values and institutions are used as the ultimate judge.

Charles Kenyatta asked why the convention dealt with Israel and Afrika as resolutions (both are "foreign nations" he says) because he is so hooked up with the former and ignorant of the real needs of the latter, that he can see no difference in the two. Bourgeois apologist and versifier Nikki Giovanni has also begun to publically identify herself with reaction, making ignorant anti-convention remarks. But perhaps this is the fee the USA asked in exchange for sponsoring her recent US propaganda trip to Afrika!

The same person would ask should there even be a National Black Political Convention! Well, should there be a PAIGC, TANU OR PDG? Should there be National and international political structures that represent the liberation of Afrikan people? Only a fool or an agent of continued domination by our enemies could say this and at the same time label the convention as "sectarian."

Wild charges that Imamu Baraka and the Congress of Afrikan People controlled the convention are simply

and objectively not true. The presence of revolutionary nationalists in an assembly does not mean control of it by them. This attempt to further divide is very treacherous. Imamu Baraka is the elected Secretary-General of the National Black Assembly, as is Mayor Hatcher and Congressman Diggs, who are Chairman and President respectively. Each brings to the assembly a particular political persuasion and ideology from which they work and which together leads the consensus of

actual base before making such pronouncements. We know that to have the mass party we need, real work must be done at the local levels, organizing state assemblies, and this work of organizing the assemblies is the same work that must be done to build the mass political party.

"Only a fool or an agent of continued domination by our enemies would say there is no need for national and international political structures that represent the liberation of Afrikan People."

It is clear that the National Black Assembly remains a controversial entity in the Black community. The delegates that came from over thirty states and ten national organizations to the convention see it as the developing, germinating dynamism of political struggle that will rise to even higher levels, and they know further that the criticism from diverse reactionary quarters will not diminish the fact that the assembly was strengthened by this convention and new people (Political Council Co-Minister, Oklahoma Rep. Hannah Atkins, who chaired the Saturday meeting; Political Council Co-Minister Ron Daniels, Freedom Inc. In Ohio; Owusu Sadaukai, Afrikan Liberation Support Committee, who delivered Sunday's charge to create "a fighting organization"; Leon Modeste, General Episcopal Council, the able but much harassed chairman of the Convention Planning Committee; Irv Joyner, Minister of Law and Justice, from the Commission for Racial Justice) have risen to the front taking the place of those who merely associated with the convention because of the 1972 glamour opportunism.

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# LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE!!

Question: "What do you think Watergate and U.S. crimes mean to Black People?"

Donald May of Prince Street, Newark: "I think it is absurd and unfortunate. But it is good that Black people are not involved in it. It shows us where white people are coming from."



Henry Hogan of South 17th Street: "I think it is wrong and should not have happened. Now something definitely must be done about it. We can't go on witnessing crimes in the government while the people are oppressed and the criminals go free."



Margaret Martin of Little Rock, Arkansas: "It awakened a lot of people. Now it is a proven fact that the leaders of this country are not for the people, but for themselves."



Mrs. Lucille Warren of Prince Street, Newark: "It is bad, and I'm against the way the people involved have not done anything to help the citizens of this country. All of them should get out of office and let the people run the country."



Mrs. Josephine Riker of Johnson Ave., Newark: "It was about time that the people see who the leaders of America are and how they operate behind closed doors as the real crooks, as opposed to the people who are crouched up in prisons thru-out this country."



Ebb Everett of Euclid St., Kansas City, Missouri: "It is one of the best things which has happened in politics. It exposed those who corrupt this government; and the people can clearly see it."



## ALSC POSITION OF SOLIDARITY

Afrikan Liberation Support Committee has always taken a strong stand against the forces of racism and imperialism and demonstrated militant solidarity with the freedom loving peoples of Southern Afrika and Guinea-Bissau in their struggle for independence. Since the first Afrikan Liberation Day demonstration in 1972, this solidarity has involved all other forces in the Black community who share an anti-racist anti-imperialist outlook and program. More recently, since 1973 ALSC has been united around a Statement of Principles that has called for Black workers to take the lead in this struggle.

Indeed, Black workers are taking the lead. This is nowhere better demonstrated than in the heroic struggle of the longshoremen who work on the docks unloading ships bringing goods from other countries. The rank and file longshoremen have refused to unload illegally imported chromium ore from Rhodesia showing how to unite in a concrete manner with Afrikan freedom fighters. In every major port, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco, and others, the longshoremen — the dockworkers — has taken the lead in our fight against imperialism.

Therefore, the ALSC Executive Committee wishes to make a public statement of support for the longshoremen. We extend an open invitation for all of our Brothers and Sisters on the docks to join us in our anti-racist anti-imperialist Black united front. We stand ready to defend your rights as we fight for the rights of your Brothers and Sisters in Zimbabwe. We are one in a worldwide struggle to defeat Racism and Imperialism.

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA!  
FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

### REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT!!

## POLICE REPRESSION IN ALBANY

Albany's slick and deceitful agent of capitalism and imperialist repression, district attorney Proskin (now Judge Proskin because Albany voters went for his law and order disguise) plotted the arrests of 25 Black people to face all white jurors in a series of mock trials which for many will end in life sentences, with 4 to 14 years as a minimum term before being eligible for parole.

Proskin the opportunist called it a major drug bust, but how is it that none of the arrested have a decent place to live, only a few had cars, none had any money or connections to meet the excessive bails that were set for them (\$5,000 - \$25,000), and that the total street value of the drugs involved was less than \$1,000. To call this police repression an example of how the drug law gets pushers off the streets is not only an obvious lie, but it is an indication that the enemies of Black people are becoming more serious in their attempts to destroy our Black families and destroy our Black Community.

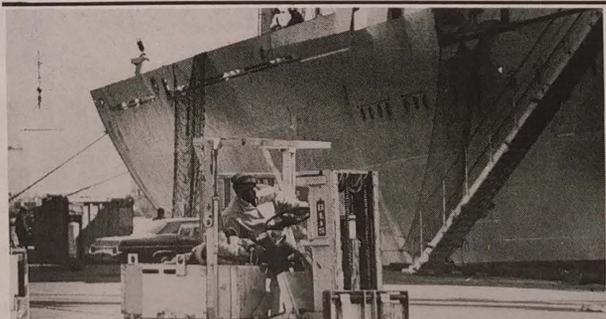
Where were all of the real peddlers of sickness and death? Were they home in the suburbs watching the whole sham in wall-to-wall comfort on their color televisions, or perhaps they were out in our neighborhoods dealing in dirt and padding the wallets of those politicians and policemen that kept them out of jail.

What is needed in Albany, as in every other Black community in North America, is a Black United Front to combat the racist forces that carry out oppression and cultural aggression under the disguise of law and order. It is revolutionary that not only Black people in Albany are raising their political consciousness around this issue, but that Black people everywhere are realizing that we are being attacked all over degenerate Amerikka. Richard Nixon is already

planning to institute a Federal-Mandatory Life-Sentence-Drug-Law using New York State and the bill that criminal Rockefeller coaxed out of the bowels of his puppet regime NYS legislature, as a prototype.

Afrikan Council, the Capital District Black Assembly (CDBA) and ad-hoc committees are coming together to form the Community Defense Fund For Justice in Albany, and to petition the courts and the State Legislature to reverse the frame-up charges and to repeal the drug law.

We need drugs out of our community, but we don't need police agents to subject us to illegal trials while ignoring the real drug pushers and the real enemies of Black people. Unity, Struggle, Unity, Victory. Together we will win.



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

ALSC has supported Black dockworkers in their struggle of refusing to unload illegally imported chrome ore from Rhodesia in support of Afrikan freedom fighters.

### AFRIKAN LIBERATION MONTH: MAY ACTIVITES

LOCAL ACTIVITIES (Continued from page 1)

- May 11 - Sat. Panel Discussion: "The Struggle Against Racism & Capitalism at Newark Airport" 5 P.M. - \$1.00.
- May 12 - Sun. Election Day Rally
- May 14 - Tues. ELECTION DAY - VOTE COMMUNITY'S CHOICE!!
- May 18 - Sat. Afrikan Liberation Day March in Newark. From South 10th Street & Clinton Ave. to steps of City Hall - 10 A.M.
- May 20 - Mon. Discussion - POLICE REPRESSION. Speaker Tony Gonzales, representative from PAIGC. FILM: "ATTICA" 7 P.M. - \$1.00.
- May 21 - Tues. Forum on Nixon and Watergate. Film "Nossa Terra" 7 P.M. - \$1.00.
- May 22 - Wed. "The Struggle for Nationalism, PanAfrikanism & Socialism at Home and Abroad." Film - On Afrikan Liberation 7 P.M. - \$1.00.

\* All Activities will take place at Hekalu Mwalimu, 13 Belmont Ave., Newark, except May 18, 19, 23, 24 & 25.  
\* For further information call (201) 621-2300.

## "SUPPORT" THE KAWAIDA POLITICAL PRISONERS BAIL FUND!!

Habari Gani,

In the past year and a half, since the attempt to build Kawaida Towers, advocates of Kawaida have been beset by continuous legal problems. All these problems have stemmed directly from continuous harassment by the police and other racist elements of the white community. The most recent evidence of police repression is the fact that 4 advocates of Kawaida were indicted and brought to trial for incidents at the site of Kawaida Towers. Advocates were accused of assault & battery on a policeman even though police attacked the advocates. Three were acquitted, but one was convicted of assault and battery on a police officer in an incident which has been fully documented by TV and journalists as a blatant example of police attack and police brutality. But to top that off, now the advocates who were attacked are being re-indicted for the same charge, this time brought about by anonymous whites also supposed to be on the scene.

The most recent example of police repression is the arrest and impending indictment of 7 Kawaida advocates on charges ranging from kidnapping to assault and robbery. These charges have been brought on 7 advocates by one well known narcotics pusher, second story man and police informer. These charges obviously cannot be substantiated, but in the meantime the bail comes to over \$100,000. We are asking this because we are in desperate need of funds to pay these bail charges. This police approach is called legal assassination where repressive forces try to reduce progressive forces by taking them in and out of court.

We know that we can count on you for some measure of support. Please not only give as much as you can to Temple of Kawaida, 13 Belmont Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, but encourage others to send money to help struggle against police repression and support the building of Kawaida Towers.

Imamu Amiri Baraka

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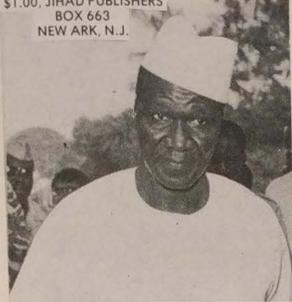
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# AFRIKA AND IMPERIALISM

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United Nations Photo

Ahmed Sekou Toure, A distinguished Afrikan warrior against imperialism.

Sekou Toure is perhaps the most distinctive of the fighters to the death against imperialism and its centuries-old attack against the Afrikan peoples. Whereas Dr. Julius Nyerere is an unusual combination of creative revolutionism and careful sobriety of statement, from the very beginning of Toure's career he is distinguished by the personal imprint of his own political attitudes. When he broke with General De Gaulle's idea of evolving the French colonies into a community, Toure published a series of documents which were the best statements so far of the need for Afrikans never to lose sight of their Afrikanism in their struggles for economic and political advancement. There is the same vibrant individuality in this pamphlet. On the very first page he quotes Cabral: "What is man before the endless every growing evolution of people and Humanity?" And later on in the same page he goes on to state his fundamental philosophical approach to the concrete problems:

On this profound philosophical basis Sekou Toure creates a concreteness of Afrikan struggles which cannot be exceeded. "No tears Comrades," he repeats twice. And then proceeds to recognize the power of imperialism.

"we who are fighting for the edification of a new type of man within humanity fully committed to a history which excludes domination of man by man; a history entirely directed towards full and ever growing progress..." "First of all we must admit that imperialism is and remains

**DRAMA REVIEW . . .**

## NewArk's A Moverin

NewArk's A Moverin - written by the Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist, Poet and Playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka. The play was performed March 22 and 23 at the House Of Kuumba, a community theater in Harlem, by the Spirit House Movers, a revolutionary theater group, founded by the playwright, Imamu Amiri Baraka.



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

A scene in NewArk's A Moverin where Mayor Kenneth Gibson is portrayed as he really is.

logical, constant and scientific. In its methods, imperialism is sometime flatterer, corrupting, sometimes extremely barbaric and savage for it has shamelessly decided once and for all that there could not be any crime, any ignominious act of genocide to which it would not resort when the people do not want to be exploited and oppressed by it. At any rate it has a good sense of organization and there is a sense of sequence in whatever it undertakes, and in Afrika as well as elsewhere it is eminently enterprising." (p. 3)

But having stated the power of this enemy, he is unmistakably clear as to the particular weakness of the Afrikan leaders.

"This is what we mean; in the Afrikan countries that are now independent, we leave it to our comrades from the Asian countries to analyze their own situation which they know better than we do; in the now independent countries there are too many people who are not sure of being independent, we are referring to those who fear to take upon themselves, totally and effectively, their independence; those who think deeply, in their heart of hearts that they can do nothing else but 'govern' and who,



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

Dr. CLR James: Noted historian and author of this book review.

therefore do not know if they cannot do anything but govern, they are doing nothing; they are not even governing, it is only a lamentable situation on their part. Too many responsible men are unaware that they can have

(Continued on page 8)

NewArk's a Moverin is a serious socio-political satire of the behind the scenes politics and social habits of the people who are in leadership of the Newark community.

The characters are shown to be subject to racist manipulation and growing corruption by their own petty bourgeois interest.

The lines are stingingly forceful and without bias while the playwright maintains an open compassion for the people who live in the city of Newark and subject to its neo-colonialist leadership.

One of the many strong characters of the Play is the Poet - who reads lines such as this quote from Ahmed Sekou Toure - "Men may fail, but a people which is consciously organized and constantly directed toward its goal cannot fail", such is the tone of NewArk's A Moverin.

We can objectively say the politics of the people and the skill of a seasoned and serious playwright cannot be beat.

NewArk's A Moverin is generally both educational and entertaining. We say NewArk's A Moverin needs to be seen. Look and listen out for another showing and be sure to check it.

# PORTUGAL'S COUP

NEOCOLONIAL RELATIONSHIP IS SOUGHT WITH AFRIKA

(Continued from page 1)

The coup is seen as the culmination of events over the past year that pointed to the eventual defeat of Portugal in its so-called "Overseas Provinces" or colonies. In September of last year, the Afrikan Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) declared the nation of Guinea-Bissau independent of Portuguese rule. To date, over 70 countries have recognized this newest Afrikan nation.

In January, 1974, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) dramatically increased its attacks in Southern Mozambique, leading white settlers there to demonstrate in the capital, demanding government protection from FRELIMO attacks.

In March, General Antonio de Spínola released his now famous book, in which he said that Portugal could not win a military victory in any of the three colonies, and recommended that Portugal seek a political solution, accepting equal status with the colonies in a Portuguese Confederation.

### Spínola Fired

On March 15th, Premier Caetano had Spínola fired as the country's second highest military official, because of his views on the war. Spínola had been the leader of Portuguese forces in Guinea-Bissau, which led him to his conclusions regarding Portugal's military fate. On the 16th of last month, over 200 Portuguese soldiers marched on Lisbon, but later surrendered to the government.

### Struggle not over

However, reports coming out of Lisbon point to Portugal's continued fighting in the three Nations, until it can get a political settlement to its liking. Portugal, the poorest country



Sura Wa Taifa Photo

Alexandre Francisco, representative of UNITA, commenting on the coup in Portugal.

in Europe, would be left even poorer if the economic strangle-hold it has in its Afrikan colonies is lost. The colonies are richer than Portugal itself. Spínola is not as "liberal" as he seems - he masterminded the assassination of Amílcar Cabral!

Reaction coming from the armed movements against Portuguese colonialism has been favorable, welcoming the coup, and seeing it as a direct result of their victories on the battlefield. They have been quick to point out, though, that the struggle against Portugal is far from over.

Unity & Struggle reached Brother Alexandre Francisco, representative for the National Union For the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who commented that, "At this moment, UNITA is withholding statements about the coup in Portugal because it is unclear with regard to the colonies in Afrika."

In response to a question about the coup signalling the end of the struggle against Portugal, Bro. Francisco summed up the position of the liberation parties that have been struggling, saying, "No! We will never lay down our arms until the last Portuguese is out of Angola. The coup in Portugal is not our answer. We're fighting for the national liberation of Angola, not for integration."

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY . . .



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

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In Guinea, the youth are the revolutionaries who will carry on the struggle as the future leaders of their people.

Sura Wa Taifa Photo

**AFRIKA & IMPERIALISM**

(Continued on page 7)

autonomous ideas. Too many Afrikan statesmen forget that they can create in an autonomous manner and as well as those who dominated us. There are too many people who, taking into account the state of their obscurantism, of non-participation in science and in modern technology in which, for decades or even centuries, imperialism has plunged our peoples; there are too many people who, taking into account this state of total scientific backwardness, by deducing that that this is a natural fact and that consequently in order to ensure the material happiness of our Peoples, we must accept mental assistance from imperialism. And the danger is that those people do not always behave out of opportunism, but because they are fundamentally convinced of certain congenital and mental incapacity of our Peoples." (p. 7, author's emphasis)

He makes it clear that it must be left to the Asian comrades to analyse their own situation which they know better than the Afrikans do. But he then makes clear the weaknesses of newly independent Afrikan countries. What he is concerned about is their continuing absence of dynamism in their struggle against the still powerful imperialist powers.

"for all these reasons, the degree and technicity of degrees must be appreciated only after the fundamental criterion situating the militant, i.e., his commitment to make the Revolution for and with the People. An illiterate man who loves and serves the People must have more value, more power and consideration than that intellectual who despises the People that he uses for his selfish interests. Therefore it is through clear explanations, i.e., through ideological explanations, that all the militants could overcome these contradictions provided they remain

permanently armed with courage and abnegation to better lead the liberation struggle whose victory alone will constitute the supreme solution for the liquidation of diverse contradictions by giving the action of the People its democratic, progressist and transgrowing character." (p. 16, author's emphasis)

Above all he sees the sterns struggle as a general observes a campaign and projects means of strengthening weaknesses and developing power.

"As the fighting goes on, is intensified and acquires an accelerated rythm, new phenomena appear. The necessity to know better the enemy in his projects, in his plans, in his general strategy and in his successive tactics and also to surround him through his human and material means, his capacity to resist, his knowledge of the ground his reserves in all kind of materials and his organization. This implies the needs for some liason agents. And here we have a real problem because the liason who gives more information the the enemy than to the Liberation Movements. Thus there is a problem in his choice and for the necessary limits tp prescribed to him so that he knows only the minimum possible about the realities of the movements. He must be selected on a solid basis of tested ideological conviction." (p. 21-2)

That is the impression that he constantly creates, that of a generalissimo, but one who is constantly aware that his business it is to develop the dynamics of the population.

"We must know how to create enthusiasm, how to maintain and develop constantly in the masses. We must strengthen unity between the fighters on one hand, between fighters and leaders on the other hand. We must widen the debates, make them democratic, multiply contacts on all levels." (p. 27, author's emphasis)

He pays a noble tribute to Amilcar Cabral and what the movement has lost by his death. But the same spirit which distinguishes his general political attitude expresses itself once more with the particular tribute to Cabral.

Let me end with what to some may seem a bit commonplace. There is a distinction about Sekou Toure's revolutionary analysis and activity which creates the impression that only a cause with the victory

CLR James

**POLICE REPRESSION CONTINUES IN GRENADA!**

GRENADA — Police repression continues to mount in this Caribbean nation, as the neo-colonialist government of Prime Minister Eric Gairy tries to remain in power. Brother Maurice Bishop, one of the leaders of the socialist New Jewel Movement, was recently arrested and charged with "aiding and abetting an attempted murder" of his cousin, William Bishop, who is a strong supporter of Gairy. Brother Bishop had just returned to the island from a speaking tour of the U.S. and Canada.

Gairy has claimed to be in favor of "law and order", but as in the u.s., these words are a cover-up for neo-fascism. He has a personal army, called the "Mongoose Squad", 3,000 strong, who move to suppress all Gairy opposition.

**OPPOSITION KILLED**

So far in its suppression of all opposition, the Mongoose Gang has killed Bishop's father; beat up six people, including Bishop, last Novemba, and then refused them hospitalization on the island; and most recently, they murdered Brother Roy Donald, a member of the



Contrast Photo

Maurice Bishop, recently arrested for allegedly "aiding & abetting" an attempted murder.

opposition Grenada National Party. Neo-colonialism is facing a stiff challenge in Grenada with constant strikes and mass demonstrations and protests taking place. There was a nation-wide strike, led by the New Jewel Movement, in a united front with other opposition parties and unions. The strike was aimed at forcing Gairy to resign, and was effective in greatly increasing the pressure needed to force neo-colonialism out of Grenada completely and bring about a progressive and revolutionary socialist society.

During an interview with the Black Toronto weekly, Contrast, Bishop said, "We have beat Gairy in every other way so far except with violence. "With the 'Mongoose' Squad, the 850 regular police, the 50 coast guardsmen, the 200 members of the Regiment and the volunteer constabulary of another 200 or so members, he has all the force on his side.

"But," said Bishop, "we will support whatever action the people are willing to take!"

**IN TIME, THE FLAMES OF REVOLUTION WILL SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE CARIBBEAN!**



Photo by Chester Heggins Jr.

Imperialism in Afrika has caused this child to starve.

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# 1st CAP MIDWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE

The first Mid-West Regional Conference of the Congress of Afrikan People was held in Chicago on March 30th and 31st, 1974.

The goals of the Conference were to continue the initiative of the Northeast Regional Conference of October, 1973, by giving concrete, functional information along the lines of ideology, organization, communications and resources as the four bases of movement toward National Liberation, and to alert potential members as well as the Black Community to the policies and programs of CAP.

Workshops were held in Social Organization, Economics and Budgeting, History and Struggle, Developing and Defending Indigenous Ideology, Politics and National Liberation, Youth Development, Communications, and Institutional Development.

These were actual "work sessions", with emphasis put on the presentation of working prototypes and institutions, rather than the usual rhetoric, "My position is that Black People should . . ."

Workshop Coordinators and resource people included Imamu Amiri Baraka in National Politics and Liberation; Bibi Amina Baraka in Social Organization; Kaimu Dadisi Muata, CAP Minister of Economics in

Economics and Budgeting; Chancellor Williams in History and Struggle; Kasisi Sala Udin, Chairman Pittsburgh CAP and Dr. Jake Carruthers, Northeastern Illinois University in Developing Indigenous Ideology; Sultan Tariq, NewArk CAP Youth Coordinator and Cheo Sababu, South Bend CAP Youth Coordinator in Youth Development; and Haki R. Madhubuti (Don L. Lee) in Communications.

More than 600 people attended this historic learning experience. There was much discussion and many questions were answered concerning CAP's indigenous ideology of Nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism, and Socialism.

Chairman Imamu Amiri Baraka closed the Conference with an address on "Revolutionary" Party; Revolutionary Ideology in which he gave the ingredients of our Revolutionary Ideology and stated that "Ideology must feature an understanding of Black History and society and the specific features and laws of the Black Liberation movement. Understand the international revolutionary experience and integrate it with the practice of the Afrikan revolution. Understand and create a unity between world revolutionary experience and the realities of the Black Liberation movement."

# CONFRONTATION, PART III

(3rd of a series)



Shirley Graham DuBois

Then—overnight it happened! Not only all Arab states uniting with one goal, one purpose—but Afrikan States throughout the continent uniting behind them. **Shades of Arab hordes pouring into Spain from northern Afrika!** Great Britain declared confidently that their "Man in Ammon" (King Hussein) would not be drawn into the madness. But within days Jordanian troops were fighting along side of their Syrian brothers on the Golan Heights. When talk circulated about Arab countries using "oil as a weapon" westeners took comfort in the belief that Saudi Arabia, largest oil producer in the region, would not sacrifice huge revenues in the desperate gamble of "that dictator in Cairo". From the United States came the bland assertion that "Our good friend, King Feisal will never be party to such blackmail." And King Feisal led all the rest in announcing a total embargo of Saudi Arabia's oil to the United States, Holland, South Afrika and Canada! This announcement was followed by the statement made public in the Egyptian Gazette, October 29, 1973:

"Oil measures taken in support of the Arab battle will remain in effect until the United Nation Security Council resolutions are implemented in all their clauses. The resolutions have long been ink on paper. Now to avoid repetition of this tragedy, oil will remain cut until the implementation of all clauses is carried out".

Coinciding with the cutting off of Arab oil came the breaking off by Afrikan States of all diplomatic and commercial ties with Israel. The

Israelis commented bitterly on the ingratitude of Afrikans! It is true that country had gone all out in extending financial and technical aide know-how, teachers and frequently military advisers to the black countries of Afrika. I have seen the luxury hotels they built in Tanzania, Kenya, Senegal and Ivory Coast. They were like busy little bees everywhere in Ghana when we lived there; partners in the Black Star Steamship Line, organizers and trainers of an orchestra. I doubt if there is one black State on the continent which does not have some projects financed and perhaps run by Israelis. They were the most generous dispensers of capital (from the United States) to these "struggling democracies." This Policy was meant to neutralize efforts of Arab representatives at the United Nations and before the world to expose the aggression, crimes, persecutions and discriminations continually carried on by Israel. It was meant to show the Israelis as the humanitarian, high-minded friends of underdeveloped Blacks.

The policy did not pay off one hundred percent. At the last O.A.U. Conference held in May this year, unanimous support was pledged to the Security Council Resolution No. 242 which calls on Israel to withdraw from Lands they seized and occupied since June, 1967, and on restoration of the just rights of the Palestinians. However, since Resolution No. 242 has been kicked around for the past six years and totally ignored by Israel, nobody except Egyptians paid much attention to the O.A.U.'s endorsement and the Israelis shurg it off as mere "Afrikan big mouth!"

### Confrontation

By Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, will be continued



South Bend CAP Photo

The CAP Mid-West Regional Conference stressed the understanding of our ideology of Nationalism, Pan Afrikanism and Socialism.

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### 17 Points of Cabral

(Continued from page 12)

social structure and state; the third to socialist or communist societies, in which the economy is mainly, if not exclusively, industrial (since agriculture itself becomes a form of industry) and in which the state tends to progressively disappear, or actually disappears, and where the social structure returns to horizontality, at a higher level of productive forces, social relations, and appreciation of human values. (Pg. 97)

8. There are two forms of imperialist domination: the first is direct domination, by means of a political power made up of people foreign to the dominated people; this is generally called classical colonialism or colonialism. The second form is indirect domination, by a political power made up mainly or completely of native agents; this is called neocolonialism. (Pg. 100)



Photo by Kwadwo Oluwale Akpan

A UNITA freedom fighter combines armed struggle with study of revolutionary theories.

9. The national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected. (Pg. 102)

10. Only a revolutionary vanguard, generally an active minority, can be aware of this distinction (true national independence from fictitious political independence) from the start and make it known, through the struggle, to the popular masses. This explains the fundamentally political nature of the national liberation struggle and to a certain extent makes the form of struggle important in the final result of the phenomenon of national liberation. (Pg. 105)

11. An important distinction between the colonial and neocolonial situation is the prospect for struggle. The colonial situation (in which the nation-class fights the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie of the colonizing country) can lead, apparently at least, to a nationalist

solution (national liberation): the nation gains its independence and theoretically adopts the economic structure which best suits it. The neocolonial situation (in which the working classes and their allies struggle simultaneously against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the native ruling class) is not resolved by a nationalist solution; it demands the destruction of the capitalist structure implanted in the national territory by imperialism, and correctly postulates a socialist solution. This distinction arises mainly from the different levels of the productive forces in the two cases and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle. (Page 106)

12. There are only two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neocolonialism, capitalism, state capitalism), or to take the way to socialism. This operation, on which depends the compensation for the efforts and sacrifices of the popular masses during the struggle, is considerably influenced by the form of struggle and the degree of revolutionary consciousness of those who lead it. (Pg. 107)

13. The colonial situation, which does not permit the development of a native pseudo-bourgeoisie and in which the popular masses do not generally reach the necessary level of political consciousness before the advent of the phenomenon of national liberation, offers the petty bourgeoisie the historical opportunity of leading the struggle against foreign domination, since by nature of its objective and subjective position (higher standard of living than that of the masses, more frequent contact with the agents of colonialism, and hence more chances of being humiliated, higher level of education and political awareness, etc.) it is the stratum which most rapidly becomes aware of the need to free itself from foreign domination. This historical responsibility is assumed by the sector of the petty bourgeoisie which, in the colonial context, can be called

revolutionary, while other sectors retain the doubts characteristic of these classes or ally themselves to colonialism so as to defend, albeit illusorily, their social situation. (Pg. 108)

14. The neo-colonial situation, which demands the elimination of the native pseudo-bourgeoisie so that national liberation can be attained, also offers the petty bourgeoisie the chance of playing a role of major and even decisive importance in the struggle for the elimination of foreign domination. But in this case, by virtue of the progress made in the social structure, the function of leading the struggle is shared (to a greater or lesser extent) with the more educated sectors of the working classes and even with some elements of the national pseudo-bourgeoisie who are inspired by patriotic sentiments. In this case it is important to note that the role with which it is entrusted demands from this sector of the petty bourgeoisie a greater revolutionary consciousness, and the capacity for faithfully interpreting the aspirations of the masses in each phase of the struggle and for identifying themselves more and more with the masses. (Pg. 109)

15. In order to truly fulfill the role in the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong. (Pg. 110.)

16. The alternative—to betray the revolution or to commit suicide as a class—constitutes the dilemma of the petty bourgeoisie in the general framework of the national liberation struggle. (Pg. 110)

### ZANU INCREASES ASSAULT

Four South Afrikan Policemen were killed by the Zimbabwe Afrikan Nationalist Union (ZANU) in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), it was recently announced by the Ian Smith regime in Salisbury. ZANU is the revolutionary party in Zimbabwe that has been waging armed struggle against white minority rule since April 1966. It was also announced that a fifth policeman was missing.

Unconfirmed reports say the South Afrikans were ambushed on the southern bank of the Zambezi, about 11 miles west of the falls and almost opposite Kandahar, an island in the Zambezi which is used as a resort by tourists from hotels at Victoria Falls.

South Afrikan Police have been helping Rhodesian security forces against the guerillas since 1960. This is more evidence that South Afrika is trying to hold on to its illegal fascist government in Southern Afrika by killing as many Afrikans as possible, and enslaving the rest. But the Afrikan Revolution shall win!

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17. National liberation is essentially a political problem, and the conditions for its development give it certain characteristics which belong to the sphere of morals. (Pg. 110)

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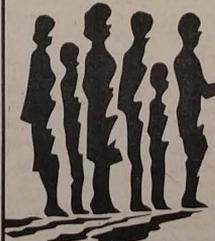


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### POET'S CIRCLE TRAITORS, GO TO HELL!

You have given up the historical requirements.  
The great and fruitful conquests,  
By the fighting people of September 28\*  
That you stabbed on November 22nd\*\*  
To noble duty, you have opposed treason  
When you trample down the great people reason.  
Now you have neither brothers nor fathers,  
Neither sisters nor mothers!  
To hell, to hell fifth column, to hell mercenaries.

What a sad existence is yours, to be isolated from society  
To deny oneself, honor and dignity  
To debase oneself to a beast of burden  
To sink to the level of something unnamable  
To love no more, to serve no more, to protect no more  
To become an outsider in your own country  
Now, you have neither comrades, nor friends  
Because you are the enemies of the people,  
To hell, to hell you damned by Satan.

Breaking with the worthiest traditions  
You have abdicated all noble duties  
To be but vile mercenaries.  
Interested only in reactionary deeds  
You have perfidiously attempted to kill our Revolution  
And hindered the liberation of Guinea Bissau  
Now, you have neither uncles, nor aunts  
Your forfeiture is exorbitant  
To hell, to hell, vile spies of N.A.T.O.

Before the grave consequences  
Of the anti-popular actions that you did  
In complicity with the imperialist powers  
To impose neo-colonialism —  
Revolution which means justice and will  
Requires from us that you be no longer considered  
As friends, brothers, sisters, uncles  
And still less as fathers  
To hell, to hell, hired ones, to hell, snakes.

To hell, traitors, that were booted out  
When you rushed on innocent peoples  
Armed with machine-guns, bazookas and cannons  
You deserve neither mercy, nor pardon  
For your forfeiture of the holy Ramadan  
Receive the salary of the assassin  
And our dead or wounded brothers  
Will be revenged for the triumph of freedom  
To hell, to hell, servility, to hell, indignity.  
To hell, stateless, to hell, renegades  
Of your dreams the knell has tolled  
Which consecrates our full victory  
Revolution is triumphant and stimulates the popular masses  
This is the complete failure of torturers  
This is the complete victory of the anti-colonialist front  
To hell, to hell, traitors, to hell, opportunists  
You are welcome into the grave of imperialists. **Ahmed Sekou Toure**

\*Sept. 28, 1958; Guinean People opposed remaining under France's Colonization.  
\*\*Nov. 22, 1970; Date of ill fated Portuguese invasion of Guinea.

### AFRIKAN COUNTRY UJIMA QUESTION

QUESTION: What is the name of this country, its location, its capital, its president, and its type of government?

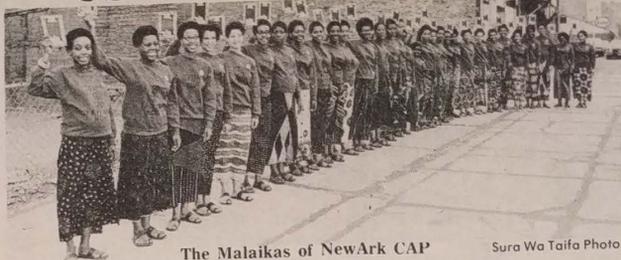


ANSWER: The name of this African nation is Libya. Located in North Africa, Libya has two capitals, Tripoli and Benghazi. Libya's President, Col. Muammar El-Qadhafi, has led the country along the socialist path of development. In the recent war against the Zionists, Libya fully supported Egypt, and participated in the oil embargo against the United States, and along with Algeria, fought against ending the embargo.

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## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT



The Malaikas of NewArk CAP

Sura Wa Taifa Photo

### "Self Help" Programs Soon to Be Replaced By "Struggle"

What was once called 'self-help' poverty programs (actually training ground of neo-colonialist workers) will soon be phased out and another phase of America's last stand, desperate attempt to suppress the emerging self-determining Afrikan nation in America will come to an end.

These anti-poverty (against the poor and powerless) projects have served the purpose of cooling out the intense self-determining spirit of the 60's in the Black Community and created the bureaucratic minded individual who, in the past, saw OEO/HEW/Title I, II, III, etc. as a never-ending source of community income. These programs were actually information gathering centers for the federal government (yes, starting with "Father" Kennedy right on down to "king" nix-'em) and the administrative positions were simply pay-offs for the informant turning in the most information to the boss. "I Spy for the FBI" was the theme song. Experimentation was the other aspect of the plan; and of course, stealing ideas from the Black Community.

So now with all reports in, information computerized, and organization and community leaders improperly labeled, people thinking they will automatically be given a check every two weeks just for being Black and poor, the programs are being closed down; funds are being stopped or drastically cut; nearly impossible guidelines issued to either disrupt, discourage, or disband all beneficial local community operations such as preschool centers and youth training/educational/vocational programs. Literally millions of



dollars flowed through (key-word) the Black community, stopping briefly to dazzle and confuse, then flowed straight back to the source. No long term investments were made, no self generating programs were established; each year began as the previous year had begun. Nothing was saved; there was no sense of permanency.

Now that we understand our real situation, let us move to solve our problem. We must free ourselves from the oppressive mentality that presently exists — the "dole" mentality that keeps us locked to and dependent upon America's values and racist institutions.

Instead, National Liberation, the freeing of our people from foreign domination — religiously, historically, socially, politically, economically, and creatively, is what we need. we need.

We must build and create our own institutions; ujamaa — to build and maintain our own stores, shops, and other businesses — Socialism "... to struggle to create ujamaa, communalism, socialism, as a scientific world system for the reorganization of world society and the redistribution of the world's wealth."

We begin by internalizing and practicing the values that promote unity, self determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity and faith.

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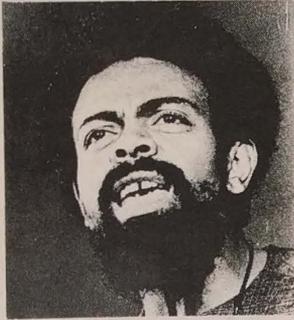
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# The Meaning & Development of Revolutionary Kawaida, Part 3

## RAISE!!



Imamu Amiri Baraka

Nkrumah's definition of Socialism was also utilized, because it gave us a definition that we could begin to deal with in terms of world revolutionary theory, in addition to the definition of ujamaa as our cultural framework for understanding the desirability of "cooperative economics" as opposed to competitive economics.

(Page 28 - Revolutionary Handbook - Kwame Nkrumah)

"Socialism — At the core of the concept of Afrikan unity lies socialism and the socialist definition of the new Afrikan society. Socialism and Afrikan unity are organically complementary.

Socialism implies:

1. Common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Production is for use, and not for profit.

2. Planned methods of production by the state, based on modern industry and agriculture.

3. Political power in the hands of the people, with the entire body of workers possessing the necessary governmental machinery through which to express their needs and aspirations. It is a concept in keeping with the humanist and egalitarian spirit which characterized traditional Afrikan society, though it must be applied in a modern context. All are workers; and no person exploits another.

4. Application of scientific methods in all spheres of thought and production.

Socialism must provide a new social synthesis in which the advanced technical society is achieved without the appalling evils and deep cleavages of capitalist industrial society.

Socialism has become a necessity in the platform diction of Afrikan political leaders, though not all pursue really socialist policies. We must therefore be on our guard against measures which are declared to be "socialist" but which do not in fact promote economic and social development. An example of muddled thinking about socialism is the attempt made in recent years to suggest the existence of an 'Afrikan Socialism' peculiar to our continent."

And more recently in our interest in PanAfrikanism hence Afrikan Liberation Movements, and the armed struggle that rages on the continent of Afrika and the Caribbean, we began to closely scrutinize these movements and found many of them beset with the same assimilationist tendencies caused by cultural aggression as many of our organizations in north america in the early 60's. Yet the theories and practice of Amilcar Cabral stand out

above all the others, and for this reason his classic essay THE WEAPON OF THEORY is used as our reference that world revolutionary theory can be utilized by Afrikans with no detriment to the Afrikan Revolution. As well as his other works, particularly "National Liberation and Culture" and "Identity and Dignity." And for this reason in organizing new cadres and in continuing the theoretical work of the CAP we have given out bibliographies reflecting these concerns indicating that the work of Nyerere, Toure, Nkrumah, Mao, and Cabral should be studied, as well as issuing a concrete document with 10 Phases of the Doctrine of Maulana Karenga. We have also continued to develop and distribute theoretical papers of our own, for the sake of discussion and further use to our struggle for ideological clarity. In one of these papers, "Unified Consciousness," we stressed why it is absolutely critical for the Congress of Afrikan People to begin to be a unitary, ideologically disciplined organization, so that we can begin to replicate dynamic cadres all over the united states, and else where in the world. We welcome open discussion, and criticism in the spirit of Unity-Criticism-Unity. We are here to win the ultimate revolutionary struggle not to hold on to incorrect lines and theories, and irrelevant practice.

### Recommendations

1. Read and internalize the doctrine and ideological papers, seek out the readings, indicated by the Chairman's Office. Urge discussions of these throughout CAP cadres.

2. Use NewArk Cadre as a revolutionary example and a leading cadre, in order to quickly standardize CAP, but with the scientific process of self criticism and criticism reach a higher level.

3. Utilize the positive practice of all CAP cadres and synthesize them so that our theory is based on positive practice and new theory will develop to deal with our current conditions.

4. Begin to build national institutions utilizing the existence of all the cadres, e.g. a national publishing operation, a national newspaper, etc.

5. Continue to develop an economic "common market" for the purpose of creating an internal economic flow that will become the basis for tremendous national organization development.

6. Participate in the theoretical, political, economic and cultural struggle locally, nationally and internationally, by participating in the important political movements of our time (NBA, ALSC, 6PAC, etc.).

7. Through education and persuasion, self criticism and criticism and even struggle, purge ourselves of negative or nonfunctioning elements and unify ourselves as a revolutionary party.

"Go to the people. Find out the peoples' needs. Serve The People. Organize the people. Raise the level of the peoples' political consciousness and at the same time raise the level of our own political consciousness."

Imamu Baraka

Chairman

1974

## 17 POINTS OF AMILCAR CABRAL

These "17 Points of Amilcar Cabral" have been taken from Cabral's essay, "The Weapon of Theory". This essay represents one of the turning points of world Afrikan revolutionary theory. It provides a means of understanding international revolutionary experience integrated into the concrete conditions of the Afrikan revolution. We have broken the essay down into its key components as a study guide for all those truly interested in studying revolutionary ideology.

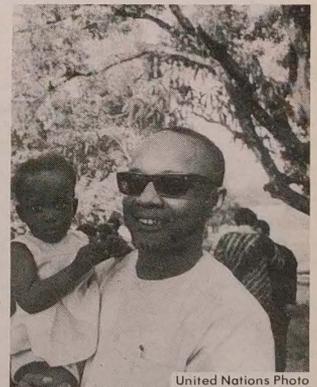
1. One form of struggle which we consider to be fundamental . . . is the struggle against our own weaknesses. (Pg. 91)

2. The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements—which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform—constitutes one of the greatest weakness of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all (Pg. 92).

3. Every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory. (Pg. 93)

4. The socio-economic phenomenon 'class' is created and develops as a function of at least two essential and interdependent variables—the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership of the means of production. (Pg. 93)

5. Does history begin only with the development of the phenomenon of 'class,' and consequently of class struggle? To reply in the affirmative .



United Nations Photo

Amilcar Cabral: "I am a simple Afrikan man, doing my duty in my country in the context of our time."

. . . would be to consider—and this we refuse to accept—that various human groups in Afrika, Asia, and Latin America were living without history or outside history, at a time when they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism. (Pg. 95)

6. The level of productive forces, the essential determining element in the content and form of class struggle, is the true and permanent motive force of history. (Pg. 95).

7. The history of one human group or of humanity goes through at least three stages. The first stage would correspond to the communal agricultural and cattle raising society, in which the social structure is horizontal, without any state; the second to feudal or assimilated agricultural or agro-industrial bourgeois societies, with a vertical

(Continued on Page 10)

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