

PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION TO CAPITALIST LIEUTENANT FORD INTENSIFIES! DANGER OF WAR BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS INCREASES

In Angola: Desperately Needed A United Front Against The Super Powers!!

UNITA has put out the call throughout the world stressing the importance of unity to eliminate Superpower intrigues "designed to oppose the will of the Angolan people and to violate its territorial independence and integrity."

second Superpower the USSR, which is making its bid for hegemony over Angola. But the role of 2nd and 3rd World nations is clearly to fulfill their "historic mission to assist the patriotic forces of Angola in bringing an end to the civil war and bringing about the successful decolonization of our beloved Angola."

At a New York press conference, UNITA went on to cite "graphic, concrete and irrefutable proof" of USSR bringing & sending into Angola "hundreds of tons of sophisticated death-dealing weapons and heavy armaments to be used to kill, maim and indiscriminately destroy Angolan people on Angolan soil - men, women and children who have never lifted a finger to harm Russia or its people in the whole history of their existence."

UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola), along with MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) which is heavily armed and controlled by the Soviet Union, and FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) which is heavily armed and controlled by U.S. imperialism, the other Superpower, (Continued on page 5)



President Ford, ruling class lieutenant, came to Newark recently and was met by hundreds of demonstrators led by the CAP, who exposed the crime of a \$1,000 a plate republican fundraising dinner in that "worst city in the U.S."



THE NATIONAL QUESTION Part 4

IV CPUSA 1930 Resolution on the National Question

"In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an oppressed nation."

This is the line with which the CPUSA started the second paragraph of the 1930 resolution on the National Question. It is evident that without this revolutionary understanding there would be a whole period of history misunderstood, namely the period from the time of slavery to 1930 when the resolution was written. But the CPUSA understood clearly the development of the Black Nation.

Because of the super exploitation of the Black Nation and the South African type "Jim Crowism" i.e. racism, the CPUSA also engaged in the struggle for full equality, i.e. full democratic rights of blacks throughout the U.S. But at the same time understood very clearly that Black Liberation would only have meaning with the liberation of the Black Nation and full ability of self-determination.

"The struggle of the Communist for the equal rights of Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interest of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be: "The right of Self-Determination of the

Negroes in the Black Belt."

We see the interrelationship of the demand for democratic rights and the demand for self-determination.

The Land Base of the Black Nation is the Black Belt South. The Blacks dispersed from there constitute an oppressed nationality throughout the rest of the U.S. who struggle for Democratic Rights, but the fact of our reconcentration in large black ghettos throughout the U.S. many times gives our struggles there the character of the struggle for self-determination (e.g. community control, etc.) which is simply to ensure democratic rights as members of the multi-national working class.

The betrayal of the reconstruction, gave the land to the victorious northern bourgeoisie, with the southern land owner class now a comprador or servant of the Big northern banks and together (Continued on page 5)

Ford Comes to Newark CAP Demonstrates!

Newark has been rated the worst city in the country: the worst housing, the worst education, the highest TB rate (in 1975 when TB has been cured for years!), the highest infant mortality rate, etc. All this due to the super exploitation of Black and other third world people, which make up 87% of Newark's population, and the exploitation of workers in general. The capitalists invest no money in this city. Yet on Saturday October 4th Lt. Jerry-veto the people's needs-Ford spoke at the Robert Treat Hotel in Newark, New Jersey at a \$1,000 a plate dinner, at a fund raiser for the Republican party and there aren't even any Republicans in Newark. "ROCKY & FORD CAN EAT \$1,000

DINNERS WHILE THE WORKERS ARE EXPLOITED BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!!!

Awaiting his arrival was \$30,000 worth of Newark police. Check-it, Newark city officials spent \$30,000 of taxpayers money in a city where the workers get nothing in return for their labor. To guard a man, who in the interest of big business, Rocky and the other 15 families - has vetoed: children's school lunch, housing, jobs (when the overall unemployment rate is 13% and 25% in the Black community) and has prevented money from coming into the cities. 39 vetoes this year. Riding shotgun for these repressive anti-people measures is the S-1 Bill now in the Senate with Ford's full support. This bill would make it illegal to even demonstrate for jobs in front of the White House (or any other government (Continued on page 4)

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Superpowers Contend in Middle East

The central question in the Middle East war is the Palestinian Question, the violent occupation of Palestine by the Israeli Zionists that has caused millions of Palestinian people to be homeless and live in absolute misery. Backed by U.S. imperialism & indirectly by the other Superpower USSR, Israel is the military watch-dog against the people's liberation in the Middle East & Northern Afrika. But the Palestinian people have launched a war of national liberation that is supported by the Arab masses, and in fact, thru this united front and armed struggle against Zionism, the Palestinians led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have made advances against the Zionist occupation.

It was this united front & armed struggle that has had Kissinger scrambling to cover up the antagonistic contradictions between Zionism and the Arab people by attempting to cool out the possibility of armed attacks on the different Zionist fronts, especially the Israeli-Egyptian front. But what we must all understand firmly is that no amount of "make-up" can cover the ugly face of Zionism backed by U.S. Imperialism which has taken away the

homeland of millions of Palestinians since 1948, and this Zionist - Imperialist occupation is the material base for the Palestinian people along with the vast majority of Arabs being an explosive & revolutionary force for national liberation in the Middle East. And the other Superpower calls for peace & pretends to support the Arab cause, though Egypt has ditched them for the other Superpower. But playing with the Superpowers is a no win game, "no war no peace" limbo, to serve the interests not of the people but the Superpowers. And, we must also remember that there is always a stack of peace treaties signed by the imperialist aggressors just before each world war, this is part of their strategy to keep the opposition off guard. But very clearly, despite the Superpower's superstar shuttles & the profusion of paper treaties, the question of Palestinian liberation will be decided by armed struggle, and the united front of Arabs will be the steel that will break the back of Zionism in the Middle East and liberate the Palestinian nation. As the Chinese sum up current history, "Countries want Independence, Nations want Liberation, and the People want Revolution. This is the irresistible trend in the world today!"

Amin's U.N. Speech Draws Attack From Superpower, U.S. Imperialism On All Afrika & Third World

Each day U.S. imperialism is more & more isolated in the United Nations General Assembly, where the nations of Afrika, Asia, & Latin America are struggling against imperialism's super-exploitation of their natural resources and domination of their internal affairs. The U.S. Mission to the U.N. used the occasion of the visit to the U.N. of President Idi Amin of Uganda and newly elected president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to launch a thinly veiled attack on the independent Afrikan states, and the whole 3rd World political leadership in general.

Amin's statement before the U.N. exposed U.S. support of the bankrupt Israeli Zionist aggressors in the Middle East who have taken away the national homeland of the Palestinian people & set up the settler colony of Israel at the expense and suffering of the Palestinian people. And, he went further to attack South Afrikan apartheid and colonialism in Zimbabwe & Namibia, which could not exist without U.S. support. "Independent Afrika will not allow itself to be deceived by detente, which is in any case increasingly going bankrupt in the face of the sharpening struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, & South Afrika. The member States of the OAU have resolved to step up their support of the nationalists & the peoples of Southern Afrika in their multi-fronted struggle for national liberation."

In looking at Amin's speech, the resolution to struggle against imperialism, Zionism, colonialism, and



Idi Amin - controversial president of Uganda and current head of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), sent shock waves throughout the world recently during an address before the U.N. General Assembly where he denounced imperialism's control of Afrika and the Third World, especially exposing Zionism as yet another form of colonialism, and imperialism's penetration into Afrika and the Middle East. Though Amin's corruption and neo-colonial government must be questioned, it is obvious that the denunciation of Amin as "Racist Murderer" by U.S.A.'s U.N. representative Moynihan, is pure garbage aimed at the O.A.U. and the whole of the Third World! And since when does the U.S.A. have something against racist murderers - Ford and Rocky are two of the most famous racist murderers in the world!

(Continued on page 4)

Neo Colonialism Obstructs Zimbabwe Liberation

"An excellent situation prevails in Afrika. It was because the racists in Southern Afrika were driven into a corner that Vorster of South Afrika proposed "dialogue" between the minority white regime of Rhodesia and the Zimbabwe national liberation organizations. This signifies only the weakness of the racists and not at all their strength. Through such tactics they intend to disintegrate the national-liberation movement and to preserve the reactionary white rule." "The conference (O.A.U. conference of Heads of State & Government) stressed the necessity of armed struggle called on the Zimbabwe people to immediately intensify their armed struggle and expressed the determination to fight by every means possible the white racist regimes until their complete elimination. We warmly support this correct stand. We have always advocated the use of revolutionary dual tactics against the reactionaries' counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Armed struggle is fundamental; the people's armed forces must be strengthened and not weakened negotiations or no negotiations. Deviations and detours may sometimes occur in the complicated struggle against counter-revolutionary dual tactics. But the people will sum up their experience, overcome difficulties and continue to advance." (Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of Chinese Delegation at the U.N.)

The Chinese correctly point out the need to combat "counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics." The tactic is fight first, let negotiations take care of themselves. Smith's use of this means the suppression of Zimbabweans. Smith on the other hand through the obstruction of the armed struggle by various forms of Neo-colonialism, has been given breathing space and respite in which to reorganize his tottering and depleted army. He has hired ex-Portuguese Flechas and American veterans of the Vietnam war as mercenaries who already have been reported to have demolished a whole village and massacred 65 people in the process. Smith is building new military camps and fortifying existing ones. South Afrikan soldiers serving in Rhodesia have been deployed in areas and zones of potential conflict away from the Zimbabwe-Zambian border.

We are again forced to ask whom the recent actions of the Zambian authorities are supposed to assist - liberation of the masses or white racist oppressors? Are these actions supposed to achieve a ceasefire? We have grave doubts. We cannot help assuming the existence of a conspiracy between the Zambian authorities on one hand and the white racists regimes of Southern Afrika, imperialist powers and their allies on the other. Can it be accident or

design that the white racist regimes should pay the most glorious tribute to the Zambian authorities for having captured more "terrorists" in a day than both the combined fascists forces of South Afrika and Rhodesia were able to kill and capture in ten years of war?" (Manifesto of ZANU Political Prisoners in Zambia).

The "glorious" praise the fascists gave Zambia are for the infamous events of March 23, 1975. On that date the Zambian government arrested 1,400 ZANU cadre during the funeral of their Chairman Herbert Chitepo. Following the arrests the Zambian government also seized all of ZANU's bank accounts. These mass arrests and the seizure of all ZANU funds in Zambia has left the families of these men without any means of support. As a result there are now over 2,000 Zimbabwean women and children who face the danger of starvation in Zambia. The men and women in these bogus "training" camps, really prison camps, have written a manifesto, smuggled out of Zambian prisons and detention camps and "is the voice of ZANU leadership that has directed the armed struggle in Zimbabwe for the last eleven years. They have not been silenced by the arrests nor have they been mellowed by the severe torture they have undergone. Instead they are speaking up and are raising specific issues to the international community. 1. They are prisoners of war and not criminals, as they are being treated. 2. They need an impartial commission to investigate their case in order to bring the truth out. International organizations as well as other Afrikan liberation movements must be represented on such an investigative commission. 3. They point out the possibility of the Zambian government's complicity in the assassination of Comrade Herbert Chitepo and its definite involvement in the conspiracy to suppress ZANU.

Therefore, a commission dominated by Zambian commissioners could not be considered impartial. 4. The Zambian government has blocked legal representation for these prisoners of war... in particular, lawyers from outside Zambia have been prohibited. 5. International organizations must be allowed to investigate the inhumane conditions in the detention camps as described in their manifesto. 6. The Prisoners appeal to the international conscience to bring the truth out in the open.

The manifesto calls into serious question the conditions of the Zambian Chitepo Commission of Inquiry especially after raising the question of the power of the commission - which has not been announced. And possible witnesses are not granted immunity for testimony in behalf of ZANU/ZANLA. Or why traitors like Mukono, Mutambangwe, George Mpini, Satana Felix, Kingston Sawana, Nelson Dziruni, Kawanza, etc. are allowed to travel about freely in Lusaka when they organized an armed rebellion in ZANU? These rebels have had unrestricted access to Zambian high officials, when no other ZANU policy for "peaceful negotiations and they walk the street. The Zambian officials say that these traitors are not in jail because they were out of the country when Comrade

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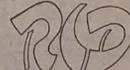


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MOTION!!



Chiao Kuan-Hua, leading the Chinese delegation to the UN called on the people of all countries to heighten their vigilance & prepare for growing danger of world war. "At present, the factors for both revolution & war are increasing on a world scale. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people. And the future of the world will be bright."

Soviet Social Imperialist Exploit Third World Countries under Covers of "Economic Cooperation." Soviet Social Imperialists have set up "transnational corporations" in the developing countries under the guise of "economic cooperation in order to export capital and continue exploitation of the third world countries. Since 1966 Soviet revisionists have set up 19 "joint ventures" in 16 developing countries in Asia, Afrika & Latin America by exporting capital and making direct investment. Through such "joint ventures" the Soviet Union has made use of local cheap raw materials & labor force to grab maximum profits & gradually control the economic lifeline of these countries. Actually with 50-60% investment plus Soviet representatives holding key posts - general managers, managers, financial advisors, the Soviet Union controls the power in these enterprises thus paving the way to control key economic sectors of these countries. Plus these countries are used as a market to dump shoddy Soviet commodities. These so-called "joint ventures" are a new form used by the Soviet revisionists to step up the plunder of industrial raw materials & natural resources of the third world. Lenin pointed out that the export of capital forms "a solid basis for imperialist oppression & the exploitation of most of the countries of the

world for the capitalist parasitism of a handful of wealthy states." The Soviet revisionists actions clearly reveals their imperialist intentions.

Third World Countries Move to Break Shackles of Imperialism. By Seeking Self-Reliance in Grain Production. The Third World countries are stressing grain-based agricultural production in order to forego importing food as one means of riding themselves of superpower domination. Despite vast land areas and abundant natural resources, many third world countries had to live on imported food as a result of the lop-sided economic development resulting from long-time domination and plunder by imperialists. The two Superpowers, the Soviet Union & United States practice of holding & capitalizing on grain supplies has done great harm to countries of the Third World, by using "food as a weapon" to blackmail and control the third world countries, plus taking advantage of world food shortages to profiteer. Third World countries are now moving to break the hegemony of the Superpowers by developing their own agricultural production in an independent and self-reliant manner to attain self-sufficiency in grain supply and safeguard their political and economic independence. This is being done by promoting food production in common, with many Third World countries entering into closer cooperation such as the 16 West African countries set up a West Afrika Rice Development Assn. for joint promotion of self sufficiency in rice. People of the Third World are clearly demonstrating their will to become their own masters & to frustrate the superpowers' policy of enslavement & exploitation.

U.S. Imperialist Attempt to Repress Movement for Puerto Rican Independence. In an attempt to cripple & weaken the militancy of the working class & the movement for Puerto Rican independence, U.S. imperialists had Federice Cintron Fiallo arrested on trumped up charges of bank robbery. Cintron Fiallo is founder & Secretary-Treasurer of the Puerto Rican Guild of Workers and the Executive Secretary of the United Labor Movement (MOU) which calls for Puerto Rican Independence & has been instrumental in building island-wide strike support committees. An excessively high bail was set by Judge Terruellas, who also served as lawyer for transnational corporation Westinghouse against which Fiallo led the workers in strike. This new imperialist tactic of legal assassination will not stop the masses of Puerto Rican people from struggling for national liberation and the smashing of U.S. imperialism.

Progressive Countries Sponsor U.N. Resolution for Reunification of Korea. Algeria, China, & 33 other states are sponsoring in the forthcoming 30th Session of the General Assembly a resolution calling for the "creation of favorable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". It also points out the necessity for terminating foreign interference in its internal affairs. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose leader is Kim Il Sung, issued a statement supporting the draft resolution. Reunification has been prevented because of U.S. imperialist's continued occupation of South Korea, its manipulation of South Korea's fascist Park Chung Hee & deliberately stimulating north-south confrontation so as to trick the people into thinking that North Korea wanted to make war on them. Kim Il Sung has said it's "impossible to achieve peace & independent reunification so long as U.S. troops in the helmets of U.N. forces are kept in South Korea." U.S. imperialists have offered a counter resolution calling for the U.N. command to be dissolved, to let U.S. & South Korean armies "ensure peace". . .revealing U.S. intentions to keep troops in South Korea indefinitely.

The two resolutions clearly expose those who are struggling for Korean unity & those who want to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Namibian People Unite to Defeat Racist South Afrikan Regime's Bantustan Plan. The Namibian people condemned racist South Afrikan regime for stage-managing a farce of a "Constitutional Conference" to legitimize the Bantustanization policy and called for an end to South Afrika's illegal occupation of Namibia. Since 1968, South African colonialist regime has pursued a "Bantustan" plan in an attempt to put over 700,000 Namibian people into 10 "Homelands" in impoverished areas which account for only 30% of the land while 90,000 white settlers will occupy the remaining 2/3 of fertile land. The Constitutional Conference was an attempt to lure the Namibian people away from their liberation struggle for independence in order to maintain illegal occupation of Namibia. The People responded with demonstrations and strikes w/signs saying "We want Freedom not compromise". Administrative Secretary of SWAPO (Southwest Afrika People's Organization) said "We can only attain national independence through armed struggle and no matter what is the outcome of these talks, we will still fight on until we reach our cherished goal."

Another trick was South Afrika's scheme to send a carefully selected group of 33 puppets and quislings abroad to give "indigenous authenticity and legitimacy" to South Afrika's fraudulent Bantustan plan. But the people clearly see thru this group of lackeys and will not be stopped in their heroic struggle for liberation. SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, cannot and will not accept any tribal or regional solution other than the complete and total freedom and independence for "ONE NAMIBIA, ONE NATION".

U.S. Violations of U.N. Sanctions Against Rhodesia. In flagrant violation of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, U.S. imperialists continue to import chrome ore, nickel & other materials from the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. During the period of January 1975 to June 30, 1975 over 30 shipments of strategic materials were imported into the United States from Southern Rhodesia clearly exposing U.S. imperialism's continued support of the illegal racist regimes in South Afrika and attempt to maintain control in Afrika.

Committee Formed to Work for Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners. On October 1, a U.S. Committee for the Release of Indonesian political prisoners was formed. October is the 10th anniversary of the seizure of power in Indonesia by a right-wing group led by Suharto. Several 100,000 people were killed. All progressive organizations were banned, their leaders killed & arrested. Today, there are still between 50,000 to 100,000 Indonesians still in prisons, the majority cannot even be tried for lack of evidence, yet they remain incarcerated without access to basic legal rights & without hope of release. Despite all this, Indonesia gets more foreign aid from the capitalist countries, Japan, Europe, & U.S. combined, than any other country.

This new committee will focus on the Abourezek amendment to the Military Appropriations Bill of 1974, which bans the use of American funds for military purposes in any nation abusing the elementary rights of its citizens. The Committee will also be publishing a bi-monthly newsletter with information on events in Indonesia as well as their work in Britain, West Germany, Holland and U.S. For further information about the Committee, write TAPOL - the U.S. Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 609, Montclair, N.J.

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FALL FILM PROGRAM

The Higher Ground Cinema presents a Women's Film Festival in celebration of the U.N. declaration of International Women's Year. Join us as we bring you the following films:

Oct. 29th - Nov. 1st **COUP FOR COUP**: A documentary of the takeover of a textile factory by the militant super-exploited women workers. In their struggle to seize the control of production their contradictions with the reactionary trade union that is supposed to represent them become clear, as their struggle takes on a new light.

Nov. 5th - 9th **RAMPARTS OF CLAY**: A feature film story of one woman's inability to accept the subservient role defined for her by village tradition. In order to rebel against her peoples oppression, she must first rebel against tradition.

Nov. 12th - 16th **LUCIA** (Cuba) Humberto Solas 160 min. An epic, three-part feature film dramatizing three separate periods in the Cuban struggle for liberation in order to show the participation of Cuban women in that struggle.

The Puerto Rico question, America's colony, is now in the forefront of the struggles in this country. To provide historical information, the Higher Ground Cinema is showing **PUERTO RICO**.

Nov. 19th - 23rd **PUERTO RICO** (I.C.A.I.C. - Film Ass'n of Cuba) 90 min. A historical documentary tracing the anti-colonial struggle in Puerto Rico from the 16th century Spanish invasion to the present day struggle against American imperialism. In Spanish with no English sub-titles.

Nov. 26th - 30th **TANZAM RAILROAD** (Tanzania) 160 min. A documentary film depicting the cooperation between progressive people's of China and Tanzania in the construction of a trans-continental railway enabling Tanzania to enjoy economic freedom.

Dec. 3rd - 7th **INDIGENOUS AMERICANS SERIES**
BROKEN TREATY at BATTLE MOUNTAIN (N. Amer. Soho Films) 105 min. The Shoshone Indians fight to retain their culture and land. Narrated by Robert Redford.

Dec. 10th - 14th **INDIGENOUS AMERICANS SERIES**
These are all films about the peoples who inhabited the Americas before the white man's invasion. They depict the struggles being waged throughout the Americas to regain freedom and dignity. Wed. & Fri. **BLOOD OF THE CONDOR** (Bolivia) Jorge Sanjinés 85 min. Sat. & Sun. 17 **HAPPENED IN HUAFIN** (Argentina) Gleyzer/Pretoran 50 min.

Dec. 17th - 21st **THE HOUR OF LIBERATION HAS STRUCK** (Dhofar) 62 min. **TO LIVE IN FREEDOM** (Palestine) 60 min. Hour of Liberation chronicles the men and women who have taken up arms and dedicated their lives to transforming their countries' feudal system. **To Live in Freedom** is a new film from Palestine which heavily condemns the obvious contradictions in Israeli society.

Contribution \$1.75 (members \$10.00)

ECONOMIC CRISIS:

Straight Out Rockefeller Takeover of New York City!

The disagreement over Federal aid to New York City is a ploy (a game) to make it seem as if Rockefeller is opposed to a Rockefeller takeover of New York City.

"General" Vice President Rockefeller calls for swift Congressional action to assist New York City now that Mayor "can't count" Beame and the Emergency Financial Control Board began implementing a plan to eliminate the city's 800-million budget deficit by 1978. The plan will include massive firings, dismantling of certain agencies, and early retirements at the expense of the working class. The Chase Manhattan, First National City and Chemical Banks are controlled by a group of families and financiers in which the Rockefellers predominate. In 1955, the Chase National Bank was worth \$514 billion. It took over the Bank of Manhattan and by 1967 the Chase Manhattan was worth \$5.6-billion: It took over the First National Bank and by 1967 The First National City was worth \$15.2 billion: All of these are New York Banks with some of them having as many as 142 branches in the New York area. Like Chase-Manhattan Bank.

What does this mean? It shows the role that banks play under monopoly capitalism as Lenin so penetratingly analyzed 50 years ago.

"The principal and original function of banks is to serve as middlemen in the making of payments. In doing so they transform inactive money capital into active, that is, into capital yielding a profit: they collect all kinds of money revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class.

As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from humble middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given country and in a number of countries. This transformation of numerous humble middlemen into a handful of monopolists represents one of the fundamental processes in the growth of capitalism into capitalist imperialism.

Scattered capitalists are transformed
(Continued on page 11)

AMIN

(Continued from page 2)

apartheid is correct, but we must also look at Amin's deeds and see that his rule in Uganda (the neo-colonialism and political and military corruption, and collaboration with British Imperialism, despite the militant rhetoric) demands serious questioning from those forces committed to liberation. But at the same time, we are not going to fall for this sham attempt by U.S. imperialism to attack the revolutionary upsurge of the 3rd world against U.S. imperialism.

Daniel P. Moynihan's speech attacking Amin as a "racist" is absurd, not only when we look at Moynihan's musty personal history as a racist infamous for the "Moynihan Report" that assaulted the Black family, especially Black mothers, and his strategy created for Nixon "benign neglect" which spells racism American style. But even worse Moynihan represents U.S. imperialism, which is the prop for racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism & apartheid, throughout most of the world, except for the areas of the world patrolled by U.S.'s partner in crime, the other Superpower, the U.S.S.R.. And the stench of racism in America, sponsored straight from the White House and monopoly capitalism, reveals the actual garbage that American "democracy" represents both inside and abroad.

Moynihan's claim to U.S. support of democracy is so bogus, that the decadence of capitalism on its deathbed, comes right into focus. Internally, where the bourgeoisie, the modern robber barons, own & control 90% of the wealth and all the power outright, yet they are less than 1% of the U.S. population. Does Moynihan think we are fools, in speaking of equality between the handful of parasitic exploiters who rule America, and the vast majority of exploited American people who own nothing but their ability to sell their labor power to the capitalists? Who doesn't know that U.S. imperialism's hands are bloody with the appointment of infamous dictators like Lon Nol &

Thieu who have been driven out by wars of national liberation. Or, U.S. imperialism's watchdog for Northern Afrika, the illegal state of Israel, at one end, and the U.S.'s support of South Afrikan apartheid, the illegal "Rhodesian" government in Zimbabwe & Namibia. Everyday U.S. imperialism's list of assassinations grows & it is stained with the brutal murders of such heroic patriots as Lumumba & Allende, Che Guevarra & Amilcar Cabral.

The 3rd World will struggle against the Superpowers, and bring them toward their inevitable doom, but right here in the funky streets of the U.S. the multi-national working class & oppressed nationalities will cut off the head of U.S. imperialism, smashing the

(Continued on page 11)

NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY MEETS IN DAYTON, OHIO

The National Black Assembly is scheduled to meet again November 14-16, 1975, in Dayton, Ohio. This will be the 4th and final meeting for the year 1975 of this body, whose purpose is to carry on the work of the National Black Political Convention, which meets every two years. The first Convention was in Gary, Indiana in 1972, and the 2nd in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1974.

On Friday, November 14, from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m., the National Political Council (elected by the NBA, representing regions & the Executive Committee)

FORD

(Continued from page 1)

property). \$30,000 is 6 minimal salary jobs, or housing rehabilitation, or the school supplies that were cut out of this year's budget. At the same time Lt. Jerry - "I admire Gibson for keeping the people passive" - Ford came with his own security entourage of Secret Servicemen, FBI and CIA (which also came out of our tax money). The strict security is the result of the "attempts" on Ford's life. Although twice they were close enough to hit (once by a woman who "just wanted some attention" then by a friend of the FBI) missed. These dubious assassination attempts served to open the door again to the call for "gun control" and "law & order."

We were also there, waiting for the president. 400 demonstrators from the Congress of Afrikan People, El Comite-MINP, the October League, and the community, demonstrated in Military Park which was barricaded for the occasion, across from the hotel. Across from because police and city officials renege on a permit that had been granted for the front of the hotel, thereby violating the democratic rights of the people.

Lt. Ford is on the campaign trail ac-

State Chairpersons (elected by State Assemblies), will meet to go over the Charter - which will then be presented for ratification to the National Black Assembly on Saturday, November 15. Other key agenda items for this meeting will be: (a) the next National Black Political Convention, scheduled for March 17-21, 1976, in Cincinnati, Ohio; (b) report on the Economic Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, August 1-2, 1975, and the resolutions from that Conference; (c) report from the Women's Caucus within the NBA, which has remained a major issue since this body met in D.C. in April of this year; (d) elections to fill vacant positions on the Executive Committee (as well as any other positions created by the Charter once it is adopted); and (e) what will be our Electoral Strategy for 1976 National Elections (the Assembly has already voted to run a Black candidate for president in 1976, who will not be controlled by the Democrats nor Republicans).

The last meeting of the Assembly was August 3, in Atlanta, Georgia, following the Economic Conference. During discussion of the agenda, it was raised by the representative from the Women's Caucus (Jean Dember-N.Y.) that it had been decided in the Women's Caucus that morning to have a representative sit on the dais and speak from the floor, as well as a liaison person to attend Executive Committee meetings, elected by the Women's Caucus. As a result of the ruling by the Chair (President of the NBA, Ron Daniels) that this should come under item 7 on the agenda (near the end of the meeting), there was immediate disagreement from the body! This discussion finally grew into chanting and protest of the Chair's ruling.

(Continued on page 5)

ross the country to gather support and money for the Republican party, while the head of the command, General Rocky, gives orders from the vice presidency. Ford, trying to push Watergate in the closet with the other skeletons. Opposing what the people need for the maximum profits of the bourgeoisie. Ford even goes so far as to repeat the threats of war to save Rocky's oil holdings in the Middle East. While the democrats are hoping dead bodies don't float (Chappaquidick), await victories, pulling Watergate and the CIA's assassinations and domestic spying out of the closet (although they only tell enough to get the people to think they are telling you something), but the Bay of Pigs was the oinks of the Democrats (their liberal sector at that). These two bankrupt parties of the rich ruling class few, who work to keep working people oppressed and exploited under the guise of "democracy", raises the question again for the need for "Strategy '76". A political movement pulling together all progressive elements in this country into an anti-Democrat, anti-Republican, anti-depression and anti-repression united front, that would actually be an anti-fascist front to oppose the rightward swing of both parties. Like

(Continued on page 8)

S-1 the FBI Capitalism in Crisis, Fascism in USA

Put together a few of the most recent government moves, look at the ideas being pushed in the superstructure, particularly television, cop serials and analyze these with the crisis that monopoly capitalism and imperialism is in and you will see the very real foundations of fascism being laid in America. The Senate Bill "Criminal Justice Codification, Revision & Reform Act" known to most as S-1 is a bold attempt to legalize much of the repression that had to be done semi-undercovers before by FBI, CIA and local police. Its main features are: Death Penalty - makes executions mandatory for certain crimes; Secrecy - provides high fines (\$100,000) and 3 to 7 yrs. prison or death for having government "secret information", even if it was not declared secret when it was originally obtained. This part of S.1 conflicts with the Freedom of Information Act of 1974 which provided for judicial review of classification and placed the burden of proof of secrecy on the government.

This Freedom of Information Act of 1974, which was highly publicized was just another trick. We say this because the Act is not being enforced. When the Southern Africa Committee requested review of FBI materials on their organization they were told that they were still being investigated and that the material would not be made available and the FBI would not give them any reason why. The same denial was made to the Congress of Afrikan People. So the S-1 article on Secrecy is really just a formal recinding of the Freedom of Information Act and a legalizing of the present illegal practice.

S-1 had a "Leading a Riot" provision - 3 yrs. prison - \$100,000 fine for the "movement of a person across state lines or use of telephone or mail to promote any assemblage of five people that create a grave danger to property!" (No doubt this exempts the police, since they only riot on people!)

The danger of this provision is clear - fascist local police, FBI, military or

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION

(Continued from page 1)

they forced blacks into positions of near slavery. The National Question at the end of the 1920's was still essentially an agrarian question with most blacks still on the land. In line with that, the CPUSA saw that a key to solution of the Black National Question was to be found in part in the demand for the Black masses to control the land in the Black Nation.

"The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black belt against the yoke of American imperialism. But this

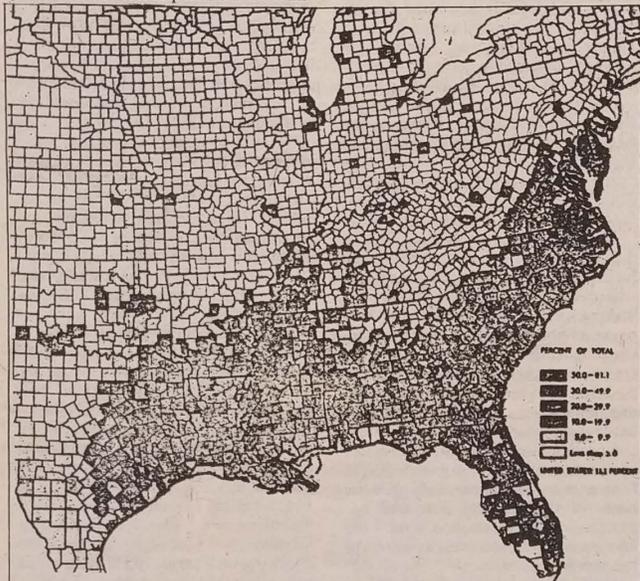
slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands.

"Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners (they are now the agri-business corporate class) and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers."

"Establishment of the state unity in the Black Belt."

The essence of the struggle of Blacks in the U.S. is the struggle for political emancipation, political power. The right to self-determination. "The right of self-determination. This means com-

(Continued on page 7)



Black people in the United States are at once an oppressed nation, whose land base is the Black Belt South (shown in map above), and at the same time, as an oppressed nationality, live much like an oppressed national minority in the other areas of the U.S. state in which they are found.

NBA

(Continued from page 4)

When unable to complete a roll call vote, the Chair called for an adjournment and left the meeting, along with some members of some state delegations. At the demand of the people remaining for the meeting (over 1/2 of the registered attendance), the Secretary-General (Amiri Baraka) agreed to Chair so the business that people traveled miles to conduct would go on. Even though the entire agenda was gone through and decisions made by the remaining members, these actions will not be official until presented to the National Black Assembly at the November 15-16 meeting.

All of the stated agenda items are important to the every day concerns of Black people, as well as other oppressed nationalities and the working class in general, in this country. We therefore

urge that State Assemblies be supported in their efforts to bring as many people as possible to this crucial meeting. If there is any difficulty in contacting your State Chairperson, or it is not readily known who that is, please write:

Secretary-General, National Black Assembly, 502 High Street, Newark, N.J. 07102 who will assist in whatever way possible.

Build the National Black Assembly! Liberation of the Black Nation! Victory to All Oppressed People!

**Neo-Colonialism
Is The Main Face
Of Imperialism
In Afrika!**

1st Draft of General CAP Summation National ALSC 1972-1975

1972, was a year that carried forth the sometimes vague dynamic of the 60's to its most organized point, and set the point of departure for the political tide of the next few years to follow. 1972 was the year that the ALSC was first put together, culminating in the ALD or (ALSD) in Washington which brought together around 30,000 people, plus some 25 or so thousand at other cities across the country and in the Caribbean and Canada.

1972 was also the year that the National Black Assembly was put together to bring some 8,000 people to Gary, Indiana to try to put together a Black United Front against National Oppression. It was also the year that the leadership of the Congress of Afrikan People changed hands, with Imamu Baraka being named Chairman replacing Heyward Henry. This went on publicly at a meeting of Congress of Afrikan People, an "International Assembly" in San Diego, California.

Congress of Afrikan People participation in ALD began in 1971 with an invitation to go to Greensboro to Malcolm X Liberation University to discuss the plan put forward by Owusu Sadauki, at a meeting attended by a representative cross section of Nationalists, PanAfrikanists, Movement Activists predominantly, which could be, as was shown later, very readily, divided into a right and a left and a center. Apparently, some elements in that meeting were developing a more clearly identifiable "classic" anti-imperialist line, but the main impulse of the Black Liberation Movement in general is anti-imperialist, though aspects of it, taken past the patriotic surface are, of course, reactionary.

At the point at which ALD began to be put together CAP's political line was basically Kawaida Nationalism. But the developing line put forward by the new

Chairman in 1972 was that the Congress of Afrikan People ideology had "three cutting edges", Nationalism Pan-Afrikanism, and Ujamaa-Socialism. The first gathering of the ALSC was based on a wide appeal, frankly Nationalist and PanAfrikanist, which included elected officials, and some Garveyites, with all stripes in between, even in the gathering itself which featured Charles Diggs (then President of the National Black Assembly), Elaine Brown of the Black Panthers, Haki Madhubuti read poetry, Elombe Brath AJASS, as well as Baraka CAP and Sadaukai, MXLU. At some of the stops CORE's Roy Innis, as well as National Churchmen, also held forth. It was a wide spectrum of the Black Liberation Movement. The character of ALSC at the time was of a National Liberation Front, in the form of a broad support group for Afrikan Liberation. It rested upon a basic "Black consciousness" that developed in the 60's which developed into Afrikan consciousness, and Pan-Afrikanism and at its most political, a militant support for Afrikan Liberation Struggles. (This developed into a clearly articulated anti-imperialist stance, which led some elements within the Black Liberation Movement and particularly the ALSC to become Marxist-Leninists as the accretion of their consciousness quantitatively gave rise to a qualitative change all based on the continued development and change of material conditions and their change and development because of them as well as their ability to make concrete analysis of them.)

Between September 1972, when it was decided to make the ALDCC (Afrikan Liberation Day Coordinating Committee) the ALSC and 1973, in many areas theoretical clarity and struggle inside various formations saw a considerable

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ANGOLA

(Continued from page 1)

have had several conferences aimed at settling their civil war and uniting to end colonialism in Angola. But despite UNITA's initiative in calling these meetings in Mombassa, Penina, and most recently in Nakuru in Kenya, within 18 days the Superpowers had re-instigated civil war at the expense of the Angolan people. From the preamble of the Nakuru agreement, "The three liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA met in Nakuru, Kenya, from June 16 to 21 and were here represented by their respective leaders Holden Roberto, Agostino Neto, and Jonas Savimbi, aware of the gravity of the situation the country is going through and aware that the national interests must prevail over all petty ideological and political differences, solemnly declare to renounce, to solve any of the problems that may occur in

the way of our country's independence by means of force and take a firm compromise to honor the form and the letter of the following agreements."

But within 18 days the Soviet Union had put Angola back into civil war! "The Soviet Bloc which has failed to maintain areas of influence in Black Africa, and reluctant to launch a major military intervention in Portugal... understood that a military victory of MPLA in Angola - one of the richest African countries - could represent the basis to realize... its long standing desires and aims of political control and direct influence over the vast and rich areas of central Africa."

MPLA has attempted to assassinate UNITA's leader Jonas Savimbi "in the southern town of Silva Porto by shooting at the Zambian Executive Jet in which the UNITA leader was supposed to be traveling on August 3rd, 1975." The plot failed.

The united front of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism, and Superpower imperialism is necessary. But looking at the realities of Angola today, we see severe limitations in the ability of FNLA's leadership to participate in such a front, fighting against Superpower imperialism, when Roberto himself is an infamous Kennedy picked U.S. CIA agent (on the payroll since 1962!), and with MPLA's well documented blood money and armaments from the Social Imperialist USSR. The question is, who will actually create this front to lead a united Angolan people thru this field of submerged rocks? Only UNITA, which has led armed struggle against colonialism for the last 10 years, and is the only liberation movement of the 3 which is rooted in Angola rather than some surrounding territory, and which is fighting against all forms of foreign domination, colonial and new Superpower neo-colonialism seen's able to move in opposition to both of the Superpowers and therefore a leading force in any united front against U.S. & U.S.S.R. intervention in Angola.

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Black Womens United Front

Black Women a struggle for democratic rights - a move toward Revolution!

The Struggle of Black people against economic exploitation and national oppression is a part of the bloody history of the USA. A part of that struggle and an inseparable sector of the Black Liberation Movement are Black women. Black peoples oppression in the United States began with the American slave trade and so began the history of the revolutionary struggle of Black people in the United States. Black women from slavery on have been subjected to along with, all Black people, the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class first as chattel slaves and now as wage slave workers for the maximum super profits of the Monopoly Capitalist Class. Monopoly Capitalism forced triple oppression on Black women, National oppression, class oppression, & sex oppression. How is this done concretely? Black women are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, because Black people are an oppressed nation that suffers racial discrimination and Black women are a part of that Black nation. All workers (Blacks, Latins, Asian & Whites) are exploited through the extraction of surplus value by monopoly capitalism. Workers receive slave wages just enough to keep them working for the capitalist and keep the capitalist making maximum profit, and Black women along with Black people are a part of the multi-national working class, but a part whose labor is super exploited. This super exploitation can be seen clearer when you consider that housewives who work and get no pay from the Capitalist to breed and keep work-healthy a labor force that is intended to be wage slave earners for the Capitalist Class. All women are a part of the labor reserve in Capitalist society. Women are used to keep all other workers wages down, depressed. Black women are at the bottom of the wage slave scale. They make less slave wages than white men, Black men and White women and therefore again super exploited by the Monopoly Capitalist class.

What are the benefits of Black women under Monopoly Capitalism/Imperialism?

Black women along with other oppressed women have no maternity leave,

no Free or Low cost day care centers, poor medical care in general is forced on all poor people and oppressed nationalities and women get the worst treatment. Forced sterilization, particularly Black women and poor women on welfare, no safe and free family planning. Job discrimination, poor housing and lack of any quality education a for their children. All these things are the democratic rights of any people.

Black women and other working women are fighting everyday on the job at the schools and hospitals, welfare agencies and so on for their democratic rights. Black women have been and are still part of the leading force of the Black liberation Struggle. Many Black women in the Black liberation movement have joined in with the whole working class struggle for Socialism aimed at destroying the economic system of Monopoly Capitalism. They see a need to replace it with a Socialist system, where working people will be the ruling class. With working people as the Ruling Class the conditions can be laid for the first time in the history of the United States to destroy racism, national oppression and the oppression of women. Conditions would be set to do away with all forms of exploitation. This struggle would not be won over night, it will be a long and difficult task but it would also be in the full interest of all the people oppressed by Monopoly Capitalism/Imperialism worldwide. Study the life of the Chinese women in the Peoples Republic of China. Check out the women's struggle in Albania and we should closely watch the movement and development of the people of Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, North and South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Driven by the oppression of Monopoly Capitalism, Black women like many other revolutionary women in the United States, are studying the science of revolution (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought) preparing to wage the just struggle for their democratic rights and by correctly preparing waging a struggle for the democratic rights of all oppressed people and finally the Liberation of the Black Nation and all peoples oppressed by Monopoly Capitalism.

The Building of a Black Women's United Front

Recently out of the struggle to take the correct revolutionary stand on the side of the exploited and oppressed masses, there emerged through much struggle a Black Women's United Front (BWUF), that has taken up as its task the building of an anti-racist, anti-

(Continued on page 8)

"76" STRATEGY

Recent events have emphasized the apparent need that the people of America have for an alternative to their misery and the need for the revolutionary and progressive forces to arouse the masses and make them look more closely at the sources of this misery, monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and bring the struggle for socialism as the clear alternative.

In the Republican wing, Ford campaigns for president and steps on the people as he goes! And who's challenging him? Republican reactionary Ronald Reagan; or "Democratic" alternatives "Scoop" Jackson and George Wallace - bringing histories of labor union bureaucracy and racist oppression, wrapped in convention glitter and "for the people rhetoric"!

And in case we don't go for this, the Republican-Democratic Party in the Senate are collaborating on the S.I Bill laying the foundation for a fascist type repression once people can no longer be distracted by newspaper serials on insane terrorists and Ford Family antics!

Meanwhile, the people are left to depend upon who for leadership? The luxuriously paid labor aristocrats putting on militant acts for the workers and making the real deals with the corporation presidents. The bankrupt "activist" leaders and liberals, CPUSA revisionists pushing pure reformism and peaceful coexistence with capitalism and imperialism, now when we need to be struggling for revolution.

CAP has raised Strategy 76 and called upon a broad range of organizations to form a united front that would raise the needs of the working class and oppressed nationalities, oppose the bourgeois parties and bring socialism to the people.

The National Black Assembly is one united front where Strategy 76 was raised. Initially NBA accepted the anti-Democrat, anti-Republican thrust calling a Black candidate for president and later adopted an entire Strategy 76 resolution (a revised version proposed by someone else) and set up a Strategy 76 Committee. But since that point (April 1975) the dominant factor has been undermining and delay. For example, certain NBA forces maintain the need for four meetings to discuss the strategy - one Black, one Third World, one white and then one with people! These forces say it is because each group has its own priorities to discuss. Yes, each group may have priorities, but the purpose of the united front is to bind these priorities into a single thrust. Even more important, while we spend four months delaying in four different meetings discussing the same issues and drawing the same conclusions, the Republican-Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie and their lackies, are mobilizing, tricking or forcing people to either fight on their side or pretend there is democracy under bourgeois dictatorship and submit to their rule!

On the other hand, Strategy 76 has

been raised to Marxist-Leninist organizations in the anti-revisionist movement. Since that time a stream of questions have been raised-answered-raised, such as: How Strategy 76 might forward the struggle to build a multinational vanguard communist party?; and, Does the massive organizing effort that electoral campaigning demand weaken organizing at the point of production? CAP responded that bringing together the Marxist-Leninist organizations in the close working relationship that electoral campaigning requires would also provide a basis for beginnings of long range work together by Marxist-Leninist forces and progressives that will contribute to formation of united front against imperialism. One of the necessary components, along with a revolutionary party and armed struggle is making socialist revolution.

On the question of electoral work weakening work at the point of production first. Lenin, in "Against the Faction of the Otzovists" states, "Hence, the ability to use parliamentarism has proved to be a symptom (not a condition but a symptom) of exemplary organization of the entire socialist movement, in all its branches. . . . Secondly, the workers at the point of production are one main sector the bourgeois parties aim at in their electoral thrust, through union bureaucracies, rallies, TV and mounds of printed lies about their positions on "bread & butter" issues. Workers vote in their communities and are also influenced there by politicians and political activity. We need a strong line then in the shops, at union meetings and rallies, on TV and in the many communities, with attractive and clear literature exposing these lines and the exploitation and oppression of capitalism, the racism that oppresses Black workers and divides the class and calling for workers control of the economy.

In the struggle to bring NBA and National Coordinating Committee (a coalition of varied forces around Strategy 76) together to work on Strategy 76, some of the bourgeois nationalist "paranoia" has given way to a willingness to have multinational meetings of the NBA and NCC committees, but such unity must be principled and not opportunist. It is essen-

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PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

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

(Part 4)

Black "Zionism" or "Back to Afrika"

The dominant form of reactionary black nationalism, arising between 1830 and 1860, was black zionism. Martin R. Delany, a black writer, editor and theoretician, was one of the chief spokesmen and prime movers of black zionism. He set forth the black zionist doctrine very competently in his book, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (published by the author in Philadelphia in 1852).

"... Every people should be the originators of their own designs, the projector of their own schemes, and creators of the events that lead to their destiny—the consummation of their desires.

"Situated as we are, in the United States, many, and almost insurmountable obstacles present themselves. We are four-and-a-half millions in numbers, free and bond; six hundred thousand free, and three-and-a-half millions bond.

"We have native hearts and virtues, just as other nations; which in their pristine purity are noble, potent, and worthy of example. We are a nation within a nation;—as the Poles in Russia, the Hungarians in Austria; the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch in the British dominions.

"But we have been, by our oppressors, despoiled of our purity, and corrupted in our native characteristics, so that we have inherited their vices, and but few of their virtues, leaving us in character, really a broken people.

"Being distinguished by complexion, we are still singled out—although having merged in the habits and customs of our oppressors—as a distinct nation of people; as the Poles, Hungarians, Irish and others, who still retain their native peculiarities, of language, habits, and various other traits. The claims of no people, according to established policy

and usage, are respected by any nation, until they are presented in a national capacity.

"To accomplish so great and desirable an end, there should be held, a great representative gathering of the colored people of the United States; not what is termed a National Convention, representing en masse, such as have been, for the last few years, held at various times and places; but a true representation of the intelligence and wisdom of the colored freemen; because it will be futile and an utter failure, to attempt such a project without the highest grade of intelligence.

"To effect this, and prevent intrusion and improper representation, there should be a CONFIDENTIAL COUNCIL held; and circulars issued, only to such persons as shall be known to the projectors to be equal to the desired object.

"The authority from whence the call should originate, to be in this wise:—The originator of the scheme, to impart the contemplated Confidential Council, to a limited number of known, worthy gentlemen, who agreeing with the project, endorse at once the scheme, when becoming joint proprietors in interest, issue a Confidential Circular, leaving blanks for date, time, and place of holding of the Council, sending them to trusty, worthy and suitable colored freemen, in all parts of the United States, and the Canadas, inviting them to attend; who when met in Council, have the right to project any scheme they may think proper for the general good of the whole people.

"By this Council to be appointed, a Board of Commissioners, to consist of three, five or such reasonable number as may be decided upon, one of whom shall be chosen as Principal or Conductor of the Board, whose duty and business shall be, to go on an expedition to the EASTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

"The National Council shall appoint one or two Special Commissioners, to England, France, to solicit in the name of the Representatives of a Broken Nation, of four-and-a-half millions, the necessary outfit and support, for any period not exceeding three years, of such an expedition. Certainly, what England and France would do, for a little nation—mere nominal nation, of five thousand civilized Liberians, they would be willing and ready to do, for five millions; if they be but authentically represented, in a national capacity. What was due to Greece, enveloped by Turkey, should be due to United States, enveloped by the United States; and we believe would be respected, if properly presented. To England and France, we should look for sustenance, and the people of those two nations—as they would have everything to gain from such an adventure and eventual settlement on the EASTERN COAST OF AFRICA—the opening of

an immense trade being the consequence. The whole Continent is rich in minerals, and the most precious metals, as but a superficial notice of the topographical and geological reports from that country, plainly show to any mind versed in the least, in the science of the earth. . . The land is ours—there it lies with inexhaustible resources; let us go and possess it. In Eastern Africa must rise up a nation, to whom all the world must pay commercial tribute.



Martin R. Delany, black doctor, writer, editor & theoretician, was one of the chief spokesmen & prime movers of black "zionism" or "back to Afrika" movement. Black Zionism had a dual character. It borrowed from revolutionary nationalism the concept of the black people comprising a nation within a nation.

But its reactionary nature was revealed in its disbelief in the revolutionary potential of the enslaved black masses. They believed that the power of the slave holders could not be broken so it is obvious that in designs on colonizing parts of Afrika the abandonment of the enslaved black masses was a necessary part of their scheme.

"We must MAKE and ISSUE, CREATE and EVENT, and ESTABLISH a NATIONAL POSITION for OURSELVES: and never may expect to be respected as men and women, until we have undertaken, some fearless, bold, and adventurous deeds of daring—contending against every odds—regardless of every consequence."

The above excerpts from Delany's book contain the fundamental kernel of black zionism. Other black zionists, like H. Ford Douglass (no relation to Frederick Douglass), whom we will hear from later, further elaborated some of the specific tenets of black zionism, but Delany's exposition presents a more complete picture of the fundamentals of this reactionary brand of nationalism.

This is still the strategic leadership for revolution in the U.S. with other oppressed nationalities. The deviations of the CPUSA on this revolutionary line on the National question in the U.S. has led it straight down the road to revisionism. In the current new Communist Movement, the failure to take a clear and correct line on the Black National question will again lay the foundation for another revisionist triumph. Failure to uphold the revolutionary line of Self-Determination for the Black Nation will advance revisionism and prevent any real unity between white workers and the people of the oppressed Black Nation, or between white workers and the oppressed nationality which the Blacks throughout the rest of the U.S. are.

Black zionism had a dual character. It borrowed from revolutionary nationalism the concept of the black people comprising a nation within a nation. It also borrowed from revolutionary nationalism the fundamental concepts that the black nation had a unique national character and that the sacred right of all nations is the right of self-determination. Moreover, black zionists like Delany helped to raise some of these important concepts to their highest theoretical level. So, while they did not originate these concepts, they nevertheless performed a service of untold magnitude, by helping to elevate and elaborate them, even though their purpose and designs for doing so were fundamentally reactionary and counter-revolutionary. This, in a word then, captures the duality of black zionism.

Delany stated that the black people in the United States constituted a nation within a nation and he gave valid examples to support this view. Moreover, he observed that the black nation was a captive nation like Ireland under the oppressive yoke of Great Britain. Delany gave one of the most concise and brilliant statements on the right and meaning of the self-determination of nations: "Every people should be the originators of their own designs, the projector of their own schemes, and the creators of the events that lead to their destiny—the consummation of their desires."

Also, he asserted that the black people, even though they had "merged" in the habits and customs of our oppressor—as a distinct nation—retained their "native peculiarities, of language, habits, and various other traits" (i.e., national character) in the same way that the Irish and other oppressed people (who had merged in the habits and customs of their oppressors) retained their national character. To cap this off, Delany correctly stated, in effect, that no oppressed nation could be considered free until it attained its own government and its own sovereign state, or at least some "national capacity" which served to represent its interests.

It was the elaboration of concepts borrowed from black revolutionary nationalism which gave black zionism its nationalist character. Without this theoretical front it would be almost impossible to distinguish the black zionist program from that of the oppressor's *American Colonization Society*. Indeed, some black historians, like Carter G. Woodson, have preferred to call Martin R. Delany and his cohorts *colonizationists*. But such a characterization, while it is correct, tends to obscure the duality of black zionism, and while it serves to expose its fundamentally reactionary character, it also tends to deny the validity of the black zionist contributions to the theoretical study of the national question.

(To be continued)

National Question

(Continued from page 5)

plete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the U.S."

The demand for self-determination means the ability (power) to operate a governmental structure and determine the direction of your own nation. "At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white Bourgeois and landlords!

But the right of self-determination can only be fully realized with the complete overthrow of the white landowner and bourgeois class. "The overthrow of this class rule in the Black Belt is undoubtedly necessary in the struggle for the Negroes right to self-determination."

The CPUSA stood firmly on the principle of the right of the Black Nation to Self-determination, in its 1930

resolution.

In the resolution it also clearly stated the role of Black Communist in fighting the reactionary elements in the Black Liberation Movement.

The emancipation of the Black Nation will come only with the total overthrow of the bourgeoisie, including the big landlords and the lieutenants. The struggle will be led by the strategic leadership of the multi-national U.S. proletariat in alliance with the oppressed nationalities. In the Black Belt it will clearly be the Black proletariat setting the pace and taking the lead in the struggle for Black Liberation and Socialism! But throughout the U.S. the Black proletariat must be part of the leadership and with the other oppressed nationalities be the majority of the leadership of the struggle for socialist revolution. The 1930 resolution of the CPUSA stated: Their (communist) constant call to the Negro masses must be: Revolutionary Struggle against the ruling white Bourgeoisie, through a fighting alliance with the Revolutionary white Proletariat."

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Listen To The People!!

QUESTION: Do you think the CIA killed Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and John Robert Kennedy?

Dave Parrish, New York City - "Well, I think that some organized body killed all of them. After all these stories about what the CIA has been doing, it could very well be them bumping off leaders that they either can't control or are too well liked by Black folks or someone high upstairs. But anybody that Black people or just poor people like gets killed. The CIA, mafia and other people are just gangsters. They just got different bosses than the CIA."



Leatha Jenkins, Baltimore, Maryland - "In my opinion the CIA is trying now, and has been for years, to overthrow the government. The agency has been bugging the telephones of thousands of private citizens and government officials. They have files on thousands of people and have been harassing them in so many ways that their intention are crystal clear (a police state). Whenever anyone attempts to organize the people around principles of humanity, they become a threat to the CIA. These personalities are immed-



ately exterminated. For instance Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and the Kennedy brothers were all threats to the CIA. The supposed assassins of Dr. King, and John Kennedy were both government agents. In addition, the government was informed of the attempted murder prior to it. Nothing was done and two of the persons who supplied information on the assassination were railroaded on drug charges. These circumstances lead me to believe that the CIA was responsible for these murders.

Taibu Sudi (Billy Talton), South Bend, Indiana - "I had never thought of one particular agency such as the CIA being responsible for the life of these individuals. However, I do believe who ever is responsible had to have a considerable amount of assistance. The kind of help that one could only receive from an agency such as the CIA."



Tiombe Mahiri (Brenda Watford) South Bend, Indiana "I don't think that there is any doubt about it. Just based on their past involvement with the murder of Patrice Lumumba and the coup in the Congo and the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile etc.



BWUF

(Continued from page 6)

organization.

BWUF is a young organization that is still sinking roots among Black working class women and other progressive social strata and at the same time struggling to sum-up the struggle for the democratic rights of women and Black people in order to take a revolutionary stance. This is the main goal of the meeting to be held October 25th in Atlanta, Georgia, to hold an open discussion on the principles of unity, anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-capitalism in a genuine effort to lay a solid and firm foundation to build an organization that will be prepared to move with the tide of revolution, guided by a scientific analysis that will minimize mistakes, correct past errors, and put the BWUF in tune with the revolutionary motion of the world today. In preparation for such a national meeting many of the women working in local BWUF's are summing-up their practice and emphasizing to study harder to carry on principled ideological discussion and wage principled struggle for genuine principled unity with the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

The main slogan of the BWUF has been "Abolition of every possibility of Oppression and exploitation," and it has been with this slogan that local work around JoAnn Little's defense has been done, rallies, fund raisers, as well as forums on "Women and Imperialism", solidarity meetings with Puerto Rican women, films such as "Salt of the Earth," struggles against layoffs and budget cuts, work around International

Women's Day, study sessions on the "Woman Question," demonstrations against the Super-powers (U.S. & USSR Imperialism) intervention in Africa (Zimbabwe and Angola).

At the coming National Meeting, the BWUF is looking forward to all Black women, workers, professionals, students and organizations to join in with the building of the Black Women's United Front and the strengthening of its principles of unity so that BWUF's actions can be based on the concrete needs of the masses of toiling and working women exploited and oppressed by this economic and political system, Monopoly Capitalism/Imperialism and the racism and national oppression that are its cornerstones.

Without reservation, we welcome all Black women to share in what the BWUF is preparing to be a theoretical discussion that will bring clarity to the revolutionary movement of women's struggles in particular, but also to the struggles of all oppressed people in the United States and Worldwide in general.

Forward with the Struggle!

FORD

(Continued from page 4)

the demonstrators demanded: "FASCIST REPRESSION IS NOT THE ANSWER TO DEPRESSION - DEFEAT THE S-1 BILL!" "Strategy '76" would also speak to the needs of Black and third world people in this country as well as the whole working class.

Finally as the demonstration put out the call:

**"WHAT'S THE ANSWER? - REVOLUTION!!!
WHY IS THAT? - IT'S THE ONLY SOLUTION!!!"**

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ALSC

(Continued from page 5)

tinued commitment to ALSC, Afrikan Liberation in 73, at demonstrations that were spread around the country. In Newark over a thousand people marched clear across the city from deep in the Black community to the site of Kawaida Towers to confront a local racist demagogue and opposition to Kawaida Towers. And at the same time push the popular hard line of the death of Portuguese colonialism. During this period the ALSC and the NBA were similar organizations in some respects, except that ALSC was more militantly focused, because of its effective leadership, from the beginning. We say this because a good part of the social force to make, say the 1973 AL demonstration in Newark, and other cities successful, drew on the same social forces that in many cases tried to keep the NBA together on a functioning basis. Except that the ALSC never had Black Elected Officials in any form of functioning leadership except masthead participants and celebrants and speakers, &c., whereas the NBA set out as a United Front that included the Black Elected Officials in the CORE of its leadership.

June 1973, the meeting in Frogmore raised the first open questions around the directions of the ALSC, aside from the "unity of action" that saw the ALD and initial organizing of the ALSC burgeon to such effective and successful

Revolutionary Book Review:

Black People and the Coming Depression

(Part 2)

The booklet opens with Jawanza Kunjufu's "What is a Depression". This brother is faced with the impossible task of trying to analyze the Depression and explain its source in such a way that would not condemn capitalism - which Haki R. Madhubuti has already admitted they have neither the desire nor capacity to do. Therefore, we have an anemic, emaciated definition that fails to even make mention of the factor of production relations and the exploitation of labor. Jawanza Kunjufu openly ponders, "can capitalism be the reason for our current economic problems? This is a difficult question to answer... Capitalism is not the problem for us as Black people. Systems are merely manifestations of the people that control them."

Jawanza Kunjufu is a revealing lesson on the system of education under the tutelage of the bourgeoisie. This poor soul majored in Economics and Accounting at Illinois State University, from which he graduated. His analysis of overproduction is precisely that of the bourgeoisie; i. e. "Capitalism trying to meet a rising demand for commodities." Such an analysis attempts to cover up the bourgeoisie aim for maximum profit. A dry excuse is again attempted for maximum profit greed with his claim, "With an environment of rising

proportions. The proposals for a Statement of Principles were varied, but the main document came from a synthesis of Nashville and Greensboro documents, which gave, for the first time, the unmistakable thrust of the international anti-imperialist movement. There was a caucus of the Kawaida Nationalists which raised criticisms of the document, and these criticisms were raised in the meeting. One point, on the need to defeat cultural aggression was even included in the document.

In October 1973, however, another "extended" meeting of the secretariat was held to discuss some of the problems that some of the Nationalists saw with the SOP, which included its "Marxist Language", also the slogan and developing line "Black Workers Take The Lead", and what was to be ALSC's stance as far as the CP's national ripoff conference and instant organization the National anti-imperialist Conference which was also going to be in October 73. In this meeting many of the agreements made by some of the Nationalist elements as far as compromises with the SOP were raised again, in opposition to what had been agreed on in caucus. This only served to bring contradictions within certain groups, certainly for instance in the CAP, since at the time, three of its central council members (Haki Madhubuti, Jitu Weusi, and Imamu Baraka) were on the National Executive of the ALSC, to a head and drove those internal ideological struggles forward more intensely. (To be continued)

demand, a shortage is created. This will call for an increase in prices."

Their petty bourgeois, mechanical idealism continues, "then just as natural as the upturn is the downturn. Supply has now caught up with demand so that a shortage is no longer outstanding." What about the pauperization of the workers? Jawanza Kunjufu continues, "in fact, a surplus is created by the great enthusiasm to invest and produce." Ain't that a blip? "Prices begin to fall, profits begin to fall, production falls off and employment turn into massive unemployment." When under capitalism does he know prices fall, or to a large extent, profits either don't really fall which is the reason unemployment rises - so that profits won't fall. A clearer analysis is provided by the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik). "These irreconcilable contradictions between the character of the productive forces and the relations of production make themselves felt in any periodic crises of overproduction when the capitalists finding no effective demand for their goods, owing to the ruin of the masses of the people which they themselves have brought about, are compelled to burn products, destroy manufactured goods, suspend production and destroy productive forces at a time when millions of people are forced to suffer unemployment and starvation, not because there are not enough goods, but because there is an overproduction of goods." (Continued on page 10)

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Who is the Enemy?

"Who Is the Enemy?" will be featured in U & S as a series by Dr. Michio Kaku, activist and assistant professor of physics at CCNY. The material was researched in depth and fully documented by Dr. Kaku who can supply all relevant data.)

If wealth is power, then the power of this country is concentrated in the hands of a few corporations and banks. Over decades of constant struggle, the country's wealth has been concentrated, and power crystallized, in the hands of perhaps no more than 20 individuals. In 1965, there were 340,000 industrial corporations in this country; yet over 60% of all industrial assets were controlled by the top 200 corporations. And of the top 200 corporations, the bulk of their wealth is managed by these individuals. The purpose of this paper is to identify the key financial structures that control virtually all aspects of the American economy; in other words, to identify who is the enemy.

Unfortunately, there is no word in the English language which adequately describes this quintessence of power. For want of a better term, economists use the word *financial groups* to represent the fundamental unit of capitalism. Corporations may buy and sell governors and presidents like poker chips. These financial groups buy and sell whole continents. The bulk of the productive forces of this country are channeled into these financial groups.

Two Primary Financial Groups - Rockefeller & Morgan:

After years of financial conflict, two primary financial groups have emerged as the dominant forces of American capitalism in this century. By far the largest of all financial groups is the Rockefeller Financial Group, whose assets of core corporations has been conservatively estimated to be 150 billion dollars, or about 15% of the total Gross National Product (the total wealth of goods and services) of this country. The Rockefeller Financial Group, built upon the financial empire assembled by John D. Rockefeller, continues to dominate virtually every commercial venture of high finance. The Rockefeller Financial Group is based around the nation's largest banks, insurance firms, and oil companies. At the core of this Group are:

- **The nation's mightiest banks:** Chase Manhattan Bank (the Rockefeller family bank, third largest in the nation, with assets of \$19.0 billion), First National City Bank of New York (second largest in the nation, \$19.3 billion), Chemical Bank of New York (\$9 billion) and First National City Bank of Chicago (\$6 billion).
- **Largest insurance firms:** Metropolitan Life Insurance (\$25.8 billion), Equitable Life (\$13.6 billion), and New York Life (\$10.0 billion).
- **Largest oil companies:** Standard Oil of New Jersey (largest in the world, presently called Exxon, \$16.8 billion), Texaco (\$8.7 billion), Mobil-Socony Oil (formerly Standard of N.Y., \$6.9), and Standard Oil, Calif. (\$5.8 billion).
- **Largest airlines:** Pan Am (\$1.4 billion), American Airlines (\$1.4 billion), Eastern (\$.96 billion).

(The above list only scratches the surface of the massive financial empire built by the Rockefeller bankers, which overwhelms all aspects of Wall Street and much of the world. A more complete assessment of the Rockefeller Financial Group is given in Table I.) Smaller, but more familiar corporations like Sears (\$6.5 billion), Borden (\$1.0 billion), Macy's (\$.5 billion) and Honeywell (\$1.0 billion) and Pepsico (\$.47 billion) reveal the extent to which the Rockefeller Group controls our daily lives.

The second primary group is the Morgan Financial Group, built around the financial empire assembled by J.P. Morgan after the turn of the century. Though it lost considerable influence after the Depression, it is the only finan-

cial structure large enough to rival the Rockefeller Financial Group. The Morgan Financial Group, built around the Morgan Guaranty Trust, was the first and largest of all the financial groups in America of its time. The assets of its core corporations amount to about \$90 billion, or about 9% of the Gross National Product.

Within the Morgan Financial Group, there are massive accumulations of capital in:

- **Banks:** Morgan Guaranty Trust (assets: \$10.3 billion), Bankers Trust (\$7.6 billion), Marine Midland (\$5.9 billion), Bank of New York (\$1.7 billion), Bowery Savings (\$2.7 billion).
- **Insurance companies:** Mutual of New York (\$3.5 billion), Lincoln National Life (\$2.1 billion), Teachers Insurance and Annuity (\$1.7 billion).
- **Airlines:** TWA (\$1.1 billion), Mohawk (\$.88 billion).

And others like Ford Motor Co. (\$8.9 billion), General Electric (\$5.7 billion), Boeing (\$2.1 billion), Campbell Soup (\$8 billion), Continental Oil (\$2.5 billion) and Phelps-Dodge (\$.6 billion).

Their Power: Together, the Rockefeller and the Morgan Financial Groups control a sizeable fraction of all wealth in this country and dominate the boards of directors of most of *Fortune* magazine's list of top 500 corporations in the U.S. They exercise vast influence over these corporations and smaller ones by maintaining interlocking directorships, i.e., key bankers of the Morgan Group will be on several key boards of directors of other Morgan corporations (see Table II).

These financial groups also place important businessmen in central government positions. Presidential candidates vie for the financial support of either the Rockefeller or the Morgan Financial Group. To determine which U.S. President is on the payroll of which financial group, one need only determine which group's corporations donated money to the campaign and to determine which group's key bankers are made into ambassadors and cabinet officials. For example, Dwight D. Eisenhower, brought into power through the Rockefeller banks, appointed John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State (Mr. Dulles, founder of Cold War brinkmanship with Russia, was senior partner in the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, the law firm of Standard Oil of New Jersey, the heart of the

(Continued on page 10)

Poets Circle

REHABILITATION

(A composite of time at F.S.P. for scrap who left to die in freedom and Beanie who died to leave in freedom and all the other brothers who live and die for it)

lines on the walls watched
tracked by my eye
to some obscure compass point
almost shoulder high on poster lovers cut from Essence
entwined beneath my drying socks
and my lying here
a dreamer in constant change
to avoid change
digging signs of static time
sisters have forgotten
are being forgotten
each day more niggers are seen writing
letters asking
white lady
will you come to see me again
next Sunday?
no more long moments reflection
no more painful wanting to belong to someone
that matches yourself
emotions of pale skins blind
Brothers rap heavy
playing revolutionary grabass
name-calling them other niggers
theory-dropping & climbing funky elitism
but not rising above cullud indifference
for the ynger brother being handled
by rougher hands
& whimpering in the loss of his manhood
brothers lost in high yaller intellectualism
rising above the masses
suffering asses
not really revolutionary at all but brothers rap
heavy

Quiet
too quiet
self-defeat lies in the silence
magnifying the audible trek of tears
time coming down in silence
hard
shame gone
crying
head in hands
not dancing brave dances anymore
not dancing at all
& when they cut you down Beanie
you had nothing to say
where went your strength Brotherman?
not all are cripples
evolved over years of indifference
incapable of loving brothers
Brothers
nation of Islam
bikness exchanged & solidified
operating still at maintaining wholeness
after long hours/ days /years of service
Brothers
still upright in united purpose.
the last visit

the last time I saw her
my woman
was but a meeting of blank faces
I heaved thoughts
no smiles or greeting
no tears or goodbye
no coming again to check my sanity
no more love for this stranger
she used to call her man
& Willie B helps her to forget
Mama came to protect me
saying of course Lynn still loved me
but I saw something in Mama's eyes
other understanding
I cannot face pity
a terminal squatting in the face of a blind lady
the fate of warriors always decided
by little men pale & secure in misplaced power
parole denied you escaped
scrap in thought until the fact
& died 4 months later
beneath the clubs & heels of the beast outside
but you spoke loudly
before they layed you down

Somewhere behind these bars
the total nigger still shouts
for power
lord must we ever look to thee
who gives no signs
of understanding
of sight
only vulgar sounds of dismissal
men of 200 years old mentalities
faces rooted in sorrow shuffle knee-bent forward
shoe shine box in hand
to brown uniformed gods to be baptized
model inmates
washed whiter than blk
& holding to the ancient belief of work
& beans & brutality
at least twice a day
motion: eternal quest for subjugation
destruction of manhood & humanity
sound: 960 feet moving in lockstep
condemned to shouts of pair it up & no talking
Silence: rich in enigma of were - men
will be - men, never - men
controlled by manlike beasts of gesture
& wars of eyes that contain
all we retain of individual identity
numbers & bound by convention
we whirl in vicious impatience
waiting for E.O.S. *
it has no real value
this suffering
this survival
unless we remember
to be more efficient next freedom time

By Blake

8-20-75

*Expiration of sentence

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DIALECTICAL and HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

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

Part I

Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is *dialectical*, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is *materialistic*.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history.

When describing their dialectical method, Marx and Engels usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. This, however, does not mean that the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with the dialectics of Hegel. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian dialectics only its "rational kernel," casting aside its idealistic shell, and developed it further so as to lend it a modern scientific form.

"My dialectic method," says Marx, "is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. xxx, International Publishers, 1939.)

When describing their materialism, Marx and Engels usually refer to Feuerbach as the philosopher who restored materialism to its rights. This, however, does not mean that the materialism of Marx and Engels is identical with Feuerbach's materialism. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from Feuerbach's materialism its "inner kernel," developed it into a scientific-philosophical theory of materialism and cast aside its idealistic and religious-ethical encumbrances. We know that Feuerbach, although he was fundamentally a materialist, objected to the name materialism. Engels more than once declared that "in spite of the materialist foundation, Feuerbach remained bound by the traditional idealist fetters," and that "the real idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of

religion and ethics." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 439-442.)

Dialectics come from the Greek *dialego*, to discourse, to debate. In ancient times dialectics was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. There were philosophers in ancient times who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature, developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature.

(to be continued)

ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 2)

Chitepo was killed, but so were loyal ZANU forces. This vividly points to conspiracy! Also that ZANU has been the only liberation movement affected by the "announced" shut down of offices in Zambia. The other movements continue as before. The manifesto reveals the treatment in these "Training camps" (euphemistically called by Zambian forces) "Many of us were badly tortured by our Zambian interrogators, physically and mentally. Electric torture was used, including sleep deprivation, to force us to sign confessions and admit crimes we never did. We were beaten with rubber hoses and wooden chairs, burnt with lighted cigarettes inside our noses and all over our body. In some cases depraved investigators removed all the hair from one's scalp by pulling it. Some of our comrades are still nursing wounds, broken spines, pelvises or in some cases victims have been broken down mentally. These are only a few of the bestial assaults we suffered at the hands of the Zambian Security forces which the Government-controlled "Daily Mail" described as "the best treatment prisoners in Zambia received from their interrogators." (Manifesto of ZANU Political Prisoners in Zambia). The manifesto points out that ZANU forces are being questioned for the death of their comrade Herbert Chitepo because Zambian forces pretend that he was killed by those opposed to the Lusaka Accord & the provisions of the ANC-Smith ceasefire, but the truth is

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

(Continued from page 9)

Rockefeller industries. His brother Allen, Director of the CIA from 1953-61, was also a Rockefeller lawyer with Sullivan & Cromwell. John F. Kennedy, rising to power with the assistance of Morgan bankers, appointed McNamara as Secretary of Defense (McNamara was brought in from Ford Motor Co., controlled by the Morgan Group). And Richard Milhous Nixon, who receives the bulk of his financial banking through Rockefeller banks, delegates tremendous power to Kissinger, who reports directly to David Rockefeller himself. (Kissinger has been associated for over two decades with the Rockefeller Group, being a member of Rockefeller Brothers Fund, publishing the famous **Rockefeller Panel Reports** in 1958, and frequently vacationing at the Rockefeller mansion).

Secondary Financial Groups Eastern & West-Southwest

In addition to the two large primary financial groups, there are several secondary financial groups which often form loose alliances with the primary groups when it suits their needs. Though each of the secondary groups is less than \$40 billion in assets, they often form coalitions to increase their financial leverage. These secondary groups fall into two rough categories, the Eastern secondary groups which are often closely identified with the interests of the primary groups, and the West and South-west groups, which are the fastest rising politically ambitious, and closely associated with Organized Crime, which is itself a respected secondary group. The more important secondary groups are (see Table I):

- Prudential Insurance-Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Prudential Insurance (\$26.6 billion), Chrysler (\$4.4

billion), RCA (\$2.3 billion).

- Boston Groups - Irving Trust (\$5 billion), John Hancock Mutual (\$9.3 billion), United Fruit Co. (\$4.4 billion), Gillette (\$4 billion).

- Mellon Group (Mellon National Bank), (\$4.3 billion), Gulf Oil (\$7.5 billion), Westinghouse (\$2.2 billion).

- San Francisco Group - Wells Fargo (\$5.3 billion), Crocker Citizens (\$4.8 billion), Levi Strauss (\$1 billion).

- Bank of America Group - Bank of America (\$23.9 billion), Transamerica (\$3.2 billion), Union Oil (\$2.2 billion), Getty Oil (\$1.7 billion), Lockheed (\$9 billion).

The awesome power of the financial groups is most clearly shown by the fact that their existence is virtually unknown to most Americans, except for economists, bankers, and political activists. Much of their internal squabbles (which occasionally rise to the surface, as in Watergate) is deliberately kept well-hidden from the public.

ABC, for example, is heavily dominated by Morgan interests (see Table II). NBC is controlled by RCA, and RCA is controlled by Manufacturers Hanover Trust and the Rockefeller Financial Group. There is a struggle for power in the CBS, which was controlled by the Harriman Group (a secondary group which is losing power) but is now in a state of flux (one director of CBS was recently assassinated). Control of CBS seems to be going over to a joint Rockefeller-Morgan control. *Time* magazine (like *Sports Illustrated* and *Fortune*) is owned by the Time-Life, Inc., which in turn is controlled by the Rockefeller Financial Group. *Newsweek* magazine, owned by the *Washington Post*, is closely allied (but not totally dominated) by Morgan interests, as is the *New York Times*. We see, therefore, that the financial groups control most of the media, and have no intention of revealing the true structure of power in this country. (To be continued)

... that Comrade Chitepo with the majority of DARE and all of ZANLA's Chimurenga High Command were agreed that they wanted true and genuine unity of the masses of Zimbabwe forged in armed struggle and that the true should not mean the surrender of ZANLA's forces to fascism as Smith demanded".

The latest development in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe is that Joshua Nkomo has seized the leadership of ANC with the help of the British, Smith & possibly Kuanda"... there is indeed an agreement between the British, the Smith regime and possibly Kuanda to eliminate in one way or another Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa from the leadership of ANC and replace them by the "genial" crook, Mr. Nkomo..." This deal would insure Smith's uncontested leadership in Zimbabwe and assure Nkomo, of the "prestige" of becoming a black Minister in the Smith government. This shady deal fools no one. And as the manifesto correctly concludes "It is only through relentless struggle based on the mass line and the revolutionary

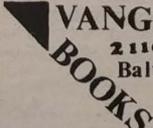
practice of ZANU and ZANLA that we can achieve the transformation of the capitalist racist edifice into a truly socialist state, free from the unbridled terror and barbarism of the white settlers. We urge all other liberation movements in Southern Afrika not to be intimidated into cowardly submission to the forces of reaction. We stand for truth and liberation. Our cause is just. We will triumph over all reactionary and collaborationist tendencies irrespective of the time factor involved."

BOOK REVIEW

(Continued from page 8)

Following this mumbling we stumble into a chart, as all well trained college graduates must do, except that this chart seems not to have any direct relationship to the discussion that precedes it, nor is there any explanation of it offered.

Jawanza Kunjufu then moves on to make a comparison between the 1929 Depression and the present one (which he describes as the coming depression.



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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 and also to:

H. Rap Brown
48520
Box B

Dannemora, New York

H. Rap Brown has just been transferred to Clinton Correctional Facility, Dannemora, 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

Economic Crisis

(Continued from page 4)

into a single collective capitalist. When carrying the current accounts of a few capitalists, a bank, as it were, transacts a purely technical and exclusively auxiliary operation. When, however, this operation grows to enormous dimensions, we find that a handful of monopolists subordinate to their will all the operations, both commercial and industrial, of the whole of capitalist society; for they obtain the opportunity by means of their banking connections, their current accounts and other financial operations first, to ascertain exactly the financial position of the various capitalists, then to control them, to influence them by restricting or enlarging, facilitating or hindering credits, and finally entirely determine their capital, or permit them to increase their capital rapidly and to enormous dimensions", etc. **Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism.**

Here in New York, the Banks (Rocky) have collected from the working people of this city \$1.6 billion in TAX FREE interest payments. So we see that close to One Fourth of the city's budget goes to pay these blood sucking wealthy bankers and businessmen who own municipal bonds.

How can Rockefeller, the giant among multinational corporate wealth, make it seem as if he is opposed to a takeover of New York City when in fact his financial group already has control of the wealth and is at the root cause of the problem. **The Rockefeller Financial group controls 15% of the U.S. gross national product by themselves!**

The present Rockefeller take over publicly of New York City and the national government as well as ominous signs for the whole bourgeoisie that they can no longer rule as shadowy presences somewhere behind the scenes. They must come forward and show their bloody kissers and expose for all to see the true rulers of this bourgeois dictatorship. And now, with the intense

economic crisis, it will grow clearer and clearer to the majority of people that this system does not work for any but the super billionaires who control it. And that is the eve of the second civil war in this country, the war between the classes. Between the capitalist-bourgeoisie and the working class and its allies. The People will win!

"76" STRATEGY

(Continued from page 6)

tial that Marxist-Leninist forces came to see the importance of a 76 electoral thrust to put out in a broad popular campaign a platform that not only addresses itself to the urgent needs of the people but a "maximum" program that calls for a new social system and the control of the economy by the masses. Theoretical clarity around electoral politics and their use in building the mass movement toward socialist revolution is a must for Marxist-Leninist forces. Closer study of the **History of the CPSU(B)** on work in the Duma and the struggles against the Otzovists (& the Liquidators) as well as Lenin's, **Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder and Against Boycott** C.W., Vol. 13, p. 17-49 or "Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-building", C.W. Vol. 16 p. 29-61 esp. pp. 33-38 is absolutely necessary to stop so-called Marxist-Leninist forces from falsely testifying that non-participation in electoral politics is a Bolshevik principle or a line of tactics of Marxist-Leninists. We have quoted Mao Tse Tung's article **Problems of War & Strategy 1938**. Many formations claim study is essential to the building of the new multinational anti-revisionist communist party. Clarity on the uses of electoral politics as a method of putting out a progressive political line and opposing the bourgeois line, as a means of building a broad united front, some of whom will become interested in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is one very badly needed element of that party building study.

Amin

(Continued from page 4)

bourgeois state with the weapon of socialist revolution, and usher in a new era for humanity. And no amount of frenzied speeches & lies from the lieutenant sector of the ruling class, like the Kissingers & the Moynihans, will stop the crushing blow that will be delivered by the people to drag capitalism off its deathbed, & heave it into its grave!

RAISE!!

(Continued from page 16)

politically manipulate for all they're worth. Witness U.S. moves in turning Portugal back toward Western type imperialism, or in the Middle East with Dr. Strangelove - Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy aimed at keeping the Arab peoples in a state of no war no peace limbo while the "Israeli" Zionists continue to occupy the lands of the people of Palestine, or in Angola or Zimbabwe. But everywhere in the world, the U.S. imperialists find themselves not only being whipped ignominiously by the heroic peoples of Afrika, Asia and Latin America, but they also find themselves contended with, under the guise of "Detente" by the newer superpower which talks about "socialism" but is in reality social imperialist, the U.S.S.R. In the Middle-East, Afrika, Asia, Latin America, on the seas, principally about Europe, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. contend and struggle for world domination. They are the two "JAWS" of imperialism in absolute struggle for influence, markets, control, hegemony, throughout the world. Their continuous confrontations will inevitably lead to world war unless the peoples of the world succeed in smashing their monopoly capitalist and bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist states first. The Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Chiao Kuan-Hua, said at the 30th session of the U.N. General Assembly in September about the superpower contention, the threat of world war, and its meaning to the people of the world.

"As Lenin pointed out time and again, imperialism means war. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The content of imperialist politics is world domination, and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war. Since both superpowers are after world domination, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. The so-called 'balance of power', even if it exists, is only a transient and superficial one. It will not do to depend on a 'balance of power' or a so-called 'balance of terror' for maintaining peace... With the superpowers contending so fiercely and expanding their armaments so madly, they are bound to go to war against each other some day. This is independent of man's will. The superpowers are the source of a new world war, and the danger of war comes mainly from the wildly ambitious social-imperialism. The frequent meetings between the superpowers and their profuse talk about detente precisely prove that there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world..."

We hope that the people of all countries will heighten their vigilance and get prepared against the growing danger of a new world war. It is better to be prepared than unprepared. Without preparations one will suffer. The superpowers look strong but are inwardly weak and very isolated. The more evils they do, the more thoroughly they will reveal their true features, and the stronger the resistance of the people of the world will become. **At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing on a world scale. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people. And the future of the world will be bright.**

But the need to struggle is obvious. What are the people's preparations here inside the U.S.A.? To build now an anti-revisionist Revolutionary Communist Party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, to lead the growing outcries of the people against Ford and his capitalist bosses here inside this imperialist fortress, to lead the masses, spearheaded by the working class, in the ultimate seizure of state power, and if necessary, to turn any superpower war into socialist revolution.

S-1 & FBI

(Continued from page 4)

other can declare any meeting, demonstration or just a group of people "a riot", or can bring a provocateur to create something they could claim as a riot.

S-1 will make Wiretapping without court approval legal, permitting 48 hour "emergency" taps and giving government authorities the right to direct and pay telephone company and landlords to cooperate with such procedures.

Further, the S-1 lays down harsh sentencing for a wide range of crimes, but limits the prosecution of public officials (like at Watergate) who act illegally on orders. This is also to allow full freedom for FBI and CIA agents to lay all kinds of traps, and set-ups for innocent people to fall into and for police to have decoy squads.

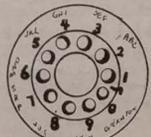
S-1 revives the infamous Smith Act of 1940 which was used in the McCarthy era to start a wave of hysteria and destruction of thousands of peoples' lives with accusations about their political views or actions (and much of this was unfounded lies). This article allows 15 years - \$100,000 fine for any person or group which advocates the "destruction of the government". Backing up this "Smith Act" section is a section limiting the right of almost every kind of protest action anti-war, civil rights, etc. with vaguely drafted infringements on right to assemble and prohibiting the right to demonstrate next to any place where the President of the U.S. is "living" temporarily!

Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Fascism is the naked power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvinism in its crudest form, fomenting the bestial hatred of other nations.

Monopoly capitalism and imperialism can no longer rely on the bribery of the working class with super profits derived from super exploitation and oppression of the Third World, because the Third World is breaking free. Monopoly capitalism and imperialism can no longer rely on bourgeois democratic reforms, antipoverty cushions, or on racism to keep the oppressed nationalities from organizing for revolution with the working class. These things are wearing thin in the midst of a deepening depression, so Rocky and the "16 families" move swiftly with an S-1 Bill so they can have firmer ground to stand on! Legal and military enforcement of total oppression and exploitation.

This rise of events puts a particular responsibility on all progressive people and revolutionaries to actively arouse the masses and politicize people to the class nature of the state. An important factor in the rise of fascism in the past has been the collaboration of the Social Democrat types with the imperialist ruling class in combination with disorganization and divisions among the working class. We are presently faced with a situation of the USSR being a revisionist social imperialist superpower and large parts of the mass movement in the U.S. being controlled by revisionists or being moved on by Social Democrat types, a working class that is divided by racism and no vanguard communist party to put out correct lines based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

But this situation must be dealt with now by a strong core of anti-revisionist organizations and mass organizing. Mao points out that we can turn bad things into good things - we can turn bourgeois elections and bicentennial into a popular united front for 1976, we can turn S-1 into a massive outrage by the people, we can turn the threat of imperialist war into a strong anti-war movement. Academic "communism" without action will only bring more oppression for the people.



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PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION TO CAPITALIST LIEUTENANT FORD INTENSIFIES! Danger of War Between Superpowers Increases

RAISE!!

We inside the U.S.A. should by now see the madhouse that it is, the madhouse that bourgeois dictatorship, i.e., capitalism, has wrought. It is amazing that U.S. politicians still have the nerve to talk about other countries as "Police States", which is what U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Moynihan called Third World countries (except of course the Police States that the U.S. dominates-they cool). Yet here is a country which in the last 10 years has seen one president assassinated, his brother a presidential hopeful, also assassinated, the best known and most articulate spokesman for Revolutionary Black Nationalism, Malcolm X, assassinated. The most popular spokesman for the mass civil rights movement M.L. King assassinated. Another president driven from office by the Vietnam war, the next one driven from office because he thought corruption was his main task and running the government was secondary, instead of the reverse, the way it is acceptable by the big-bourgeoisie. Now another president, shot at twice in as many weeks, once by a woman who was actually an FBI agent in the a.m., and a would be assassin by the late afternoon. It even gets to the keystone kops phase where the presidential limousine is in freak auto accidents.

Ask most working class people about Ford these days, and his media manufactured good guy halo has long since been blasted away by reality. One reality, the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and its series of crises, all of which are leading to the terminal crisis: REVOLUTION! Rushed in from the taxi squad to bail out the famously corrupt Nixon in the heat of the watergate crisis, after Big Spiro the Baltimore Bandit (remember him...he's currently making millions as an "advisor" to an investment corporation) pleaded Nolo Contendere, which means "Yes I Did It But This Corrupt System Will Never Jail Me." What is getting clearer and clearer to all sectors of the U.S. population is that Ford is quite simply a lieutenant, a subordinate of the big capitalists. He is in office only to carry out the bidding principally of the Rockefeller Financial interests though the cries of "National Unity" (among the bourgeoisie) means that since Nixon was shot down the other contending sectors of the big bourgeoisie...notably the Morgan Interests, who control such

things as the New York Times, Newsweek, and Washington Post, would lighten up in their exposures of the ordinary corruption of capitalist government. But such rivalry and competition characterize the big monopolies and imperialism in general and they will continue to intensify it until the people smash the entire state machinery with which they rule us and seize state power, turning the means of producing wealth, the factories, land, machines, mineral resources into **publicly owned state property under the dictatorship of the working class.**

Ford represents the minority control of society, the private ownership of the means of production, by the super-billionaire capitalists. He is their top errand boy, though obviously not their most intelligent. Kissinger, Schlesinger, Simon, a couple of other top lieutenants. Rockefeller, of course, is not a lieutenant but a general, one of the top political cadre of the ruling class itself. Forced to the fore by the coup that Nixon tried to pull whereby he tried to use the southern, south western and western secondary financial groups against the Rockefeller group itself, and even raised organized crime to a full partner with the secondary financial groups. Even though Rockefeller was initially his most important backer, and ultimately proved to be the most important non-backer Tricky Dick had, because once he lost that backing the roof caved in on him.

But the word's in the street clear...who Ford is, his stumbling backward style makes his service to the bourgeoisie very easy to see. His program, politics and ideology are growing obvious not only to advanced workers, but to great sections of the population who are hip to his 39 vetoes, his vetoes of housing, employment, health, school lunches, education, at the same time spending 105 billion dollars on military budget used almost exclusively to subjugate the people of the world for U.S. corporations, i.e., U.S. imperialism. The losses suffered by U.S. imperialism throughout the 3rd World, i.e., Asia, Afrika, Latin America, send it limping back across the world, cuts off some of its super profits, like the tentacles of a dying octopus. And so the loss is shifted to the masses of people inside this imperialist fortress. The boom is over and so comes the bust, only deeper than the usual recession cycle that is normal for capitalism, even in so called times of prosperity. Now it is

depression, 13% of the work force unemployed, 25.7% of the Black work force unemployed. And with that, budget cuts, layoffs, continually rising unemployment, even though they tried to say because of the summer employment programs that the bottom had been reached in the depression. **But times are not going to get better. Look forward to being unemployed if you are unemployed now for a long time, because capitalism is on the death bed.** And as more and more people come to understand this, the sentiment for radical action will grow among wide sectors of the victimized working class, especially among the superexploited Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, who are whipped down by both national oppression (racism) and class oppression by being workers exploited by the system of monopoly capitalism. The entire intensification of "racial disorders" throughout this country is due to the agitation of government operatives and programs -e.g., taking the kkk out of mothballs or now pushing new busing directives that have nothing to do with equality education, but also the crisis of capitalism, the struggle by the working class for what few jobs are left, with the bourgeoisie always threatening. White workers with the masses of unemployed Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians,

Asians, making it clear that if the White workers won't work for the depressed wages and under negative conditions the bourgeoisie can always dip into their unemployed labor reserve army and get some of the oppressed nationalities to do the same work for much less. The army of unemployed allow the capitalists to force the employed workers to work for less and to work longer hours. And if they won't then the capitalists, will take the factories somewhere else. They'll "run away" to the Black Belt, the deep south, where low wages and low corporate taxes allow bigger profits for big business, or else they'll run unclean away to the Third World. They'll take the factory to South Afrika, Puerto Rico, Taiwan, South Korea, wherever U.S. imperialism still holds sway. They'll make bigger profits because they exploit those workers even more than workers here with "salaries" averaging \$3 a day. Ford is the mouth piece for this oppression, the explainer (but not too well), and that's why the people in the midst of this deepening depression grow more and more clearly vocal in opposition to him, and to his bosses, and the monopoly capitalist system they represent.

At the same time the U.S. is in the middle of a deep economic crisis, and starting to strike back viciously and

(Continued on page 11)

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