

SPECIAL EDITION.



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TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

Historic ALSC Conference Discussed

Which Road For Black People?

YOBUS NEWS SERVICE.

The multitude of activities carried out during African Liberation Month 1974, should prove to have added a significant contribution to the Black liberation struggle and the worldwide movement against imperialist exploitations and oppression.

During African Liberation Month, Black people in local communities throughout the U.S., Canada and the Caribbean, gathered in groups large and small to seriously assess the current state of the movement.

In many areas, there were mass demonstrations on May 19 (Malcolm X's birthday) and in other areas, there were intensive educational sessions focusing on the issues of repression in the Black community, the "energy crisis" rip-off, the impeachment of Nixon and support for the African liberation movements.

Over 50 local African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) chapters worked to raise \$75,000 in funds to support the African liberation movements.

On May 25, nearly 15,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C. to hold a national demonstration and rally as a culmination of African Liberation Month. There was no effort to duplicate the 1972 national demonstration in terms of numbers. Rather, organizing efforts were conducted in a few states near D.C. in order to attract a representative group of Black activists.

Probably the most dramatic aspect of all the activities of the month was the historic two-day conference on Racism and Imperialism, which included workshop discussions and major presentations.



THE AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY RALLY AT MALCOLM X Park in Washington, D.C., attracted nearly 15,000 Black

activists. The rally followed a march through D.C., which included a protest stop at the White House.

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* THEORETICAL POSITION STATEMENTS OF:

- Muhammad Ahmad and others of the All-African People's Party
- Abdul Alkalimat of People's College
- Stokely Carmichael of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party
- Kwadwo Akpan of the Pan-African Congress, U.S.A.
- Owusu Sadaukai, former chairman of ALSC
- Imamu Baraka of the Congress of African People

* SUMMARIES OF WORKSHOPS ON:

- Labor and the Unemployed
- Politics
- Youth and Education
- Women in the Struggle

* OTHER ARTICLES, EDITORIALS AND STATEMENTS RELATED TO AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH ACTIVITIES.

ALD Demonstration Again Successful

YOBU NEWS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. - The African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstration on May 27, was, for the third consecutive year, a dramatically successful display of Black opposition to worldwide imperialism and imperialist war in Africa.

Chanting "Dump the Chump," "Africa must Be Free," "Kick the Ass of the Ruling Class," and "Imperialism must Go," nearly 10,000 Black people marched through the Black community of D.C., on past the White House and back to Malcolm X Park for a rally which eventually drew 15,000 people.

A large number of the people in the demonstration were veterans of the ALD demonstration in D.C. in 1972, which drew 30,000 participants. The effort for 1974 was not aimed at duplicating the 1972 effort in terms of numbers, but rather to bring a representative group of Black activists to D.C. to culminate the African Liberation Month activities.

The march assembled at Malcolm X Park on Saturday morning, following the successful two-day conference on Racism and Imperialism.

The demonstration participants covered the spectrum of Black activists. The demonstration was far from being solely a student endeavor, as some elements of the bourgeois media have tried to portray it.

The park was lined with 30 or more Black concessionaires displaying literature, food, jewelry and artifacts of a wide variety. Groups of drummers gathered around park benches and pounded out African beats. Organizations and groups massed to put the finishing touches

on signs bearing hundreds of different, sharply political slogans.

In the brisk morning sun, the march moved out of the park with members of the ALSC Steering Committee in the front row.

After a few blocks, the march was moving down D.C.'s famous 14th Street, as Black spectators lined the streets shouting back and forth greetings to the participants, who urged them to join in. Many of them obviously did join as the march number swelled by over a thousand from beginning to end.

When the march reached Pennsylvania Ave., one of D.C.'s main business districts leading to the White House, the chant of "Dump the Chump - Nixon Must Go" grew louder.

When the march reached the White House, a picket line of 30 ALSC members had already been established at the White House gate. They bore signs reading: "Recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau," "Nixon Crimes: Watergate, Wage Freeze, Racism, War and Genocide," "Fight the Oil Monopolies," "Lower Food Prices," "Stop Police Brutality," and "Jail Nixon and the Whole Profit System."

Back at the Park, participants heard messages of solidarity from PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, UNITA in Angola, PAC in South Africa, Bill Lucy of the Black Trade Unionists and the Nashville ALSC.

Major speeches were made by Imamu Baraka and Dawolu Gene Locke, chairperson of ALSC.

In this special edition of the AFRICAN WORLD, we carry summaries of all aspects of African Liberation Month and the Conference on Racism and Imperialism.



A DELEGATION FROM THE LARGER DEMONSTRATION ESTABLISHED A PICKET LINE in front of the White House.

Statement of Solidarity from National Union for Total Independence of Angola

UNITA

To the ALSC:

Dear Comrades, we are following day by day your militant activities. We are also fully informed about the political activities and demonstrations which are taking place this month in the whole of North America, and sponsored by the sister organization, African Liberation Support Committee.

Black organization among the African people in North America, for its program of supporting the African Liberation Struggles.

The initiative and the idea of declaring May African Liberation month, proves to us your total commitment toward liberation of our motherland, Africa.

This initiative will certainly encourage the Angolan people under the leadership of UNITA. Therefore our party appreciates once again the efforts carried out by the African Liberation Support Committee, the most militant

Long live the African Continent - Our Motherland!
Long live the African Unity
Long live the African Liberation Struggle
Long live the African Liberation Support Committee!
On Behalf of UNITA



**THE AFRICAN
WORLD**

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The truly African revolutionary press must aid in the defeat of imperialism and neo-colonialism, hailing those who advance the revolution and exposing those who retard it. We do not believe there are necessarily two sides to every question: we see right and wrong, just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, positive and negative, friend and foe. We are partisan.

— KWAME NKRUMAH

TIM THOMAS
National Chairman

Jerry Walker
Editor



Background to the Conference

The African Liberation Support Committee conference on Racism and Imperialism grew out the most recent period of the struggle for ideological clarity in the Black Liberation Movement in general, and ALSC in particular.

For over a year, discussion has been going on within the national and local bodies of ALSC over the correct path for Black Liberation. Since most of the active political groups in the country have had some involvement with ALSC, this internal discussion has had major implications for the entire Black Liberation Movement in the United States.

FROGMORE

In July of 1973, the ALSC National Steering Committee, composed of delegates from all local chapters, met to evaluate the 1973 African Liberation Day mobilizations and discuss the future of ALSC. Up until that time, the committee had been a fairly loose, ad hoc group, with no real statement of its objectives and position and no clear program except the annual ALD demonstrations.

Many local committees had reached the conclusion that a more systematic statement of ALSC's views was necessary in order to provide a clear basis for unity among the many different groups and individuals who were a part of ALSC. Several draft statements were submitted for discussion. During the meeting, several key points of

ideological struggle emerged, among them the issue of the necessity of struggle against oppression in this country, as well as support for African Liberation movements. The ALSC Statement of Principles which eventually was unanimously adopted at the Frogmore meeting, spoke to this issue, saying:

"We must coordinate the Black Liberation struggles in the Western Hemisphere with the overall struggle of people of color to change the fundamental nature of this society, because we have a responsibility to the world to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold."

In addition, the Statement identified racism and imperialism as the two main problems facing Black people.

GREENSBORO

Between the Frogmore meeting in July and the next Steering Committee meeting in February, several individuals and local chapters expressed questions or disagreements with the Statement of Principles. These ranged from serious and honest questions about definitions of terms all the way to hysterical about "white boy's ideology" and "Soviet language" (listed among this so-called "Soviet" language were terms such as imperialism and working-class).

Two members of the ALSC executive committee who supported the Statement were asked to write a response to these criticisms. Their re-

sponse, entitled, "Toward The Ideological Unity of the ALSC," served as the major discussion document in the February Steering Committee meeting in Greensboro, N.C. The key question in the ideological struggle at this meeting, was the question of class struggle. "Toward Ideological Unity..." the major "left" document, included an accurate assessment of the situation:

"Two lines have emerged in ALSC: on the executive committee, in the regions, and on the local level. They represent two different theoretical positions, two different sets of concrete programs, and are based on two different class realities. One is a pure race theory. The other is a theory of class struggle with a correct analysis of racial oppression, with a program of mass involvement based on the necessary leadership of the Black working class."

During the discussion, it became clear that the lines had been sharply drawn, but the debate incomplete. The Steering Committee voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm the Statement of Principles and also decided to schedule a major conference in the spring to allow for a full airing of the major views in ALSC and the Black Liberation Movement.

It was with this background, and in this atmosphere of sharp but generally principled political debate, that the ALSC Conference on Racism and Imperialism was convened.

Conference Workshop on Politics

The workshop on politics had three scheduled panelists: Ron Daniels of the Ohio Black Assembly, Nelson Johnson, former YOB! chairman, and Imam Clyde Hail of the U.S. Organization. Presentations, however, were made by only two of the panelists - Ron Daniels and Nelson Johnson.

The topic "politics" was vague and lent itself to varied interpretations as was demonstrated by the presentations of the panelists and the questions and discussion by the workshop participants.

Johnson explained the politics was all-inclusive and that a meaningful discussion required a focus on some particular aspect of politics. He then set out to examine the utility of electoral politics as an instrument of Black liberation and class struggle. Daniels's presentation focused on the National Black Assembly as a vehicle for a broad-based unity, and political organization within the Black liberation movement.

Much of the discussion of workshop participants, while referencing off of the two presentations of the panelists, centered around the nature of the class make up U.S. society, the relationship of class and race, the possibility of Black and white working class unity, and the overall potential and process of proletarian revolution in the U.S.

Johnson, in his presentation, began by explaining that electoral politics is a function of the state and the state in this society is the primary instrument of bourgeois rule. "The question," he asserted, "is how can electoral politics, which is a recognized integral part of the bourgeois state machinery, be a tool for Black liberation?"

Johnson emphasized that a serious examination of the class character of this society, of the working of the capitalist system and of the role of the state in legitimizing and maintaining the current exploitative relationships, would make clear that a basic condition for the liberation of Black people and the elimination of exploitation, is the elimination of bourgeois state power. An assessment of the general political conditions and our own organizational strategy and strength should be the determinants of the use or non use of electoral politics.

Johnson stated, "If our plan called for building the working class movement in the south, or the building of a welfare rights group in the local housing projects, we can then see how electoral politics fits into and serves those objectives if at all."

Johnson concluded his presentation by pointing out some of the pitfalls of utilizing electoral politics and examined and questioned briefly some of the organizational forms which are currently in the discussion of electoral politics in the Black community. Included in the discussion of pitfalls was the prevalent tendency of people in organizations to abdicate the responsibility to exercise power over the political personalities.

In the discussion of organizational forms, Johnson

stressed the need to develop a scientific criteria to examine the utility and applicability of different forms of organization to our concrete conditions.

Questions were also raised around the concept of a national Black party, an international Black party, the National Black Assembly and the feasibility of work within the two capitalist parties - the democratic and republican parties.

The Socialist Workers Party pressed Johnson on the question of the possibility of ever working through the Democratic or Republican party. Johnson maintained, however, that he would not outlaw the possibility of doing revolutionary work within either of the capitalist parties.

Daniels, using the Ohio Black Assembly as his reference, spoke of the need to develop a vehicle in which the different tendencies within the Black liberation movement could work together to enhance the overall welfare of Black people. Daniels argued that the National Black Assembly, in spite of its history, could become that vehicle. He noted that he did not see the Assembly as "primarily dealing with electoral politics, but dealing instead with anything that affected the lives of Black people."

Daniels stressed the need to hold Black politicians responsible for their conduct. Concrete programs of the Assembly discussed by Daniels, included establishing and maintaining independent Black educational institutions.

The questions and discussions by the workshop participants which followed the panel presentations, broadened the general discussion of the workshop considerably.

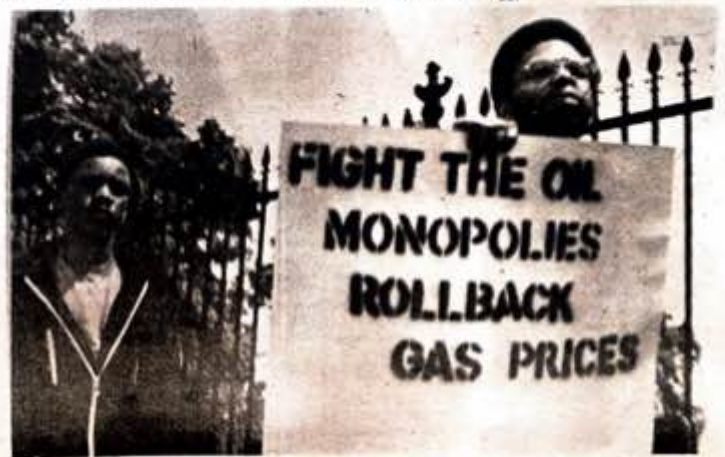
Reoccurring questions were posed in different ways around the question of the potential for Black and white worker unity.

Some argued that a strategy based on uniting with the white working class was doomed to failure because of the depth of white racism. The continued national oppression of non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union was cited as an example of continued national oppression even in a so-called socialist country.

A position was advanced which argued that class unity in the U.S. required first, the liberation and consolidation of Africa under a continental socialist government. With a consolidated socialist Africa, it was argued, much of the basis of U.S. super profit, through imperialist exploitation of Africa, would be cut thus preventing the white workers from being bought off, and thereby, creating the objective basis for class unity and struggle in the U.S.

There were many undefined theories discussed; many questions were raised; some answers to questions were given.

However, there was an apparent central concern which was reflected in all the discussion throughout the workshop. That concern was for clarity on the role of class struggle in the Black liberation movement.



Workshop on Youth & Education

There were three speakers in the Youth and Education workshop. They were Lynn Harvey, All-African People's Revolutionary Party; Kwame Kenyatta, Pan African Congress; and Tim Thomas, national chairman, YOBU.

Brother Thomas was the first speaker on the panel. He began by summarizing some of the weaknesses of the Black student movement of the 60s. He explained that most of the students in the 60s only saw the racial aspect of our oppression. "Black students either saw whites as being all good or all evil," explained Brother Thomas. "But the conditions of our people demand that we understand that we are oppressed along class and national lines," he continued. "So every brother ain't a brother and every white man ain't the devil."

Brother Thomas then began an explanation of the relation between the development of capitalism and the relationship of that development to the development of national oppression of Black and other third world peoples.

The next portion of his presentation dealt with the relationship between capitalism, racism, and the educational system in this country, particularly as it affected Black people. Bro. Thomas continually stressed the need for us to understand the relation between the development of Black colleges and the interests of the capitalist in this country. He also urged the workshop participants to look at the recent growth of community colleges, in Black communities and to relate this development to the needs of the capitalist for filling certain job markets.

Then Brother Thomas related the cutbacks in education to this country's severe economic crisis and the need for Black students to fight against all educational cutbacks. He also said that although students could initiate

struggles on the campus and in the community, "it is in the final analysis the Black workers who can really bring about the needed change."

In conclusion, Brother Thomas laid out four areas of work for the Black student movement: fighting against educational cutbacks, supporting Black workers' struggles, supporting community struggles, and supporting the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Brother Harvey's presentation defined his concept of the nature of education in this country and its effect upon Black people. Education, he said, causes Black students to operate in the interest of "Europeans" rather than our own interests. Our interest, as he explained it, was to acquire a knowledge of our Africanness and to work for the development of Africa as a revolutionary force for the use of Blacks the world over. Black education, he asserted, by its very nature, was revolutionary. He then compared the attributes of a revolutionary education with the present education Blacks are receiving. However, it was clear from Bro. Harvey's presentation that the position of his organization placed more stress on Blacks limiting their struggle for gains here and instead to concentrate upon ways to accelerate the freeing of the continent of Africa.

There was a marked similarity between Bro. Kenyatta and Bro. Harvey's presentation. Both criticized the nature of education in this country and the affect it has upon Black people.

Thomas came under sharp questioning from a section of the audience who were opposed to his class analysis of the problem of Black people. But at the same time, most participants admitted that the old theory that the white man is a devil, will not suffice for building a struggle in this country.



PANELISTS IN WORKSHOP

Workshop on Labor & the Unemployed

The panelists for the workshop on Labor and the Unemployed were Bob Smith, a worker recently fired for union organizing among North Carolina textile workers; Nell Pendleton, a leader among government workers in Washington, D.C.; and Harvard Stephens, an unemployed worker from Detroit.

BOB SMITH

Bob Smith talked generally about the relationship between the Black liberation movement and the struggles of Black workers in the U.S. Identifying the principal enemies of Black liberation as racism and imperialism, he stated that Black workers were the sector of the Black community best situated to lead the Black liberation struggle because of their essential function in the imperialist system and because fundamental change is most objectively in the interest of the working class.

He defined workers as people employed as wage or salaried laborers in work situations who have little or no control over the conditions of their labor or their wages. Most Black people (at least 95 percent) are members of the working class.

He noted that Black workers are increasingly concentrated in basic industries.

Smith pointed out that Black workers are increasingly forced to struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism in order to defend themselves against attacks on their survival in the face of speed-ups, unemployment, inflation, cutbacks in social services etc.

He next analyzed the forms of struggle. Black workers have employed in their resistance to oppression and exploitation on the job. He noted that in industries without unions, Black workers are leading the struggle to organize and form unions. And in unionized workplaces, they are leading the struggle to make them democratic, and real fighting organizations in the interests of all workers.

Smith went to say that only through anti-imperialist struggle of the entire working class can monopoly capitalism and imperialism be defeated. He further expressed that it is necessary for advanced elements inside the Black sector of the working class to educate the broad masses of workers to the true nature of imperialism and that Black people cannot achieve liberation from racism, oppression, and exploitation until imperialism is destroyed.

she stated that, through struggle, Black workers are increasingly realizing the real power which comes from their crucial position within the government structure.

She said that while she was generally in favor of working for unity among Black and white workers, she cautioned that Black workers should carefully analyze the concrete condition they face, including the level of racism among the white workers, before deciding what level of unity is possible in a given situation. She stated that among government workers in D. C., for example, racism was so prevalent that the most immediate need of Black workers was an independent organization to combat it.

(HARVARD STEPHENS)

Harvard Stephens outlined the problem of unemployment as it affects Black workers. He quoted a list of statistics showing the severity of unemployment, its effects among Black workers in particular, and evidence that it is again on a rapid rise.

He explained how unemployment forms a "reserve army" of labor for imperialists and defined this reserve army in three basic categories.

Stephens pointed out that capitalists maintain this reserve army to draw upon during war, boom periods, or during any crisis situation such as to break strikes and keep wages low.

And capitalists attempt to instill fear in militant workers with knowledge of the existence of this huge reserve in order to stifle militant demands.

He went on to describe how the fight against unemployment is objectively a fight with imperialism. He stressed the fact that there is no final solution to the problem of unemployment under capitalism.

He pointed that serious efforts need to be made to develop forms of struggle against unemployment. Today, Stephens explained, these struggles must be highly political and recognize the fact that unemployment is a natural development of capitalism and imperialism. They must include workers of all races with Black workers playing an active and leading role.

NELL PENDLETON

In a brief initial presentation, Nell Pendleton talked about her work with Black government workers in D. C. She is a leader of United Blacks Against Discrimination (UBAD) which a task force of the umbrella organization Government Employees Union Against Racial Discrimination (GUARD).

She stated that Black government employees, though members of a larger trade union, were concentrated in the many forms of racial discrimination thus leading them to form an independent organization which could fight in their interests and struggle for power and transformation within the union. It is this need which UBAD and other GUARD task forces have sought to meet and they have been enthusiastically supported by Black workers.



Workshop on Women in the Struggle

A highlight among the Thursday workshops was the session titled, "Black Women in the Struggle." The panelists, all women, sought (1) to explore the historical nature of the status and roles of women and (2) to define the position of women in the current Black liberation struggle. Opinions on specific topics varied, but all agreed that women definitely had a vital role and responsibility in the advancement of the Black liberation movement.

The panelists, who addressed a large audience of both men and women, represented varied backgrounds and experiences, and this was often reflected in their presentations. Participating were: Sis. Njeri Jangha of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP); Bibi Baraka of the Congress of African People (CAP); Sis. Joyce Johnson, Chairperson of Greenboro ALSC and Queen Mother Moore. The session was chaired by Sis. Charsie Hedgepeth of the Durham ALSC Chapter.

NJERI JANGHA
Sis. Jangha kicked off the panel discussion with a presentation of the AAPRP's position paper on women. Sis. Jangha, speaking from the paper, reviewed the role women have historically played in African society and the importance of their contributions in the home and on the battlefield. "In times of peace the women performed as wives and mothers but shared equally in the work load. In times of struggle we gave full participation in the resistance of European society."

According to Sis. Jangha, many of the positive aspects of the African woman's position were ridiculed by the coming of "Islam and the Euro-Christian influence." She stated, "Islam contributed to the subservient position of women by limiting our position to child-bearing and housekeeping... The European invasion brought with it the moral decadence of European society."

Sis. Jangha pointed out that despite the attempts by Europeans to suppress African women, they have assumed greater roles in the struggle for liberation in the U. S. and Africa. This could best be done, in her opinion, in the context of an "All-African Revolutionary Women's Movement... an integral wing of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party dealing with the struggle of all Africans for our common liberation."

As did all the panelists, Sis. Jangha proceeded to expound on the source of oppression and means of liberation for all Black people. During this discussion she asserted that "the clear cut scientific ideology of Nkrumahism establishes certain uncompromisable principles" by which Black women and Black people in general can guide their actions.

Asserting a clear difference between a Black women organization and white women's lib, Sis. Jangha indicated that a principle barrier to unity between Black and white women was due to the fact that "the primary reason for our oppression is because we are Africans." During the course of questions from the floor, however, she insisted that the primary reasons were our

Africanness and because of our class. (She indicated that the term class had been inadvertently left off the AAPRP statement). In the major presentations on Friday, the Chairman of AAPRP, Stokely Carmichael, however, when questioned on this specific matter, re-affirmed the position that the primary reasons for our oppression was because we were Africans.

Sis. Jangha closed her presentation with the statement, "Black women's two most essential basic facets are as mother and queen."

BIBI BARAKA
Bibi Baraka offered the views of the Congress of African People next. Sis. Baraka opened with an explanation that many of the views she would present represented qualitative changes from positions once held by CAP. These changes she said, have come as a result of principled and objective questioning and analyses within CAP about the role of women. As a result, she said, the women of CAP would be seen more and more in visible, public positions, as opposed to their earlier circumstances. She stated, "you will note that there has been a qualitative change in the kind of participation the women of CAP have openly."

Though her initial prepared presentation was short, Sis. Baraka stressed the need to deal with the concrete conditions here in this country as a vital part of the total Black liberation movement.

She also emphasized the importance of clear and functional ideological positions carved from practice and study within an organization. Sis. Baraka indicated that CAP was still struggling to further refine the role of women in their organization and in the Black community in general, but whatever further refinements are developed, women will certainly be in the forefront along with the men.

JOYCE JOHNSON
The third panelist, Sis. Johnson, did not speak from an organizational position, but offered (1) an historical and materialist analysis of the position of women in society, (2) a history of the problems of women in the Black liberation movement, and (3) a brief analysis of the direction of the Black liberation movement and women's role in it.

Sis. Johnson indicated that, according to her understanding and analysis, Black women were the victims of three types of oppression based on sex, race and class. It is important, she said, to understand the manifestations and the correlations of all three. Sis. Johnson noted that though there has been much discussion of the roles of Black women in the movement, little effort has been given to adequate analysis. Instead she stated that the role of women has simply been a secondary one to whatever men were doing. This has been true during the period of integration, community control, pantherism, and pan-africanism. Rather than really searching for what the call of pan-africanism dictated for women, we in the movement

"simply gazed at nostalgic visions of what we thought represented communal Africa and nation-building through child-bearing." Many of us failed to objectively deal with what today's circumstances dictate women's roles to be. Another problem in today's Black liberation movement is the attempt by many to "ignore or refuse to admit to the presence of male supremacist tendencies within the movement and the Black community in general."



PICTURED ARE JOYCE JOHNSON, BIBI BARAKA AND CHARSIE HEDGEPEETH. Panelists not shown in photo were Queen Mother Moore and Njeri Jangha.

She continued, "though there are clear differences in the conditions and experiences of Black people from others, we do not stand unblemished by the pressures of male chauvinism perpetuated by the ruling class."

To refuse to admit to this, Sis. Johnson said, "would be a serious hindrance to our ability to advance the Black liberation movement."

Though she did not see the status of women as the principle problem facing the movement today, she did feel that the resolution of the problems of inequality between men and women as being a key aspect of our work. This is true she said because "any practice or anything which dictates less participation by a particular group of people in the liberation struggle is dysfunctional and should be struggled against."

"The assignment of lower status to women, however, has a lengthy history. The concept of family, as we know it, she said, developed during the period of the change to an economy based on private ownership. The family structure and the role of women have material bases," insisted Sis. Johnson. "Beliefs in the helplessness and weakness of women, which were supported by various superstitions, religious and social mores served to consolidate and perpetuate the capitalist system and the position of the ruling class."

"It was no accident that women, who used to hold equal status in society, were relegated to inferior status with the change in the principle mode of production," she said. The introduction of property created the concept of class. And women suffered an extra stigma of inequality because of their sex. Discrimination because of class and sex were created to justify the powerful

holdings of the few.

Black women did not escape this suppression; in fact they had to suffer a third aspect of oppression, she said, that of race. During the move from communalism in Africa and as a result of the invasions of the continent by colonial adventurist forces from Europe and Asia, the importance of property and ownership had its telling effects on African women and society.

Offering an analysis of the direction of the Black liberation movement, Sis. Johnson indicated that for those of us in the U. S., struggle here around issues daily affecting us would have to be the principal character of our work. This, she said, was "integral to the liberation of Black people here and in Africa and the defeat of imperialism and racism the world over." The major component of this struggle against imperialism and racism would be the working class.

In this struggle women would play a vital role in all aspects of work, and, therefore, "it is necessary to rid ourselves, both men and women, of the hangups we have about the role of women. She continued that "Black women should be seen first as Black people and then as Black women; otherwise, we will continue to perpetuate non-productive scisms within our movement."

QUEEN MOTHER MOORE
Queen Mother Moore, a long-time soldier of the Black liberation struggle, asserted that we face two problems in our positions of "captive non-self-governing Africans born in the U. S." They are: (1) the struggle against genocide of both our bodies and our minds and (2) the struggle to gain reparations for past exploitations. In order to tackle either, however, Queen Mother insisted that we must first "denegate ourselves."

Queen Mother emphasized the need for Black women to "fight for Black manhood because it was singled out for self-destruction." She also stressed the importance of resisting the numerous efforts to destroy our movement through abortion clinics, repressive welfare programs, assaults on our culture, and so forth. She said

that we should "have control of all the social service agencies in our community" and not allow white folks to abuse our people through hand-out programs.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
Once the panelists completed their presentations, questions were received from the audience. Though the questions specifically about women were raised, the workshop quickly moved to a debate of the direction of the Black liberation movement as a whole.

Several key questions continued to surface. One concern was the actual role of Black women in the movement. Queen Mother Moore indicated that because of the physical make up of women, there were clear differences of role between Black men and women. She also indicated that women should be "supporting our men."

Sis. Jangha responded that women should "support and struggle with our men," but also reassured that the two most basic roles were of mother and queen.

In response to this question, Sis. Baraka indicated that women "must be freed up from housework and childbearing" so that they can fully participate in the struggle.

Similarly, Sis. Johnson, while acknowledging the significance of childbearing within the struggle, emphasized the necessity to break away from stereotype roles for women. She argued that "The needs of our people in struggle should be the determinant of the roles we assume. No hard and fast categories which will suffice for all times, can be used."

The question which received the greatest inquiry and the sharpest debate was that concerning the principal nature of our oppression as Black people. Sis. Jangha stressed the primacy of race to our oppression, though she also acknowledged the importance of class.

Sis. Baraka indicated that class oppression was key to our oppression, but that the most pressing problem at this time was racism and national oppression.

Sis. Johnson stated that class oppression, in her view, was

[Cont'd on pg. 6]

A REPLY TO MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

The June 14 issue of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS carries a vicious attack on the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and personal attacks on its leadership. It should be noted that this is not the first MS attack on the African Liberation Day demonstration, but rather the third yearly assault.

The crux of the article is that the leadership of ALSC, according to unnamed "reliable sources," is a part of a sinister Marxist conspiracy led by the GUARDIAN, a radical weekly newspaper, whose "sponsors," according to MS, "are alleged to control the infiltration and propagation of the ideology among Black organizations." MS then goes on to cite a GUARDIAN article by James Forman as saying that ALSC is "working for a new communist party."

MS's version of Forman's statement is an example of their inaccuracy in the entire attack. Brother Forman (who, incidentally is not a member of ALSC), did not say that ALSC was working for the creation of a new communist party, but that this was the position of some people within ALSC. This is neither a secret (Abdul Alkalimat stated this position quite clearly at the recent conference) nor a compulsion on other ALSC members.

Just as the Marxist-Leninist members of ALSC have a right to their own views, so do ALSC members who consider themselves Kawaide advocates, revolutionary nationalists, Pan-Africanists, and anti-imperialists. The only position binding an ALSC member is the ALSC Statement of Principles - a position hailed as a positive advance in the Black Liberation Struggle by leaders of African Liberation movements and other progressive forces on the continent.

As for some GUARDIAN - led conspiracy in which Nelson Johnson, former YOBU chairman and Tim Thomas, present YOBU chairman were implied to be involved, it simply does not exist. The GUARDIAN is a newspaper, not an organization; it has a staff, but no "sponsor" that we know of. So the bugaloos of "white control" is a red-accuse herring; whoever has anonymously "alleged" its existence is spreading misinformation at least and slander at worst.

But the issue goes deeper than this: the clear implication is that relationships with the white GUARDIAN (and presumably other groups) should be rejected because they are white. Yet only two months ago, Muhammad Speaks devoted almost an entire issue to greetings from such oppressors (who also happen to be white) as Richard Daley, Mayor of Chicago, the Governor of Illinois, and even a representative of the President of the United States. Aside from any organizational conspiracy (which we have categorically stated does not exist), we do not think that the GUARDIAN is our people's enemy. Richard Nixon is, (among others such as the Mayor of Chicago and the Governor of Illinois).

Even more disappointing is the statement that a belief in class struggle is somehow an indicator of some "familiar trend leading to alliances with white liberals, Zionists and communists." First of all, ALSC, and especially the individual "well-known spokesmen" mentioned by MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, have always taken a stand against Zionism and in support of the just struggles of the Palestinian people. We know that YOBU will never compromise its stand against Zionism and we see no justification for such a change. Secondly, this statement again lumps together "liberals, Zionists and communists," three different groups (although liberals and Zionists sometimes overlap) because they are all white! This would mean that Ralph Nader, Golda Meir, and Fidel Castro would all be the same. We think that they are not.

Lastly, MS reported another anonymous "interpretation" of a section (slightly misquoted by MS) in ALSC's Statement of Principles which says, "The time is ripe to develop a United Black people's struggle, a struggle to merge the Black liberation movement with the process of World Revolution." The "interpretation" reported was that this statement signalled a "takeover by white internationalists of the Black movement." This interpretation goes hand-in-hand with the idea that those Black leaders who have changed and

Women in the Struggle

(Cont'd from PR. 5)

the principal source of oppression because it was basic to the existing oppressive economic system. However, she emphasized racism was also a major source of oppression to Black people though she viewed it as a function of class oppression.

Queen Mother put forth the position that "we are not oppressed so much as a class as we are as a nation."

She went on to say that our primary oppression was not because of our Africanity, but because of "all the raw materials and riches of Africa. Racism was just a justification; it has nothing to do with our color; it was because of all our gold, our diamonds, our wealth." Despite this, however, she condemned associations with white women because of defections in the past.

Another pressing question was the primary task of Black people inside the U.S. Sis. Jangha responded "to work for the unification of Africa (long-range) and to deal with the oppression of Black people here (short-range)."

Sis. Baraka answered that our task was to work for national liberation and to primarily work in this country. Sis. Johnson replied that our task was to work in this country to bring about a working class struggle through which both racism and imperialism could be fought. Queen Mother said our task was to fight for reparations and regain all that has been taken from us and gotten as a result of our labor.

The question of what grouping or class within the Black liberation struggle would play the most significant role, drew some clear differences among the panelists. The greatest disparity was reflected in the views of Sis. Jangha and Sis. Johnson.

Sis. Jangha indicated that, though the working class would play a significant role in the Black liberation struggle and the ultimate defeat of imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie would play a significant role. She indicated that no sharp differences existed in the

potential of different classes to involve themselves in the struggle.

Sis. Johnson took exception to this, stating that the working class would have to be the leading force in the struggle because of their strategic position and because of their objective interests in seeing the defeat of imperialism.

Strong differences also existed around the question of class. Sis. Jangha indicated that though there were classes within the Black community, she recognized petty bourgeois and working class, but no bourgeoisie. Both of these classes fall below all classes of the white community.

Again, Sis. Johnson, especially differed with this. She said despite the important factor of racism, class alliances and interests flowed across

racial lines. She asserted that "under certain circumstances, the objective interests of a Black woman working in a factory, lay closer to those of a white factory worker than those of a Black woman Ph.D. in Nixon's staff or teaching at a large university." She stressed the need for Black unity, but also pointed out the necessity of a realistic assessment of our circumstances as Black people on all levels."

Sis. Baraka also indicated that the working class would have to be the primary component of the struggle.

In addition to all of these questions, there were also concerns raised about drugs in the community, sickle cell anemia, independent educational institutions and a number of other issues.



developed their views, must have some sinister motivation - something other than their own sincerity, study and lessons learned from struggle. Ironically, some people who claim to respect the

intelligence and independence of Black people cannot believe that brothers and sisters can come to new conclusions other than through the manipulation or bribery by some unknown millionaire "white leftists."

We in YOBU, believe that the struggle against imperialism is the principle struggle for Black people and that our struggle is linked with the Cubans, Chile and the world.

If these views are incorrect, if they imply a take-over by someone hostile to Black people, then we would have to throw out a long list of heroes of the deeds of W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Amilcar Cabral, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, and Patrice Lumumba and conclude (bribed). This we will not do!

Death to Imperialism!
Victory over Racism!
Long live ALSC!

**Statement of
Solidarity from
African Parts for
the Independence
of Guinea-Bissau
and Cape Verde**

PAIGC

We regret we cannot be with you on African Liberation Day. We affirm our solidarity with all oppressed people of the world struggling to be free. We pledge to continue our struggle for total independence.
Fraternally,
PAIGC

Presentation of All-African People's Party

On this and the next six pages, we attempt to summarize the six major presentations made at the Conference on Racism and Imperialism, including significant questions and points of rebuttal that were posed to each panelist.

There were two, 4-hour panel discussions, each with three position presented. Each panelist was given 45 minutes to present his position and 5 minutes of rebuttal to other presentations. The discussion was then opened up for questions from the audience.

On the first panel were three spokesmen from the All-African People's Party, Abdul Alkalimat from People's College, and Stokely Carmichael of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

On the second panel were Kwadwo Akpan of the Pan-African Congress, Owusu Sadaukai, first chairperson of ALSC, and Imamu Baraka of the Congress of African People.

The presentation of the All African People's Party (AAPP) was given by three people as a "collective analysis" because, in the words of AAPP chairman, Muhammad Ahmad, "too long have we engaged in personality polemics." The other two spokesmen were Saladin Muhammad, Secretary-General of AAPP, and brother Sufu (formerly Winston Berry).

MUHAMMAD AHMAD
In giving AAPP's opening statements, Ahmad covered a variety of topics, elaborating on few. He criticized those who shed "crocodile tears for Malcolm," noting that he knew Malcolm closely and now does not even have a large picture of Malcolm in his room.

He then spoke of repression saying, "we have not really seen repression yet," and went on to say, that intense repression had forced him to flee California.

He mentioned briefly the "colony of New Africa," which was a clue to the AAPP analysis to come.

Ahmad spoke for a while criticizing those who make a class analysis. His criticism took the form of personal examples. First, he stated that once when in Czechoslovakia, he discovered that an African had been beaten to death for walking with a white woman.

Secondly, he reported that while in France in 1964, a

small group calling themselves Marxists, criticized the Harlem riots, saying "don't you realize that if America is destroyed, it will destroy your way of life?"

He tied Amilcar Cabral into the discussion, saying, "I could have told y'all in 1972 that Cabral was going to be assassinated, but y'all would have assassinated me. It was Cabral's ambivalence that got him assassinated." He did not elaborate on that statement.

Ahmad ended by introducing Saladin Muhammad.

SALADIN MUHAMMAD
Saladin Muhammad laid out the basic theoretical positions of AAPP. He set the framework saying, "If we deal with imperialism and racism as an oppressed nation, then the answers we get (on how to deal with it), will be different than if we deal with it as an oppressed minority."

He then proceeded with the position that Black people in this country form an oppressed nation and that "national liberation" should be our goal.

He discounted the notion of unity of Black and white workers saying "there is a cultural contradiction that is never ending - a cultural contradiction that clearly distinguishes the two types of workers in the U.S. today."

He also discounted the notion of classes in the Black community, saying that some Blacks consider it an honor to get promoted into the system

"not because we have no typical bourgeois class, but because they have been dehumanized into believing they are a part of the guide race."

Following the "dehumanized" theory for divisions in the Black community, Saladin proposed the solution that "we must raise the national consciousness of our people so that the inferiority complex, the 'I have to become American or I am not human mentality,' can be totally erased from their minds."

To those "brothers and sisters who struggle to deal with the contradictions in the schools, the contradictions in the plants, the whole social and economic contradiction in this country," Saladin posed a number of rhetorical questions.

"When we talk about better housing, do we talk about better U.S. housing or better housing as a nation?"

"Are we Black workers a part of the oppressor nation, or are we a colonized nation in which the oppressor attempts to reap super profits?"

"Are we fighting to legitimize ourselves as African-Americans?"

"What does the means of production mean to a colonized nation?"

"Are we striving to legitimize the U.S. and say that now, because we are assimilated as a part of it, the imperialism that exists on the continent is now more humanistic?"

He made the assessment that, "if we struggle to be a part - African-American - of that international oppressive system, then we will legitimize the exploitation of Africa."

Saladin continued, "It is a race-class problem. And when scientific nationalists begin to deal with the economic contradiction, many times the left will co-opt that because we have brothers and sisters who don't understand historical materialism trying to deal with dialectical materialism. We will not understand the social laws that govern the actions of our people unless we understand historically what our people went through."

Later, during the question and answer period, the point was made that historical materialism, in fact, was the application of dialectical materialism to the social laws governing history. AAPP representatives did not expand upon their point.

Saladin went on to say, "we are not claiming that there are not class contradictions within the U.S." He explained,



MUHAMMAD AHMAD, OF THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.

"The less the oppressor nation receives from the African colonies, the harder they will have to come down on the so-called white proletariat. When he comes down on the white worker, then we will precipitate the class struggle that is taking place, not in our nation, but in the oppressor nation."

Thus, he added, "we should organize brothers and sisters to struggle around national interests, not some class interests...African people need a cultural revolution."

Saladin concluded, "the only demand that is being made (by many others) is to change the American structure so that we can be a part of it. As Pan-African nationalists, we don't want to be a part of it." He then introduced brother Sufu.

BROTHER SUFU
Brother Sufu, a veteran of struggle, over 70 years of age, started his presentation with an account of a number of Black rebellions through the years. He cited, for example, the 1935 uprising in Harlem "which resulted the next day in the hiring of many Black workers." He cited many others. Then he concluded, "these rebellions showed the contradiction between the colonized and the colonizers as the predominant contradiction of the time."

He added, "you have seen many strikes, you've even seen strikes by Black workers, but none of them have raised one point relating to national liberation. Therefore, when we look at it historically, we see the struggle (Cont'd on pg. 13)



SALADIN MUHAMMAD OF THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.



BRO. SUFU (FORMERLY WINSTON BERRY) OF THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Position Statement of Abdul Alkalimat

Abdul Alkalimat of People's College in Nashville, Tenn., presented an analysis of what he felt to be the correct strategy and tactics for the Black liberation struggle from a Marxist perspective.

Initially, he outlined four basic questions he would speak to.

1. What is our problem - its historical development and current structure?

2. Who are our friends and who are our enemies?

3. What are the correct solutions to our problems - the maximum and minimum programs for change?

4. What are the differences and similarities between our struggle in the United States and the struggle on the African continent?

Alkalimat stated that he would "pay particular attention to demonstrate that this position is based on a summary of the lessons of Black history and world revolution and will try to indicate how what we believe in should inform what we do."

He went on, "Theory is the summation of historical experiences and theory must be tested in concrete practice."

Turning to the first question of how Black people are exploited and oppressed, he mentioned two views. First was the view that racial oppression was the problem, all Black people are the same, and race is the lever that turns history and the single most important fact of life. Second was the view that class exploitation was the only problem of capitalist society and class struggle will automatically eliminate all other problems.

Alkalimat asserted, "both of these views are incorrect." He stated that the correct view would "point to the total character of exploitation and oppression, wearing blinders to neither class nor race."

He spoke of classes as "based on how large groups of people are organized relative to the production and distribution of wealth...in capitalist society the capitalist buys the labor power of workers at a price less than the value created by those workers. The difference is expropriated for private gain as the key way the working class is exploited."

He went on to talk about the increasing concentration of ownership of the means of production and distribution into what became "monopoly capitalism" - the basis of imperialism. He then stated "class struggle, meaning workers fighting as a class in their class interests, is strategically against capitalism as a whole."

He characterized racial groups as "based on genetic character as manifested in physical traits such as skin color, hair texture, etc." He then traced the general history of racial oppression in the modern world pointing out that in the case of Black people in the U.S., "This general racial oppression has been transformed into a new form of national oppression."

He continued, saying that this new form was because of

the "critically important fact that Black people were molded into a nation in the last part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century in the Black Belt of the South."

He quoted the generally accepted historical materialist definition of a nation as "a historically evolved stable community of people with a common territory, economic life, and psychological make-ups manifested in a community of culture."

Therefore, he added, "all subsequent racial oppression can scientifically now be referred to as national oppression in the context of our national development."

Having defined capitalism, classes and national oppression, Alkalimat noted, "scientifically, while there are many, many contradictions in society, there is always, at any given stage, one principle contradiction, only one."

He stated, "Historically, Black people have been central to the development of capitalism and it has been, to a great extent, through the exploitation of Black people that the capitalist development of Europe and North America was possible."

He explained that the same situation exists today with the difference being the shift of the masses of Blacks from agricultural production in the rural south to industrial production in the urban areas of the south and north. He added, "We are indispensable to the production of steel, autos, meat packing and a whole new set of service jobs that have been almost exclusively ours."

Alkalimat then declared, "We fit directly into the class analysis under capitalism. The principal contradiction is the class contradiction and Black people fit essentially into the exploited class of workers. In this contradiction, national oppression and class exploitation are joined."

Continuing, he said, "there are three secondary contradictions, that while not the principal contradiction, are very important and reflect the dialectical struggle of national oppression and class exploitation. First, the contradiction between all Black people and monopoly capitalism and it is precisely this contradiction that we struggle to overcome by waging a Black liberation struggle and moving toward the goal of national liberation."

"Secondly, there is the contradiction between white and Black workers - the contradiction that the ruling class uses to keep the working class divided. And third, the class contradiction inside the Black community, the contradiction that keeps the Black liberation struggle from developing."

Alkalimat then talked of the ruling class strategy for continued domination, noting that it uses the double strategy of dividing workers and reinforcing a "lucky servant class in the Black community."

He cited examples of how those tactics were used during the reconstruction period,

again during the populist era and again during the sixties - all periods characterized by an upsurge of struggle and the developing unity within the working class movement and the Black liberation movement.

Speaking of the sixties, he used the lives and movements of King and Malcolm to stress his point. "King was moving to form a united poor people's campaign that focused on defending the rights of workers like the Memphis sanitation workers. Moreover, he had a strong anti-imperialist stand, as evidenced by his stand on Vietnam and he had



ABDUL ALKALIMAT OF PEOPLE'S COLLEGE.

the respect of progressive people throughout the world. He was murdered."

"Malcolm was building unity within the Black community, developing a militant consciousness toward struggle and was boldly presenting anti-capitalist views. Malcolm was received by African heads of state and had the respect of the national liberation leaders. He was murdered."

In the place of these men, Alkalimat asserted, capitalists have "projected petty bourgeois opportunists, who have violated the militant tradition of King, and race theorists who distort Malcolm's motion toward revolution and instead turn toward cultism."

Alkalimat summed this portion of his presentation with a quote from Mao Tse Tung which said, "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers movement and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS AND WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES

In answer to his second question, Alkalimat stated, "our enemies are the entire capitalist class, particularly the leading elements of the monopoly capitalists and the high petty bourgeois servants of the monopolies." He included in this group, trade union bureaucrats like George Meany and Leonard Wood-

cock, the foundations run by the likes of Ford and Rockefeller, as well as government agents like Nixon and Kissinger. He said, "These are our enemies, clearly and always."

He said friends are, "the masses of Black people, the white working class and the peasants and workers of third world peoples inside the country." He said these groupings were friends "because their objective interest lies with socialist revolution."

He explained that there could be absolutely no denial that the contradiction among these friends is sharp and the level of unity is low. "But," he continued, "things can change

"Defense, democracy and development," were the key aspects of the minimum program he outlined. "We must defend Black workers from the attacks of the monopolies and by so doing, defend the interests of the total Black community...We must fight for democracy inside the trade unions and by so doing, raise the banner of democracy for all people...We must develop tools of struggle, organizations which mold the Black working class into a fighting, class conscious sector of the proletariat, and organizations which mold Black people into a vital revolutionary force..."

Alkalimat went on to cite examples of his minimum program.

THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR STRUGGLE HERE AND THE STRUGGLE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

As the time allotted for his presentation was running short, Alkalimat spoke to his final question.

He categorized the countries on the African continent into three types - Advanced Countries (i.e., Tanzania, Guinea, Congo, Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau), Colonial Countries, either settler colonies (i.e., South Africa) or others (i.e., Mozambique) and Neo-Colonialist Countries (i.e., Ethiopia, Senegal and Kenya).

He stated that the principal contradiction inside these countries is the class contradiction and quoted a passage by Kwame Nkrumah which read, "A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa, its essence is as in the rest of the world a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. The African revolution is an integral part of the world socialist revolution."

Alkalimat stated that the struggle in Africa and the struggle in the U.S. are similar in that both situations are subject to the same general laws of social development and both are part of the world socialist revolution.

He cited important differences as first, the fact that "the United States is an advanced capitalist country and Black people are a part of this advanced industrial or clerical working class, while Africa is dominated by a peasant majority. Secondly, whether we like it or not, Black people have, in fact, been struggling within this country while Africa, by virtue of its colonial history, is characterized by state to state relations and state to state struggle."

Alkalimat concluded his presentation by asserting the need to study the science of revolution, to build coalitions for struggle locally, to strive to become thorough anti-imperialist fighters, while keeping Africa in the center of our concern and supporting the anti-imperialist struggles of oppressed people everywhere.

Finally, he asserted the need for efforts toward the building of a revolutionary party of the entire working class to lead the struggle for socialist revolution.

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEM - THE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM PROGRAM FOR CHANGE

In answer to his third question, Alkalimat stated that the maximum goal must be socialist revolution because "there can be no solution under capitalism."

Of The All-African People's Revolutionary Party

Position Statement of Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), opened his speech with thanks to the leadership of ALSC for the invitation to speak, saying, "we want to thank you for the struggles you have been waging on behalf of our people all over the world."

Carmichael then proceeded to the heart of his analysis, saying, "It is Africa that is going to bury imperialism... not just because Africa is the home of the Black man, but because of the crucial position that it plays in world struggle. Once Africa's wealth and labor is channelled for the benefit of Africa, Africa will make a leap and bring the rest of the world along with it."

He went on to make the point that "if a man has no history of struggle, then he has no right to speak of struggle," saying further that "each thing has its own internal dynamism, each thing has its own contradiction and it is conflicts with its own contradiction that produces change. Thus a man standing on the outside cannot observe those contradictions; it is only a man standing on the inside that can speak properly to it."

He stated "We (AAPRP) are Nkrumahists, that's our ideology, our objective is Pan-Africanism. We define Pan-Africanism as the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism. We understand that when this objective is achieved, the Black man will be free all over the world and Africa will play a powerful force in world socialist revolution."

He continued, "the question before us is not a question of class struggle. Any serious revolutionary knows that class struggle is the motivating struggle, is the major struggle, that is not a question."

Thus, having stated his position that class struggle is the "motivating struggle," Carmichael continued, "the question before us now is what is the role of nationalism and what phase has the African revolution now entered. The only question before the Black community is the question of nationalism! I tell you that is the only question!"

He went on, "Black people have been the vanguard of any serious anti-capitalist struggle in America. Anybody knows that. The Black man knows the evil system of capitalism better than any other man in the world. We know this vicious system seeks to take from the laborer the fruits of their labor. We must know that. What Africa has suffered, no other force on earth has suffered. It is those who are on the bottom, scientifically, who are the vanguard of a truly revolutionary force. There is no discussion, of course, the Black man is the vanguard... The only issue before us is the question of nationalism."

Carmichael followed with assessment that, "anybody who knows revolution, knows that nationalism is a prerequisite to serious anti-imperialist struggle. It is not the final stage, of course not, but it is a prerequisite. Nationalism is the only question before us."

"The problem with the Black man in America is that because of negative interpretation of his history, he is incapable of embracing African nationalism which is his only just nationalism."

"We condemn imperialism because imperialism has snatched other people's lands. That's why we condemn it. That's the only reason we condemn it, because it has snatched their lands, it has taken their wealth, it has taken their labor for their benefit. When people struggle, they struggle to regain the land so they can use the wealth for the benefit of the people inside the land. Of course, we know if they don't go towards socialism, then contradictions will develop so our job is to push it toward socialism, but we must know what our proper nationalism is."

"We know that socialism is the most just society, scientifically so, that is why we fight for it...when we talk about a national struggle in this country, the red man is the man we must speak to, justice demands that. Africa is the only home of the Black man!"

He continued, "Unless a man has shoo nuff nationalism, he cannot talk about internationalism. No nationalism plus no nationalism gives you no nationalism. One nationalism plus one nationalism gives you internationalism."

Carmichael went on to a discussion of universal principles, noting, "the principles of revolution are universal, they're truth. But what makes revolution is understanding the universality of truth and applying it in the particular situation in which you find yourselves. One knows that taking the universal principles and applying them to Europe and applying them to Africa, in the same form and methods will get you nothing but futile attempts."

Of America, he was to say, "a backward interpretation of our history will make you think this land really belongs to us because we worked and sweated. That is the most backward capitalist thinking one has ever found."

Continuing, he said, "That we are Africans is undeniable. No one can deny that. Matter is primary, everybody knows that. The question is whether our interests lie with Africa or lie with America."

Concerning the destruction of imperialism, Carmichael said, "Africa is supporting world imperialism proper now. If you liberate Africa, it helps bring down world imperialism much quicker and gives you a stronger base from which to work to attack imperialism."

He stated his view of the fate of America. "Nobody denies that socialism will come to America, of course it must come. Black workers must take the lead. But for real liberation transformation to socialist America, the white

working class is the crucial element. But it is necessary for the white people, for those brothers and sisters who adhere to that policy to be working in the white working class community trying to

raise the level of consciousness of the white working class. We must do that."

"But," Carmichael intoned, "our primary objective must be the building of Africa. Our primary objective must be the



STOKELY CARMICHAEL OF THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

heighten the consciousness of the white working class. The white working class is oppressed, but they are not aware of their oppression."

On the question of unity of Black and white workers, Carmichael had this to say: "History has demonstrated to us the willingness of the Black man to work with his ally, the white working class. I don't know what assumption that some can now make that the Black man is no longer willing to struggle with his white ally. But for each willingness on the part of the Black man, I will demonstrate a betrayal on the part of the white working class."

He continued, "Although they have betrayed us, scientifically, realizing that they must work we are always willing to work with them." He stated that as capitalist contradictions intensify capitalists will look for a scapegoat - the Black man - thus, he contended, "Although the Black worker must be the vanguard, he must push the white worker out front. The Black worker must not move unless the white worker is moving."

Carmichael returned to a point central to his call to liberate Africa first. "Unless the Black man has a power behind him to speak on his behalf and to protect him, he will never be respected."

He stated that neither the Black or white communities in the U.S. have organized mass, revolutionary forces, and added, "Thus what is needed is building and developing the Black vanguard. While doing that, we must constantly try

consolidation of socialism in Africa!"

He moved to a discussion of contradictions in the Black community noting that, "We have Senators and Congressmen who call themselves Pan-Africanists and support Israel. They are able to support Israel because they have a misformed nationalism."

"We ask you to properly define nationalism and understand the proper phase of the African revolution. When we say the African Revolution, we mean Africans scattered all over the world, are to be involved in the same process at the same time."

"The job of ideology is to channel the energies of the people toward the desired goal. If the energy of the Africans in America is being channelled this way (at home) and the energy of the Africans in South America this way, and the energy of the Africans in the West Indies is channelled this way, then we will not be able to put our energies together."

Carmichael concluded, "We understand the nationalist struggle is not the final struggle, but it is a prerequisite to serious anti-imperialist struggle."

QUESTIONS TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL

At the end of his presentation, Carmichael was posed a number of questions and points of rebuttal. Abdul Alkalimat, in his rebuttal, asked Carmichael a number of questions.

First, Alkalimat asked Carmichael that since he had admitted that class struggle

was "the motivating struggle, the major struggle," and yet he failed to mention class further in his analysis, what did he see as the relationship of class struggle and nationalism?

Secondly, Alkalimat asked for a clear explanation of how liberating Africa would, in practical terms, liberate us in this country.

Third, he asked Carmichael if he recognized any class composition of the Black community, since he had not mentioned it, or did he view all Black people as having the same relationship to capitalism?

Fourth, he asked whether or not the analysis that "one nationalism plus one nationalism equals internationalism," was a mechanical rather than a scientific and dialectical assertion.

Finally, he asked Carmichael, if he believes, as he asserted, that the unity of Black and white workers was a necessity for struggle in this country, then why did he not speak in terms of obstacles to be overcome rather than implying that that which is necessary is yet impossible because of the betrayal factor.

After Alkalimat's questions, Carmichael came to the podium and said, "The only question is what is the proper nationalism of the Black man in America. I can't answer the questions posed to me, because I know that African nationalism is my proper nationalism and Pan-Africanism is the highest expression of that. Once I know that what I do next follows logically."

Later Carmichael was asked what specific kinds of things Black people in this country should do to aid the liberation of Africa.

Carmichael responded, "If you accept Pan-Africanism, then it means that you must have an all-Black party in the United States...that is a tactic. What we are struggling for is to see if we can agree on a common objective - (the liberation and unification of Africa) - which all of us will channel our energies toward. Then we will work out specific tactics."

One questioner pointed out that in a workshop, a representative of the AAPRP had stated that the primary problem of Black people was because of our Africanism and our class, yet an AAPRP publication stated only Africanism. "Which is the true position of AAPRP?"

Carmichael responded, "I am a Pan-Africanist. That means that my primary objective is the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism. Once you understand that then you don't have to discuss class and race."

Carmichael was asked if he thought the African continent was homogeneous and free of class realities. Carmichael responded, "Africa is not homogeneous. Africa was divided by European imperialism. I will struggle to make it homogeneous under scientific socialism."

[Cont'd on pg. 15]

Of The Pan-African Congress, U.S.A.

Position Statement of Kwadwo Akpan

Kwadwo Akpan of the Pan-African Congress opened his presentation with a statement of the positive nature of the conference. "The decision to hold this conference has been proved to be even more correct, as a result of the kind of discussion that have gone on for the past two days, than we had originally thought when it was proposed some months ago."

Akpan then moved to the body of his presentation. "In our view the principal problem facing Black people in the world today is imperialism and its contingent manifestation problems, racism and capitalism. We feel, however, that racism and capitalism cannot be understood without first understanding the role of contradictions as a determinant of social progress leading toward the elimination of these two evils."

"Contradiction and its role in social development has been the least understood social phenomena among those of us seeking social change...the contradiction that we are dealing with here today is the realization of our desire to end that victimization."

Akpan continued, "to end that victimization requires that we view contradictions, the elimination of which we define as progress, as falling primarily into two categories. First, there are contradictions between ourselves and our enemies which will be defined as our primary contradiction. Then, there are secondary contradictions. Contradictions of this category are found among our own people, among our own cadres..."

"Contradictions within the ranks of our people, within the ranks of our cadres, are resolved by criticism and self-criticism...contradictions between ourselves and our enemies can only be resolved by revolutionary force."

IMPERIALISM

Akpan stated that imperialism and its perpetrators is a primary contradiction. He defined imperialism saying, "imperialism, first and foremost, is a world system based on the political, economic and social exploitation of man by man...when considered in the context of African reality it manifests itself generally in the form of racism and capitalism."

"In its form of racism, it is the systematic and institutionalized exploitation of one group of people by another based on race. It is based on the most primitive instinct of self-aggrandizement and greed. It is practiced most consistently, mind you, and on the highest level by the children of Europe - white folks."

Akpan then defined capitalism as, "an economic system in which profits is king, not man...so that the white ruling class, the capitalist class, can squeeze out more profits by introducing pieces of machinery at the expense of human labor. Capitalism is a system that sees us as the means to an end rather than an end in itself. It sees us merely as consumers of goods rather

than the beneficiaries of all production. As a system, capitalism must be struggled against at every level. It must be understood, it must be defeated."

Akpan then said, "imperialism, in the final analysis, is an act of cultural aggression by one group of people against another. It is, as Amilcar Cabral said, 'a denial of a people's historical process.' As Pan-Africanists, we call for the establishment of a system which eliminates the exploitation of our people, a system which is consistent with the African tradition of extended family and communal ownership of land and property. Pan-Africanism calls for a system we define as Pan-African socialism, which is defined as scientific socialism applied to specific African conditions and within the framework of the fundamental African social philosophy of communalism."

NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Akpan then quoted a list of the natural resources found in Africa concluding, "Indeed, Africa possesses nearly all the resources needed by an advanced industrial society." He noted that Africa, however, does not currently benefit from its natural wealth and said, "the answer lies in the decadence of European imperialist exploitation."

Akpan continued into a discussion of the workings of neo-colonialism. He pointed out that the economic earnings of many African countries are dictated by the fluctuating market prices in Europe and North America and that up to 90 percent of the profitable returns on investments in Africa are carted off to Europe and America.

He noted, "thus except for the local elite, western-trained and indoctrinated leaders who act as caretakers for European and American interests, the masses remain poor."

He continued, saying that socialism is vigorously opposed by the colonial powers, because of the obvious threats to their profit rates. They conduct relentless propaganda campaigns against progressive leaders and governments. "Such leaders," Akpan asserted, "are usually labeled as leftists, radicals, or pro-communist in an attempt to discredit their efforts to achieve self-reliance and economic justice for their people."

Akpan went on to note that some opportunistic African leaders, responding to the increasing demands from the masses of people, "adopt the rhetoric of socialism, if not its substance...attempting to disguise the essentially capitalist policies of their regime. They use terms such as Negritude and the African personality to rationalize their refusal to subject their bogus brand of socialism to the rigors of scientific analysis."

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Akpan continued, "this unfortunate distortion of the term African socialism, has

reached the point where many genuine socialists on the African continent refuse to use the term any longer."

"Instead," Akpan stated, "many of these individuals now prefer to identify themselves with the position expounded by Karl Marx or

distribution and exchange, we as Black people had no history."

He added that he felt that "such a notion" would mean that we must believe that institutions developed in African traditional society contributed nothing to the course of historical development."



KWADWO AKPAN OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS, U.S.A.

certain prominent African personalities."

Speaking more of Karl Marx, Akpan said, "without question, Marx has made significant contributions to the body of social thought. He clearly indicated that capitalism, based as it is upon the profit motive, cannot result in anything but the exploitation of one class by another, while socialism is based on an equitable distribution of wealth. Marx has applied the theory of dialectics to the analysis of the class contradiction within capitalist society."

"The Marxist analysis, however, is restricted by the historical framework of its own development. Proceeding as it does from the European experience, it not only ignores the question of racism, but it concludes that socialism can only develop out of the class contradiction inherent in capitalism. Thus, in keeping with the Marxist analysis, socialism is contingent upon the prior existence of capitalism."

"This, of course, is contradicted by the African experience in which many societies practiced communalism, rudimentary socialism, long before the advent of capitalism in Europe or anywhere else."

"And then we must agree with brother Cabral when he contradicted Marx, saying that it is the level of productive forces that is the true and permanent motive force of history, and not the class struggle as Marx had said. For to agree otherwise would make us conspirators against ourselves."

Akpan continued, "It would have us accept the notion that prior to the development of class conflicts, in Africa over the control of the means of production,

"Thus," he concluded, "while the bourgeois element in Africa must be rooted out and destroyed, socialist development must proceed on the basis of the progressive attitudes and values inherent in the communal society of traditional Africa and based on the goal of African unity, and hence the term Pan-African socialism. All socialism, of course, must ultimately be one socialism, scientific socialism, whose fundamental principles are universal and abiding..."

Turning again to Marxism, Akpan said, "For Africans who are socialist, such labels as Marxist-Leninist are restrictive rather than definitive...therefore, genuine Pan-Africanists must not base their ideology on the thoughts of any one man, but must adopt the collective wisdom of all men to the particular history, culture, tradition and needs of our own people."

BLACK UNITED FRONT

Akpan then moved on to a discussion of the Black United Front. He said, "it involves, as we see, the unity of all those who want to make revolution. Its purpose is to achieve the largest and widest mass-scale unity of all our people - Black people...A significant feature of a united front is that at all times, when it is contracted upon, it must essentially be to the advantage of the African revolution."

Akpan added, "within the United Front there must be massive unanimity over the specific political objectives, which the entire front shall be rallied to pursue...and last, but not least, the organizations within the united front must have as their ultimate goal the unification of Africa under a democratic and

socialist African government."

AFRICA IS THE KEY

Turning to the U.S., Akpan said, "The Pan-African Congress USA views the oppression of African people in this country as a continuing phenomena of institutionalized American racism based historically on economic exploitation."

Akpan then stated, "Given the historic condition of African people and the economic, political and social structure of the U.S., the elimination of such oppression and exploitation solely in the framework of this country is impractical, unrealistic and indeed impossible."

He further asserted, "from an economic standpoint, our people have ceased to be a productive asset to the economy and are in fact, becoming an increasing liability to the U.S. government...similarly, from a political standpoint African people in the United States are mere pawns in a game that they do not control and for the most part, do not even understand."

Akpan then described the history leading to the emergence of Black mayors presiding over decaying urban areas in the North. He went on to say that in the South, Black people are being rapidly forced into urban, industrialized areas. He concluded, "contrary to the propaganda about the progress and new political influence of our people, statistics indicate that in the past, one-hundred years the political influence of our people has declined..."

Akpan went on to say that therefore, Africa is the key to the solution to our problem "if we have secured in Africa the kind of influence that will give the white ruling class cause to think again, cause to wonder how its actions here will affect the resources that it is getting from Africa, cause enough to change its ugly ways, not because it wants to, but because it has to in order to maintain any level of survival."

"Clearly then," he continued, "the position of African people in the U.S. is precarious at best."

"Thus, the PAC, USA regards Pan-Africanism to be the most practical solution to the plight of all African people. Understanding this, therefore, the correct strategy for African people in the western hemisphere, and in the U.S. in particular, is to provide massive support and assistance to those efforts designed to secure and develop an African power base for our people."

After adding that the task of Pan-Africanists is to create an African identity among Black people in this country, Akpan asserted, "we are in America but not of America in the sense that white people are, regardless of what class we are talking about."

"It is absolutely essential that we destroy the ugly, insane notion among our people that America is our country...our people must begin to view themselves as

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Position Statement of Owusu Sadaukai

Owusu Sadaukai began his presentation by admitting that he personally was presently engaged in intense internal struggle.

He said, "I come before you as a person who quite honestly and frankly is struggling with a lot of things. I've been struggling with some of the things that I have said to those of you who are here over the past three to four years; struggling with some of the positions that now that I understand things a little bit better, I think were incorrect."

He continued, "I see myself as a human being who is both a product of the environment that I live in, and hopefully a person who is contributing to changing the nature of that environment. And because of that dialectic, it is always possible to have said something in 1972 that is no longer adequate to describe how I see the world in 1974."

Turning to the conference theme of racism and imperialism, Sadaukai first sought to give some definition to some of the terms he would use in his presentation.

RACISM

He said racism is "a feeling on the part of one race that they are superior to the people of another race for no other reason than they are of that race. So when we speak of white racism, we are talking about the feeling on the part of white people that they are superior to Black people for no other reason than they are white."

Sadaukai further explained, "It is my belief that racism is a product of the early development of capitalism. That is to say, that racism developed as part of the superstructure developed out of the material base of capitalism."

"By superstructure, I mean the ideas, the beliefs, the institutions and systems that deal with matters such as government, religion, morals and values. Racism as part of the superstructure, continues to affect the development of the base even as the base affects its development on an ongoing basis."

He continued, "to look at it more concretely, racism is and has been used as a justification to keep Black people out of jobs. The end result of this is and was the continued existence of a surplus labor force which in effect depresses the wages of the entire working class."

The ruling class, however, used the fact that we are out of work to say that niggers don't want to work, they're lazy and all they want to do is get on welfare, thereby, reinforcing the racist ideas and notions on the part of all sectors of the white community."

"So in effect, racism had its origin in capitalist development, but it then became more than just an idea as its existence as a superstructural phenomena justifies racist practices that benefit the base even as they dialectically reinforced its own existence."

CAPITALISM

Sadaukai then moved on to define capitalism. "Capitalism is a political, economic and social system that has four basic characteristics. First of all, capitalism is a complex commodity economy, an economy based on the massive production and distribution of goods and services."

"Secondly, in a capitalist system, a small number of vultures, bloodsuckers - are able to own and control the means of production. The instruments of labor plus the objects of labor. If you are working in a mine, the mine is the object of labor, the tools that you use to extract the ore from the mine are the instruments of your labor. The objects of labor plus the instruments of labor from the means of production."

"So in fact, you have socialized production and private appropriation to the extent that in the United States, less than two thousand individuals control 90 percent of the wealth and less than 15 families control 80 percent of that."

Sadaukai cited the Rockefeller empire as an example of the extreme concentration of wealth. He read a list of some of the corporations controlled by this one family. The list included six banks, which control 20 percent of all banking in the U.S.; American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), the largest corporation in the world with 700,000 employees; Exxon and 12 other oil companies controlling the majority of the oil production and sales in the U.S.; two of the largest life insurance companies - Metropolitan and Equitable - controlling one-fourth of all life insurance companies in the country.

Also on the list were Consolidated Edison, the country's largest utility; Pan-American, the largest airline; Anaconda Copper, the largest copper producer; and Borden's, the country's second largest food corporation.

Sadaukai then described the third characteristic of capitalism. "Since a small number of people control the means of production, the masses of people must work for them in order to survive so that people become slaves to a wage."

"The fourth characteristic is that the whole thing is based on profit. It's important that we understand where the profit comes from. It comes from the blood, sweat and tears of the people who are working in this society."

To illustrate his point, Sadaukai said, "If you work somewhere, if you get paid \$2 an hour, you probably produced something worth \$10 an hour, so what happens to the other \$8? When you get your check, you have to pay rent, buy food, clothes and get transportation, all of that so you can get back to work the next day. The same people who ripped you off before you got your check, are the same people you have to get your food and other things from, and since they don't give you enough money to get it with cash, you've got to get it on

credit - from them."

"So in the final analysis, you're getting ripped off before you get your check, after you get your check, and then you're forced to pay interest for the privilege of getting ripped off!"

IMPERIALISM

Sadaukai then defined imperialism. "Imperialism is the higher extension of capitalism." He quoted Amilcar Cabral's definition of imperialism, "the worldwide expression of the search for profits and the ever increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly finance capital centered in two parts of the world - Europe and

system in Europe, displacing the decaying feudalist system. Sadaukai pointed out that at this point, the burning question among European capitalists was how to accumulate even greater amounts of capital to further entrench the capitalist system."

THE INVASION OF AFRICA

"This question was answered in part by the invasion of Africa and the establishment of the slave trade," Sadaukai said. "Therefore the plundering and exploitation of Africa and other areas was and still remains an integral component to the maintenance of capitalism and imperialism."

Sadaukai insisted that econ-

between individual groups of individuals, social strata or classes. Culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealistic plane of the physical or historical realities of that society."

Sadaukai then pointed out that since the development of culture depends upon and is determined by the material development of a society, then in analyzing the act of cultural aggression suffered by Africa at the hands of Europe, "We see that the key infringement was upon the logical development of our productive forces. They were able to usurp control of our productive forces and consequently change the course of our history."

Sadaukai quoted Sekou Toure's article *The Dialectical Approach to Culture*: "We have clearly adopted the analysis of Marx and Engels that the superstructure results from the material base and influences it dialectically." Sadaukai stated that, therefore, "in the end it was, and is, not that they took our language or our drums or our artifacts that is the major factor. It is that they took control of our productive forces and solidified that by destroying, where possible, the existence of our spiritual reality by the consolidation and internalization of racism. Now from that point on, Brothers and Sisters, whether we want to deal with it or not, our relationship to white people and our relationship with each other was qualitatively changed. Our existence as African people was fundamentally altered and today, we are still struggling with the effects of that alteration."

He then went on to say that "this historical turn makes it necessary, for example, to examine the claim that as an African people, we all have a common history and a common source of oppression. It is probably more accurate to say that we have a common heritage, but our history as an African people, began to vary at the point of the slave trade."

"We have been and continue to be exploited by the same oppressive system, yet this oppression manifests itself in different historical experiences at least in the last three or four hundred years."

"If we do not deal with this reality, we will be left saying that a peasant in Ethiopia and an auto worker in Detroit have the same historical experiences, and consequently their method of struggle will be the same simply because they are both Black or more precisely, simply because we are of African heritage."

Sadaukai then put forth what he stated was the outstanding question. "How can we get it back or indeed can we ever get it back as it was or do we have to see that our existence has been unalterably changed, that is, we are now in the Caribbean, the United States, Canada, England; so when we discuss regaining control of our culture, our being, indeed our

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OWUSU SADAUKAI, FORMER CHAIRPERSON OF ALSC.

North America."

Sadaukai followed with Lenin's definition of imperialism. "Imperialism is capitalism in the stage of development, when the dominance of the monopolies and finance capital is established, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of world among the international trust has begun and in which the division of all territories of the world among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Sadaukai then stated, "the critical thing about both definitions is that it moves the discussion of imperialism from abstract, sterile academic conceptualizations to precise definitions based on the real oppression of real people throughout the world."

"Clearly Black people are a part of this world reality. Therefore, we are obviously affected by the pervasiveness of imperialism in the world today. I say that because there are those among us who say that capitalism and imperialism are the white boy's thing, it ain't about Black people. Not only is that position illogical, it is at best, absurd."

Sadaukai then talked about the historically interrelated development of racism and capitalism. In the 15th century, he explained, capitalism was just beginning to emerge as the dominant economic

omic interests were the basis of the invasion of Africa and the subjugation of her people. "Racism was simply a ploy used later to justify the economic and human exploitation of African people."

Moreover, Sadaukai asserted that other Africans assisted in this malicious rape of humans and natural resources. "If that was not the case, then who was it that sold us into slavery to the Europeans?"

He said that it is important to understand this in order to avoid the error of "blaming everything abstractly, metaphysically, and mechanically on white folks." He added, "When we don't understand the historical developments of what was in essence the class divisions existing even before we got over here in the U.S. then we have difficulty today imagining that the divisions do exist because we are so romantic about the very essence of our own being."

CULTURAL AGGRESSION

Sadaukai then began to deal with the concept of cultural aggression by quoting Cabral's definition of culture. "The more or less conscious result of the political and economic activity of a society, the more or less dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships that prevail in that society, on the one hand between people and nature and on the other hand,

Of The Congress of African Peoples

Position Statement of Imamu Baraka

Imamu Amiri Baraka began his presentation by quoting Lenin's definition of imperialism. "Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopoly and finance capital has established itself, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trust has begun, in which the division of the globe among the major capitalist powers has been completed. Imperialism, as interpreted above, undoubtedly represents a special stage in the development of capitalism."

He then quoted another passage from Lenin. "Monopoly arose out of a very high stage of the development of the concentration of production. The monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials; monopoly has sprung from the banks and grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous old motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the source of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, deals, concessions, profits, and for economic territory in general."

CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Baraka then talked about the dialectically linked history of the development of capitalism and imperialism in Europe and North America on the one hand and the slave trade and colonialism on the other. He demonstrated the crucial role played by the exploitation of Africa and African labor in the development of capitalism.

Baraka described in detail the triangular route of trade that was based on the enslavement and sale as commodities, of African people, and resulted in the massive accumulation of capital in Europe, especially in England.

He quoted Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. "The most spectacular feature in Europe connected with African trade was the rise of seaport towns, notably Bristol, Liverpool, Neme, Bordeaux, and Seville. Directly or indirectly connected to those ports there arose the manufacturing centers that gave rise to the industrial revolution. In England it was the county of Lancaster that was the first center of the industrial revolution and the economic advance of Lancaster depended first of all on the port of Liverpool through slave trading."

Baraka then described the economic and political development of capitalism and monopoly capitalism in the United States with the corresponding development of the United States into a new and aggressive imperialist power. Baraka stated, "There is little doubt that the slave trade convened and nurtured modern racism."

RACISM

Baraka then defined racism, separating it from other forms of ethnocentrism, in that, "Ethnocentrism merely defines the world almost exclusively through the eyes of one people. Chauvinism, on the other hand, tends to solidify

that one-sided method of defining a broader view. Chauvinism represents that one people are superior to another; racism must be backed up by an actual show of that superiority. In other words, the racist must have the power to enforce that superiority in the objective world usually by military force. Therefore, ethnocentrism and chauvinism can exist even in African people towards others, even towards Europeans, but racism cannot exist until Black people actually subdue the European in their homes and there, in Europe, direct the economy in the interest of great capitalists living in Africa."

He then went on to say, "There can be no doubt that racism as it pervades the world is an integral part of the capitalist mode of production. And just as imperialism intensified the contradiction in capitalism, it also spread the ideology of racism around the world. But not only as ideas but as institutions, systems, ways of life and values—ironically, all of which were also imposed on the subject people themselves."

CULTURAL AGGRESSION

Baraka then talked about cultural aggression and the fact that it was and still is a natural and necessary part of the system of imperialism. "Since imperialism has issued most essentially out of Europe and Euro-America, it is almost always accompanied by the attempted Europeanization or cultural destruction of the subject peoples. This attempt at Europeanization and/or cultural destruction represents the negation of the culture of the oppressed and usually the appearance of racial oppression, where not only would the people be oppressed in their own country because of their race, but also attempted to destroy their values, their way of life, their institutions which is their culture."

Baraka then drew from the teachings of Cabral to point out that, "History teaches us that under certain circumstances it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination upon a people, but that whatever the material aspect of that domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of foreign domination can be assured only by neutralizing and paralyzing the peoples' cultural life. For with a strong, indigenous cultural life, foreign domination cannot be sure of its perpetuation. There lies the necessity of cultural aggression to the process of imperialist oppression and exploitation."

Baraka then explained the material basis for the development of a peoples' culture in the level of the productive forces. He again quoted Cabral "For every society, for every group of people considered as an evolving entity, the level of the productive forces indicates the stage of development of the society and of each of its components in relation to nature, its capacity to act or to react concisely in relation to nature. It indicates and conditions the type of material relations expressed objectively



or subjectively, which exist among the various groups constituting the society in question; relationships and types of relationships between people and nature, between people and their environment; relationships and types of relationships among the individual or collective components of a society. To speak of these is to speak of history, but it is also to speak of culture."

"Whatever made the ideological or idealistic characteristics of cultural expression, culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as a flower is a product of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of productive forces or the mode of production."

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Baraka then stressed the necessity of making a cultural analysis of ourselves as a part of the process of developing the correct strategy for liberation. He stated that such an analysis would, "answer the question of who we are, how we have lived, how we are living, how must we live in order to liberate ourselves."

He went on to say, "Too often imperialist domination, particularly as it is manifested among the petty Bourgeois intellectuals that Cabral describes, will set us to accepting ideas from outside our own culture simply because they are that." Baraka pointed out that this tendency can lead us to mechanically apply theoretical positions from other situations without analyzing our own concrete material conditions.

Baraka stated, however, that "This must not be interpreted, as some primitive nationalists do, as a retreat from the advantages of utilizing inter-

national revolutionary experience. We must learn from everyone and everything and deal with anyone and anything that can advance our struggle."

"It is simply that we must begin our theoretical struggle with an analysis of our own social structure, which is of necessity, a cultural as well as a political and economic analysis."

In this regard, Baraka quoted a lengthy passage from the "Weapon of Theory" by Cabral, who basing himself on an analysis of the conditions of some people living in Africa, Asia, and Latin America before colonial penetration, corrects an error in the first draft of the Communist Manifesto. The manifesto states that class struggle is the motive force of history. Cabral points out that while this is certainly true of class society, that the motive force before the development of classes could have not been class struggle, but was in fact the development of the mode of production.

He then states that, "Black peoples' struggles must be the organized political expression of our culture as it is a dynamic synthesis of the material and spiritual conditions of our society."

Baraka stated that the importance of analyzing the living reality of our culture is that, "If we make analysis and political thrusts and economic resistance utilizing forms and expressions and modes that combine the many positive variants of our cultural expression, we will invariably stimulate the masses of our people, from whom these expressions and ideas and modes are drawn from in the first place, but only reorganized to articulate the burning question of our people and the world and give back equally articulate answers and directions."

TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE

In the next section of his

presentation, Baraka began outlining what he saw as the general tasks of our struggle. He stated, "If the principal problem is the struggle against imperialist domination with the realization that this must include the conscious and deliberate struggle against racism, whether it takes the form of economic exploitation, political repression, police brutality, or cultural aggression, then the question arises, how can we struggle in the most effective way? First, it seems evident that imperialism has oppressed us nationally, racially, and culturally in order to make profits, but also as a result of the reproduction of racist systems and institutions, philosophy, and way of life that perpetuates itself with no specific profit motive, although that is its base."

Baraka then gave his definition of race and nation. "A race, in so far as social interreaction is concerned, may be thought of as any people who are distinguished in social relations with other people by their physical characteristics. A nation, on the other hand by one definition, can be thought of as a tribal group conscious of cultural unity. So actually to say nation is to say culture."

A SUBORDINATE NATION

He then went on to say that, "Therefore, as a people, we are Africans in North America, a subordinate nation which is what national minority means, a dependent or subject nation as Lenin provided. Oliver Cox says that the term 'minority group' has been used, but incorrectly. Are the white people in South Africa or Rhodesia a national minority? Are the Israelis in Palestine a national minority? They would be a national minority only if they had no power. The position of the opposing group is not conveyed by the antonym majority, but by such words as dominant or subordinate. The struggle between national groups is a struggle for power."

He then went on to reiterate that, "National oppression is an inherent part of capitalism regardless of the race of the nation. That is the political and economic and social subjugation of other less developed, smaller nations within the same state by a dominant nationality."

"Capitalism in inconceivable without racial exploitation."

But it must be recognized that one concept that informs our national liberation movement is that every nation has the right to self-determination, to paraphrase Lenin, and that any federation entered into between national groups have to be entered into voluntarily by those nations, and that this right must be supported by all socialists even though they might think that the idea of national self-determination of a particular national group might be "unfeasible."

Citing specifically the Irish and Black people in North America whom he called "subject or dependent nations," he said these kinds of national revolutions would certainly turn into socialist revolutions and "that the right to self-de-

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African People's Party

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between the colonized and the colonizer as the predominant contradiction of the time."

Sufu continued, "There is a class struggle, but this class struggle between white workers and the capitalists is dormant, asleep, and we can't wait until it wakes up before we struggle for our demands."

He stated the opinion that, "we have but two choices, we can merge with this dying nation or we can form a force capable of compelling this country to relent. This does not mean that we have to carry on a revolution for the overthrow of U.S. government."

"For example," he continued, "Portugal will have to relinquish independence, at least to Guinea-Bissau...and this will not be contingent upon socialism being developed in Portugal, but because of the struggle they (PAIGC) have developed within Guinea-Bissau. And if they can do it, it is possible for us to do it."

Brother Sufu concluded his presentation saying, "If we have our national consciousness high enough, it will be possible for us to develop that national struggle to such a point that we will precipitate between white capitalists and the working class, to wake up and do something. But they aren't going to wake up until we take the lead and carry our fight to an end."

QUESTIONS
Later, there were several questions and points of rebuttal posed to AAPP representatives.

First, they were questioned

as to what they meant by "nation." AAPP spokesmen, however, never made it clear whether they were talking of a separate land area for U.S. Blacks or what.

AAPP was questioned but they did not clarify what they meant by "scientific nationalism."

Their denial or non-admission of classes in the Black community was challenged and rebutted several times.

Their assertion that class struggle is "dormant" was challenged by those who asserted that people emerged in the working class are finding, concretely, that the working class struggle is on a discernible rise.

AAPP was challenged for attempting to equate the "national liberation" struggle in Guinea-Bissau with the situation in the U.S. without speaking of the vast differences between the two situations.

Thus, in summary, the AAPP position was that national liberation

was the primary struggle of U.S. Blacks. Although there is a class struggle in the U.S., it does not involve Black people because the Black community is not affected by contradicting capitalist class interests, but rather is dehumanized and culturally castrated. National liberation is possible for Black people "without a revolution for the overthrow of the U.S. government," and only such a national liberation struggle, to the end, will spark the dormant white working class "to awaken and do something."

rect analysis, but later corrected it himself in his works.

Another point posed to Akpan by Baraka, was that given his position that no successful struggle was possible in America, how are we to bring about change here. "Are we to be invaded by armies from Africa?"

Akpan was to say, "whatsoever we do in terms of developing as a race of people here, attempting to benefit the lives of our people with all of the resources that are available to us, at the same time, we must understand the underlying, there has to be a land base, there has to be a power base with the ability to supply us and help to develop us in terms of resources."

Akpan was asked if he was saying that capitalism was a system based on race. Akpan responded that he did hold such a position and he felt that "racism was the result of capitalism, it was developed in order to rationalize and perpetuate the existence of capitalism."

Akpan was asked how could he call for the overthrow of capitalism without the unity of the Black and white working class?

Akpan responded that such struggle alliances were not absolutely out of the question but that based on the history of white people, whenever the conditions for such coalitions developed whites either refused to cooperate or they have undermined such coalitions.



Position of Abdul Alkalimat

(Cont'd from pg. 8)
QUESTIONS TO ABDUL ALKALIMAT

During the question and answer period, several significant questions were posed to Alkalimat.

One person asked "How can African people historically, culturally or philosophically co-exist with a culturally hostile European civilization regardless of the structure of the economy?"

Alkalimat gave a multi-point response. First, he restated his position that there clearly can be no solution to national oppression under capitalism. Then he noted that he had been to Cuba, met and talked to people of African descent. He stated that Black people are playing leading roles in Cuban society and are enthusiastically involved in the building of socialism. He stated that these people, whose outlook has been shaped by the revolutionary process, should be considered rather than those whose outlooks were shaped when capitalism still controlled Cuba.

He also quoted Lenin who said, "for different nations to live together in peace and freedom or to separate and form different states, if that is more convenient, a full democracy, upheld by the working class, is essential. No privileges for any one nation, or any one language and not the slightest injustice in respect of a national minority. Such

are the principles of working class democracy."

Alkalimat then stated that racism serves no material interests under socialism as it serves the capitalist class under capitalism.

After Alkalimat had completed his response, the person who had asked the question retorted that it was his understanding that the Asian minority in the Soviet Union was now protesting because it has not been granted self-determination as provided for in the Leninist policy. The questioner then turned the microphone over to the next person with a question.

Another question posed to Alkalimat was what did he see as the role of Black revolutionaries in regard to the white working class community?

Alkalimat responded that Black revolutionaries must concentrate on building the revolutionary process among Black workers and in the Black community. He added that we must realize that revolutionaries are in all communities, including the white community. He stated that "any vanguardism, any position that Black people must swarm out into other communities is a way to liquidate the left position because it would ignore the existence of revolutionaries in all

oppressed and exploited communities."

Responding to a question of his view of the nature of oppression of women, Alkalimat replied, "Black women suffer triple oppression. They suffer racism, sexism and class exploitation. Of the three, class exploitation is primary."

Alkalimat was asked why did he think more Black people had not yet adopted the left position he had outlined.

He responded, "Anti-left position propaganda spread during the McCarthy era has brainwashed people into believing that people on the left are evil and wrong. But we should not let everywhere else in the world, people are in solidarity with the left."

"Another important factor," he continued, "is that in the past, the left in this country liquidated their revolutionary positions. There is a general bankruptcy and betrayal on the left. People who had presented themselves as being the left, have too often been corrupt. But that doesn't alter the fact that the true left ideological positions, remain correct."

"Finally," he concluded, "often anti-left positions come from people with petty bourgeois backgrounds and aspirations who are uncomfortable with the notion of real struggle."

Statement of Imamu Baraka

(Cont'd from pg. 12)

termination by such national groups, and the attendant call for secession and separation, are, in the case of clear rebellions against oppressor nations and imperialism in general, clearly revolutionary."

THE CONTENT OF BLACK NATIONALISM
Based on his interpretation of the analysis stated above, Baraka then talked about the conditions of national oppression among Black people in this country and what he felt was the correct content of Black nationalism.

"It is the power motive," he

said, "that should inform our racial and cultural nationalism. Our oppression, which is at base economics, is perpetuated at one level as racial oppression. We are economically oppressed to the extent that we are because of our race. This, in turn, creates and reconsolidates our culture, that is, the way we live and our formal and informal record of that process."

"Because of this constant continuous reconsolidation of culture through racial oppression, based on the intent of economic exploitation, we persist in America as a national group. Its basic stability is

racial and cultural."

Therefore, in Baraka's view, we have the moral right to national self-determination and must wage a national liberation struggle based on revolutionary nationalist ideology in order to secure this right in fact. Such a struggle, he analyzed, is "profoundly progressive and revolutionary" in that it strikes at the very heart of the imperialist system, and must, in order to be really successful, pass over into socialist revolution.

Baraka again quoted Cabral, "National liberation is based

[Cont'd on pg. 14]

Kwadwo Akpan

(Cont'd from pg. 10)

overseas Africans...we must come to view our presence in America as merely a temporary interval in our continued existence as Africans."

Akpan concluded his presentation saying, "Our people must realize that we have an alternative to America, and that alternative is, as Marcus Garvey has said, not necessarily to go back to Africa, but to take Africa back."

QUESTIONS TO KWADWO AKPAN

The time period at the end of the second panel for questions was not as long as that of the first panel. There were, however, several questions and points of rebuttal posed to Akpan.

In his rebuttal, Owusu Sadaukai pointed out that Akpan had not quoted the entire position of Cabral regarding class struggle. Cabral had said that it was the level of the productive forces and mode of production that was the permanent driving force of history. But Cabral had also said that within the context of class society, it was in fact the class struggle that brings about fundamental changes in conditions. Cabral was refuting the tendency to say that class struggle was the motive force of all of history and that therefore, there was no history of a people before classes. Engels had made that initial incor-

Sadaukai: 'The Working Class is the Primary Sector'

(Cont'd from pg. 11)

reality, the question is where and how?

WHAT IS REVOLUTION?

Sadaukai stated that we need to talk about gaining a clearer understanding of the essence of what revolution is. He began by quoting Cabral's definition of revolution. "A sudden progress made possible as a result of the violent alteration or mutation in the level of productive forces or the pattern of ownership. Violent transformation carried out within the process of the development of classes."

Sadaukai said that understanding this means that we can begin to put the history of the Black Liberation movement in its proper perspective. We can begin to understand that "Black Power was a tremendous necessity for us as Black people to give us a feeling of worth as Black human beings, a feeling that we as a people, had a beauty that accrued to us as a people. It was an important phenomena, but it was not a revolution."

"A revolution is a fundamental change in the nature of political and economic system; that there has to be a transfer of power of the means of production out of the hands of the vultures into the hands of the masses of the people, using the state as the initial apparatus to consolidate this transfer of power in the interests of the working people of society."

Sadaukai continued that secondly, "we must understand that revolution is a process and that this means that in order to make revolution, we have to get out and get involved in the day to day processes and struggle of our people. If we don't

understand this, then what happens is that those of us who claim to be revolutionary become so revolutionary that we cannot get involved in the revolution and we end up being five or six or seven of us sitting in back rooms somewhere coming up with theories that are unrelated to the problems of our people." Sadaukai emphasized that we must get involved with the day to day life and struggles of the masses of our people.

STUDY THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

Next Sadaukai emphasized that "we must study the classics, Marx, Lenin, Mao, and only an idiot would not understand that you have to study Cabral, Toure, and those Brothers and Sisters who are waging struggle on the African continent. How can you not study Cabral?"

"But you know Brothers and Sisters, I know it is difficult, because it was difficult for me to even consider the idea of reading Marx and Lenin. For three or four years, I came around and told some of you Brothers and Sisters to forget them 'cause they're the white boy, don't even read them 'cause they are the white boy'. I never told you not to get in the car you had parked outside 'cause the white boy made it. I never told you not to use any other knowledge you could find."

Sadaukai then said we must move to the point where we can study all of the theoretical knowledge that exists in the science of revolution. In the final minutes of his presentation, Sadaukai restated that we must always engage in revolutionary practice inside the struggles of the masses and we must consistently

study revolutionary theory.

He then said, "Finally, we're talking about a situation where we begin to produce an organization of revolutionaries, of revolutionaries that will study and will fight and that those revolutionaries will organize in particular segments of the Black community, students, unemployed, secretaries, workers, all sectors, but the primary sector must be the working class."

WHY THE WORKING CLASS

Why the working class? Because clearly the overwhelming number of our people are in the working class. They are in the most objective position to seize and control the means of production. There is a difference between taking over a library on a university campus and taking over General Motors. The dialectics of capitalist development produces the seeds of its own negation. It brings large numbers of workers into socialized production which gives rise to a collective, organized struggle against the ruling class."

He went on to say that we should also build a United Front inside the Black community because there are intense contradictions between the ruling class and the entire Black community. He then stated that, "we should support all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world, starting with Africa, because of our heritage, because of the sentiments of our people, but we must support whoever is objectively struggling against imperialism, and incidentally, there should never be another time when we miss a thing like we did the Vietnam War."

PERSONAL STATEMENT

Sadaukai closed with a personal statement. "In the final analysis, all of this will be validated by practice. And in the last 5 years, I have spent too much time in airplanes and running from place to place begging for money for Malcolm X, asking people to support MLXU and ALSC, to do this, to do that, all of which had its positive value."

"But the problem is that by doing that in a constant ongoing basis, you begin to lose sight of the real reality, the gut level problems of our people. So I promise you that for the next 12 to 18 months, you can find me in Durham, North Carolina, dealing with the problems of Black People, trying, in fact, to organize the Black Working Class and organize the Black community so that I can learn, because too many of us who claim to be revolutionaries and speechmakers, haven't visited Black People lately."

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

In response to a question from Kwadwo Akpan on the relationship between the liberation of Africa and the liberation of Black people in the United States, Sadaukai stated that, "I used to hold the same position as Kwadwo; that we've got to liberate Africa and then we will be free. It was revolutionaries in Africa who brought me to see that that wasn't true. It was my discussions with people in Mozambique and with progressive people in Tanzania, that convinced me that this was a mystical analysis at best and that the liberation of Africa would come only through two processes."

The first is the process of outright struggle against im-

perialism, of which we are a critical part, since we are inside the citadel of imperialism.

The second is based on what Mao and other revolutionaries have said, which is that revolutions come about because of indigenous movements of the people towards revolutionary struggle. Even though we are of African heritage, it is really stretching the imagination to say that after being gone for over 400 years, we could be called indigenous to the African continent in this historic epoch.

A question was asked about what form our national liberation struggle would take. Sadaukai responded, "I admit that I have problems understanding whether we are a nation or a national minority. I am trying to struggle with this both theoretically and practically, but I do believe that the question of secession, the question of self determination, can only be decided through the process of struggle for a socialist revolution so that in fact, if our decision is to go for six states or two states, whatever our decision is, it will be formulated in part and to a large degree through our struggle for a socialist revolution. On that basis, we should then be able to make the decision as to what is the correct form for us inside this country."

In answer to another question on the same subject, he stated that "although I am still struggling with exactly what form our struggle for national liberation will take, I can't see what is meant by a national liberation struggle inside this country that is separate from a class struggle."

Baraka: 'Build a Revolutionary Black Vanguard Party'

(Cont'd from pg. 13)

on the inalienable right of each people to have its own history."

Baraka went on to say "Racism, as the cutting edge of capitalist exploitation, has denied us the right."

OUR NATIONAL PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Again he quoted Cabral, "Imperialist domination signifies the negation of the historical process of a dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces."

Baraka continued, "What are our national productive forces? The major and decisive part of the productive force are Black people whose development has been violently obstructed by the development of capitalism and racism."

"That small group of Blacks who do control some means of production, and have exploitative relationships to wage laborers, do not have control of the total means of production that we make ultimate claim to. Black people can lay claim to that percentage of the means of production of the total society that would be ours by virtue of our work and needs."

"The struggle against racial oppression is basically a struggle for national liberation. The objective of national liberation is to free the process of development of the national productive forces, the people and the means of production."

"Not only our people must be

free, and they are the ultimate makers of history, but finally we must struggle to free the means of production from monopoly capitalist domination. It seems critical that we must always keep in mind that we are struggling to liberate ourselves as a people, and also to destroy capitalism and bring about the advent of socialism."

INDEPENDENT NATIONALIST CHARACTER

Baraka then moved on to defend what he saw as the independent national character of the liberation struggle from those lines that he perceived as trying to deny this and to submerge the liberation struggle in the general struggle for working class revolution and socialism.

In this regard he stated, "The fact of racism in America is real, not theoretical, just as the fact of our racial distinction is real. When we project our struggle as simply a class struggle, or render ourselves invisible within the phraseology of a struggle simply between the working masses and the ruling class with no further revelation of the essential reality of the existence of any potential transnational, interracial working class; to say as some multi-national formations do, that they represent the entire working class, is not to go to the depths of analysis and investigations of American society. Racism renders talk about the entire working class, at this time, as idealist conjecture."

Baraka continued, "Dialectically our struggle takes on a nationalist character if only because it is a struggle, at one point, against racial oppression. But there is a class nature to our struggle itself, since we understand the economic reasons behind that oppression, though by the time of imperialism the white ruling class and the white masses of Europe and America were convinced that people of color around the world should be exploited because we were colored and therefore inferior."

"But in our class relationship to the ruling class the complication, again, is the racial character of capitalist oppression. The greater portion of that monopoly capitalist ruling class is white though that is finally secondary to the fact that they are a ruling class."

NATION-CLASS

Baraka moved on to deal with the question of what, precisely, is our relationship, as a people, to the monopoly capitalist ruling class. In answering that question he put forth the idea that Black people as a whole are proletarian, that the necessary relationship between an oppressed nationality and the oppressor power is a class relationship with the entire oppressed nationality functioning as a working class. "Capitalist and certainly imperialist domination proletarianized our whole people. Race relations are not caste relations, they are not reproduced simply by families. They are labor, capital, and

profits relations. Therefore race relations have a proletarian-bourgeois relationship and are hence a political class relation."

"For this reason, just as Cabral and Nkrumah can speak of nation-class in characterizing our formation in struggle against colonialism, so we must understand that proletarian is not merely a social class definition as is working class, but a formation of struggle. The struggle against national oppression calls for a national liberation struggle as a nation-class."

BLACK VANGUARD PARTY

Based on his analysis, Baraka, in the last section of his presentation, spoke of the organizational needs of the Black liberation struggle.

He stated that our struggle "demands the mobilization and organization of the nationalist forces within the framework of, and by the action of a strong, well organized, well structured political organization."

Baraka goes on to talk about Lenin's concept of a vanguard party and applies this to what he sees to be the needs of our struggle today. "The one thing that Lenin was firm about regardless of conditions varying from country to country, was the need for a vanguard party whose members all recognize the necessary difference between themselves and the revolutionary masses, and who have a firm ideology, programmatic summation, and discipline before they go to

the masses, interact with them and give them leadership."

Baraka asserted, "If this distinction is blurred, what comes into being is not a revolutionary vanguard party, but a mass party, no matter how small in size, which incorporate into its membership those who should actually be its followers and supports. Such a party cannot lead the masses, it can only tailgate and follow after them."

Baraka continued, "Lenin is relevant for his concept of building a revolutionary vanguard party on the basis of that section of the population in a given country which is both the most oppressed, and the chief revolutionary social force."

If the chief revolutionary social force is the peasant; as in China, then base the party on the peasantry. If it is the Black masses, as in the United States, then build the revolutionary party on the basis of a Black revolutionary social force."

Baraka closed his presentation saying, "Building strong disciplined organizations based on the correct ideology, based on nationalism, P a n-Africanism and socialism, an analysis of the concrete conditions, we are able to actively pursue concrete programs to mobilize, organize and politicize the masses and move them objectively to transform the entire society. And in so doing we help alter objective and subjective conditions throughout the world..."

Progressive Trends in the Black Movement

The African Liberation Support Committee conference stands as a general indication of motion inside the Black liberation movement towards a realization of the importance of class struggle to the masses of Black people.

This realization has come about as a result of a number of factors. Just as the civil rights movement in the US was affected by and affected the anti-colonial struggles in Africa for independence during the 50's and early 60's, the armed liberation struggles in Africa played a role in the shift of many of the ideological positions of the Black liberation movement.

Early Pan-Africanism insisted on the link between our struggle here and those on the continent of Africa. This made necessary a close examination of the theory and methods of those struggles by serious black revolutionaries here. Through this process we came across the writings of Amilcar Cabral, the head of PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. We saw what a powerful weapon he made of the theory of classes and class struggle and saw how he, as an undisputed Black revolutionary, could creatively apply scientific theories of socialist revolution which we had previously called "white theories" to a clearly Black revolutionary situation.

Inside the United States, there had been a decline in the Black mass movement. The Pan-African student movement that developed during the early 70's, lacked the type of links to the masses of Black people that had been the case with the student movement during the civil rights era. Black revolutionaries organizing students began to feel the inadequacies of a movement based primarily on students and had to look back to the real issues of the masses. These issues were, in many cases, tied to the class position of the masses of black people at the bottom of the economic structure inside the society. Problems of jobs and housing and inflation and education can be traced directly to the nature of the capitalist system we live under.

The decline of the heavy anti-leftist propaganda of the cold war, culminating in the USA even developing new relationships with socialist countries allowed Black revolutionaries to explore leftist theories in a way we could not have felt free to a few years before.

In addition to this, there was the rise of militant struggles by Black workers such as those in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit and the United Black Brothers in New Jersey.

All these factors contribute to the current ideological trends in the Black liberation movement. ALSC has become important as a forum for the discussions and struggles around this ideological motion in the movement. This motion generally has been from a line that focused almost solely on the racial contradictions in

the society, to a line further to the left that recognizes the critical importance of class struggle for the destruction of capitalism in the future of Black people.

At times, this struggle has become particularly intense taking on almost every form, from attacks by trained dogs and men with lead pipes, to resignations of entire local units. In spite of this, ALSC still is strong, still has a positive effect on the general development of the movement.

As the movement develops and old forms must make way for the new, we must examine every structure we have. Nothing can stand still and even ALSC must constantly reappraise its structure and scope to maintain its relevance within the struggle. It was with that in mind that the leadership of ALSC proposed that 1974 should be a year of educational seminars and a big conference to discuss the line of the movement.

THREE LINES

The six major presentations at the conference showed a generally serious attitude on the part of the participants toward ideological struggle. The positions that were laid out, fell basically into three categories. The first was the "Free Africa first" line. This position was outlined by Akpan and Carmichael in their presentations. It contends that a free Africa under socialism is the prerequisite for a decent life by blacks in the USA. The liberation of Africa, as opposed to struggle here, is said to be the proper focus of black revolutionary activity.

YOBU once advocated essentially the same position. As we began to look at things more concretely and more scientifically, we were forced to reevaluate this view. There are 3 major problems with this line.

First, it does not really say how the freeing of Africa will itself, cause changes in the living conditions of blacks in America. It only affirms that it will.

Second, it does not address itself to what the masses of Black people should be doing. It only speaks to those blacks who have the skills or resources to be directly involved in the process of African liberation.

And third, it fails to concretely analyze the intimate involvement of the black masses in American society primarily as workers; and the revolutionary potential of these black masses.

It becomes, then, metaphysical for not linking concretely the liberation of Africa with freedom from exploitation and oppression here; it is elitist in addressing itself only to those who can become directly involved in Africa's liberation and not really addressing the masses of our people; and it is unscientific in not taking into account the strategic position of black people and their real revolutionary potential. In addition, this view also

ignores a fact which is well understood by the leaders of the African liberation movements, that the real responsibilities of revolutionaries is to struggle where they are.

The second general position presented in the conference was the "National Liberation must precede proletarian revolution" line. This position was outlined explicitly in the collective presentation of the AAPP and was implicit throughout the presentation of Imamu Baraka. It holds that the class struggle between the white proletariat and the capitalist is dormant and that blacks must therefore liberate themselves first. After this, we could participate in proletarian revolution if the white struggle ever develops, or we could defend ourselves from fascism if it does not.

This national liberation struggle is to be inside the USA and is to involve the broad masses of Black people. But neither Baraka nor the representatives from the AAPP spoke directly to the exact nature of this struggle. Even so, this position, particularly as articulated by Baraka shows a tremendous growth in the revolutionary theory of the nationalist movement and Baraka. This growth comes both from his study now of Lenin and Cabral and from his summation of the work done in organizations like Congress of African People, Committee for a Unified Newark, and The National Black Convention.

The third major position presented was the "Proletarian revolution is the pre-condition for black liberation" line. This position says essentially that there is no real solution for blacks under capitalism, that black revolutionaries should struggle for the acceptance of revolutionary ideas among all sections of the black community, but with special attention toward organizing black workers. It further holds that after the overthrow of capitalism, blacks may decide what they want their relationship to be to the rest of the USA. This position was taken by Abdul Alkalimat. Owusu Sadaukai's presentation, though not so explicitly, supported this position.

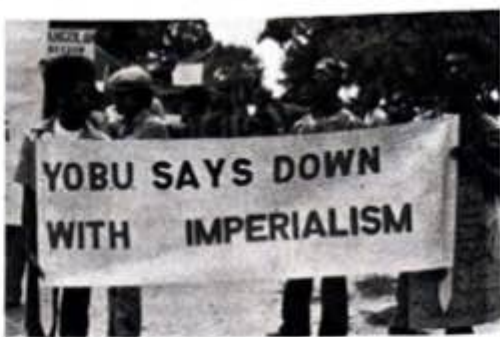
The proletarian revolution line was probably the most carefully presented line and it drew the best response from the conference audience. But the other positions, especially the national liberation line, raise real questions that must be answered in the BLM before we can feel confident that we are on the right track.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

How exactly does black liberation fit into proletarian revolution in the United States?

How do we guard against fascism consolidating a base among white workers that could be used to crush any anti-capitalist activity?

If the struggle of the white working class is dormant, do we have any responsibility to wake it, or do we simply wait for it to awaken?



What role do all-black organizations play? Do they make us any less vulnerable to fascism, or do they aid in isolating us from the white working class.

How can all-black organizations effectively lead struggles in integrated work places?

These questions we must answer as Cabral would have, through the creative application of revolutionary theory concretely to the real situations we are faced with. There are no ready made answers we could go and look up. The answers can only come through a correct application of correct theory to concrete practice.

REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

In this regard, we must mention a few additional things about Owusu and his presentation. Owusu did not present as fully worked out and detailed a line as did Alkalimat, with a maximum and minimum program. He admitted from the beginning, that there are positions that he holds now that he argued against 4 years ago. It is difficult for him to change these positions since much of the last 4 years has been spent going from campus to campus expounding some of his old positions as best he could. Now he is developing. The process of his development comes again as an honest attempt on his part to sum up his practice, and the develop-

ments in the movement.

When the black liberation movement was talking about grass root organizing, Owusu was going door to door in North Carolina, building community organizations for struggle around community issues. When he felt that blacks should relate more to Africa, he developed and tried to maintain a school for training technicians to go to Africa.

After a visit to Africa, he came to understand the need to concretely demonstrate the solidarity of Blacks in the US with the liberation struggles in Africa. He then proceeded to develop ALSC as a vehicle for black solidarity with Africa.

And now that he understands the importance of organizing workers, Owusu has taken a job doing just that. His practice at each point has moved into conformity with his theory.

This is an important style of work to develop. It is this type of willingness to test theory with practice, then improve the theory on the experiences gained in practice, that must be adopted by the black liberation movement as a whole if we are to answer the burning questions before us and advance the struggle to a higher level.

Stokely Carmichael

(Cont'd from pg. 9)

tic socialism."

SUMMARY

In summary, Carmichael's Nkrumalist position was that achieving African nationalism was the only question before the Black community in America. Nationalism is a prerequisite to any "serious" anti-imperialist struggle.

African nationalism will lead us to channel all our energies toward the liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism. This objective must be achieved first because, "unless the Black man has a power behind him to speak on his behalf and to protect him, he will never be respected."

To channel our energies toward this objective, we must build on all-Black party as a matter of tactics.

National struggle in this country is a question for the

red man because "Africa is the only home of the Black man."

It is understood that "class struggle is the motivating struggle," but there is no need to discuss class and race if you accept Pan-Africanism. Contradictions in the Black community reflect the fact that some of our people have a "misformed" nationalism. Socialism must come to America, the white working class is oppressed, but because of past betrayal and the potential for fascism, "the Black worker must not move unless the white worker is moving."

Efforts should be made to raise the consciousness of the white worker, "by those who adhere to that policy," but "our primary objective must be the liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism."

Dawolu Gene Locke

Statement From The ALSC Chairperson

by dawolu gene locke

Since 1972, ALSC has been a major force in leading the mass struggle against racism and imperialism within the Black communities of North America. Our activities on African Liberation Day in May of 1972 and 1973 were history-making as thousands of Black people came together to demonstrate our solidarity with liberation movements waging struggle in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

I think that each ALSC member can take a special pride in the success of our work for Africa Liberation Month of 1974. The objective conditions that existed when we called for ALM-1974 were fundamentally different than the previous two years. For the first time, we attempted a month of mobilization activities in over fifty cities in the USA, Canada, and the Caribbean. With limited resources and constant ideological struggle internally, ALSC again issued the call for mass struggle during May against racism and imperialism. We called for special educational activities like forums and conferences; as well as mass activities of political protest like rallies and demonstrations. We attempted to sponsor both local activities and a national conference and demonstration in Washington, the seat of U.S. imperialist policies.

The success of ALM-1974 came from our work to concretely challenge the forces of imperialism and racism with new levels of mass struggle. Although the crowds were not always as large as we would have wanted, there is no question that the work by ALSC members and supporters during May, played an important and key role in helping to bring a new level of anti-imperialist consciousness to our communities. ALSC has helped to give a concrete explanation to the "crisis of imperialism" that affects our people and helped to set the tone for the struggle of the masses of people against racism and imperialism.

Our critics will continue their comparisons of ALM-1973 with ALM-1974 without a possible explanation of the specifics that produced the work for African Liberation Month. The opportunities will continue to denounce our work around issues of concern to the masses of Black people within North America and will continue to engage in labelling and phrase-mongering to discredit our genuine effort to build a mass struggle against imperialism.

I think that we must never apologize for the political advancements of ALSC, both in practice and theory. I think that our decision to broaden the basic issues on ALM to reflect the crisis of imperialism and how we must struggle against it was correct. Thousands of our people identified with and supported ALSC in our call to end the energy crisis rip-off and growing economic exploitation, to end police and political repression, and to impeach the chief tool of imperialism, Richard Nixon. Also, as a credit to ALSC work, more people now have an under-

standing of the struggles for national liberation now being waged in Africa.

The correctness of this decision was shown time and time again as we pulled together workers, students, youth, professionals, welfare recipients, and others in discussion and in action. This decision, in fact, represented a theoretical advancement in our understanding of how best to attack imperialism from within its stronghold, the United States.

Over the past year (since June of 1973), I have had both the opportunity and the task of providing leadership to the African Liberation Support Committee. This time period has seen the development of both internal and external factors that have affected the nature and scope of our organization.

It is no secret that internally, ALSC has been engaged in serious ideological discussion and struggle around how best to fight racism and imperialism. This struggle is not confined to ALSC; as the questions we have raised within ALSC reflect basic differences in viewpoint and analysis inside the Black Liberation Movement that must be struggled with if we are to move forward.

Nor is it correct to say that these differences started with our adoption of our Statement of Principles in June of 1973. ALSC has always been characterized by its united front approach to anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle. These differences surfaced at a higher level over the past year as a result of greater practice and mass struggle.

While certain members have chosen to leave the committee and there has been much distortion about ALSC's position, in general the ideological struggle within ALSC has played a significant role in heightening our theoretical understanding of struggle. We asserted in the Statement of Principles that:

"Real unity will come about not by ignoring differences, but by airing those differences and struggling to resolve them. It is through the interplay of ideas and the testing of those ideas in practice that a correct position will be hammered out."

The truth of this statement must be remembered by all serious revolutionaries who are concerned about fundamental change.

Over the past year, the crisis of imperialism has shown itself even more. In the midst of high prices, unemployment, police and political repression, government corruption, runaway shops, and special deals with fascist governments, an organization like ALSC that calls for a struggle against imperialism must take these factors in mind, if it is to be about real struggle. We can take pride in our ability to link up the struggles against imperialism and colonialism in Africa, with those against monopoly capitalism and racism within the USA and North America.

But at the same time, that we take pride in such work, we must recognize where we are and the reality of what still remains to be done. The prob-

lems that our people face as a result of the class exploitation and national oppression brought on by capitalism, require a constant re-examination of our nature on scope of our work. Our success is relative as we have only been able to help start the process of the very difficult work to build a new society.

In one sense, I view African Liberation Month as the culmination of a year of productive work for ALSC. We have managed to grow to over 50 chapters throughout the USA, Canada and the Caribbean by concretely working on those issues of local, national, and international concern.

Over the past 12 months, ALSC has been at the lead in the struggle to repeal the infamous Byrd Amendment, force recognition of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, providing monetary assistance and support to the liberation movements and offering a forum for critical discussion of direction of our movement. We have fought with our people to end police repression in Tennessee, end capital punishment in North Carolina, and end horrible prison conditions in Texas. We have worked with longshoremen in Boston and Philadelphia to stop the illegal importation of chrome from Rhodesia; and have fought the effects of energy crisis on our communities in the District of Columbia and New Jersey.

These activities have happened with the internal ideological struggle about the direction of ALSC. This is something that our critics fail to speak of.

The task before us in ALSC is quite a difficult one. We must examine our present organizational capacity and the overall needs in the struggle against



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racism and imperialism. We must base our future on the objective reality and demands of our struggle. Above all, we must work to defeat imperial-

ism and free the masses of our people in the USA, North America and in Africa, from its yoke.

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