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Workers Fight Attempts to Blur Struggle

"Defend Jobs: Not Exploitation"



"NO APPLICATIONS TODAY." AGENTS OF RULING CLASS IDEOLOGY ARE ATTEMPTING to lead unemployed workers down a blind alley of support for the Democratic party or demands for more Black capitalism.

WASHINGTON, D. C.— With the deepening economic crisis, recession coupled with runaway inflation, the United States ruling class, through the reduction of wages and the laying off of workers, are trying to thrust the burden of this crisis onto the backs of the working masses. But the workers are fighting this effort at every turn and have engaged in strikes and demonstrations to fight for the maintenance of their jobs, decent wages and unemployment benefits.

For example, the Labor Department reported that for the first six months of last year alone there were 3,240 strikes involving some 1.6 million men and women in auto, transportation, construction, textile, oil, steel and electricity. This was some 650,000 more people on strike than in 1973.

Moreover, these figures don't include strikes by non-union workers and civil servants. To the capitalists this meant a loss of 30 million individual work days.

As the crisis became more acute during the fall and winter, the rulers began laying more and more workers off. Thus, now unemployment involves some 7,529,000 workers.

Increasingly without unemployment benefits available to them, rank and file workers have increased their struggle to oppose the efforts of the capitalist to saddle them with the burden of the crisis. Within the last month there have been unemployed demonstrations in Detroit, Sacramento, and in several cities on the East Coast by the Congress of African Peoples.

Faced with this increased resistance of the working masses, the ruling class is now turning to their agents in the workers and Black liberation movements to

subvert these movement by putting forth the line and program of the ruling class within them.

For example, in Chicago, labor bureaucrats, the capitalist's agents in the workers movement, in the Teamsters Union took the lead in urging truck drivers to cut back on their overtime. With their real wages down by 4.9 percent due to inflation which was 11 percent last year and still growing, many workers have been working overtime just to maintain themselves at 1973 levels.

Similarly, in Southern California, textile workers have been cut back to 30 hours a week, with some only working 20 hours.

Instead of organizing workers to oppose wage reduction, the labor bureaucrats are applauding the move, saying that by the workers cutting back on their pay, the company can hire more workers. Nothing is said to the workers about their decreasing purchasing power, due to inflation.

When union officials fail to oppose wage reduction they give credence to the line that if workers hadn't demanded such large wage increases, the company wouldn't have to lay off workers in the crisis. Thus, it's workers fault that they are laid off. Nothing is said about the fact that the present crisis is due to the greed of the capitalists who have been overproducing, hoping to make a profit on goods, which were inflatedly priced.

Any line that supports wage reductions or gives credence to the theme that it's workers fault that they are laid off, prevents the working class from viewing the capitalist class as the class enemy who improve their own conditions and profits only at the expense of the well-being of the working masses.

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African Liberation Day--1975 Set

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Members of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) National Secretariat met here on March 1 to discuss the theme and form of African Liberation Day 1975.

Approximately 20 members from 10 local chapters attended an expanded Secretariat meeting to chart the activities.

"We felt the need to expand the meeting so that the decisions reflected the work at the local level," said Dennis Gene Locke, international ALSC representative and former ALSC chairman.

Most of the day-long discussion centered on the role of African Liberation Day in the present crisis of imperialism.

Delegates pointed out the internal economic crisis reflected in soaring unemployment, reduction in high food prices and "subsidies" and "cutbacks" in social programs, and its relationship to the surging national liberation movements.

Many ALSC chapters have been actively supporting community and worker's struggles during the year as well as building understanding about, and support for the African liberation movements.

After a lengthy discussion of the international manifestations of imperialism worldwide, delegates agreed that ALSC should reflect a balance of support for domestic struggles and international liberation struggles.

ALSC will continue its historical and traditional emphasis on the liberation struggle in southern Africa and will build support for the liberation struggles in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

It was decided that demonstrations and rallies will be held on Saturday, May 31.

It was decided that demonstrations and rallies will be held on Saturday, May 31 in local areas, allowing for greater participation and support from local communities.

Each local ALSC chapter will have the responsibility for determining the exact character of the demonstration.

At the suggestion of Dennis Locke, ALSC's national representative, the body agreed that a paper be drawn up to analyze the history of ALSC and who the body continues to place emphasis on support for the struggle in southern Africa. To be included in the paper are requests for expanding this support to other national liberation movements.

The meeting also adopted a list of the slogans to be advanced in 1975. Examples are: "Stop Apartheid! Stop! End Unemployment of U.S. Workers and Exploitation of South Africa labor!" and "We Move Money to Third World Money to Freedom."

In other actions, delegates agreed to build a national

meeting in June to sum up local work and discuss the direction of ALSC.

Delegates passed a resolution from the ALSC Atlantic chapter, endorsing the Call to Stop South Africa Coalition in Stop South Africa Coalition in Stop South Africa Coalition.

Among the chapters represented were Rochester, N.Y.; Atlanta, Baltimore, N.Y.; New York, N.Y.; New Orleans, Boston, Chicago, Dayton, Ohio, Philadelphia, New York City, Pittsburgh, Durham, N.C.; Houston and Washington, D.C.

Supreme Court Spills Justice State Market

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court recently decided a case which could mean that parents of the children of the defendant, 1971 chaplaincy at Jackson State College in Mississippi, were not entitled to damages as a result of the incident which left two Black students dead and 11 wounded.

The court refused to hear the argument which held that the Jackson State Police Department was liable for the killings as a result of the excessive force of guards which led to the deaths of the students.

According to police reports, the officers fired because they thought a sniper was on the roof of the building. However, several witnesses state all of the police fire was directed at a large group of students who were in the building when the shooting occurred.

In the court's ruling, it stated that the city and state agencies were negligent but not liable under federal civil rights laws.

This decision is another in a long line of rulings which mean that law officials are not responsible for the deaths of students, except from the negligence of a few individuals. It is therefore a setback to the students' movement.

Students' groups at the university have said that it is not able to accept the student movement as easily as it can let a few individuals sue for an expensive case, then there will be justice.

PRELIMINARY Out Center Revolutionaries

MANAGRE — In an effort to bring about complete independence the PRELIMINARY provincial government of Mozambique continues to resist the forces of counter-revolution. Last month, government authorities arrested 77 persons, mostly whites, charging them with "obstructing the decolonization process."

Among those arrested was the leader of a September 1974 coup attempt, in which former Portuguese commandos operating under the name of "Imagens de Deus," seized a major radio station and led a local uprising.

WORLD NEWS & ANALYSIS

FRENCH GUIANA Several nationalist organizations have been formed in this country, located in the northeastern part of South America, to strengthen the drive for independence from France. Massive demonstrations calling for full independence were put down recently by authorities using armed force. The country which has been under French colonial rule since the 17th century, produces sugar cane and timber. The current unemployment rate in the country is near 30 percent.

PUERTO RICO A recent report has been issued which discussed the massive sterilization of Puerto Rican women as a means of reducing the size of the working class population on the island. Information released places the number of women sterilized at about 35.4 percent of the female population, between the ages of 20 and 44, making it the highest incidence of sterilization in the world. The sterilization drive on the island is receiving large sums of money from the U.S. government which controls a number of the hospitals where the sterilization operations have been taking place. Some women have stated that doctors are sterilizing women because they believe that working class women are too dumb to understand how to use contraceptive. Reports indicate that the rate of sterilization operations have reached 1,000 per month in some hospitals.

SOUTH AFRICA Despite the brutal oppression and exploitation of African workers the South African economy is still doing better in the life of inflation. The latest statistics published by South African authorities show that the cost of living has risen 15.2 percent in the past 12 months, with food prices climbing up to almost 15 percent. With hardship by the growing economic growth will be the nearly 17 million Africans and coloreds, who are forced to live in the poverty while the South African ruling class grows rich off their labor.

PALESTINE The executive committee of the General Federation of the Palestinian Workers issued a statement which stressed, "it is necessary to strengthen Palestinian national unity and support the Palestinian revolution so that it can face challenges and dangers confronting it and realize the people's aspiration for liberation and independence."

The workers' committee pointed out the "necessity of armed struggle inside the occupied territory and of supporting the workers and people there in opposition to the Zionist occupation authorities."

BEITLAN Several thousands workers have gone on strike in industries throughout the country to press their demands for job guarantees in the face of growing unemployment and layoffs. Over 5,000 dock workers voted to keep a number of the country's largest ports closed until their jobs were guaranteed. In other strike actions, textile workers in London are threatening to close down a major mill if management does not change its employment policy. In Scotland strikes on the part of the country's doctors, electricians and other workers continued as they demand job guarantees.

MAURITANIA In a joint communique issued by the leaders of Mauritania and Guinea-Bissau, they declared that the two "firmly supported the liberation struggle. The two nations stated that they and to 'uphold a policy of opposing neo-colonialism.' The communique stated that the two nations, will complete realization of the unity of Africa and by the down in the OAU charter. The two nations also declared their support for 'valiant struggle of the indigenous peoples.'



IN THE NEWS — THE CASE OF JOANNE LITTLE HAS captured the attention of people throughout the country. She has been charged with murder for defending herself against a rape. There is her case and other victimized prisoners and others.

Black Workers Alliance Formed in Canada

TORONTO—Three Black organizations have recently come together in Canada to launch the BLACK WORKERS ALLIANCE—a group dedicated to struggling "to identify the real enemy and meet the pressing needs of Black workers."

The Universal African Improvement Association, The Black Education Project and The African Liberation Support Committee were the three initial sponsoring organizations. One of the first efforts of The Black Workers Alliance (BWA) was to build working unity with another Black organization—the Brotherhood Community Centre Project.

One of the leading spokes persons for the BWA is Rosie Douglas, one of Canada's most respected Black activists among Black people. Douglas was paroled from prison in November 1974 after spending 17 months behind bars for a University protest in 1969. Douglas still faces deportations hearings as the Canadian government continues its efforts to push him out of the country.

Douglas spoke on behalf of BWA at its inaugural rally in Toronto. He outlined some of the initial views of the body.

"This country (Canada) is presently experiencing an economic recession with no tangible possibility for an early recovery. Inflation, a variant of this economic mess, enables those who control production to further erode the real wages of workers firstly, and ultimately lay them off as monopoly interest seeks to retain and increase their profit margins."

He went on to talk of trade unions as one important means workers have to organize and defend themselves, noting that, "Over 80 percent of Black workers are non-unionized and are consequently not represented economically or politically in this country."

"In addition, some trade unions dominated by the U.S. still practice subtle racism against Black workers. Also special categories of Black workers such as domestics, nurses, welfare mothers face all manner of exploitation, sexism and victimization."

He went on, "The Government continues to fan the putrid flames of racism by using Black immigrants as scapegoats to rationalize the crisis in capitalism manifested in high unemployment. This

demagogic strategy further divide Black and white workers who are both victims of exploitation. It further diverts the attention of white workers from dealing with their real enemy (monopoly capitalism) and organizing to transform the economic fabric of the country."

Douglas outlined five areas of need for Black workers in Canada.

(1) To begin the difficult but necessary process of educating Black workers on the importance of collective action through unionization;

(2) To seek union membership in industries where the possibility exists;

(3) To provide leadership in conjunction with white workers to secure union representation where this is presently non-existent;

(3) (4) To form Black caucuses within white unions to combat subtle and other forms of racism;

(5) To provide direct assistance to people who are laid off unjustifiably....

REAL BATTLE

Douglas continued, "The struggle being waged for equality and freedom within the Black community cannot be won until we are able to bring together our collective skills, strengths and organizational ability to the service of Black workers. Racism cannot be overcome in its entirety before we can transform ethnic chauvinism to objective class consciousness."

"We therefore must develop a new perspective and clarify our priorities, not for unity sake in the abstract, but in the course of struggling to identify the real enemy and meet the pressing needs of Black workers. New working principles will be unearthed, new human relations and new creativity will evolve. There is not better time to commence this arduous task than during the beginning of the final demise of bankrupt private enterprise."

Douglas concluded, "Consequently we resolve that this meeting gives its concurrence to the birth of a Black Workers Alliance Committee to undertake the responsibility of achieving for Black workers the goals outlined above."



IN PRESENTATIONS BEFORE THE UTILITY COMMISSION MEMBERS OF FEBRUARY First Movement joined others in pointing out how the Board, and consequently the decisions it makes, is controlled by local capitalists who continue to pocket huge profits from rate increases.

Community and Students Unite Against Electric Power Board

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The Nashville community has been faced with high electricity rates for the past four to five months. For some families, almost three-fourths of their income has gone for electricity bills. The rates are regulated by the Metro Electric Power Board, which has been in existence since 1939. Since this time, only 9 men have served on the board, all are among Nashville's richest millionaires. The board today is run by five of these men.

In times when food prices rise by 5 to 6 percent monthly and unemployment jumps a whole percent monthly, the burden of bearing high electric rates fall on the poor and working class people of Nashville. Every time the board has met, people from the Nashville community have been at the meetings demanding lower rates. However, for the most part, their demands have gone unanswered.

On Tuesday, Feb. 18, community and campus organizations staged a march and demonstration against the Metro Electric Power Board. The organizations that participated were Operation PUSH, NAACP, the Interdenominational Minister's Fellowship, Peoples College, Student Government Associations at Fisk

and Tennessee State Universities, and the February First Movement.

There were a total of about 300 students, from Tennessee State, Fisk and Vanderbilt Universities, that participated in the march. The FFM had a large banner in the march which read "The February First Movement Defies NES." Some of the signs in the march read "Time for a Blackout on NES profit" and "Show Me a Capitalist, I'll Show You a Blood Sucker."

By the time the march reached the Nashville Electric Service Building, it had grown to an estimated 400 persons.

Once at the NES building, a delegation representing the different organizations, went inside to present a list of demands to members of the board. However, they were met by the general manager, custom service supervisor and maintenance supervisor. The three officials admitted that they had no authority to act on any demands and that they were just employees of the board.

The demands asked:

(1) That the charges for electrical service be further reduced back to the rates charged prior to October 1974;

(2) That the Metro Electric Power Board be restructured to include Blacks, laborers and women;

(3) That no consumer be charged for kilowatts used based on an estimate, but rather on actual number of kilowatts used;

(4) That consumers who become delinquent in payment of bills for legitimate reasons such as unemployment, illness, etc., be granted an unlimited extension for payments;

(5) That the Metro Charter be revised to provide for election of members to the Power Board rather than by appointment;

and (6) That NES be accountable to the Public Service Commission.

While the delegation was inside the building, a rally was being held outside. Speakers from PUSH, Student Government at Fisk and FFM spoke. Rickey Hill, a member of the

Nashville FFM told the crowd that "we can be certain that our struggle against the Nashville Electric Power Board and the Nashville Electric Service is a struggle against this system of exploitation of the masses of people and resources, and that the same owners of banks, factories, etc., that you find elsewhere on the other boards you can find on the Nashville Electric Power Board."

On Wednesday, Feb. 19, at the board's regular meeting, an estimated 200 persons showed up to raise their discontent and demands to the board.

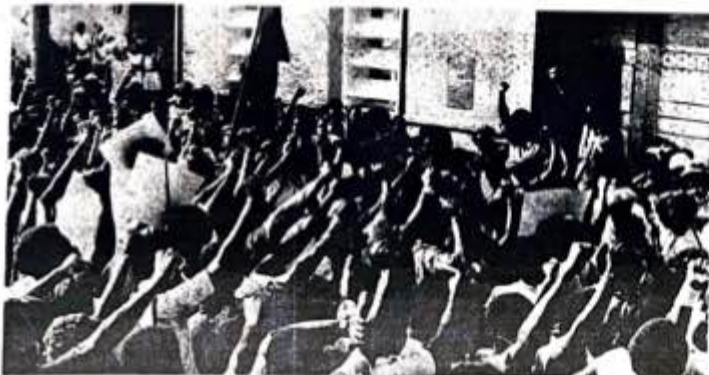
One man told the board that they were "just like Frank and Jesse James, the only difference is that they used guns and you all use pencils."

A lady who referred to herself as the 'Nashville Hellraiser,' said that she brought her "shouting shoes and dinner bucket prepared to stay all night."

Mary Myles, a member of the FFM, while speaking before the board, told the people present that "the five members of the Metro Electric Power Board, created in 1939, is a perfect example of how the capitalist class creates mechanisms to maintain its power and continue its exploitation of the masses of people." Myles went on to tell the people, "the board is completely dominated by capitalists who represent only the interest of the rich and wealthy and the members are all white, all rich, all male, and all live in the suburbs."

The only decision that the board made at this meeting was the reduction by half, the 10 percent late payment fine. It was also revealed that in the month of January, the NES made \$1,465,000 over a projected net earnings of \$159,739 and also that the NES made more profit in the month of January than any three months of 1974. THE ENEMIES ARE THE CAPITALISTS ON THE BOARD

The five members on the Metro Electric Power Board are representatives of Nashville's finance capital. J. C. (cont'd on pg. 12)



BLACK WORKERS IN TORONTO, ALONG WITH SUPPORTERS RECENTLY FORMED THE Black Workers Alliance.

THE AFRICAN WORLD—MARCH, 1975

U.S. Budgets \$96 Billion For War Materials

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The poor and working class in this country will be hit hard by the recent cutbacks announced in President Gerald Ford's record recession budget, while the military establishment will continue to grow fat.

Under his \$139.4 billion budget plan, President Ford stated that his administration has decided to drastically curtail many social programs in order to make more funds available for the expanding military costs.

The cost of the U.S.'s maintenance of its imperialist holdings around the world is on the increase as oppressed people rise up in the demand of the right to self-determination. Therefore, the U.S. is being forced to spend more and more money in military aggression.

While social programs in the domestic sector of the economy are being cut almost in half, the Defense Department has wrangled additional funds from the government in the amount of \$8.8 million, \$2.8 million more than the total budget set aside for social programs in the area of education.

Education in the President's budget will receive about 2 percent of the national budget. The cuts in the education budget would mean the virtual elimination of programs such as bilingual education, adult education, and assistance to children in urban areas.

Even those programs which remain as part of the budget for the most part, will not

receive increases in their funding, in spite of the inflationary nature of the country's economy. In short, they will have the same amount of money to do less with.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Ford budget proposes to institute a 17 percent reduction in the level of federal funds for the nation's bilingual education program. This cutback comes at a time when more and more adults, who have English as a second language, find they need to have an education in order to hold down a job.

NEGLECT OF EDUCATION OF URBAN CHILDREN

According to a National Education Association study in 14 of the nation's largest cities, approximately 1,300 elementary and more than 210 of the secondary schools in the cities were built before 1920 and are still in operation at the present time. The study also found that most of these buildings are overcrowded, poorly heated, teacher-student ratio down to an acceptable level.

Yet, President Ford has decided that it is more important to support the illegal government of South Vietnam than to provide money for education.

HEALTH CARE CUTS

Another area to receive a heavy blow from the Presidential axe was medical services which are being cut by \$306 million.

Medical programs for veterans, as well as programs to



BLACK STUDENTS AT HARVARD-RADCLIFF DURING A RALLY TO DEMAND implementation of a long accepted proposal for the development of the DuBois Institute.

provide them with aid in housing and education, are cut by the government to the tune of \$106 million.

In another move, President Ford rejected current legislation, before Congress which would establish a National Health Care System, saying, "I cannot propose costly new programs."

DEFENSE SPENDING INCREASES

Outstanding items in the Ford \$139 billion defense budget were: several thousand new combat tanks at almost \$1 million apiece; several million dollars for the construction of new Trident nuclear submarines and B-1 bombers.

It is clear where the major interest of this government lies, not with the construction of a better life for the millions of people in this country, but the construction of arms and weapons to put down the struggles against imperialism springing up around the globe.

Black Students Fight For Research Institute

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The "DuBois Institute Struggle" is becoming a familiar phrase among the Harvard-Radcliffe student population. A coalition of Black student groups and independents — named the DuBois Institute Student Coalition — is building a movement on this campus to realize this graduate Afro-American Research Institute as accepted by the Harvard faculty six years ago.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Formed last October, the Student Coalition has used varying tactics to educate and mobilize the student population around the significance of the DuBois Institute struggle. The DuBois Institute Student Coalition (DISC) laid out a year-long strategy which has completed a four-month letter-writing campaign to the Harvard administration, numerous dinner discussions, house meetings, petition drives and articles in the school newspaper.

The coalition proclaimed W.E.B. DuBois Day on Feb. 10. A large banner hung from a freshman dormitory, announcing a forum that afternoon to present the student proposal. Early that morning, five representatives of DISC walked briskly into the college president's office and presented his secretary with a final draft of the proposal. At 3:00 that afternoon, the DuBois Institute forum began with some 175 students present.

Vivien Morris, a member of the Harvard Afro-American Studies Concentrators — a group in the coalition, gave one of the key speeches. "Last September, Harvard president Bok established a 12-person advisory board to set up the W.E.B. DuBois Institute," she began. "It has taken Harvard 6 years to show any interests in an institute that can benefit Black people. And when Harvard did finally act, it set up an advisory board having no representatives from the Afro-American Studies department or the student population. But they just happen to be 12 of Bok's specially chosen and hand picked representatives. The administration wants total control over the institute. So far, it wants no structural relation between the institute,

the studies department, students and the community."

Following Morris, the president of AFRO — Harvard's Black and student union — formerly presented the student proposal to the audience.

Two weeks after the forum, DISC held a press conference to reemphasize its position on how the institute should be set up. The press release underlined the need for 1) structural ties between the Afro-American Studies department and the institute in order that they complement one another and not compete; 2) a relation between the community and the institute; 3) a mechanism for student input; and 4) the establishment of a university-wide committee composed of students, Afro-American Studies faculty and other university representatives to choose the institute's director.

FEBRUARY FIRST MOVEMENT POSITION

In a two-page leaflet issued to the student body, the February First Movement (FFM) summed up a clear anti-imperialist position in relation to the DuBois Institute struggle. The leaflet read, "The DuBois Institute issue represents a struggle over who will influence study about Afro-American people."

Under a subtitle labeled "Pull The Covers Off Imperialism," the leaflet continued, "The educational system in the United States is set up to maintain the existing relations in society. One-tenth of 1 percent of the population owns nearly 90 percent of the country's wealth (factories, forests, transportation, energy, etc.). And you can bet the educational system serves their interests."

Rosalyn Kelson, FFM's representative to the coalition, gave the organization's view on the issue. "FFM sees the coalition struggling to defend the democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities, in this case Afro-American people. We also feel that the issue is broader, in the sense that we're trying to make the university a democratic institution where students participate in determining their education. As a member of the coalition, FFM will be moving for methods to bring as many students as possible into mass action in order to raise their political consciousness."

Unemployment Funds Running Out

WASHINGTON, D.C. — With the unemployment rate now over 8.2 percent and still growing, many state operated agencies that provide funds to jobless workers are finding that their funds are rapidly dwindling.

There are over 5 million people who are drawing more than \$200 million each week in unemployment insurance. And more and more of these agencies are finding that they have to dig deeper and deeper into their dwindling reserves in order to pay out to the increasing numbers of workers being laid-off.

Already five states, Connecticut, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington, have run out of money in their funds for the jobless. Thus, they have to borrow from the federal government. In a recent report given at the recently concluded governors conference in Washington, some 20 state unemployment insurance funds were cited as on the brink of bankruptcy.

Also at their recently concluded meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, the 25-member executive committee of the AFL-CIO took note of this problem. But true to their nature, these labor bureaucrats, instead of mobilizing the masses of employed and unemployed workers to fight the effort by the capitalists to place the weight of the present economic crisis upon the backs of working people, Meany and his cronies put their efforts in lobbying efforts aimed at the

Congress. The AFL-CIO strategy calls for its lobbying arm, the Committee on Political Education (COPE) to push for the further extension of state unemployment compensation insurance benefits which would be underwritten by the federal government.

As it is now, the states that borrow from the federal government are required to start repaying the loans after 2 years. Failure to do so would impose a penalty tax on employers to meet the payment. Payments into state funds comes from payroll taxes levied on employers. So in their efforts to prevent a loss in their profits, companies are laying off more and more workers. However, this also means that the smaller a company's payroll, the less money it pays into the state unemployment fund.

Thus, states are getting more demands for unemployment compensation, but at the same time, they are getting less money coming in to pay out. So instead of looking at it from a long range effect, capitalists only see the short range gain of the prevention of their losing out on profit. Thus their actions set up the process which in the long run will come back to haunt them, for without funds, the states will have to borrow, and if the states default, the capitalists will have to pay. But being so greedy capitalists really do not care.

Moreover, the amount of money that each worker receives is not that much. Each

worker generally gets about one-half of his weekly wage, but usually there is a maximum stipulation on the amount that individuals can get.

The average weekly payment throughout the country is about \$61. These payments are tax free and usually last for 26 weeks. But due to a bill passed in Congress in late 1974, 13 additional weeks of eligibility were provided. Moreover, the insurance was broadened to include farm workers, household workers, and state and local government employees. However, unless Congress votes to extend this program, these benefits will expire at the end of this year.

Given the bankruptcy of the labor leaders in this country, it is clear that the above conditions can only be fought by revolutionaries who undertake the challenge of building a mass unemployed workers movement in unity with those still employed to fight the attack upon the workers living standards.

Students have a responsibility to support these efforts in any way they can from doing educational work on campuses concerning the crisis of imperialism and how it is affecting them on campus and how imperialism is affecting the masses of people off campus, to actually participating in demonstrations with workers who are fighting for the improvement of their living standards.

WOMEN AND BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

March 8 was International Women's Day, a day of celebration and solidarity with women around the world in their struggle against exploitation and oppression. This was a day to build the further unity of men and women in their common struggle against imperialism, national oppression, and male supremacy.

This day of solidarity grew out of a demonstration by thousands of women in New York in 1908 against sweatshops, child labor, and the lack of the right to vote. This demonstration became an inspiration to working people throughout the world.

Thus, Clara Zetkin, a German socialist proposed that March 8 became a day when broad sections of women are mobilized to take to the streets to protest and fight against wage slavery, which is the root of their oppression as women and as workers. It is impossible to get rid of the oppression of women without getting rid of its source, imperialism.

However, within the Black Liberation Movement this day of solidarity with women, which is celebrated by all of the progressive people throughout the world, has not been a day when Black women and men have mobilized to raise the question of the oppression of Black and other women in this country.

This has been due to the fact that within the Black Liberation Movement, the question of the oppression of Black women has been subverted by a line which said that the raising of that question was for white women, not Black women. This was partly due to the fact that when the question became popular a couple of years back, it was raised without making the connection between the oppression of women and capitalism. Consequently, men became the enemy, not the capitalist ruling class.

Another reason was narrow nationalism which served as a facade for the continued oppression of women in the Black liberation movement. This line also said that raising this question within the black liberation movement would divide the Black liberation movement, for what Black women needed to do was to support her man as he struggled against their common enemy, whiteness.

First, in practice this line relegated Black women to the typewriter, the kitchen, and the bedroom. They were to be seen; but not heard. One leading figure in the movement even stated that the only position in the movement for sisters was prone.

Besides pushing the non involvement in the struggle by sisters, this position also was a scientific in that it blamed all white people for the oppression of Black, rather than the capitalist ruling class which includes members for all nationalities, though it is dominated by anglo-saxon white males.

However, through the rise of the ideological struggle in the black liberation movement, the above lines are

(Cont'd on pg. 7)

Efforts Toward Black Women's United Front in Detroit

DETROIT — The assembly of over 450 persons in Detroit in January 25, marked the second phase of the plans for the development of a Black Women's United Front. This meeting was in response to a mandate of the African Women's Conference (sponsored by the Congress of African People) in July.

It was the consensus of the organizations present at the July conference, that a Black Women's United Front was needed and should be formed in order to struggle against the oppressions of Black women. Operating under this mandate, the purpose of the January 25th conference was to develop the overall structure that the Black Women's United Front should take.

After opening remarks and welcomes, the conference commenced with presentations by organizations on the task force sponsoring the conference: CAP, All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), Pan African Students Organization (PASOA), National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), Black Workers Congress (BWC), and February First Movement (FFM). The purpose of this segment of the conference was for the participating organizations to state their position on the women question.

The first presentation, which was given by FFM stated that the root of women's oppression was imperialism and monopoly capitalism and went further to expound on how class, sex and national oppression affect the lives of all Black women.

However, FFM's presentation focused mainly on the recent merger of students from several organizations into a new organization, The February First Movement. Realizing that historically students have played an important part in the struggles of Black people, it is, therefore, important to build an organization with a strong base of working class Black students being anti-imperialist in character to be an integral part in the overall struggle against imperialism. The speech went further to say that the areas of concentration were the support of community struggles, women's struggles,



workers struggles, the right for a quality education and struggles of all oppressed people.

AAPRP put forth the position that because all African people are powerless due to the absence of a land base, suffered from racism, and capitalism, it is thus necessary to defeat imperialism through the development of Pan-Africanism which would unify all African peoples. Surprisingly, to some organizations on the task force, AAPRP questioned the need to establish a BWUF as opposed to one overall Black United Front against capitalism.

NWRO's position was that Black women should engage in revolutionary struggle to combat the forces of capitalism through the destruction of the miseries of welfare, bad housing, food stamps, etc.

After 2 presentations from CAP, it could be summarized that they saw it essential to develop a BWUF to unite the efforts of Black women and heighten their political consciousness in order to defeat the forces of imperialism. It was also pointed out that the BWUF is not in fact, a "jumping on the bandwagon" act by Black women to mimic Bourgeois Feminism. The difference between the two as stated by Amina Baraka, was that bourgeois feminists attempt to merge into and become a primary part of the capitalist system whereas the BWUF's purpose is to unite to destroy capitalism and the oppression that accompanies it.

After convening from a break, the conference continued with remarks from the task force organizations on the structure that the BWUF should take. Neither BWC or FFM participated in this segment of the conference. The newly formed FFM did not discuss position on most issues

discussed in this session.

Due to a lack of clarity on the purpose by a number of participants and a lack of a clear definition of a United Front as opposed to a mass organization, this portion of the conference brought a great deal of dissension among the audience. However, after gaining clarity about the purpose of the conference, the majority seemed to agree to proceed with proposals for organizational structure of the BWUF.

The major proposals for organizational structure were presented by CAP and the October League, which had similar proposals. As proposed the structure would be a national steering committee whose members would include 10 percent of the women present at the conference. They would be elected by the national assembly of the BWUF. The national assembly is to be composed of 2 members from each chapter. There are to be committees for propaganda, labor, research, political education and legal services. There will be regions in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West.

With minor additions, these proposals were accepted by the audience.

With anti-racism and anti-imperialism being the principles of unity, the major areas of work are to focus upon job discrimination, sterilization, welfare, day care and other forms of women's oppression.

The final segment of the conference was devoted to the development of local chapters through state caucusing at which a total of 21 states were represented. The local chapters were then given 60 days to organize and elect representatives to attend the next general assembly to be held again in Detroit on May 3.

The conference was dismissed with strong emotions among the audience for and against the BWUF.



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The truly African revolutionary press must aid in the defeat of imperialism and neo-colonialism, leading those who advance the revolution and exposing those who retard it. We do not believe there are commonly just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, positive and negative, friend and foe. We are part of.

— KWAME NINSIN

THE POINT OF PRODUCTION

WORKING WOMEN

America is a capitalist society, where those who work, the proletariat, have little to show for it. And those who don't work, the capitalists have all of the wealth that is produced by those who do work. Thus, America is a class society, where the capitalist class is the ruling class and the working class is the exploited class. Moreover, the capitalist class is dominated by men. Thus this society is also a male dominated society, for no women have the same rights as men, even those women from the ruling class. In addition women from the oppressed nationalities—Asians, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans—suffer from national oppression.

In this Point of Production, we will look at the oppression of women on the job. On the job women are concentrated in low paying and dead end jobs. Also women are discriminated against in promotion, they are the first to be laid off and they are continually harassed when they refuse their supervisor's sexual advances.

Women now constitute over 56 percent of the population and over 40 percent of the workforce, which amounts to over 33 million working women.

Based upon 1971 figures women workers are concentrated into the following categories: They were 16.4 percent of the workers in the industrial proletariat, 23.7 percent in the service area, 2.7 percent in farm labor, but 57.1 percent in office and government.

Thus in American society most women workers are relegated to doing clerical work. Moreover, they are discriminated against in hiring and promotion. And in the unions, they are often by passed when it comes to leadership positions.

However, due to national oppression, the vast majority of Black and other minority women are relegated to doing service work. There are more than 4.5 million minority women in the labor force today. But these women are more likely to be in a low skilled and low-waged jobs. And even when they are fully employed their earnings are lower than that of white women or minority men or particularly white men.

The pay scale in this country goes something like this: White men first, minority men second, followed by white women, and then minority women. Black and other minority women are also more likely to be unemployed than white women. In 1973 their unemployed figure was 11.3 percent, double that of white women which was only 5.3 percent.

Today with the unemployment rate in this country above 8.2 percent and companies are laying off on the principal of seniority, minority women are the hardest hit. So we can expect their unemployment figure to rise rapidly beyond that of the minority population as a whole whose rate now is close to 14 percent "officially" and really much higher.

In addition to suffering from job discrimination and lacking equal pay for equal work women also suffer from a lack of free and good child care centers. Moreover, many working women lack paid maternity leave, particularly the mass of non-unionized workers in the south. Nor is there safe and free abortion care on demand. Plus there is the ever-present sexual harassment from supervisors and fellow male workers on the job.

All these problems stem from capitalism and the ideologies that justify the oppression of women. Therefore if women are to break out of the lowest paying and most menial jobs in the plant, and at home from being relegated to cleaning cooking, and having to run the household alone they must unite with men on the job to struggle against the bosses who exploit them all.

At the same time they must unite with women to struggle against the practices of sexism within the society, pointing out always that men, while affected with the cancer of sexism are not the enemy, but the capitalist who uses sexism to divide the working class is.

Court Rules Against Women And Minority Workers

PHILADELPHIA — A recent decision by the U.S. Appeals Court in Philadelphia has affirmed that minority and women workers will be the first laid off during the present economic crisis.

The Court held that the anti-discrimination goals of affirmative action programs for minorities and women cannot take precedence over worker's seniority rights in lay-offs without a specific law saying so from Congress.

Affirmative action formulas were designed to compensate minority and women workers for past job bias. As a result, job preference were given to them over white males. But with the growing economic crisis, the question became whether the procedure should apply to layoffs.

The Philadelphia Appeals Court said no, Judge Leonard I. Garth declared in the unanimous decision that "such a remedy must be prescribed by the legislature and not by judicial decision."

The case involved some 400 construction workers who had been laid off by the Jersey Central and Power Light Company (JCP&L). As the economy worsened, the company wanted to help its profit margin by laying off some workers. But it was bound by both an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers contract protecting seniority and a 1974 Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) agreement that pledged the company to increasing its percentage of minority and women workers.

So when the company began laying off workers according to seniority in July, it asked for a ruling from the U.S. District Court in Newark. Clearly, this was a move to protect its flanks in order that neither the union nor the EEOC would protest the layoff. Secondly, in a crisis ridden economy like America's this action also divided the working class, for it pitted white males with seniority against minorities and women.

The lower court ruled in favor of the minority and women workers and ordered the company to preserve the EEOC percentages. However, this decision was stayed by the Appeals Court. Later, the court reversed the lower court ruling and upheld the seniority based layoffs. As a result the percentage of minority workers at JCP&L dropped from 6.7 percent to 4.5 percent and that of women from 14.6 percent to

14.1 percent.

Since companies are laying off throughout this country according to seniority, the unemployment rate is now 13.4 percent for minorities and 8.2 percent for women. For Blacks, whose unemployment rate traditionally has nearly doubled that of whites, the jobless rate is over 12.8 percent. But white joblessness is only 7.5 percent.

Thus it is clear that minorities and women are suffering the most from unemployment. Therefore, any union worth its salt has to support the maintenance of affirmative action formulas. They should begin a mass educational effort among white



WOMEN WORKERS LIKE THESE SHOWN ABOVE, ALONG WITH MINORITIES, CAN BE THE first to be laid off from their jobs according to a recent court decision handed down in Philadelphia, Pa.

workers, showing them how reliance just on the seniority system reaffirms the tradition of discrimination against minority and women workers. Moreover, the victims of discrimination themselves are being forced to bear the brunt of the burden for the company's past policies of discrimination.

The unions should point out to their members that there should be no layoff period. Instead, the union point out that the capitalists should suffer since it is they who caused the crisis in the first place. The present crisis of over-production results from the greed of the capitalist who increased production, hoping to make big profits since for the last two years, the country has been in an inflationary period. Last year, inflation was 11 percent over 1973 prices.

According to all published reports, one of the central topics at the recently concluded annual assembly of U.S. labor leaders at Bal Harbour, Fla., was the recession. But true to their sellout character, not one of the so-called labor leaders called for any special effort around the effect of unemployment on minorities and women. Neither, did Leonard Woodcock make any reference to this situation at the rally of unemployed auto workers in the nation's capital.

Consequently, revolutionaries both in the workers and the Black Liberation movement must uphold the affirmative action formulas while doing work to organize the masses of workers to oppose layoffs. With the ruling by Judge Garth, it can be expected that layoffs among minority and women workers will increase. And if white workers, particularly males, fail to struggle against these layoffs, they set the case for their own layoffs.

A united working class is the only remedy to the situation of layoffs.

Blacks in The Army On The Decline

ARLINGTON, Va. — The Defense Department reported recently that the number of Blacks joining the armed forces had declined for the 5th straight month, even with the growing rate of unemployment in the Black community nearing 20 percent.

The percentage of Blacks in the military has been dropping since July of last year, when the armed forces reported that about 23 percent of the men joining the armed forces were Black, to a low of 16 percent in December of last year.

Women & the BLM

(Cont'd from pg. 6)

becoming increasingly the lesser tendency. More and more Black people are realizing that imperialism knows no racial lines and we all are oppressed by it. And that given that this is a male-dominated society women are in fact oppressed, but the basis for this oppression lies within capitalism where the ruling class uses sexism to destroy the unity of the entire working class.

Thus, black women and men must begin to participate in the activities around International Women's Day, for only by building unity around those things that unite us can we build the strength to defeat the U. S. ruling class.

Black Women Suffer Triple Oppression

The woman question in general, and the Afro-American woman question in particular, is an important issue confronting the movement in the U.S. today. The struggle of women is an integral part of the working class struggle and can only be resolved through the elimination of the capitalist system.

The question of Afro-American women is an issue of triple oppression as with other working class women of color. The working class Black woman is oppressed because of her class, her sex, and her nationality. Even though Black women suffer from sexism and national oppression, in the final analysis, the oppression of Black women is rooted in class oppression; and therefore, linked to the capitalist system.

Serious revolutionaries must begin to boldly take up the struggle against sexual oppression and support the right of women for equal pay for equal work, for adequate child care facilities, and an end to forced sterilization. It is only when men and women begin work as equals in the struggle with the entire working class, will we begin to deal death blows to the forces of male chauvinism, national oppression and imperialism.

Within the Black liberation movement, there is a great deal of confusion concerning the problems of Black women. Among the views are two directly opposing positions, both of which take the heart out of the struggle of women. At the same time, they are not recognizing nor advocating the correct role for the woman's movement.

The first position is one that states that women suffer no special problems outside of those that affect all Black people. The logic of this

argument is that to understand and struggle around the particular problems of women is divisive and "splits up black people," because it elevates the problems of women. This position does not take into consideration that capitalism uses all tools, including race and sex to divert attention from the real enemy, the capitalist class.

The other position, which is upheld primarily by the feminist movement, views the

major enemy of women as men. This movement, which is essentially reformist, sees the sex struggle as more important than the class struggle. In addition, this movement has failed to take up the issues of working women, and as a result, has not gained support of the masses of women in the U.S.

Both these views are incorrect and must not be confused with the legitimate struggle of Black, minority and working women. We have but to analyze capitalism and the role of women in it in order to understand the importance of today's women movement.

WOMEN UNDER CAPITALISM

Capitalism is a system based on profit-making and exploitation. It is characterized by the oppression of the majority, the working class, by a handful of people, the bourgeoisie. The working class is forced to work for the bourgeoisie in order to survive and is exploited in the process.

Today, capitalism is in its highest stage - monopoly capitalism and is a world-wide system - imperialism. Under imperialism, Black and minority women are the super-exploited sector of the working class.



BLACK WORKING CLASS WOMEN FACE A TRIPLE oppression in the form of national oppression, class exploitation and sexual repression.

All women, including Black women, are oppressed because of their sex. This is one aspect of the problems faced by Black women in capitalist society. Male chauvinism cuts across national and class lines. Black women, because of their sex, are paid less than men and relegated to household and other chores because they are women.

A second aspect of Black women's oppression is national oppression. Blacks and other minorities are discriminated against due to their nationality. Whether they are Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian or Asian, they are always in the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs and "the last hired and the first fired." Minority women are the lowest paid of all workers as a result of national oppression.

The third aspect of the oppression of Black women is that of class oppression. This is the primary aspect of the oppression of working class women. It is the main contradiction and it must be resolved before finally eliminating national and sexual oppression.

Today, amid great economic confusion, the working class in general, is confronted with tremendous problems, high food prices, medical costs, interest rates, etc. These problems affect Black and other minority working women greatest of all. Not only do Black women receive the lowest wages, while paying the highest prices, but Black women have a second job at home of cooking, washing, cleaning up for their families.

It is important that we begin to see and understand the different ways women are exploited in society, in addition to understanding their importance to production and the day to day operation of society. Women must be viewed as a part of the entire working class struggle, and one of its major allies.

CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN FIGHTERS

Around the world and in the U.S., women have made a great contribution to the struggle against economic exploitation. All successful revolutions have had major participation from women.

In China during the period before the Chinese Revolution in 1949, and today during the socialist revolution, hundreds of millions of women are in all aspects of the state factories and Chinese Communist Party.

Today in Vietnam and Cambodia, men and women fight together against U.S. aggression. In Mozambique, a woman's group is among the most respected fighters.

Within the U.S., the contribution of Black women has been great. From Harriet Tubman, in the period of SNCC worker, women have been in the forefront of the movement.

Today, we find women forming militant union caucuses, leading strikes and actively working in strike support. Women are also fighting federal cutbacks of child care, the degrading welfare system, as well as forced sterilization. Increasingly, women are seeing clearly who the enemy is

and aligning themselves with the struggle of the entire working class.

The women's struggle has made great contributions in the past and will make great contributions in the future. As the militancy of the women movement develops further, clearly this will aid in the overall movement to defeat imperialism, sexual and national oppression.

SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY

On March 8, 1968, women in New York City organized a march of thousands of women garment and textile workers, demanding an end to the sweatshop conditions, child labor, and the right to vote. This demonstration provided an inspiration to women around the world.

To commemorate the event in 1910, it was established as an international holiday - International Working Women's Day. The purpose of the day was to mobilize both men and women in parades and demonstrations against the economic system at the root of women's problems.

On this day around the world, men and women take time to commemorate and further the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Needless to say, in capitalist society, such days are downplayed in order to blur the importance of the working class and to downplay the oppression and struggle of women.

Recently, massive, militant demonstrations and activities in the U.S. have begun again. This is a progressive step and one that we should all support. Also we should remember the words of Chairman Mao, "...the fact of their being specially oppressed proves not only that women urgently need revolution, but also that they are a decisive force in the success or failure of the revolution."

In the U.S., women make up nearly half the work-force. Surely we must unite with and support the struggles of women if we are to overthrow imperialism.

Oil Profits Gush Upwards

WASHINGTON, D.C. - According to a report issued by the U.S. Congress, major oil companies have been making what the Congressional investigation termed "obscene profits" and yet paying a lower percentage of federal income taxes than the average private citizen.

The report stated "For each of the years, 1969 through 1972, 7 major oil companies had an effective tax rate (the percentage of net income actually paid in federal income taxes) of 5 percent or less."

"In 1972, the Internal Revenue statistics show, for all tax returns filed by individuals, the average effective tax rate was 13 percent of the adjusted gross income."

The federal report continued, "It is difficult enough to live with their obscene profits, but it is against all sense of equality and decency to permit them to enjoy such profits while not paying their fair share of taxes."



BLACK WOMEN, REGARDLESS OF AGE, HAVE BEEN SOME of the most valiant fighters against imperialism and national oppression.

At Women in Vietnam Conference

Women Discuss Experiences, Political Views

MONTREAL — The United States-Vietnam "Women in Vietnam" conference, held Feb. 22-23 in Montreal, was an inspiration to all the Black, white, Latin, Asian and Native American women who attended. It also brought to the fore the need for more concrete practice as a foundation for resolving the contradictions in the U.S. anti-imperialist movement.

The conference was planned by the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada and the Third World Women's Alliance in the U.S.

The program schedule of the conference devoted two days to exchanging information about the current situation both in Vietnam and in the U.S. Cultural presentations were also given by both Vietnamese and American delegations.

CURRENT SITUATION IN VIETNAM

The first part of the conference dealt with background information on Vietnam and the present condition in that country. Vietnam is presently divided into two parts: the North which freed itself from colonial rule and is presently attempting to build a socialist state, and the South.

The South Vietnamese, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, are fighting a war of national liberation in order to free their country from the clutches of imperialism, personified in the

national liberation, there have been inevitable internal economic and political consequences. The economy is in economic crisis characterized by famine, inflation and a 40-50 percent unemployment rate. Politically, discontent inside the Saigon-controlled areas has led to the formation of a number of peace movements.

In the PRG controlled areas, the major problems encountered are a result of: (a) the fact that two-thirds of the land has been subjected to bombings and therefore, massive destruction of the land and facilities has occurred and (b) problems of illiteracy, hunger, housing, etc., which were previously left unattended.

Therefore the most immediate tasks undertaken in the PRG areas, in addition to defending the liberated zones include: (a) restoring the land to meet agricultural needs and (b) building housing, hospitals at the provincial level and educational facilities for the primary and secondary levels.

THE STRUGGLE OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN

Vietnamese women have developed commensurately with the 45 year struggle for national independence and socialism. Resistance against foreign domination has a 2,000 year history in Vietnam and women have been an integral part of the resistance movement. The Women's Union was created in 1930 by women

around marriage, the family, trade union participation, child birth and maternity leave and day care facilities. The state not only protects the right of women, but children as well.

For the South Vietnamese, the struggle against U.S. imperialism has been a long and protracted one. Vietnamese women have played decisive roles in both the political and military struggle through their involvement in the Long-Haired Army and PLAF (People's Liberation Armed Forces - army organized by the National Liberation Front). In production, women participated in restoring the land and now constitute 70-80 percent of the labor force. Women assume agricultural responsibilities for both the homefront and for the guerrilla fighters.

Vietnamese women joined the movement primarily because they saw their best interest served by the destruction of Thieu and the feudal system. Since poor peasants were much less affected by feudal culture, the negative feudal beliefs of female inferiority and polygamy were never dominant. Consequently, peasant women have a strong

tradition of struggle and independence.

The Vietnamese women believe that their liberation will be affected by three factors: the commitment of women to the struggle, the military strength of the revolutionary movement, and the correct leadership of the party. They are therefore, committed to strengthening the movement by politicizing the masses, strengthening the party, engaging the enemy in armed combat, increasing food production and educating the children with a revolutionary spirit.

STUDENT STRUGGLES

Even though 60 percent of the Thieu budget (90 percent of the total budget monies are supplied by the U.S.) is spent on the war effort and only 2 percent is spent on education, students in South Vietnam have given substantial support to the anti-imperialist movement. Before the Peace agreement, they faced strong repression in Saigon for their anti-war activities, forcing many to flee to the liberated zones. Those who remained in Saigon, planned massive anti-Thieu, peace and food demonstrations. Student protest activities

have escalated since the Peace agreement as the Thieu government and its allies continue to bomb villages.

U.S. PRESENTATIONS

One session of the conference was devoted to discussion of the social and political situation within the United States. The presentations of the North American women reflected a situation which is quite different from that found in Vietnam. Presentations on conditions in the United States were given by each nationality. Each group's paper pointed out their internal differences within the anti-imperialist movement.

The white women delegation reflected an underrepresentation of women involved in class struggle. Also there was disagreement on the significance of the gay liberation movement in the raising of consciousness within the white left.

The Puerto Rican women's delegation contained two tendencies: seeing Puerto Ricans as an integral part of the United States working class whose primary responsibility

(Cont'd on pg. 12)



BLACK, WHITE, ASIAN, NATIVE AMERICAN, PUERTO RICAN AND VIETNAMESE WOMEN gathered in Canada to share experiences and political views about the struggle against imperialism.



VIETNAMESE PRESENTATION DURING THE CULTURAL evening at the conference.

Thieu regime. By the time of the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1973, the People's Revolutionary Government controlled two-thirds of the countryside in South Vietnam. However, the Thieu regime and its U.S. allies failed to honor its agreement and has hindered peaceful progress in three ways.

First of all, bombing campaigns are still being carried out by the Thieu army to cut supply lines to the P.R.G., to destroy the rice crops and to terrorize the people.

Second, over 200,000 political prisoners are being held under horrible conditions in Saigon without benefit of trial or definite sentences. One half of these prisoners are women.

Third, the democratic rights of the Vietnam people living under Thieu control are being systematically trampled. As a result of Saigon's continuing struggle, waged against the people's forces for

affiliated with the Indochinese Communist Party in order to focus energies on reaching women and alleviating the oppression of women. At present, the Union is active in the North and South.

With the defeat of French colonialism and the signing of the Geneva Accords in 1954, the North Vietnamese women included, began the tasks of reconstruction. For South Vietnamese women, new problems such as rape, prostitution, genocide and the torture of women prisoners, all emerged.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the primary tasks of the North Vietnamese people has been to rehabilitate the economy, strengthen the national defense, and develop and stabilize social services. Women have played active roles

in all of these tasks.

The state has contributed to the growth of women as an integral part of the society by the creation of laws and the guaranteeing of certain rights. Laws have been developed



DELEGATION OF PUERTO RICAN WOMEN MAKING A PRESENTATION DURING THE cultural evening at the conference

Angola: Change, Conflict, and Civil War?

The liberation movements in Angola have reached enough unity to allow them to participate together in a provisional government structure prior to full independence from Portugal. The masses of Angolan people hope this unity will develop positively, but the situation in this resource-rich country is far from stable.

Malik Chaka, writing from East Africa, offers the following assessment of the internal struggle among the liberation movements.

This situation is important because as Chaka notes in the end of his article, imperialists are actively promoting the seeds for a civil war which could result in the liquidation of the most progressive elements - a repeat of the Congo crisis in the 1960's.

BY MALIK CHAKA

The fall of the Portuguese fascist regime, while under the hammer blows of the African national liberation movements created a favorable objective situation in the colonies.

Already, PAIGC rules the sovereign nation of Guinea-Bissau. In Mozambique, FRELIMO participates in a provisional government prior to assuming full power on June 25, 1975.

The Angolan situation - in contrast - falters on the subjective question of organization. Instead of a patriotic vanguard on the PAIGC or FRELIMO model, three mutually antagonistic politico-military organizations vie for leadership.

Until recently, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, was considered the leading organization by Marxist-Leninists, revisionists and liberals alike. Today, the myth of MPLA is exploded by revelations from a thoroughly divided organization.

The split into three factions came as a result of a struggle against Dr. Agostinho Neto's leadership. Charges leveled include attempting to wage peoples' war with the intellectual leadership residing in comfortable African capitals and organizational dictatorship resulting in the resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions through physical elimination of cadre.

The opposition to Neto - who until recently claimed MPLA controlled one-third of the vast rich Central African country - comes from groups led by Daniel Julio Chipenda and Faibor Pinto De Andrade.

Chipenda is a long-time MPLA activist and central committee member. Among rival Angolan liberation movements, his is known as ruthless, but staunch nationalist.

At the time MPLA was barred from Congo-Leopoldville - now Zaire - Chipenda was the last man to leave. Again, alien Zambia's independence was imminent. Chipenda was sent to prepare a base for MPLA. An arrest for possession of a pistol and what colonial authorities alleged was revolutionary propaganda resulted in the arrest, sentencing, and later deportation of the ex-soccer star.

After Zambia's independence, Chipenda returned to

prepare for launching the armed struggle across Angola's long desolate eastern frontier. Here, he built up the army with a few military cadres transferred from bases in Congo-Brazzaville. More importantly, the ranks were swelled by Angolan refugees in Zambia.

This army built primarily on a sectional base - soldiers from Central and Southern Angola - remains Chipenda's base until today.

The Chipenda faction's open disagreement with Neto came in late 1972, following a Tanzania-Zaire-Congo initiated merger between MPLA and Zaire-based FLNA. Under the accord, the supreme Political Council was to be headquartered in Kinshasa with FLNA President Holden Roberto as political leader and Neto as military leader. The move - carried out without Chipenda's knowledge - caused sharp conflict when Neto attempted to transfer soldiers from the eastern front to Zaire, where MPLA cadres had rotted in jail for years or died at the hands of Roberto.

The troops under Chipenda revolted. Long-standing class and sectional conflicts exacerbated.

Within months, Chipenda was expelled. Pro-Chipenda cadres were eliminated in Zambia base camps. As a final measure, rations were cut off to eastern front military cadre.

Chipenda dropped out of sight, fearing for his life. Zambian investigations brought unexpected findings. The myth of MPLA - considered second in effectiveness to PAIGC - was shattered.

The objective reality showed MPLA in decline since 1970. The much-vaunted liberated areas were non-existent. The conflict between urban mestizo-mixed blood and assimilated intellectual encased in offices in comfortable independent African capitals and primarily peasant soldiers was sharp. Charges and counter-charges flew back and forth in tribal venaculars. French, Portuguese or English, depending upon the intended audience.

A number of factors contributed to Chipenda's re-ascendancy. First, Roberto, strongly supported by Mobutu's Zaire, the leading entry point for American finance capital on the continent, was never interested in the proposed merger. Secondly, Zambia intervened to feed the starving military cadres and support their leader Chipenda. Finally and possibly decisively, the Soviet Union cut off all assistance to MPLA, a long-time recipient of large Soviet aid.

Despite the plethora of battle, communiques emanating from MPLA's worldwide network of offices, the armed struggle was in difficulties. Neto - the undisputed leader since the expulsion of revolutionary theoretician Viriato De Cruz 10 years ago, was in trouble.

Father Pinto De Andrade - brother of MPLA founder-poet Mario De Andrade and former auxiliary bishop of Luanda - is a long-time foe of Portuguese colonialism. Arrested not after the Feb. 4, 1961 uprising

led by MPLA, he was named Honorary President by the MPLA exile organization.

Following the April 25 coup in Portugal, Andrade, immensely popular in the Luanda area, was released from prison and went to Congo-Brazzaville. The Brazzaville group, also in opposition to Neto, rallied around the priest activist.

At the OAU Summit in Mogadishu, Andrade emerged on the international scene accompanying Congolese President Marien Ngoubi after Neto refused to come, stating that he was the only leader of MPLA.

The presence at the summit of three MPLA factions announced to the world that insiders already knew.

Chipenda spoke for MPLA despite the presence of Neto supporter, Soares De Silva, MPLA's chief representative in Dar es Salaam. Maneuvers began in earnest for supremacy in the divided movement.

Neto, an internationally known poet, spent an immense amount of time outside Africa, rallying support for his position even prior to the Mogadishu Summit. He was particularly active with Social Democrats and liberals. The result was a spate of articles criticizing Nyerere, Kaunda, Mobutu, UNITA - another Angolan liberation movement - and Afro-Americans for allegedly sabotaging the real MPLA.

After the Mogadishu Summit, Congo, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia, held a series of meetings in an attempt to unite the MPLA factions and merge them with Roberto's FLNA. They culminated in the Bukavu Agreement signed separately by the MPLA factions and FLNA at Bukavu, a town on Zaire's eastern border.

Observers termed the agreement as the end of the MPLA debacle. All that was missing was unity in the MPLA ranks - a task to be solved by the long awaited Congress.

One week after the Bukavu Summit, the MPLA Congress commenced under heavy guard outside of Luanda. The importance of the meeting was under scored by the Zambian Vice President's admonishment to unite or to be considered traitors by Africa. This sentiment was reiterated by the Tanzanian government in a front page story and editorial.

The Neto bloc was under sharp attack at the Congress. The why of MPLA's gross inefficiency plagued Neto throughout the deliberations. Despite observers from the OAU and Algeria, unity negotiations completely broke down after a week when Neto walked out.

Zambian President Kaunda quickly intervened. He gathered the factions leaders and proceeded to Congo-Brazzaville where Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere was on a state visit.

In turn, the factions leaders met with Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko and Congolese Head of State Marien Ngoubi. Like Kaunda, they failed.

Next Nyerere intervened. After a meeting extending from late afternoon to early morning, a compromise was



PATRICE LUMUMBA - THE PROGRESSIVE LEADER in the Congo in the 1960's who was victim of an imperialist inspired execution. His death paved the way for a reactionary regime. Angola could become another Congo.

reached. A formula for a fragile unity obscured the underlying disunity and conflict.

The compromise provided for a President and two vice presidents. Neto remained as head of the troubled movement and Chipenda and De Andrade assumed the two vice presidencies.

The triumvirate agreed to the formation of a new central committee. The 39 seats were divided - Neto 16 seats, Chipenda 13 and Andrade 10.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Holden Roberto's FLNA is the oldest of the three Angolan movements started in 1954 among Angolan Bakongos. In Zaire, it initially attempted to reconstitute the ancient Kongo Kingdom of the Bakongo people who live both in Zaire and Angola. Roberto unilaterally changed the tribal name and aim under the pressure of George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah at the 1958 All-African People's Conference.

At Accra important contacts were established. Among the most important was Frantz Fanon representing the National Liberation Front of Algeria. He impressed on Roberto the need for armed struggle.

Congo-Leopoldville's - now Zaire - independence under Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba in 1960 provided an important advantage for FLNA - at that time called the Union of the Population of Angola. UPA. Roberto, who came to Congo-Leopoldville at an early age, was a friend and schoolmate of many future Congolese leaders.

Preparations in earnest for an armed revolt proceeded. Couriers went across the long border with Angola selling membership cards and gather-

ing recruits. Shortly after the MPLA attempted push of Feb. 4, 1961, FLNA - then UPA - launched a revolt in the coffee growing areas inhabited by Roberto's tribesmen.

Unlike the urban MPLA, FLNA had a rural base. Lacking was, and is, a clear political line.

Unclear politics hurt UPA's military progress. After gaining control of a large part of the coffee growing area, guerrilla leaders left the plantations intact in hopes of becoming capitalist farmers. Politico-military objectives seemed nonexistent.

In a short time, the favorable objective situation created by only 8,000 colonial troops in the huge country, evaporated. The repression sent 600,000 refugees streaming into Zaire. The coffee plantations spared by the would-be capitalists, now became tortoiseshells to stop guerrilla incursions.

Still UPA's star rose. The influx of refugees hardened its constituency. TV crews were taken to the interior. Solid Congolese support made UPA the premier Angolan liberation movement.

To secure his position, Roberto assimilated minorities like the Angolan Democratic Party (PDA). In a flash, UPA became the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA).

This was followed by the entry of a number of non-Bakongo intellectuals into FLNA. The new comers included Jonas Savimbi, who was named Secretary General of FLNA and later Foreign Minister of the Revolutionary Angolan Government in Exile (GRAE) headed by Holden Roberto.

[Cont'd on pg. 11]



Change in Angola

(Cont'd from pg. 10)

The following months saw GRAE's recognition by a number of African and progressive governments, Roberto was received abroad as a head of State.

By 1963, a process of decay had eroded FLNA-GRAE. A two-line struggle developed. On the right stood Roberto and on the left Savimbi. The issue at stake was the strategy and tactics of the Angolan Revolution.

Roberto's hopes lay in diplomatic pressure on Portugal from the imperialists powers. The politico-military struggle was subordinated to a faith in diplomacy.

UNITA EMERGES

Opposing the diplomatic strategy was Jonas Savimbi, a young leftist who had abandoned university studies to join UPA. He proposed moving the organization inside the country and placing the leadership side by side with the peasants.

Savimbi's attempts were futile. Roberto used his tribal base and the support of the Zaire Government to frustrate the young radical's efforts.

In 1964, Savimbi and a group of young radicals left FLNA-GRAE. They cited the reactionary tribal political line of GRAE, collusion with the American imperialists and mechanization of the GRAE army by paying troops for each incursion into Angola. Their declaration called for a front of all true patriots to wage a struggle from inside the country.

Discussions with MPLA, which had just opened the Cabinda Front, ended in a deadlock. Savimbi went abroad to contact progressive governments.

Back in Zambia, Savimbi organized among Angolans living there. From this base, he entered Angola for clandestine political work.

UNITA was formed in March 1966 inside Angola over one year after unnamed guerrillas secretly entered the country.

By Christmas 1966, UNITA had accumulated sufficient arms to attack the unsuspecting town of Telixira De Sousa on the border with Zaire's Katanga Province.

Portuguese repression followed immediately. Using the Benguela Railroad, which snakes across from Lobito Bay on the Atlantic Ocean, fascist troops went to UNITA areas and brutalized the party's supporters.

Over zealous UNITA commanders blew up the railway to stop Portuguese troop move-

ment in violation of an agreement with landlocked Zambia to the west.

Portugal retaliated by stopping all Zambian traffic. The leading export, copper, piled up severely affecting the economy.

Savimbi was in Cairo on party business at the time. On his return to Zambia, he was arrested at the airport and detained. A few days later, he was deported to Cairo and the UNITA office at the Lusaka Liberation Centre closed.

UNITA's demise seemed imminent. Units remained inside the country, but were not under centralized command and slid toward banditry.

The secret return of Savimbi and Miguel Ntaz Funa, party Secretary-General and Political Commissar in mid-1968, gave the party new life. A Congress of all cadres was held and the strategic and tactical line laid down. Military and political training were also standardized.

In an interview, Savimbi said that UNITA faced 3 major enemies at that point - the fratricidal rival movements, the Portuguese and a lack of arms.

The single strength was mass support. On this basis, UNITA fought the pursuing Portuguese. The result was a slow trickle of captured arms. This stage was reached in 1970, but weapons were and are a problem.

THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR

Angola is now the scene of feverish political activities. The three liberation movements and a host of instant political parties are vying for power with the support of forces ranging from the socialist block to the imperialists. No party is a true national party. All have sectional strongholds.

This condition gives the imperialists great room for maneuver.

The threat of a fratricidal civil war looms large in Angola. Forty thousand settlers are reportedly under military training in South African-held Namibia. With the support of the imperialists, they could cause a repeat of the Congo Crisis which immobilized Africa in the 1960's.

A United Democratic Front of Angola is the order of the day. Only a front of all patriots can stop the imperialist supported local reactionaries.

The determining factor is the relation of classes forces and the quality of the leadership in the huge rich Angolan land mass coveted by the imperialists.

BOSTON — The much publicized trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin ended Feb. 15, with his conviction for "manslaughter," which allegedly occurred during a legal abortion on a 17-year-old Black woman who was about 22 weeks pregnant. While the conviction itself may be viewed as a temporary setback, the support of progressive forces in his behalf is growing as more and more the real issues are being brought forth - that is, the oppression of women under imperialism, and particularly Black and poor women who also suffer racial oppression and class exploitation.

Edelin, Black former chief resident for obstetrics and gynecology at Boston City Hospital, was accused of having "ordered" the fetus during a procedure which is medically routine in the performance of abortion by hysterotomy.

While much of the case centered on definition of whether or not the fetus was "viable" (that is, capable of living outside the womb) at the time of the abortion, in fact there has been no legal definition of this (The Supreme Court refused to touch it in the Oct. 1973 decision upholding the right to abortion) and doctors are divided on the subject.

Furthermore, the judge in his instructions to the jury indicated that only the question of whether the fetus was "born

alive" outside the mother and then killed was to be considered, and not the question of its "viability" before actual birth.

Clearly then, there are other factors involved in this trial and conviction (than the legal-medical questions - having specifically to do with racial and class factors, and the right of a woman to decide if she will bear a child).

Boston City Hospital is located in the Black community of Roxbury, and serves the predominantly poor Black population around it. Only Edelin and one other doctor (out of a total of 13 in the department) were willing to perform abortions at the hospital, and they were forced to do them on their own time, usually after regular hours or on Saturdays, with a much-reduced operating room crew available, and without pay.

Had they not done so, Black and other poor and working class women in the area would have been forced to resort to non-medical, self-induced abortions.

Said Edelin about the abortions he performed, "Someone once asked me how many babies died as a result of my doing abortions. And the answer is, obviously, all of the fetuses. But more important, during illegal abortions, not only did the fetuses die, but many women died. And many women suffered. And the problem is, the women who

died are poor women, and mainly Black women."

In addition, the jury which returned the guilty verdict was not only all white and predominantly male, but 10 out of 12 were Roman Catholic. The Catholic religion opposes abortion on any grounds, and is the largest organized group among the anti-abortion Right-to-Life forces in Massachusetts.

That racism was a factor in the jury's decision was verified by an alternate juror who reported hearing racial slurs from several of the other jurors. Even before the trial ended, one juror is reported to have said, "That Black nigger is guilty as sin."

The verdict must be seen as an attack on the democratic rights of women, but especially the Black and poor. Its effects are already being felt around the country.

While over 90 percent of all abortions are performed in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, the 10 percent which occur later primarily involve young women - usually in their teens, and usually Black and poor - who are least likely to know signs of pregnancy, availability of pregnancy testing, and who often delay for fear of telling their parents of a suspected pregnancy.

Edelin plans to appeal his conviction, and has gained support from progressive forces in the Roxbury community and throughout Boston.

Black Students Stage Walkout

BOSTON — Approximately 275, mostly Black and Third World students, walked out of the National Student Conference Against Racism (NSCAR) held in Boston on Feb. 14-16, complaining that the conference had been manipulated by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) to exclude "real discussion on the issues."

The conference was to be one form of student response to the recent wave of racist violence in Boston surrounding the Boston "busing plan." The conference was billed as a vehicle through which student involvement in the struggle against racism could be channeled. After four weeks of build up and massive publicity on college campuses across the country, the conference drew approximately 1,500 persons, according to conference organizers.

The spontaneous walk out grew out of the student's disapproval of how the conference was organized and the political line that it was propagating. First, there was concern that the pre-conference steering committee was not representative of the different political organizations that participated in the initial December planning meeting, but instead, had been completely dominated by the key builders of the conference, The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Many students complained that they had not been contacted to help plan the conference and that the workshops and ongoing actions

"had been pre-determined by the YSA to fit their organizational designs," according to one of the walkout participants.

The dissatisfied students claimed that the emphasis had shifted from being a student conference against racism in a student conference endorsing the YSA's position of "keep the Buses Rolling," and a student pep rally for the NAACP-led demonstration slated for May 17.

Discussion began when Dawn Russell, a member of the Committee for Justice, an anti-imperialist, anti-racist student group from Brooklyn College, complained that even though her hand was raised for a half hour, she had not been recognized. This led members of her group to become skeptical about the partisanship of the chair.

As complaints about the conference began to pile up, namely that it had been built on false pretenses and key conference personnel had been dishonest about their organizational affiliations, an undertone of apprehension began to come to the surface. This undertone burst into discussion in a Saturday afternoon workshop, where Jerry Henderson, a conference organizer, blasted what he called the "air of dishonesty that surrounds this conference."

At the 4:30 plenary session, on the second day of the conference, discord came to a head. The dissatisfied participants demanded that a speaker from the organized contingent

be allowed to speak. After a bit of disruption, the spokesperson from the contingent, which had grown to over 60 students, made their statements.

The spokespersons, Steve Miller, of the February First Movement, Dawn Russell and Jose Ojeda, of the Committee For Justice of Brooklyn College, and "Papa" Jackson, a community activist of San Francisco, blasted the undemocratic manner in which the conference proceedings were developed and called for the election of a new steering committee that represented a cross section of political views and ideas.

They further condemned the conference organizers for failure to involve the grass roots Boston community in the planning of the conference which was obvious by the absence of such people at the conference.

The protestors also criticized the selection of speakers for the Friday night "teach-in," which largely featured civil rights activists from the 1960's like James Meredith and Thomas Atkins of the Boston NAACP. There was a noticeable absence of working class and progressive student speakers at the Friday night forum.

The spokespersons then called on all "independent and honest forces" to leave the conference and have a separate meeting where "our common interests could be represented fairly."

(Cont'd on pg. 12)



ONE OF MANY EMERGING PROTESTS AGAINST POLICE USE OF DUMDUM BULLETS. Such bullets were banned by international agreement in the 1890's. The U.S. uses them increasingly to kill people at home.

Bullets of 'Useless Cruelty'

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Many law enforcement officials across the country are quietly rearming their departments with .357 magnum guns and issuing infamous "dumdum" ammunition to go along with them.

Perhaps many people are familiar with the .357 magnum from the Clint Eastwood "Dirty Harry" movie series, which featured the line "This is a .357 magnum, the most powerful handgun ever made." Reports indicate that most of the nation's 40,000 law enforcement agencies are replacing the traditional .38 revolvers with the more powerful .357 magnum. In addition, the country's largest ammunition manufacturers state that more and more police departments are placing orders for dumdum bullets to go with the magnums.

A dumdum bullet has a hollow nose which flattens and expands upon impact with the target and continues to "mushroom" inside the target, resulting in a huge wound.

Tests conducted by the Dallas, Texas Police Department indicated that dumdum bullets have 800 percent more power than do conventional bullets and that they make wounds 8 times as large.

Dumdum bullets were reintroduced to police departments by ammunition experts during the massive demonstrations of the mid-1960's, as a means of controlling "aggressive" crowds. The federal government provided many local police departments with the guns for dumdums and .357's through the federal "Safe Streets Act."

A marketing executive for the manufacturer of the Colt firearms, in a published interview, stated that there is a growing trend among police departments to order the .357 magnums. A spokesman for the Jurras Ammunition Company - the nation's largest - told a reporter that 10 percent of all its sales went to police departments and that 90 percent of their orders were for dumdum type of ammunition.

DUMDUMS ON CAMPUS

The use of .357 magnums and dumdum bullets has even spread to some college campuses. According to stud-

ies, campus police at the University of Nevada in Reno, now carry .357 magnums loaded with dumdum bullets. Other campuses have followed suit.

One of the main points of opposition to the use of dumdum bullets is the fact that they were outlawed by international law in 1899 at the Hague Convention. However, the United States government never signed the agreement, because it favored a stronger clause against "bullets of useless cruelty." Eight years later, the U.S. did sign another agreement banning the use of dumdum type bullets.

DUMDUMS DEVELOPED IN INDIA

Cruelty was in fact the underlying principle of the dumdum bullet when it was developed by the British in the 19th century. The name dumdum comes from the British bullet factory in India, which was located in a suburb of Calcutta called, Dum Dum.

A large number of police officers state that they hope the increase in police fire power will halt "the rushes of criminals in the urban ghettos. The police are in a domestic arms race with criminals and suspects," said one law professor.

DEATH BY A DUMDUM

The cruelty of the dumdum bullet can be seen in the recent death of a 16-year-old Black youth in the city of Richmond, Va., by a white police officer. Murder charges against the officer were later dismissed by the courts.

According to police reports, the youth, Michael Heckstall, armed with a toy pistol, robbed a fast food restaurant of \$57 and fled out of the front door. A white police saw the robbery and chased Heckstall down the street yelling, "police, halt." When the youth failed to stop running, the officer fired his .357 magnum loaded with dumdum bullets from the distance of less than 20 feet.

The bullet's impact knocked the youth five feet off the ground, hitting the youth's hip just below the belt and traveling 8 inches straight across the body and lodging in the abdomen.

The youth died on the operating table in a Richmond hospital a few hours later that same night.

The important facts in the case are that the police never fired any warning shots to try to get the youth to stop running and that the youth never made a threatening move at the police officer before he shot him.

'No More Mess From NES'

(Cont'd from pg. 3)

Bradford, a member since the board was formed and chairman since 1965, is stockbroker and investment banker. He is a member of the New York Stock Exchange and the Chicago Board of Trade. Bradford has interest in the five major banks of Nashville - Commerce Union Bank, Third National Bank, First American Bank, Hamilton National Bank and Nashville City Bank.

J. Truman Ward, also a board member since 1939, is on the Board of Directors of Third National Bank and owner of the local WLAC Radio and TV. Louie M. Phillips, a member of the board since 1952, is a banker and director of Tennessee Valley Bancorp. Inc. He is also on the executive committee of Commerce Union Bank

and a director of Hamilton National Bank.

Morris Moughon, a member of the board since 1964, is a director of Commerce Union Bank and a retired business consultant.

Dudley Phillips, a member of the board since 1968, is vice president and general manager of Travis Electric Co., one of the largest electrical contractors in Nashville.

What all this means is that the board members use their control of the power board and the Nashville Electric Service to benefit their interest in banks and large corporations. Board members have also gotten NES contracts for their firms and legal counsels. It always means, as one Nashville man told the board, "we are being ripped off."

Women Exchange Views

(Cont'd from pg. 9)

should be improving conditions here and seeing Puerto Ricans in the United States as a displaced nationality whose primary responsibility should be freeing the island.

Similarly, Black women were pretty evenly divided between those who saw national oppression as more important than class oppression, therefore calling for separatism; and those who saw class conflict as the root cause of national oppression, therefore calling for a social revolution.

The Native American position was that although the original Americans have suffered oppression unique in its thoroughness, Indians cannot be free until all oppressed citizens are free.

The Asian presentation was very clear and concise. Their position was that a socialist revolution based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was a

necessity in this country and should take priority on everyone's agenda.

The Vietnamese at the Conference were very confident in their ability to wage a successful war against the forces of imperialism. This self-assurance in addition to the valor and strength, demonstrated by the Vietnamese women, greatly inspired the other delegates, who wished there had been more time at the conference to discuss the internal dynamics of the United States impeding the liberation movement.

The conference participants unanimously voted to write a joint letter to the U.S. government calling for: (1) complete implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement, (2) the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and (3) the overthrow of the bankrupt Thieu regime, as a show of support for the revolutionary forces. However, there was also

Roxbury community that next morning instead of joining the conference. At that meeting, representatives from Struggle Newspaper, ALSC, Africa Nationalist Youth Movement, and the Third World Parent's Association, all emphasized to the students that the best way they could support Blacks in Boston was by building local

anti-racist efforts on their own campuses, and to integrate themselves with community struggles there.

After some theoretical discussion and ideological struggle which had been absent from the NSCAR, the participants unequivocally supported the right of Black students to a quality education at the schools of their choice and agreed, as one person said, "that the struggle against racism has to be understood as part of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism."

The group then adjourned with a pledge to continue agitational work on their campuses by holding education forums and anti-racist activities. The community representatives from the Boston area agreed to send out periodic reports on developments there that necessitates student concern and support.

THE PROBLEM IS IMPERIALISM

The U.S. ruling class has opened up its campaign to balance out its losses abroad by intensifying the oppression and exploitation of the masses of people. This is reflected in an unemployment figure that is up 7.5 million, national oppression that is intensifying throughout the country, high prices of food and fuel, corruption in every level of government, and public utilities (like the Nashville Electric Service) that have to reveal themselves as profit making operations.

The FFM has learned from its support of the community struggle against the Metro Electric Power Board, that the struggle must be led by the Nashville working community and that students should give support to it.

Analyze

and Fight the

Oppression

of Women

Revolutionary Theory Vs. The Cress Theory

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Revolutionary theories emerge from the study and practice of revolution. Such theories are necessary for oppressed people to analyze the nature of their oppression, and devise methodology for struggle.

They do not suddenly emerge from intellectuals who have separated themselves from the conditions of the masses, and who come up with fascinating theories in their private laboratories which at best alter an oppressed person's self-perception.

It is important that progressive forces in the Black community carefully criticize and challenge incorrect ideas which could strengthen the grip of racism and imperialism.

In so doing, let us take a close look at a theory put forth by Dr. Frances Cress Welsing, a psychiatrist at Howard University College of Medicine.

Her theory, known as the "Cress theory", claims that the sole basis for white supremacy in the world today is that whites suffer from genetic inferiority. This supposed inferiority stems from white's inability to produce melanin, the substance responsible for skin coloration. She postulates that in reaction to this feeling of inadequacy, white people, for the sake of maintaining a positive self-sustenance, expressed their frustration by oppressing the world's people of color—black, yellow, brown and red people.

But if color contradictions are the motive force in the history of oppression in the world, what does Dr. Welsing say about the class contradictions that have existed historically in societies before, or even excluded from the presence of European imperialism?

What about the class contradictions which existed in Africa before the white man came that made it easier for the slave-trade to emerge with such magnitude?

Yes, Africans were enslaved by other Africans, and feudal chiefs and elites became agents of African exploitation.

An objective analysis shows us that naiveness and subsequent vulnerability was not the primary cause of such oppressive cooperation.

Feudal African chiefs were operating in their class interests. Slaves were sold for such luxuries as rum.

By no means are we attempting to rationalize the acts of the Europeans, but we must be objective in analyzing the totality of the conditions that created that historical reality.

Careful study also reveals that systematic racism developed as a rationale for the deplorable exploitation of Africans as a cheap labor supply which functioned to lay the groundwork for building the capitalist economy. Exchange for such goods as cotton, produced from the agricultural South, strengthened the base of capitalism in the U. S. and Europe.

Racism became integrated so well into the superstructure

that even oppressed whites, also oppressed by the same ruling class, incorporated it into their system of beliefs. This successful tactic by the white ruling class laid the foundation for the historical division between these oppressed classes in the U. S.

Although attitudes of racism existed in Europe before the slave-trade, the motive factors in exploiting and colonizing Africa, Asia, South America, etc., was not race but capitalist economic interests. Racism was used as a tool to give legitimacy.

As we recognize the dual nature of our oppression: class and race, we note that Dr. Welsing discredits the significance of the class nature of Black oppression.

She unscientifically places a subjective value judgment on a genetic trait which so far has been proven only to be a genetic difference.

At present, no Blacks in the field of genetics have offered scientific documentation of her theory. Dr. Welsing, by the way, is a psychiatrist divorced from scientific genetic research.

The question which emanates from discussing her theory is what is the most determinant factor in the identity of an individual, or a people.

Amílcar Cabral, the late African intellectual and revolutionary of Guinea-Bissau, pointed out that while "the biological element (inherited genetic patrimony) is the inescapable physical basis of the existence and continuing growth of identity, it is no less correct that the sociological element is the factor which gives it objective substance by giving content and form, and allowing confrontation and comparison between individuals, and between groups."

So while biological traits do have a role in an individual or group's identity, it is the actual identity based on the "social condition—an objective agent, arising from economic, political, and cultural aspects which are characteristic of the growth and history of the society in question," says Cabral.

So if we apply Cabral's point to our discussion, it becomes clear that if one attributes identity and behavior solely to race, he or she negates the importance of objective conditions to identity. This leads to an incorrect approach to struggle.

Again, from Cabral, "If one argues that the economic aspect is fundamental, one can assert that identity is in a certain sense the expression of an economic reality. This reality, whatever the geographic context and the path of development of the society, is defined by the level of productive forces (the relationship between man and nature) and by the means of production (the relations between men and between classes within this society)."

Thus Cabral outlined that struggle against oppression must take into consideration both factors—biological and economic, with economic and social conditions being fundamental.

His theory challenges Dr. Welsing's narrow analysis of oppression based solely on genetics-race.

Any theory to explain oppression should provide some guides for the struggles of the oppressed. When Dr. Welsing was asked what oppressed Blacks should do considering her theory she replied that we should stop using four letters words, we should love each other, and Black women should support the Black male more. She did not speak of any concrete struggle against the forces of national oppression and economic exploitation.

We get another example of just how scientific Dr. Welsing's views are when we consider her view of why Black people have twice the rate of hypertension as whites. She said she has come to the "inescapable conclusion that Black people's inability to pick up surrounding vibrations—both good and bad ones" is responsible. She did not mention diet, culture patterns or oppressive living conditions as factors.

Dr. Welsing's theory has received considerable attention among some sectors of the Black community and she is well-liked by most of her students at Howard University. But we must not confuse academic credentials and nice personalities with correct theories for struggle.

The CRESS Theory of

COLOR- Confrontation And RACISM (White Supremacy)



In the final analysis, she does not call for any type of concrete struggle against the forces who perpetuate racism and economic exploitation of Blacks and other oppressed groups. There is no concrete way in which the poor and working masses of Black people can apply her theory for any real change. Although the victims may change how they act toward each other, unless they organize against the oppressive class—no real change comes about.

Dr. Welsing has been carrying out verbal debates with such famed racists as Dr. William Schockley of Stanford University. He has for years, been trying to prove intel-

lectual inferiority of Black people. Should our energy be concentrated against the Schockleys, or the Rockefellers?

We think that while they both oppose Black people, at best Schockley is a shadow of Rockefeller.

As Cabral states, "In combating racism...we have to combat the causes of racism. If a bandit comes in my house and I have a gun, I can not shoot the shadow of this bandit. I have to shoot the bandit. Many people lose energy and effort, and make sacrifices combating shadows. We have to combat the material reality that produce the shadow."

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The AFRICAN WORLD Resource Center has been initiated as an effort to circulate more and more, "Information For Liberation." In each issue of the paper we will add new items to the list of material offering facts and analysis about all aspects of the struggle against imperialism and national oppression.

Many of the items will be produced and published by us, others will be distributed because we feel they offer significant information and are not readily available to many of our readers. Be sure to look for new additions in each issue of the paper.



FILMS

WEST AFRICA, ANOTHER VIETNAM - A documentary on the work of Amilcar Cabral and the PAIGC to liberate the people of Guinea-Bissau from the grip of Portuguese colonialism and to rebuild a stable society. 30 min. Black and White. \$35.

DUMPING GROUNDS - An inside look at the day to day reality of life for Blacks in the "illegal" white minority ruled nation of South Africa. This film, was shot without the permission of the South African government, deals with the forced movement of thousands of Africans from the urban areas back to the "bush"

in order to make the areas around the cities "lily white." 30 min. Black and White. \$35.

FINALLY GOT THE NEWS - The story of the development of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers inside the Detroit auto plants. Gives a first hand analysis of the capitalist system which oppresses workers. An important film. 45 min. Black and White \$45.

BREAKING THE CHAINS OF OPPRESSION (African Liberation Day '72) - This film records one of the largest mass demonstrations by Black people in this country since the time of Marcus Garvey. Over 50,000 Black people across this country from various walks of life, stood together on a day in May of 1972 to declare to the world that imperialism capitalism and racism would be given no rest or shelter in the Black community. \$35. 35 min. Color.

PEOPLE'S WAR IN ANGOLA - A film strip presenting the struggle of the people of Angola to control their lives. Also, presents the social reconstruction, which is taking place in the liberated areas of Angola. 82 frames. Black and white. \$10.

TEACH OUR CHILDREN (the Attica Film) - A powerful film study of the Sept. 1971 Attica prison rebellion. A detailed probe into the rebellion and the vicious assault that left 39 dead and hundreds wounded, hostages and inmates alike. 35 min. Black and White. \$45.

A LUTA CONTINUA (The Struggle Continues) - A photo exhibition on the Liberation struggles in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. All photos and maps are mounted and ready for display. 35 photos and maps. Black and White. \$10.

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY - Traces the history and development of Zionism and shows its role in producing the present crisis in the Middle East. Explains the Israeli policy of removal of the Palestinian people to their homes and using the land to build parking lots for Zionist tourists coming to Israel. A clear definition of the problems of the Palestinian people. 45 min. Black and White. \$45.

ON STRIKE - (The story of the San Francisco State College Student Strike) - Black students at San Francisco State College decided that it was past time for the university to be relevant to the community which surrounded it. The students issued a set of 12 which surrounded it. The students issued a set of 12 demands, which were refused by the administration, setting off the longest student strike in the history of this country. At the high point of the strike, students, faculty and community took a united position against a reactionary administration which refused to open the school up to serve the community. 30 min. Black and White \$35.

RANK AND FILE - Deals with the struggle of Black transit workers in New York City to bring democracy to their union. Filmed by the Black Journal Television show camera crew. 20 min. Black and White. \$20.

This pamphlet describes the conditions of virtual slavery which South African workers must face on a daily basis and which in recent years have given rise to a wave of massive strikes which have shocked the white minority government. It also describes the role of the over 400 U. S. corporations which exploit workers both in South Africa and the United States.25c



"A FEW REMARKS IN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM OF ALSC" By Dawolu Gene Locke.

A response to the various charges which have made against ALSC during the past two years. Presents a analysis of the general aspects of the criticism and also presents three detail specific responses. Important Reading...75 cents.

"A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO BLACK LIBERATION" by Peoples College Press.

An updated, full text version of the speech made by Abdul Alkalimat at the May, 1974, ALSC conference on Racism and Imperialism. Complete with footnotes and bibliography.....50c

STATEMENT OF UNITY The February First Movement.

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