



Ford Agitates Racial Violence

Boston Busing Conflict Set Up As Cover For Failing Economy!



Ruling class' instigation of racist busing issue in Boston has white chauvinists boycotting schools, beating up black and latin school children, and here, trying to lynch a Haitian brother, after a crowd stopped and stomped on his car. Ford divides working class so they will not unify and smash the oppressive system that exploits all workers, black, asian, latin and white!

President Ford set the conditions for increased racial violence in Boston, where the city is attempting to bus black and latin students into white working class schools in order to achieve school integration, by saying, "I have consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance..."

His statements gave racists and white chauvinists in Boston the ammunition of Presidential support to use against busing and the black and latin communities. Their attacks have included rock throwing at school children, attacking blacks who found themselves in white areas, and reactionary mass demonstrations against not only busing, but also black and latin people's need for quality education. Support for these actions came from such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the "Mullins Gang", a gang of lumpen hoodlums who are Boston's "Irish Mafia". The police have also used the opportunity to harass, beat and brutalize black and latin residents.

It is clear that the Ford-Rockefeller promoted busing issue is a diversionary tactic being used against the people. The ruling class agitates racial violence hoping that racial polarization will divert the masses, attention from the failing economy and the crisis of U.S. and world imperialism generally, which affects us all, black, latin, asian and white!

So in Boston, the black and white working classes are fighting each other
(Continued on page 5)

U.S. Economy Enters Depression!!

The United States monopoly capitalist economy is swiftly falling apart and approaching the depression stage. Runaway inflation is reaching an annual rate of 17 per cent, while at the same time unemployment has risen to nearly 10 per cent nationally, and even higher in the nation's urban centers, and among oppressed nationalities, as deep economic "stagnation" sets in. Unemployment and inflation at the same time, means crisis for the people, who are left with less and less money to spend as prices skyrocket higher and higher.

Profits for some continue to rise, while other profits go down severely. An example of this is Anaconda Corporation, the copper company that ripped off huge profits from its Chile copper mines. It recently reported its third quarter profits as up 777 per cent to \$142 million. Meanwhile, General Motors' profits went down 94 per cent to \$16 million. This shows how much Anaconda has profited from the overthrow of Allende in Chile, on the one hand, and how inflation has affected General Motors, the leading light of the auto industry. Because people have to spend more money to buy everything these days, less people can afford to buy cars, so the auto companies sell less. But also the oil bandits (see page 7) affect the people's ability to keep a car in gas and oil. This continues the spiral since the auto companies have to produce fewer cars and therefore begin to layoff workers, thereby increasing the unemployment roll. So the day after it announced its lowered profits, General

(Continued on page 5)

New Era In Politics

Unity Movement Assaults Rodino & Advances Socialism

National Democratic
Landslide Repudiates
Watergate Republicans...
But The Dems Are
Capitalist Crooks Too!!

The Congress of Afrikan People sponsored Unity Movement campaign in New Jersey's 10th Congressional District was a campaign against Peter "I took Milke Money Too!" Rodino, and a campaign to bring revolutionary socialist ideas to the masses of the people. The election was largely irrelevant except that it offered a vehicle through which to expose the decadent nature of American politics. As the capitalist system grows weaker and weaker, more and more people will join the struggle for socialism, which will mean common control and ownership of the means of production by the masses of the people.


Crooked capitalist Rodino "won" his election in the national anti-republican landslide, but the people are the real losers. Having been in office for 25 years, he has never struggled against this corrupt and degenerate system, because

(Continued on page 2)

"Just The Shirt, Pants And Wallet — You Can Keep The Button"



Raise!
"On Being Incorrect"
[see page 12]



Oil & War
[see page 7]

Unity Movement



Rodino

(Continued from page 1)

he is a product of it! He is in fact a Sargent striving to be a Lieutenant in the exploitative capitalist system! Rising through organized crime, Rodino has reached the heights of being the "Star of Watergate", even though he took money from the milk cooperatives just like Nixon and the rest of his corrupt ilk!

The campaign was characterized by Rodino's refusal to debate Unity Movement candidate Sandra Hill. He treated her requests for a debate just like he treats the rest of the people: he did not even respond! Meanwhile we go without decent housing, unemployment climbs higher, keeping pace with runaway inflation, and fascist police repression continues to mount. Rodino's answer to all this is to travel around the country campaigning for other decadent democratic candidates, with his trip paid for by our tax money!

The Democratic landslide nationwide, capturing over 50 more House

seats, and more senate seats and governorships, means no real gains for the people, except that now the democrats will soon be found to be as corrupt as the Republican Party, Nixon-Watergate-Rockefeller notwithstanding. And this is a good thing, because the democrats and republicans are the same slimy exploiting weasels. And now it will be seen clearly: The democrats will have their Watergates too! And in 1976 nigger punk politicians will come out and try to palm scoop Jackson with his popular fascism on the black masses, now that Jesus-Kennedy had to split because of his chappaquidick caper.

The struggle against monopoly, capitalism and imperialism will continue to heighten, and again, as the system grows worse and worse, more and more people will join the struggle for socialism, and the eventual defeat of the exploitative system of profits for the few and poverty for the many. These are concrete lessons of the Unity Movement campaign. . . . The People United Will Never Be Defeated!!



Unite the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the concrete practice of the Black Liberation Movement!!



Listen To The People!!

QUESTION: What can the people do to stop killer cops & stem the fascist tide of police repression?

Albert Piazza of NewArk, N.J.: "The only way to do it is to get rid of the cops. Here in NewArk, Gibson is a black man but he still don't control the cops. We are still beat-up and shot all the time & nothing is being done about it."



Terry Williams of NewArk, N.J.: "The people should be organized around ending police repression and they should also have a voice in organizing the police since they are the taxpayers who pay their salaries."



Lots Pierce of New York: "The reason why cops are killing these young children is because the children know how dirty these cops are, everything is out in the open; plus the children are not afraid of the cops and the cops know it. I don't know how police repression will stop because there are too many dirty politicians supporting the police."



Chico Rosa of New York: "It will be a hard task, but if we unite the people to protest it, it can be done. Petitioning the people to challenge Congress and make them stop it will be the only way to fight police repression."



Khadija Fa Tou Mata of Baltimore, Md.: "We must seriously redefine & develop self-appreciation. We have cast the ballots & it is not working & has never worked. So therefore, we as oppressed people are left with the other alternative—the bullet, our main objective at this point should be to "Unite in armed struggle" to defeat fascist police repression & to stop killer cops."



Harold Wiley of New York: "The way to stop these cops from killing kids is to control them by having community people to observe them. Stopping politically supported police repression depends on the entire community; no one person can do it alone."



Support Puerto Rican Struggle

For Bilingual Education!!

Every child has the right to quality education and an education that gives the student a clear understanding of themselves in their relationship with the rest of the world. All people have a right to self-determination. The NewArk Board of Education is trying to deny this right to the Hispanic community by phasing out the bilingual program.

The Board of Education, as all public institutions controlled by the government, is an instrument of the State whose main function is to maintain power for those now in control by suppressing the masses of the people either by brute force (e.g., the September Police Riot in NewArk), or by reforms or tricks such as dividing the community to struggle among ourselves (e.g., the busing issue in Boston).

Here in NewArk they attempted to phase out the bilingual program by cutting off the Title I funds which had funded the bilingual program (Title I was only a temporary cool-out kit designed by the State in the late 60's to

suppress the growing mass struggles against the capitalist system of oppression—next phase: fascism.) The Hispanic community in NewArk used the power of the organized masses to

(Continued on page 3)

UNITY STRUGGLE

Unity & Struggle is a revolutionary socialist newspaper that is published twice-a-month by the Congress of African People. We carry news and information on the concrete struggles of oppressed people against imperialism, as well as a continuous discussion of the various ideological positions being taken in the revolutionary movement today.

We welcome all articles and news of events and struggles occurring in the United States and throughout the world, as well as your "letters to the editor."

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isn't it!

Monopoly Capitalism's Ripoff

St. Louis Gas Co. Seeks Price Hike!

Laclede Gas Company represents one of the largest monopoly capitalist interests in the St. Louis area, servicing over 514,831 consumers in St. Louis and St. Louis county, and because there is no other gas utility in St. Louis, the people are at the mercy of their profiteering.

Laclede Gas has asked the Public Service Commission for a rate increase, or an increase in the amount that consumers must pay for service. The people exposed the contradictions in this request at the preliminary hearing. The public hearings are a matter of procedure, but before, people did not show up to contest the increases. The commission was surprised to see the room practically filled with 100-150 people.

The testimony of the exorbitant rates, poor service, and estimated bills (as opposed to meter read bills). Some bills were so high that they are being paid in installments. Cooking and heating a 3-5 room apartment or house ranged from \$40-100 a month. Elderly people testified that they were afraid not to pay bills since an elderly couple froze to death last winter in New York after having their utilities cut off and no way to pay. People who had outside meters installed because they were not at home

for the gas man to read the meter produced evidence that they were still receiving estimated bills (installation price for outside meters are \$20.00).

A student (who had moved away from her parents in the suburbs) stated that her parents had a 15-room house and their gas bill was far less than for her 3-room apartment in a predominantly black area of the city. When she raised issue with Laclede Gas about being overcharged, she was told by an employee if she didn't like the services, she could go elsewhere.

An important question was raised by Mrs. Sylvia Miller, chairperson of League for Adequate Welfare. In her testimony, Mrs. Miller asked if the money received from consumers went into Laclede private investments and mortgages. Mrs. Miller read from a public service manual which stated that Laclede Investment Corporation owns 50-100% interest in the production of burglar and fire alarms, housing subdivisions (county), 85% interest in a TV studio and 100% in life insurance services. Her testimony was interrupted by the Laclede Gas representative who stated that none of the consumer's money went into these ventures.

(Continued on page 5)

Delaware Power & Light Co.

More Profits!



Demonstration against Delaware monopoly that rips off huge profits the people are forced to pay.

Virginia, it can also help out Southern Pa. & some of N.J. This is a manifestation of the monopolist intent of the corrupt company.

In order to stop this monopolist dictator the people have to verbally and physically organize against such outrageous demands.

On August 23, 1974 an effective demonstration was organized by the Wilmington Congress of Afrikan People and minority coalitions, and a number of concerned community people. Since then D.P. & L. has retracted the added 4% increase. They are just asking for the 15% from July 1, 1974 to be finalized. The people of Wilmington can't let them have one-tenth of an inch. We're calling for "NO INCREASE AT ALL!"

Bilingual Education

(Continued from page 2)

nearly 100% effective boycott of the schools to demand that 1.) Superintendent of Schools Taylor and the Board take up the funding of the bilingual program; 2.) not to have the kindergarten cut from the program as Taylor had proposed; and 3.) to teach Spanish speaking children the English language and to teach the English speaking children Spanish and Puerto Rican History, culture, the Spanish language; Taylor has proposed to teach just the Spanish speaking the English only; thus within 5 to 10 years the culture, history and language of Puerto Rico would no longer be taught at all and the cultural genocide program would be effective. The Board of Education, represented by Charlie Bell has agreed to meet all the demands. But we must be very watchful of Taylor and Bell because they have made many promises notoriously in the past! The irony of all this is that the obstruction of these bilingual programs, programs of utmost importance to the healthy development of the Puerto Rican people is being led by reactionary petit bourgeois (middle class) negroes whose very jobs in the Board of Education and Title One were gotten because of the upsurge of black consciousness in the 60's and early 70's! Now these same spook stooges for the state have the low lived reactionary mentality to try to get in the way of Puerto Rican progress, in the name of saving money for the government. What nonsense!!

The black community must support the bilingual program's continuation and expansion because this is a step toward more quality education and the people's control of the education system for all children. The Puerto Rican people's struggle for bilingual programs is a just struggle and needs our support! VICTORY TO THOSE WHO WILL STRUGGLE!!

Delmarva Power & Light tried once again to raise the electrical rates. This monopolistic money grubber has given several questionable reasons for the increase. (1) Expansion to create more energy and service more people, (2) Higher labor costs.

The real reason is being sedately held out of the news. They are actually selling electrical power to other industries across the state lines at night when mostly all of Wilmington is asleep.

We realize this practice is common among the larger utilities but these capitalist pimps off the worker's needs (gas & elec) are asking the workers to pay more for the little they use so that the monopolists can make super profits. Then the workers must take the lead in bringing the so called public utilities under full public control.

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A Racket...

Clinton State Prison For Women

Capitalism runs its rackets and shady deals whenever and wherever possible: it exploits and uses repression to maximize profit. Witness Clinton State Farms, Correctional Institute for Women, in Clinton New Jersey, which houses a population of about 200 women, the majority of whom are black. The nature of prisons are repressive in and of themselves, especially in an institution for women, where pregnant inmates are given medication which causes miscarriages, and abortions are encouraged; where women have their babies while in prison, but are denied their natural right of motherhood by having their babies taken from them and placed in foster homes, and then the women run the risk of never finding their children in the administrative red tape of foster homes.

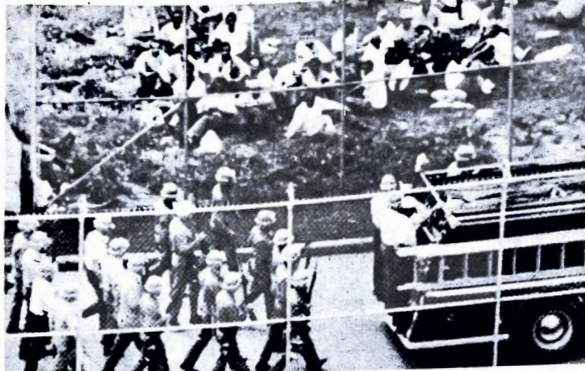
Hand in hand with this repression is the exploitation of the women inmate population. Inmates on work-release (women who work outside of the prison within a 30-mile radius) must pay the State from their paychecks, \$21 per week for "lodging" and \$3 for meals, that is, women who are imprisoned by the State must pay the State for their own room and board!! But (check this!), guards who work for the State on the Clinton grounds, actually live on the grounds with their entire families—but they only pay \$6 per month. **WHOSE ROOM AND BOARD ARE THE WOMEN INMATES REALLY PAYING???**

Some of the women inmates work as drivers for the institution, that is they drive the inmates on work-release to their jobs and pick them up after work, using State cars. But out of their paychecks they have to pay the State for the use of the State car, the women actually have to pay rental fees for using cars paid for by the State.

The women at Clinton have no control over their own bank accounts. When money comes in for an inmate, they sign their checks and the money is supposed to be deposited for them. But until recently, no receipts were given for the checks women signed, therefore the women had no proof they had actually received any money and their bank accounts never reflect the amount of money they are supposed to. In a self-determining effort, the women at Clinton had called in an accountant to

go over the Prison books, but collaboration (on the part of the accountant) made their efforts fruitless.

Further exploitation: the women at Clinton have no knowledge of the monies that come into the institution from the State (our tax money), or how it is spent. It is clear that most of this money does not go for the welfare and upkeep of the women inmates, but



Shown here is scene from Attica, right before Rockefeller's storm troopers marched in and killed 44 people. The conditions that caused the Attica Rebellion exist today in all prisons, including Trenton State Prison and Clinton Prison in New Jersey.

rather into the pockets of a few individuals, who are interested in perpetuating this exploitation.

Clinton State Correctional Institution for Women, like any other institution under imperialism, does not serve as a "corrective" but is used as a tool to further imperialist rule over, the masses of the people in the U.S., and specifically weakens the force of people who are willing to struggle against this imperial-

Trenton State Prison Repression!

On Saturday evening, September 28, 1974, the Black Studies Program of Trenton State Prison held their second annual BSP Banquet in honor of all the annual BSP Banquet, groups, and community organizations, persons who have been instrumental in furthering along this positive inmate organization. The event was all but purposely "sabotaged" by the racist, repressively & demented controllers of this state

institution. Approximately thirty people were kept waiting outside of the prison from six o'clock p.m. till six fifteen p.m. (in the pouring rain) at which time they were told by guards (lackies) that they would not be permitted inside to attend the affair. A few people were allowed inside by these mad dogs in a lousy attempt to divide the interests of the people. Even the people who cooked the food for the Banquet were not allowed into the prison! This was shocking to the people who all possessed approved invitations which clearly stated that six forty five was the time of the Banquet. Most of these people had traveled in the prevailing rainstorm from such distant areas as Camden, N.J., 40 miles away, East Orange, N.J., 40 miles distance & New York city, 60 miles from Trenton, etc. etc. Many of these guests of the inmates had also traveled by bus & train to be with them on this "happy" occasion.

After seeing that the people were not passively going for such an amateurish & obvious plot to sabotage the Banquet, the head guard, of the more than twenty ordered to the scene, called the Trenton City Police on the group! The Trenton Police, when confronted with the overwhelming, cold, hard evidence of clearly stamped invitations & the people's anger, decided to play middleman and not take any aggressive stand, either against....but especially for, the people. There was however, throughout this confrontation, something of value being given to all these guests. They were receiving a first hand education of what life is like twenty four hours a day, year to year, for the poor & oppressed inmates of New Jersey State Prisons. However, in the final analysis, we cannot isolate the New Jersey Prison & penal system from the rest of fiendish America's County, State and Federal Prisons.

ist rule. We must expose the real criminals against humanity, the bourgeois state with its "special bands of armed men,"...police, the army, courts, prisons, all to intimidate or eliminate opposition to Bourgeois dictatorship. There are prisons throughout the country like Clinton State Correctional Institute for Women, and in all of them the same struggle rages; we must aid and support these struggles! **Victory To All Who Are Willing To Struggle!!**

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**STRUGGLE AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY!
STOP KILLER COPS!**

U.S. Economy Enters Depression

(Continued from page 1)

Motors announced that it was laying off 6,000 workers and cutting its production down 500,000 for 1975 series cars!!

The crisis for imperialism is even more evident when looking at the closing of Franklin National Bank, one of the largest banks in the world. Over a five month period, the bank lost \$1.5 million in deposits after announcing that it had lost \$14 million in foreign exchange trading. It later wrote off \$11.8 million in losses from "bad loans", and reported sale of bonds they were investing in at a loss of \$100 million. The

federal government couldn't bail out Franklin National, even after loaning it \$1.75 billion to cover its losses. This is an example of what will continue to happen as the American economic crisis deepens and the nation enters a depression.

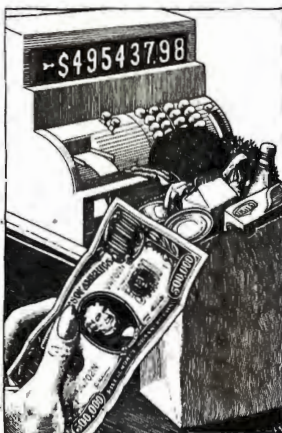
In the face of this reality, President Ford set out a new tax program that would take more money from skilled and unskilled workers in taxes, while giving tax credits to the large corporations. Called his "WIN" (Whip Inflation Now) program, it has been accurately nicknamed the "POP" program, or



As the American economic crisis worsens and depression intensifies, more and more layoffs will occur, and the first fired will be third world people. Shown here is part of a crowd of 1,500 black workers who sought employment at Ford plant in Detroit, only to find out the company was not hiring people, but laying them off!

Protect Our Profits, because it taxes those who can least afford it, and helps the rich corporations who got rich by robbing the people's labor power.

The U.S. is also losing the balance of payments struggle, by spending more abroad than it sells. Here it is involved in a struggle against the other capitalist powers, which are all suffering from the same or worse inflation and unemployment. One of the many recent "economic summits" points to one very serious concern among world Imperialist forces. "The most effective way to eliminate the (balance of) payments deficit is by prescribing a recession, but the Americans argue that the first men to be laid off, according to traditional employment patterns, would be unskilled black workers. This, they say, would provoke an intolerable aggravation of racial disquiet." Past this racial disquiet, the oncoming recession and depression is creating an intolerable aggravation of working class disquiet.



Inflation & Revolution

In China just before the revolution was completed, a pound of rice cost \$10 million. . .10,000 times what is cost 3 years previously.

setting the material basis for true working class unity against the imperialist system. This is precisely why the ruling class has instigated the racist busing issue in Boston, in order to keep this needed unity from coming about.

FASCISM

The mounting inflation, and the ruling class' inability to deal with it, is setting the stage worldwide for oppres-

Monopoly Capitalism's Ripoff

(Continued from page 3)

Another important issue discussed was a standard rate for people with fixed income (welfare recipients, social security, etc.) and lower rates for the working poor. People on welfare are allotted approximately \$16 a month in Missouri for utilities which exceeded far more.

People work hard every day only to get bled dry by the capitalist concerns. Union Electric and Bell Telephone who also are monopolies in the St. Louis area asked for rate increases. Production should be for use not for profit. The wealth of the world should not be concentrated in the hands of a few. We do not have the space to list the number of injustices that the people have suffered at the hands of monopoly capitalists.

sed peoples to engage in revolutionary struggles against imperialism. For this reason, the ruling class is preparing for a fascist repression of the masses of the people, who will not submit to inflation. So when Attorney General Saxbe recently suggested that the establishment of a national police force might be necessary soon, he was pointing to how the ruling class will have to deal with its internal "problems". This is also the meaning of the push for re-institution of the death penalty, greater wiretapping, no-knock entry, and preventive detention, by the Ford administration, as it goes about the process of cutting out social programs, and preparing for fascism which is simply the naked use of force and repression by a degenerated capitalist state, degenerated because it no longer has even the illusion of democracy to hide its vampirical capitalist nature.

When a woman sews she thinks



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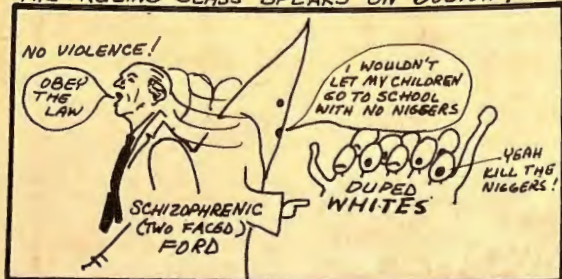
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Ford Agitates Racial Violence

THE RULING CLASS SPEAKS ON BOSTON!



(Continued from page 1)

over the phony busing issue, instead of uniting against the ruling class (the 1.6 per cent of the population who directly control 90 per cent of the U.S. economy) which exploits both of them. In this manner, the ruling class uses racism and white chauvinism to keep oppressed people divided and therefore unable to recognize their common enemies.

(But we wonder where the multinational socialist organizations are in all of this? Why Revolutionary Union (R.U.), for instance, comes out with a headline merely supporting the racist mob and Gerry Ford in being anti-busing. And why there is no further evidence of white socialists struggling against the racism and demagoguery that currently rages among South Boston whites. A failure to bring socialist ideas to the white working class, is as much an obstruction to socialist revolution as Ford's statement against busing!)

Students from 80 Boston schools are being bused, bused to and from work-

ing class communities. The whites of South Boston and other areas are fighting violently to maintain white only policies in their schools and neighborhoods, which they feel are better than the black schools, and feel that blacks and latins will ruin what they have. However, there is little material basis for their beliefs, other than the chauvinism instigated by the ruling class. (And such chauvinism is the chief ideological influence necessary to build fascism. And in this sense, 1976 will probably be the year the bourgeois illusion of democracy comes to an end and the fascist reality asserts itself openly!) The white South Boston schools are minutely better than the Roxbury schools the black students are being bused from. The reading levels in the black schools rank in the worst 10 per cent nationally, while the South Boston schools are in the next highest 10 per cent. Students in neither area are really learning how to read! The housing in South Boston is similarly only slightly better, as is the crime rate.



The multinational communist organizations must take a strong anti-racist stand, if there is ever to be the true working class unity necessary to defeat monopoly capitalism & imperialism.

REAL ISSUE

In the first place, children should be able to go to school anywhere and without violence. The struggle must end the racist violence, and black people clearly have the right to self defense against this national oppression. Though busing is actually not the solution to the educational problems of the poor and oppressed people. Democratic rights, the right of self defense and quality education are the key issues!

The real question in Boston and throughout the U.S. is why is there no quality education in working class communities? Here we have black and white working class people fighting each other over busing, which even if done would not achieve quality education. Meanwhile the children of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in Boston go to public and private schools that are among the best in the nation! There is quality education at the schools that Ford's children, Rockefeller's children, and Boston Mayor Kevin White's children go to (or went to)!

The people should have the right to control the schools, the right to attend schools of our choice, and the right of equal education. Everyone supposedly is entitled to the best education that the U.S. can offer, according to the illusion of bourgeois democracy. But every day that illusion is being stripped away. If you're poor, you go to poor schools! The rich see to that!

It is the system of monopoly capitalism that creates and maintains racism, and that demands that there be unequal education in the first place. The resources that would be used to upgrade schools and education, and all the other areas of life in society, are used to insure maximum profits for the capitalists. For example, the Rockefeller family can make billions of dollars every year, pay no taxes, own a whole university, and go to any school of their choice, while the masses of the people can barely learn how to read! Or read only well enough to be exploited in the ruling class owned factories! The oppressed nationalities are especially hurt by this, because the schools we go to are clearly "second hand". The capitalists don't destroy old and obsolete schools, housing, &c. They leave them standing and have blacks, latins, indians and asians use them, thereby making profits off their new

buildings, and still making profits off the old!

The leaders of the racist anti-busing movement in Boston are petty bourgeois school board members who have material reasons for wanting the present situation. The racial nature of the situation diverts attention away from their failure to improve the schools in the white areas, to say nothing of black schools. Chauvinism keeps the people from struggling against their own reactionary leadership, much like bourgeois nationalism keeps many black people from openly struggling against reactionary black leadership. Secondly, the two principle leaders, Louise Day Hicks and John Kerrigan both financially profit from this white chauvinism by creating the myth of the "more desirable" all white community, where they own many houses!

Nationally, the whole Boston busing situation, and the rise of similar racial situations throughout the country, will be used to divert the people's eyes from the oncoming depression resulting from American stagflation, where prices continue to rise higher and higher, while unemployment soars over the 10 per cent figure (much worse in urban and minority areas), and the value of people's money is less and less.

The imperialists will continue to throw obstacles in the way of the working class achieving the necessary unity to eliminate the capitalist system. The Boston busing uproar is just one such obstacle created and maintained by the ruling class and its chiefs of evil - Ford-Rockefeller, obstacles that must be overcome in order to defeat imperialist exploitation of all the people. The People United Will Never Be Defeated!!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY . . .



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

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Part 1

Ford-Rocky-Kissinger...

Threaten Oil War!!

Both President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger have gone before the United Nations and blamed the Arabs and oil power in the Middle East for worldwide inflation, and have threatened aggressive war against the Arab nations!!! The U.S. is using the BIG LIE tactic to cover their aggression in the Middle East and the growing disorder inside the U.S. economy, since capitalism is dying on its feet, and attempting to divide the international struggle of people, both inside the U.S. and in the Third World, against the parasitic monopoly capitalists, who are the cause of inflation, unemployment & ultimately the Great Depression that is about to grip the world. Imperialism is inflationary. But we must understand that National Liberation movements force Imperialism to become more oppressive inside their own nations because their markets + sources of

Co., ARAMCO Realty Co., and Trans Arabian Pipeline Co. Who are these people?! ARAMCO is Texaco, Exxon, Standard Oil of California, and Mobil, the giant American oil profiteers & public menaces; while Trans Arabian is Exxon, Texaco, Standard of California, + Mobil, again!

Look at Iran where oil is controlled by the Iranian Oil Consortium, that is, BP*, Shell, Gulf, Mobil, Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, CFP, American Independent Oil Company, Atlantic Richfield, Getty, Continental, & Standard Oil of Ohio. Look further into Iran and we find Lavaan Petroleum Company, which is Atlantic Richfield, Murphy Oil, Union Oil, National Iranian Oil Co., + Mobil. The giant financial parasite in Turkey's oil fields is called Anadolu Tasifiyehanesi, which is Mobil, Shell & BP*. When we go to Iraq we find the Iraq Petroleum Co. (IPC),



Arab leaders arrive in Rabat, Morocco for seventh Arab summit meeting. ARAMCO, and the rest of the seven sisters control their oil, but now a struggle is being waged by Arab governments for a bigger share of oil profits and eventual control. This is the real cause of Ford-Kissinger war threats against the Arabs, and also the hide real cause of depression in the capitalist world.

superprofits are ripped away. So monopoly capitalism has caused a quarter of a million workers to lose their jobs in September alone; it has caused recession & it threatens to lead the world into a Great Depression. But, as the people of the world have their eyes focused on the ruling class while they struggle over Watergate & Rockefeller's criminal career in finance & politics, these criminals' strategy is to invent war in the Middle East and invent the BIG LIE, that the Arabs are the cause of all our problems. But let's look at the facts of the Middle East oil wealth together, and see what we would be fighting for in a Middle East war.

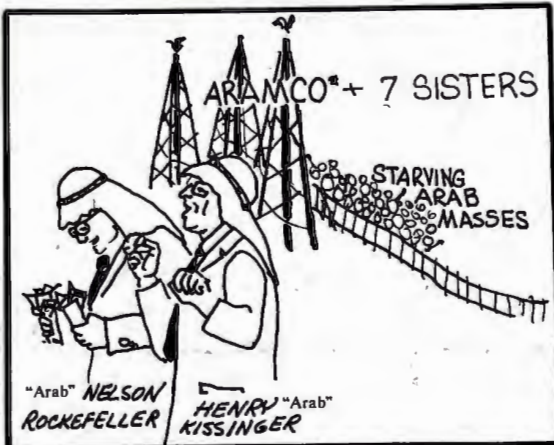
Who Controls The Oil In The Middle East?

The oil industry in the Middle East is dominated by the billion-dollar corporations, based in the United States, who have formed mammoth monopolies to suck maximum profit out of the people of the world. Let's take Saudi Arabia for example. The big oil monopolies that make staggering profits in Saudi Arabia are the Arabian American Oil Company (better known as ARAMCO), ARAMCO Overseas-

which is BP, Shell, CFP, Exxon, Mobil, + the Gulkenkian estate, or we'll see the Near East Development Corp., that is Mobil + Exxon.

Well, maybe the Arabs that Ford & Kissinger are talking about — the one's they can blame for this oil profiteering — are in Kuwait. Let's see who's in Kuwait? Well, there's Kuwait Oil Co., Ltd., which is Gulf + BP*, & they've spun off the Kuwait Chemical Fertilizer Co., which is BP, Gulf, + Petrochemical Industries Co. THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT ARABS!!! So why threaten the Arabs with a war in the Middle East under the guise that Arabs are the big oil profiteers? If you want to fight the oil profiteers, that battle will have to be fought here in the U.S. Oil in the Middle East, as the facts above show, is owned by Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Ohio, Atlantic Richfield, Continental Oil, Shell, BP, Gulf, Getty, Murphy Oil, Union Oil, and Sun Oil. And, out of these 14 titans, the first half (7) are owned and controlled by the ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE. Vice-President Rockefeller controls Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Standard Oil of Califor-

HOSTILE "ARABS" USING OIL



*Arab-American Oil Company, or Texaco, Exxon, Standard Oil of California, and Mobil Oil. Of the "Seven Sisters" who control the majority of the world's oil, Exxon, Mobil, Standard Oil of California, and Texaco are owned by Rockefeller. The other companies are Royal Dutch Shell, Gulf and British Petroleum.

nia, Standard Oil of Ohio, Atlantic Richfield, and Continental Oil. Are they saying Rockefeller is an Arab??? The causes of inflation are as American as Apple Pie—Imperialism & Monopoly Capitalism, with Rockefeller breaking the records and setting the pace for profits & exploitation on a worldwide scale.

* British Petroleum — once known as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., is Texaco, Standard Oil of California, Exxon, Mobil and Gulf.

[See Part II in next Edition]

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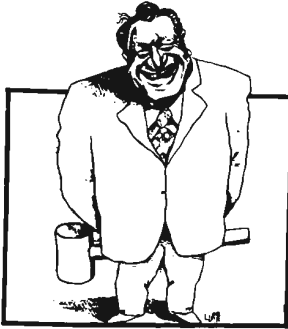
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Rocky Nomination Threatened

"New Money" vs. "Old Money"



The Incredible ROCKY, one of the world's richest men, and member of the world's richest and most powerful family, is currently under fire in his attempt to become the U.S. "President of all Vice." His "gifts" of over \$2 million to his friends in politics and government, as well as his responsibility for bankrolling a derogatory book about Arthur Goldberg, his opponent during the 1970 N.Y. Governor's race have made headlines, and is being used against his Vice Presidential bid. It is the Southern and Western "conservative" faction of the Republican Party leading these attacks, trying to jam Rocky for his part in the dumping of the chump, Nixon! The Eastern "liberal" wing of the Republican Party had no small hand in helping dump Herr Nixon.

Rocky's rap had it that he was so rich that he couldn't be bought! No, but he could buy everybody else! The disclosures of his "gifts" begin to reveal his family's awesome financial power which it uses to control much of the world. Among these "gifts" was \$50,000 to Henry Kissinger, a long-time Rocky advisor, for outstanding service in foreign affairs. Protecting the Rockefeller fortune would be more like it! A major motive behind Kissinger's Middle East foreign policy is to protect American, i.e., Rockefeller, oil investments there! This is also a major reason why Kissinger pushed Vietnamization" in ending the Viet Nam war, because there are major oil deposits there and throughout Southeast Asia! Economic agreements between the U.S. and Viet Nam directly protect U.S. Business investments there, the largest of these being in the petroleum industry and led by Mobil, Exxon and Royal Dutch Shell, three Rockefeller controlled or influenced companies, and the Chase Manhattan Bank (another Rockefeller operation and the most powerful bank in the world with brother David Rockefeller as its chairman)!

Another series of "gifts" went to William Ronan, both while he was head of New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority, and later in his present position as head of the super rich N.Y. & N.J. Port Authority (P.A.), to the tune of \$625,000! As head of the P.A., Ronan controls all of the major airports, bridges, tunnels and shipping terminals in metropolitan New York and New Jersey. Benefit to the Rockefellers? Well the P.A. had funneled billions of dollars through the Rocky controlled Chase Manhattan Bank!

Also, Rocky is being attacked for a book written by writer/whore Victor Laszky during the 1970 Governor cam-

paign, about Rockefeller's Democratic opposition, Arthur Goldberg. The book was bankrolled by \$60,000 in Rockefeller bucks, and given out free by Rocky's campaign headquarters! No Rockefeller could not be bought; he did all of the buying, as Kissinger and Ronan amply prove. But again it is the deposed Nixon Faction that raises this issue to alienate Rocky's Jewish backers!

But who is it that would dare attack Rockefeller, the world's richest politician? This is the latest epoch in the struggle going on in the imperialist ruling class, between old money, the long-time rich Eastern millionaire aristocracy, and new money, represented by interests who became rich after WW II, and located mainly in the South and the West. It is the struggle between these two imperialist forces that caused the downfall of Richard Nixon, who represented the new money faction. Many of these people got rich, for example, from the Viet Nam war when the federal government pumped over a million dollars a day into the war effort, through newly developed corporations. For example take Lockheed Aircraft which ripped off bucks during the war, but after the government slowed down the flow, almost went bankrupt until the government bailed it out with more money!



Rockefeller & Kissinger: "My Man," Kissinger could be saying after receiving \$50,000 for doing a good job protecting Rockefeller profits around the world!

Rockefeller represents old "eastern" money and therefore is the focus of the new money faction's counterattack since they have lost the battle over Nixon. But this is only one of the contradictions of monopoly capitalism. Lenin pointed out that contradictions exist between the imperialists and that on the international level this leads to a "frenzied struggle for the redivision of the world between the countries which

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have already seized territories and those claiming their share," and that this "leads to intensification of the struggle on the . . . inter-capitalist front, which weakens imperialism. . ." (Foundations of Leninism, Stalin, page 27). The struggle between the new money and old money represents a weakening in the imperialist wall coming from inside the U.S. that will ultimately be taken advantage of by the united peoples' struggle against imperialism and monopoly capitalism.

But we see also that these frenzied intra-capitalist contradictions and struggles go on inside the U.S. at the same time they go on between the U.S. and "foreign" capitalists, e.g. European Common Market and Japan. Two other contradictions and subsequent struggles are between the workers inside the U.S. and the Big Capitalists and also between Imperialism and the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies, i.e., the forces of the national liberation movements. All these contradictions and struggles are going on at the same time the Nixon-Rockefeller struggle is going on. But they all help to rip this paper tiger (U.S. imperialism) to shreds — the sooner the better!

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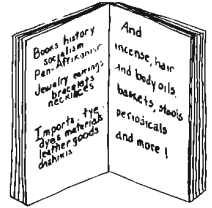
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Puerto Rican Solidarity Day...

Puerto Rico Libre!!



A crowd of over 16,000 people gathered at Puerto Rican Solidarity Day to demonstrate against the imperialist rape of the island and people of Puerto Rico, as well as all oppressed people around the world!

Free Angola: Liberate Southern Afrika! Struggle For Socialism in Afrika And Throughout The World!

On November 24, 1974 the Congress of Afrikan People is sponsoring its Fifth Annual Reception for delegates to (the Twenty-Ninth Session of) the United Nations General Assembly. The Reception will take place at the Harlem Renaissance Ballroom, 138th Street and 7th Avenue in New York City, from 7:00 to 11:00 p.m.

Ambassadors of Afrikan, Caribbean, and other Third World and progressive nations have been invited. Representatives of liberation movements and progressive organizations in the U.S. are also expected to take part.

The speakers at this 5th Annual Reception will include Ambassador Abdurizak Haji Hussein, Permanent Representative of the Somali Democratic Republic to the U.N., Serafim Lukata, Chief Representative of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), Ramon Arbona, First Secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Amiri Baraka, Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People. Entertainment will be provided by the Afrikan Revolutionary Movers, the Anti-Imperialist Singers, the 'Nothing But' R&B singing group, and a West Indian Reggae band.

The focus of the Reception and of the remarks of the speakers will be the question of the struggle for socialism in the U.S., Afrika, the Caribbean, and throughout the world and the national liberation struggle to free Angola, the last Portuguese colony, and liberate Southern Afrika.

More than 1500 people attended last year's Reception. A similar crowd is expected this year, at which time new programs of the Congress of Afrikan People will be announced.

Tickets are \$3.00 per person and are available at the Record Shack (125th St.) in New York City and Nyumba ya Ujamaa and Bambergers in Newark or through local chapters of CAP or the National Office.

Special worker's discounts for blocks of 10 or more are also available.

On Sunday, October 27th, over 16,000 people jammed New York's Madison Square Garden to demonstrate for the independence of Puerto Rico from U.S. Imperialist exploitation. This exploitation takes the form of direct colonization of the island of Puerto Rico, exploitation of its mineral resources, and its use as a military base in the conquest and domination of other Caribbean and Latin American nations; and also in the forced migration of over two million Puerto Ricans to the United States, and the gross economic and political exploitation of the Puerto Rican people here.

The rally was spearheaded by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and featured as its main speaker, Juan Mari Bras, who is Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. He denounced U.S. imperialism, saying, "The case where the imperialist voracity is probably manifested in all of its brutal backward and fanatical nature is the case of Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico all forms of colonial exploitation prevail, from the primitive traffic in slaves—in its modern version which is the massive flow of migrant workers—through the classical forms of exploitation of the natural resources, labor force and monopoly of the captive market, to that new manifestation of imperialist aggression which in Puerto Rico we have

named 'environmental colonialism'. His speech was very well received by the mainly Third World crowd.

Another well received speech was that of Owusu Sadaukai, member of the African Liberation Support Committee executive committee. He emphasized the close relationship of the black and Puerto Rican peoples' struggles against imperialism, saying "Those of us who daily work in the black liberation struggle are here to show solidarity with the Puerto Rican Struggle and to fight against the barriers that divide our struggles." He clearly pointed out, "Our struggle is the same!"

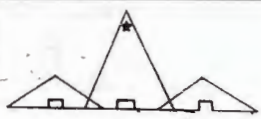
Geraldo Rivera, the ABC public Puerto Rican, was loudly booed by the very conscious crowd who knew of Rivera's luke warm stance toward Puerto Rican independence.

Other speakers included Corky Gonzales, Crusade for Justice; Jerry Tung, Worker's Viewpoint; Irwin Silber, the Guardian; Russell Means, American Indian Movement; Pedro Albizu Meneses, son of Puerto Rican Nationalist Don Pedro Albizu Campos; and the CPUSA's Angela Davis. The rally was clearly one of the most important political gatherings to take place since the anti-war rallies of the early 70's showing the people's determined will, and that (as the crowd often chanted in Spanish as well as English) "The people united will never be defeated!"

FREE MAULANA KARENGA!!

For over three years (since June 1971), Maulana Karenga has been held captive in San Luis Obispo, California. Although originally charged with "assault", a 6 month to 10 year sentence, he has come up for parole consideration and been turned down time after time. It grows more obvious that there is no other reason for this except a torture like repression which seeks to destroy his spirit.

We are calling on all of our readers to support Maulana Karenga's struggle for freedom by sending donations for MAULANA KARENGA BAIL FUND To: Tiamoya Karenga P.O. Box 1597, Alta Dena, California 91001



"SUPPORT" THE KAWAIDA POLITICAL PRISONERS BAIL FUND!!

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

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

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

Amiri Baraka

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Haki Madhubuti and Jitu Weusi. . .

Two Resignations

-The real differences between NewArk Cadre and East are in fact differences between Congress of Afrikan People and the East. Basically these are the differences between our understanding of what is necessary for the development of a revolutionary vanguard party, and perhaps even disagreement about whether such a party is a necessity or not. We at Congress of Afrikan People believe that only a revolutionary party will be able to

"The organization, the revolutionary party, is a party of National Liberation, the spear head of the black liberation movement, the highest form of organization in the national black community. But it is not to be regarded as an end in itself or itself self sufficient to bring the sweeping ultimate change we seek. It is the highest form of national (racial, class) association. It must be a revolutionary organization capable of ultimately rallying around it the mass organizations of the national black community, and of centralizing the leadership of the entire movement during the progress of the struggle."

"Revolutionary Party: Revolutionary Ideology." We are aware that the East considers our attention to "Socialism" and the international revolutionary experiences of non-Afrikans to be critical and we understand we have been characterized to liberation leaders as "Marxist", by the chairman of the East. Why this is being done it's all too easy to say. But why didn't the East chairman struggle in the various Executive Council meetings for ideological clarity, and to put over his point of view if the ideological development of Congress of Afrikan People was "Marxist". Obviously, Jitu Weusi must, judging from the statement, see some Marxist conspiracy behind recent writings of the Congress of Afrikan People chairman which have quoted Lenin and Marx and Mao. . . as well as Cabral, Nkrumah, Karenga, Malcolm. We will borrow from anyone anywhere, so long as we can integrate that experience with the concrete practice of our own black liberation movement.

But this kind of behind the back, post facto-ism constitutes the unprincipled style of non-struggle of the individualist liberal -posing as revolutionary. The



Haki Madhubuti and Jitu Weusi, individualistic chair people, IPE & the EAST.

struggle over long periods for our national liberation and the overthrow of capital and the advent of socialism.

We believe such a vanguard party should have an ideology consisting of Nationalism, PanAfricanism and Socialism.

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Gain a Clear Knowledge of Socialist Theory! Defeat Opportunism! Unite the Party Around Scientific Socialism! Build the Congress of Afrikan People!

CAP General Assembly

The 1st General Assembly of the Congress of Afrikan People was held in Newark, N.J. on Oct. 5, 6, and 7. The 3 day meeting, convened by CAP Chairman Amiri Baraka, brought together members of CAP from throughout the country to struggle for ideological clarity. The main themes of the Assembly, expressed on a huge banner inside the meeting hall, were "Gain a clear knowledge of socialist theory! Defeat Opportunism! Unite the Party around Scientific Socialism! Build the Congress of Afrikan People!"

Comrade Katibu of the NewArk cadre made a report to the Assembly calling in part for the party to grasp firmly the principles of Marxism-

attendant atavism, feudalism, mysticism, primitive nationalism, are the hallmarks of bourgeois cultural nationalism, which has become swiftly reactionary.

Modern unitary organization based on contemporary revolutionary experience, and the ultimate desire to overthrow the system of racism and capitalism is what should motivate the revolutionary. And it is the development of what Ho Chi Minh called Revolutionary Morality, that makes us loyal forever to the people and the party and to revolution. Too many petty bourgeois "cultural nationalists" believe that a revolution has been made when they can dress up in dime store prints, with strings hanging down their legs, or with cheap cotton, red, black and green dashikis, with the colors divided at the arms (the ultimate tackiness) recite one word of swahili, play drums, put down white people, and make whites responsible for all our own shortcomings and inability to make actual revolution. The underdeveloped non-political self serving elitism of the navel contemplating cultural nationalist must be exposed especially by revolutionaries who nevertheless have some aspect of cultural analysis as part

(Continued on page 11)

Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, after which Comrade Hekima also of the NewArk Congress reported on the party changes that have taken place in the Congress of Afrikan People since 1972 (see CAP: Going Through Changes, U&S Vol. 3 #10).

The Ministers of Economics, of Social Organization, Communications, and Politics each gave reports along with a 2 year plan of development in each area.

Reports on the ideological and organizational progress of each of the local congress cadres were given and discussed in the spirit of unity-criticism-unity.

Later, during the Assembly, the party viewed the film 'Salt of the Earth.' This film, made in 1954, is about a strike by Chicano mine workers. Its two main contradictions, labor vs. capital, and oppressed women vs. male chauvinism led to much ideological discussion among the comrades.

Party elections to the CAP Political Council filled the Chairmanship and 4 Ministries with the re-election of the incumbents and the election of 3 at large members.

The new CAP Political Council is Chairman Amiri Baraka; Social Organization Minister Amina Baraka; Economics Minister Kaimu Dadisi (South Bend); Communications Minister Kiongozi Sala Udin (Pittsburgh); At Large Members Comrade Jaribu (NewArk); Comrade Katibu (NewArk); and Comrade Kalimu Endesha (St. Louis).

Throughout the meeting, party members discussed the current and burning issues of the movement. This discussion was aimed at gaining a clear knowledge of socialist theory in order that we may contribute to the building of true socialism in the U.S. and throughout the world.

Chairman Amiri Baraka summed up the conference and gave a complete report on past and ongoing programs of CAP, and urged that we be prepared to struggle.

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Resignations

(Continued from page 10)

of their overall political analysis. For this reason we must wage theoretical struggle, the struggle to create a revolutionary ideology. . . political struggle, the struggle to build a revolutionary political movement (party and united front); economic struggle, i.e., the struggle against capitalism.

The question of "respect", "acceptance and tolerance", are all non-sense. Respect comes with mutual revolutionary work. The process of self criticism and criticism, self discipline and discipline, in the spirit of unity-criticism-unity, are the bases and dynamic of any respect, acceptance or tolerance of true revolutionaries. Where our views are different, respect comes from a willingness to resolve those differences with each participant emerging with a higher level of political consciousness as a result.

The question of why, after the meeting in Chicago and the questions and brief discussion that arose in an Executive Council meeting as to whether discipline was superior to liberalism when dealing with "skilled" cadre members who were slow to develop politically, Jitu Weusi should return to Brooklyn and make no mention of resigning, etc., except through the mail, the next day, is further example of the lack of revolutionary consciousness and the corrupt liberalism and individualism of Brother Weusi's political development. This kind of political thought must not be allowed to exist within the Congress of Afrikan People, if we are truly to develop into a revolutionary formation.

(continued in next edition)

Poet's Circle
Real Life

Ted. Ted? In the bay at the bottom of the wat
er lies the president of the united states,
his chappaqu
dick, bent around an immigrant in an
automobile. Nixon calls from the coast, you thought
you'd get away clean, but my vengeance
comes from beyond the grave.
Nixon slobbers on the phone, wetting the cocaine on the desk
he and pat have been snorting since
early morning, herb alpert blurring low contradictions in the wings
Shadows gather on the windows, then blow twisted into the whole dark
which comes now. The lights go on
in the white house. Ford cracking his knuckles
turns off the tv and calls nixon
you alright dick, he says, white whistles jag at nixons calm, high
and wild, pat's jaws quivering, greens and blues come off the screen
and stutter 3-D in the room, sympathetic and wanting to rub them
he cant speak
rockefeller's talking
ford says the plan, was national
unity, the new money
and the old
he cant speak, nixon cant, high, and hot, cripple forever upstairs.
pat starts to pee on the rug, and roll in it. Her giggles like a vincent
price movie, without pogum, nixon slobbers, trying to make a point, ford
is saying national unity, as rockefeller grins, his finger, shoving up into
the alk, across a thousand miles, at the mad western capitalists and their
southern friends, Yall dont know how, this shit works, he is saying (really)
the commentator, looks over his shoulder, as if he knows that nixon is
watching. Ford whispers numbly, dick, dick, yes,
mr. president?

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Revolutionary Movie Review:

AMACORD (A Film by Fellini)

Bourgeois fantasy, with obligatory sentimentality, sadness. "Bittersweetness", sexual preoccupation. Fellini is offering overstuffed sacharin recall as tataaa! "art" & since the moguls have spent so much dough on it, push it they must. But the flick is corny. Exemplary of Fellini's sensibility & interests is the way he treats Mussolini & fascists as an importunate movement in petit bourgeois consciousness where, say, the petit bourgeois (actually closet socialists) were given castor oil by the fascists and shit all over themselves. Actually, you see, Fascism, it was comical! Fellini better see Bertolucci.

NOTICE

The Political Council of the Congress of Afrikan People voted on October 4, 1974 to expel the former San Diego, California cadre of CAP, and its Chairperson, Imamu Sukumu, from the Congress of Afrikan People.

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ON BEING INCORRECT!

RAISE!!



Chairman Amiri Baraka

It was raised to me recently that "why should we listen to you now, you said something before and were incorrect". Another similar broadside, or at least I supposed it was intended to be one, was a young dude who said at a lecture, "then if we believe what you're saying, then you're repudiating your earlier writings."

Yes, I said, just like I have to admit to people that I'm no longer 30! It did occur to me that sometimes people who only say things privately, or only after someone else has said it, have an advantage, at any given time, of appearing to have always held the opinion they hold at that moment. Whereas those of us given to public verbal or written philosophizing do invariably come up with things that we have lectured about or written about with which we no longer agree. Certainly in our own case we have to revise and change what we say and write so that it reflects what we currently hold to be true. But we feel that any serious listener, reader or student is certainly going to know what we hold to today, and why.

In our case, people keep saying that, "you're saying then Nationalism is reactionary?" But that's not what we're saying at all. We're saying that Revolutionary Nationalism is necessary for Black People, and other oppressed nationalities...the struggle against our national oppression is real, and one important aspect of the struggle against imperialism wherever it occurs. But we are saying that nationalism when it is

chauvinism, i.e., the belief that blacks or whoever are better or that others are worse, &c., is not useful to revolutionary ideology and revolutionary movement. Nationalism, when it says, for instance, that we are here in the United States by ourselves, and must struggle against our oppressors alone...that is reactionary. Nationalism, when it is so reactionary, that it says that we can't use Marx, Engels, Stalin, Lenin, Mao, Ho, Fidel, Hoxha, Kim Il Sung, because they're not black, even though they are revolutionary socialists, such nationalism is supportive of our oppressors not the revolution. Nationalism, so called, when it says, "all non-blacks are our enemies", is sickness or criminality, in fact a form of fascism. Nationalism, when it says, no matter how backward and reactionary a politician or public figure is, that because they're black they can't be exposed and put down, that is the worst example of bourgeois class interest being upheld despite the masses of peoples' need for clarity and integrity.

Nationalism, so called, is reactionary when it becomes simply reverse racism, where the same kinds of pseudo-science and charlatanism are used to justify a black super race as are used to justify a white super race. When the same kinds of mysticism, spookism, and metaphysical hogwash (or beefwash) is run on us, to justify the rise of small black capitalism with fascist overtones, as happened with whites.

Nationalism, is reactionary, when it does not face and analyze the precise reality we are living in here in North America (and we are here, in North America, not in Afrika, Asia, or Latin America, or somewhere in outer or inner space. But it must be inner space most of these fantasists deal with since even if we were in outer space, that could be measured).

Nationalism calling itself PanAfricanism is also reactionary when it says that the "struggle is in Afrika", and says that we can't do anything here; but go for the ghost. If the struggle is in Afrika and only in Afrika, why don't these people just go over there and fight rather than bug us by telling us we can't do anything against the capitalist exploitation and national oppression that we face everyday here in the United States. Usually people who make these kinds of analyses are either people who can

afford to be in Afrika or at least in and out of this country all the time, or people whose little middleclass lives are so good to them that they feel its ok here in this joint, and you can't make no revolution neither, its too dangerous. People like this are simply rationalizing jesters of our new petit bourgeoisie (middle class). Their conclusion, we gotta be here and live in this oppressive society! But it ain't oppressive to them, they got a few coins or a title, e.g., "world's smartest nigger" or "Black Caucus—ite" or "The God-father of Soul", &c., in other words they living good without a revolution. But for most of us this is not true. Only revolution will solve our problems! The present system of profit for a few and poverty for the multitude (capitalism) will be replaced ultimately, and the nationalism that says that the struggle is only against racism, and does not see that racism is a byproduct of capitalism, one of its oppressive weapons as well as an existent ideology in its superstructure (the rationalizing logic, systems and institutions that develop from the economic system of any society). . .people who cannot see that it is the economic system that supports, reinforces and continues racism are shortsighted, or simply want to get in on the oppressive system as a co-oppressor. Whereas, we must be mobilized and organized to eliminate this system entirely and replace it with a system that will see public control of land, mineral wealth, energy sources, supplies and factories, that is, all the means of producing wealth, under the absolute control of the working masses. For the benefit of the whole of society. This system, of course, is Socialism.

But even though we must see the correctness and undeniable of a socialist solution, we remain revolutionary nationalists because we are patriots committed to the ultimate liberation of black people in North America. But we

also understand that the Black Liberation Movement in essence is a struggle for Socialism. That is, the complete reorganization of the U.S. (and world) society, and total redistribution of world's wealth.

We have been rooted in community struggle, and have reflected in our political development, the move from civil rights to self defense, to nationalism to black power to rebellion and revolutionary nationalism to understanding of armed struggle and Afrikanism and Pan Afrikanism. But we were incorrect in that we were onesided and suffered from complexes about whites. But in the theory and practice of Scientific Socialism we discovered, as Mao said, about the Chinese peoples' discovery. . . "the best of truths, the best of weapons for liberating our nation."

Our incorrectness through self-criticism became the dynamic to build revolutionary movement on, so that we might not have to be incorrect, that way, any more. But meanwhile we have been committed to the ultimate task that lies before our people and all oppressed people throughout the world, Revolution and Socialism. Which finally, as Cabral says, is at one point, for the would be leaders of revolutionary struggle, a moral commitment, i.e., "the capacity. . .to remain faithful to the principles and to the fundamental cause of the struggle." So that militants who are rooted in mass struggles and have also absolute commitment to struggle for the liberation of the Black Masses; ultimately must, abandon anything which does not promote the struggle, that does not help clarify and sharpen our understanding of the struggle. Such militants should ultimately have to become more "correct" or else their involvement with mass struggles and basic sincerity of commitment must be questioned.

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