

UNITE THE UNIVERSAL TRUTH OF MARXISM - LENINISM - MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT WITH THE CONCRETE PRACTICE OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT !!!



CAP along with other groups and concerned people, led mass demonstrations & protests in Wilmington to expose the murder of 16-year-old Sheila Ferrell by a racist killer, John Bailey, for allegedly "stealing a peach from his peach tree".

Murder In Wilmington

On the evening of August 7, 1975 Sheila Ferrell, a 13 year old Black girl was shot in the back by John Bailey, a 24 year old white man for allegedly taking 2 peaches from his peachtree. The shooting occurred at approximately 7 that night, as little Sheila and a few of her friends were standing alongside the Bailey property on 200 35th St. picking peaches from the overhanging tree. Bailey drove up, spotted the youths, and began chasing them. The youths immediately scattered while Bailey pursued Sheila. Witnesses saw him pull a gun from his pocket, fire twice, with the second bullet hitting the child. Screaming, she continued to run, finally collapsing on a cousin's porch, a black and a half away from the Bailey house. This racist killer was then heard to say, as he stood over her fallen, bleeding

body, "You stole my peaches, don't you know I'll kill you!". He was subsequently pursued by a bystander, but managed to jump into his car and drive away. He was later found and arrested at his father's house about midnight that night, and released the following morning on a ludicrously low bail of 25,000 dollars. Sheila Ferrell was taken to the Delaware Division (hospital) and listed in critical condition. Having lost 70 percent of her blood when arriving at the hospital she never recovered from the wound and was reported "officially dead" at about midnight August 30. Bailey was then arrested for the third time and held for 1st degree murder, with no bail.

Following the shooting incident a number of events occurred that neces- (Continued on page 7)

PORTUGAL

The People Versus The Super Powers

Victorious armed struggles freed the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique from the colonial domination of Portugal's rule. A military coup in Portugal spurred on and supported by mass sentiment against the fascist Spinoza regime, student demonstrations, and the continued protests and heightening of the people's consciousness by the left, the revolutionaries along with the former army's unwillingness and, in many cases, refusal to continue to fight the losing battle in Afrika, forced Spinoza to resign.

General Antonio de Spinoza was the fascist ruler of Portugal who had waged the unjust wars against the peoples of

Afrika and had kept the masses of Portuguese people under fascist dictatorship. His regime was overthrown by the Armed Forces Movement in April, 1974. But now the two superpowers of the world, the United States and the U.S.S.R. are battling for power in Portugal. Super power contention in Portugal is clear as the Revisionist Communist Party had gained influence in the coalition government, but now U.S. imperialism is moving forward with the successful ouster of General Goncalves, a CPP supporter.

General Vasco Goncalves, agent of Soviet Social Imperialism was Premier of Portugal. U.S. imperialism aided by CIA maneuvers and the resurgent Portuguese Right has forced him to resign. Goncalves, de Costa Gomez and Carvalho were appointed by the Armed Forces Movement (ARM) a few weeks ago to exercise collective leadership over the Portuguese masses. Since this time, Portuguese politics has been full of chaos and confusion. As Portuguese (Continued on page 2)

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Why Blacks Constitute A Nation Inside The U.S.A.!

III The Communist International (1928)

When we speak of the land base of the Black nation, we are talking about an area located in what is generally know as the black belt south. "The Black Belt shapes a crescent through twelve southern states. Heading down from its eastern point in Virginia's tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North Carolina, embraces nearly all of South Carolina, cuts into Florida, passes through lower and central Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the Louisiana Delta, wedges into eastern Texas and Southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in Southern Arkansas." H. Haywood - Negro Liberation.

This is the area that has been defined as the Black Nation. This is the area that blacks worked, during slavery and after. Died for (civil war) worked, and developed, and this is the area that has been continuously and systematically

denied the Black masses - beginning with the betrayal of reconstruction to now.

The Communist International (ComIntern) in its 1928 resolution on the negro question in the U.S. stated clearly its support for the right of the Black Nation to self-determination. "While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equality for the Negroes. . . the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to self-determination in the southern states (Continued on page 5)

NEEDED: A SECOND CIVIL WAR. THE WAR BETWEEN THE CLASSES!

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Imperialism's Angolan Connection

by Bod Yeggero

PART 2

The forces vying for hegemony in Angola are playing for extremely high stakes. Angola is by far the largest and richest territory in Portugal's disintegrating empire. With a total area of over 481,000 square miles, it is fourteen times the size of Portugal. Angola's annual growth rate between 1966 and 1973 was 16.4% at current prices. Growth has been export-led with almost total emphasis placed on the extractive industries - mining and agriculture.

Angola's chief exports are crude oil, coffee, diamonds, iron ore, fish meal, raw cotton, sisal and timber. Her 1973 trade surplus of 5861 million escudos (\$234 million) represented an increase of 83.4% over 1972's surplus. Her agricultural potential seems almost unlimited and her mineral wealth is believed to be largely untapped. Vast stretches of the country have yet to be surveyed by geologists.

The Hudson Institute - an American "think tank" - predicted that the two predominant countries in Africa by the year 2000 would be Angola and Zaire. With such enormous economic potential there is little wonder that the prospect of Angolan independence has led to the kind of maneuvering and jockeying for position that characterized pre-independence Zaire - then the Belgian Congo - in 1960. Said *Africa* magazine (No. 41) "Newspaper accounts of sessionists, federationists, alliances, mercenaries, riots and riches, all remind observers of the atmosphere

in the Congo in January 1960, six months before its independence."

The relationship between Zaire and Angola goes beyond their vast economic potentials and comparisons of their volatile pre-independence political climates. In a word, Zaire, in the person of its president, Mobutu Sese Seko, promises to be imperialism's Angolan connection.

Zaire's only sizable port handling Atlantic Ocean traffic is Matadi, situated 80 miles inland up the Zaire (Congo) River. From the Portuguese naval base at Santo Antonio de Zaire, on the South bank at the mouth of the Zaire River, it is possible to observe shipping along the entire navigable portion of the river. A small naval force could seal off the river and disrupt the flow of traffic.

The 1,031 mile Angolan coast line could provide either of the superpowers with a base to control maritime traffic around the Cape of Good Hope or to influence submarine activities in the Atlantic.

Angola exposes the western flanks of the South African racists to infiltration. UNITA has already provided safe passage through its liberated areas to Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) guerillas on their way to Namibia.

The Benguela Railroad snakes its way across Angola from the Atlantic port of Lobito, through the Zaire cooperbelt

(Continued on page 10)

Portugal

(Continued from page 1)

Soviet Social politics moved closer to Imperialism. U.S. imperialism has to come our fiercer. Super powers always contend, but collusion is relative. And such collusion in this case would only be to keep the real Communists from moving to seize state power!

From Philip Agee, a former U.S. CIA agent, author of exposure of CIA operations in book entitled *Inside the Company*.

"In order to preserve U.S. imperialists interests in Portugal, the revolution must be diverted from its current direction. The same tactics that were used by the CIA in Chile to overthrow the progressive Allende government are being used in Portugal. By withholding credits and other assistance from the bilateral and multilateral commercial lending institutions great hardships will befall the middle and working classes. Investment credits can be frozen, trading contracts delayed and cancelled, and unemployment increased, while imperialists propaganda will place the blame on worker's demands and the government's weakness rather on deliberate politics of credit retention."

"The CIA is also using the Roman Catholic Church for its ends. Large amounts of money are going from the U.S. to the Catholic Church for combating the revolution in Portugal. The Church's opposition to the worker's control of radio *Renasca* should educate us to the identity of interests between the church and U.S. imperialism."

In spite of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. struggle

for hegemony, revolutionary developments in Portugal are taking place, such as the peasants taking over large land holdings, and taking place, such as the peasants taking over large land holdings, and the continuing demonstrations by the Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat (MRPP) denouncing fascism and social fascism. The MRPP call for popular government and arms for the people. The Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat also denounced the "social fascism" of the Portuguese Communist Party. This organization working clearly in the interests of the working masses, open calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat, was banned from participating in the elections by the AFM, showing that even though the National Bourgeoisie might resist control by either of the super powers, they fear socialism more.

In Portugal, there are nine Marxist-Leninist groups, of which we will list three of the most important: Portuguese Communist Party - ML (organ *Unidade Popular*), Communist Party of Portugal - ML (organ *A Verdade*) and The Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat (organ *Luta Popular*). All of the genuine forces in Portugal must be on guard and vigilant against the revisionist Portuguese Communist Party and its supporters in the Armed Forces Movement who are trying to bring fascism back to Portugal and to re-establish colonial rule in Angola.

Crisis In India!

In June this year news broke out from India about arrests of some 676 people described by the Western press as political opponents of India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The President of India, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed decreed a state of emergency after Mrs. Chandi announced on the radio that the government had to suppress a "deep and widespread conspiracy against the very functioning of democracy in India. What Indian Government controlled radio called the "threat of internal disturbances" is actually the Indian masses fighting and rebelling against the present heightening of political repression, and against the decades of economic exploitation and deprivation - first under British imperialism, now under neo-colonialism and Superpower imperialism.

In March 1971, Indira Gandhi, daughter of former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, campaigned vigorously on the slogan, "Abolish poverty", winning by over 100,000 over her main opponent for Parliament Raj Narain and regaining her seat as Prime Minister, while the majority of seats for Parliament were won by the Congress Party (headed by Mrs. Gandhi). But in May that same year, 1971, Parliament re-enacted the preventive detention laws - "Maintenance of Internal Security Act" which allows governments to arrest people "suspected of an offence" even before the offence is committed.

Lenin Against Economism

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside of the economic struggle, from outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between *all* the classes and strata and the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between *all* the classes. For that reason, the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers can-

This act was used to make arrests of Indian politicians who hold office and oppose the Ghandi government policies, but more importantly, to arrest 100's - 1,000's of local leaders, revolutionaries and Indian workers and masses who have been resisting this fascist political repression and economic exploitation.

Superpower imperialism collaborates with the neocolonial government to super-exploit the entire country of India. USSR agreements with India require the Indian government to use loan money to pay for USSR equipment and USSR technical experts - over 40% of India's expenditures for technical advice goes to the Soviet Union. Soviet arms sales

do not include any aid for Indian production of arms, just dependency on USSR arms. In sales of goods, i.e. cotton, India lost \$2.5 million by paying USSR highly inflated prices and having to resell to the Soviet Union at prices lower than regular market price. Soviet loans to India have caused the Indian government to pay back higher amounts in short periods - a loan from USSR in 1971-72 for \$242.5 million required repayment of \$437.5 million. The Soviet Union also invests in India's private monopolies.

On the other side, sucking superprofits from the exploitation of the Indian masses is U.S. imperialism supporting and investing in India's

(Continued on page 7)

not be merely the answer with which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers especially those inclined towards Economism, mostly content themselves, namely: "The go among the workers." To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must dispatch units of their army in all directions."

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Pres. Kaunda of Zambia with Prime Minister Vorster of racist "South Afrika" strange bedfellows, especially since Kaunda claims he stands for Afrikan Liberation! The two were in Zimbabwe trying futilely to push for Afrikan "Detente," which is when Imperialism says "You niggers be cool while we exploit you". Detente put forth the illusion that liberation can be negotiated. But negotiations should be based on people's war which goes on negotiations or not. Armed struggle brings Liberation, all else brings Neo Colonialism.

Conspiracy Against Zanu

Ndabingi Sithole, president of ZANU has called for a resumption of more intense liberation war to free Zimbabwe from racist white rule of colonialism. ZANU the leading liberation movement in Zimbabwe is expected to intensify the struggle despite efforts by the Superpowers & neo-colonialists Bishop Muzorewa heading up Afrikan National Council, Joshua Nkomo from the ZAPU, & arch neo-colonialist Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia to suppress & exterminate ZANU.

In August, the deal between white racist colonialists & Southern Afrika's neocolonialist contingent - came to fruition. And just as had been predicted by ZANU, the meeting called "Stinkwood" overlooking Victoria

Falls on the border of Zimbabwe & Zambia, accomplished nothing except to prove that Smith (or Vorster) will not peacefully relinquish their bloody grip of Afrika! Furthermore, they will scheme, lie, murder to keep hold as long as they are allowed. The scheme to call a meeting between the forces also solidified another agreement - to off ZANU so Smith & even ANC's Muzorewa so ZAPU's Nkomo could reach some mutually beneficial agreement. But no such agreement could be accorded. Even John Vorster, white racist prime minister from apartheid south afrika and Kenneth Kaunda, co-conspirator, could not make the agreement.

The attack upon ZANU by the Super-

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MOTION!!



Recently, Deputy Prime Ministers of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, Khieu Samphan (also Commander in Chief of the Peoples Armed Forces of National Liberation) and Ieng Sary, traveled to the U.S. and held talks outlining the heroic Cambodian people's struggle for national liberation and socialism against U.S. imperialism. The Cambodian delegation described the great progress made toward making Cambodia a socialist nation through the consolidation of revolutionary political power, rehabilitating the economy and vigilance against attempts like the Mayaguez incident, of U.S. imperialism and its lackies to raise its head in Cambodia.

Superpower attempts at "Detente" in Afrika Fail. Through the machinations of Vorster of South Afrika & Kaunda of Zambia, with the Superpowers manipulating in the background, Ian Smith, leader of the racist minority regime in Rhodesia and the ANC (Afrikan National Council) were forced together in another attempt at detente - really meaning "Peaceful transition" to neocolonialism. Detente would mean that white minority colonial rule would be maintained in Rhodesia as long as possible, then a slow peaceful transition to supposedly Black rule, but actually there would be no real self-determination for the Zimbabwe people, one of the superpowers would still be in control of Rhodesia. But it is obvious that the people will not accept detente. They want immediate majority rule. Armed struggle is being waged in Zimbabwe led by ZANU (Zimbabwe Afrikan National Union) led by Ndabingi Sithole. The detente talks failed because Ian Smith refused to grant amnesty to Afrikan leaders if they came to Rhodesia to participate in the talks, but also because the dinosaur brain bomb of imperialism, racist colonialism, stoutly demands that it be killed & made extinct. It will not be calmed & slink away because of negotiations, it must be killed, by people's war.

Mozambique Toward Socialist Revolution. The new capital of newly independent Mozambique is now Can Phumo. Mozambique is already on the road to constructing a progressive, Socialist society. The name change is part of an Afrikanization campaign designed to remove all traces of colonialism & imperialism in the country. Phumo was an Afrikan chief who

settled in Mozambique in the 16th century. Also the streets named after Portuguese settlers & statues have been removed & taken down. President Samora Machel had declared Mozambique "a people's democratic state in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of workers & peasants are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the last vestige of colonialism and imperialist dependence, to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man; and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural social & administrative base of the new society."

perimental Theatre, and (BPC) Black Community Program, because they supposedly violated the Terrorism Act & Riotous Assemblies Act. The masses of people showed their solidarity by jamming the courts, surrounding the prisoners & taking a militant stand against the police. The actual charge against them "discouraging hampering, deterring, and preventing foreign investment in the Republic's economy" meaning they were jailed for struggling against imperialism.

Also in Namibia, South Afrikan police arrested 7 officials of SWAPO (South West Afrikan People's Organization) which stands for quick and full unitary independence, as suspects in the killing of Chief Fileman Elifus, considered by the people to be a lackey of the South Afrikan government.

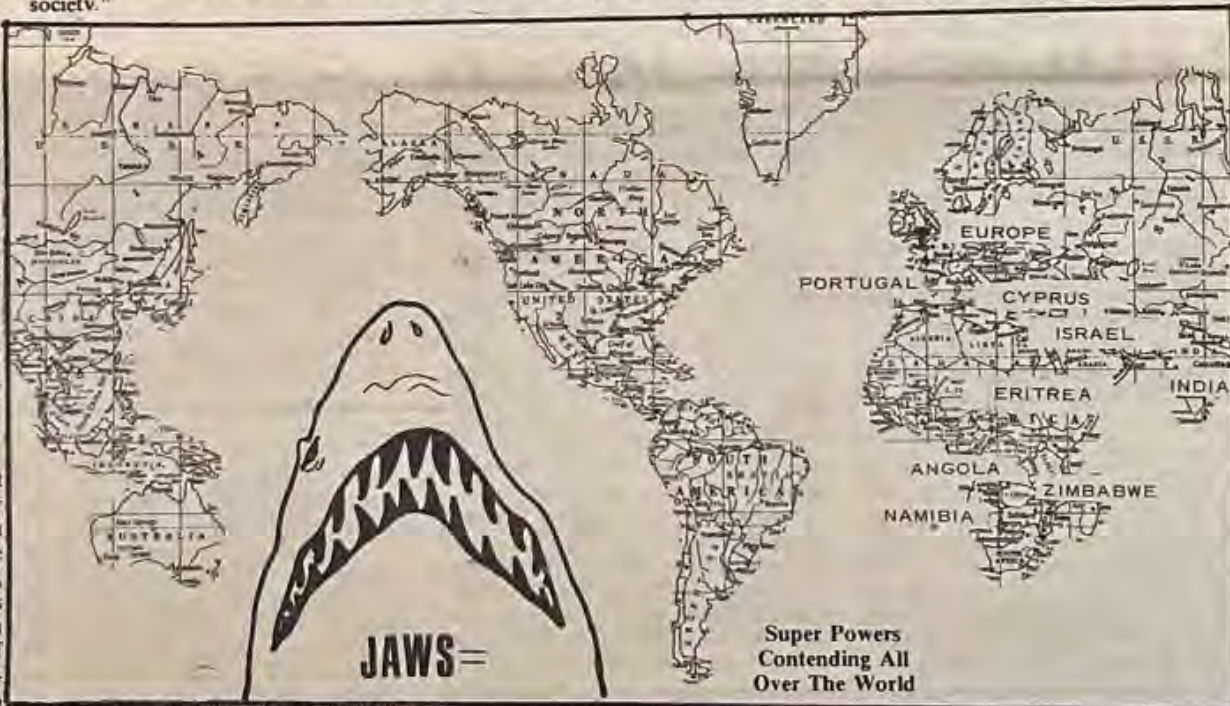
Meeting of 80 Non-aligned Nations backs off proposal to oust Israel from UN. Attempts to get meeting of 80 non-aligned nations in Lima, Peru to pass resolution calling for ouster of Israel from United Nations failed, because of manipulation of Superpowers in the background, who were able to get Egypt, Yugoslavia and some Afrikan nations to tone down the document so that it ended up being a vague resolution calling for the United Nations to increase pressure and Israel to withdraw from occupied territories. No concrete plan of action was outlined. Palestine Liberation Org. Syria, Iraq, and other countries lead the struggle for a demand for Israel's ouster.

Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries. Capitalist countries are being hit hard by current economic crisis, unemployment has reached peak levels as the imperialists in their efforts to maintain maximum profit shift the weight of the crisis onto the laboring masses. Latest figures released by Inter-

national Labor Office show some of the highest unemployment rates to be in United States, Canada, Japan, Australia as totalling 15 million - twice the figure two years ago. The two top hit countries are U.S. & Japan. Japan's unemployment rate increased 40% from last year; and the official U.S. rate is at 9.2%, but it is really near 13% including workers who have stopped looking for jobs and those who work part time but only because they can't work fulltime.

The Laos Patriotic Front, having ousted the rightist elements from the government has set up new organs of political power in the provinces. Ways to strengthen the People's political power, promote production, suppress counter-revolutionaries and ensure the democratic rights of the people have been instituted. Study classes are run for military & civilian personnel who were formerly on the reactionary side to help them understand the new situation in Laos and the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. Imperialism Forces UN to Nix Resolution on Puerto Rican Independence. Intense pressure by US Imperialism & its lackies caused UN Decolonization Committee to put of consideration of resolution to recognize "the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico as representing the legitimate aspirations of the Puerto Rican people struggling for independence." The resolution would have also called on U.S. to abstain "from any act of political persecution" against people or groups engaged in the fight for liberation, & for a fact finding committee to visit Puerto Rico. If a fact finding commission visits Puerto Rico, they will find the oppressive & exploitive conditions the people are forced to live under. Already the U.S. has increased repression of the Puerto Rican people while reaping vast profits.



Repression of Afrikans in South Afrika Continues. At least 27 Afrikans are still being held in South Afrikan jails because of their participation in Pro-Frelimo Rally, when police used dogs to disperse a peaceful crowd of 2000 people. But actually racist minority regime used this as a pretext to attack organizations promoting Black culture such as (SASO) South Afrikan Students Organization, (BPC) Black People's Convention, (BAWU) Black Allied Workers Union, (TECON) Theatre Council of Natal, (PET) Peoples Ex-

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ECONOMIC CRISIS:

NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY
MEETING & TWO TACTICS FOR
BLACK LIBERATION

Several conflicting reports have appeared on the National Black Assembly Economic Conference and NBA meeting held August 1, 2, and 3rd, but the fundamental truths about the NBA and the Black Liberation struggle as a whole cannot be understood unless we look closely & not superficially at the struggle that took place in Atlanta, Ga., as the Struggle between two tactics and lines of conduct, reflecting the classes in the Black Nation vying for the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement in

revolution, and not based on any mystic metaphysical philosophy, dealing outside of time and space, an economic philosophy that does not realize that this is the era of monopoly capitalism. Any new national bourgeoisie is objectively limited and stunted by the cold fact of national oppression by the imperialists. Especially, under the current depression which is undermining the weak black national bourgeoisie, and at the same time forcing the black working class, which



Where The Money Goes:
this time of crisis. We are in the crisis of imperialism, the period of capitalism on its deathbed, where the victories of the wars of national liberation have struck decisive blows against imperialism and thus as Lenin predicted, there is a crisis in capitalism today. This economic and political crisis in U.S. imperialism is settling into motion & dislodging class forces throughout the world, and particularly in the Black Nation in the U.S. the crisis compels the emerging classes to work out their respective tactics. What class and what tactics & line of conduct will emerge to lead the Black Nation toward its final emancipation. What is to Be Done? These are the questions struggled around at the Economic conference in Atlanta, Ga.

The Nation of Islam represented one wing of the emerging Black National Bourgeoisie, and they elaborated the tactics they believe should lead black people today by essentially emphasizing Black Capitalism, and urging everyone to unite under the leadership of the Nation of Islam because in their view the Nation of Islam has the only correct program for the Black Nation.

The Congress of Afrikan People's Chairman, Amiri Baraka presented the tactics and line of conduct of the black working class by stressing the importance of a black united front against racism & capitalism, a united front that will fight against our national oppression, one dedicated to Black Liberation. The tactics of the working class are based on the science of

grows larger and larger, into the objective position to lead the black liberation struggle once it works out the correct strategy & tactics to lead the Black Nation to liberation. Both the Black Bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie have a dual character, and national oppression makes sectors of them both potential allies though more and more the Black bourgeoisie is comprador* in character. We must unite with the progressive sector of the black petit bourgeois, influence the middle sector and relentlessly expose and attack the reactionary sector which serves imperialism against black liberation.

The tactic that was adopted by the NBA, and the Economic Conference further endorsed this tactic, is called the '76 Strategy that seeks to draw together the broadest Popular Front of oppressed people in the U.S. together in an anti-democrat, anti-republican, anti-depression, anti-repression electoral movement. Strategically we must attack & isolate the democrats, republicans, all intermediate lackey forces, corrupt union elements and the fake communists, who are now in control of any mass working class movement that exists, because it is their job to keep the workers movement and the movement of oppressed nationalities reform oriented, economist oriented and bourgeoisified and manageable. And in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for political power in 1976, the NBA and the National Coordinating Committee for a '76 strategy are working to put

Unity & Struggle

together a national campaign running a presidential & vice-presidential cabinet and it didate along with peoples' cabinet and it host of local slates to oppose the right wing move of the bourgeois parties that will give us a choice between Ford & Rockefeller and Scoop Jackson & George Wallace. With the crisis in capitalism getting deeper & deeper and the threat of a world war between the Superpowers, our task for black liberation & socialist revolution is to unite the whole multinational working class and the oppressed nationalities, as to the strategic leadership necessary to smash the bourgeois state, by delivering the death blow to racism and capitalism.

The National Black Assembly is a

Stop Killer Cops Detroit Still Hot - 8 Years Later Rebellion and Repression in Detroit

PART 2

Wednesday morning, CAP and RNA were in the community organizing for the meeting that night and the demonstration the next day. As usual the opportunist and chauvinists came tailing the Black Liberation Movement, and trying to use black people. (The Progressive Labor Party has been run out of the community on Tuesday when they sent some of their white cadre out to sell their newspaper the Challenge). The PLP returned Wednesday (all black this time) calling for a demonstration of Black and White for 6:00 that night. When they heard of the CAP called demonstration they said they would mix theirs and help organize ours implying that they wanted a leading role. We said, No Deal. The trots (SWP in the guise of the Student Committee against Racism)

called for a picket line downtown on Thursday at police HQ. The PLP wound up supporting that demonstration and encouraging people to go. Nobody from the community went.

At the CAP and RNA called meeting Wednesday, dozens of community people came, including members of Obie Wynn's family. Also in attendance, of course were members of many other organizations. From the Nationalist to the Trots, RU, CLP. There was still a noticeable absence of the communist forces. There was good and lively discussion with tremendous input from the community.

The meeting was interrupted when the sellouts came walking in again. This

(Continued on page 7)

"H. Rap Brown:" Concept of Government's Tolerance

PART 2 BY CINQUE RUCHELL MAGEE

Defects in Rap's Conviction

The news media (press) tried to throw off the people's attention from the fact that the government prosecuted Rap in Excess of Jurisdiction, on every charge.

There was many tricks in dropping some of the charges, but justice is nowhere to be found! Any known government that cheats its country of knowledge of its own members crimes is corrupt. Being corrupt, it lacks absolute jurisdiction to force acts upon society and double its force (crimes) by prosecuting the victims for having and demonstrating faith in progress and change with revolutionary action.

This tyranny government clique transforms the traditional presumption of innocence into its presumption of guilt with words - then trap their victims in with the burden of disproof for the mainforned jury to hear and weigh the joke they translated into evidence.

Where the President is Chief conspirator in the judicial class slavery the people have no alternative (while this emergence is in effect) but to manufacture "Rap" Brown revolutionists to apprehend and by support stop these nit wit clowns masquerading as law enforcement - Take back everything they have stolen and give back to the people.

The only possible charge that Rap could be guilty of is that his interests were overwhelmingly in humanity

and/or the physical improvement of life. The evidence didn't come out in Rap's trial, because the government suppressed it upon presenting its lies and deceitful unequal (treacherous) portion! There was other comrades tried along with Rap, whose names the press made invisible.

Why did the press make it the Rap Brown case?

How many charges did the government drop against the other comrades, since their names did not seem to mean too much? Did their attorney appeal for them, and if so, why are they forgotten publicity? Didn't their plea of not guilty have any significance? Did they know the illegal shape of the racism around them by a government and its lap-dogs out to lynch them and Rap? Knowledge short of an injustice is crime in this capitalist country any way one looks at it straight!

All these progressive forces know where Rap is at, mental and physical. Many have adopted his progressive ideas and approach. That's what we must use to free him!

Remember, without Rap and comrades like him we ain't ourselves in the people's movement. Rap is a big part of us. His consciousness is our direction. Straight ahead!

Free Rap Brown! Pass on the Torch!
Brother Cinque Ruchell

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION

(Continued from page 1)

where the Negroes form a majority of the population."

The struggle for Black Liberation - the National Revolutionary Movement of Blacks for complete emancipation must be led by the growing and developing Black proletariat. The black proletariat is the class that is growing and gaining strength, and even though, in 1928 the majority of Blacks were still on the land (peasants) the Black industrial proletariat was growing and developing.

In its resolution of 1928 the ComIntern, shows the importance of proletarian leadership for the national revolutionary movement of Blacks.

"The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working class population in the big cities of the East and North and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, create the possibility for the negro workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to assume the hegemony of all Negro liberation movements, and to increase their importance and role in the revolutionary struggle of the American proletariat."

"The Negro working class has reached a stage of development which enables it, if properly organized and well led, to fulfill successfully its double historical mission: (a) to play a considerable role in the class struggle against American imperialism as an important part of the American working class; and (b) to lead the movement of the oppressed masses of the Negro population."

In the struggle for Black Liberation, which must be a national revolutionary movement led by the Black proletariat in alliance with other democratic classes, we must also view our struggle as part of the world struggle against imperialism in general. But, specifically we must see our struggle as part of the struggle to destroy American Monopoly Capitalism. With that view in mind we must analyze and understand our strategic position in alliance with the U.S. proletariat, in terms of contributing to the revolutionary struggle of the multi-national working class against capitalists exploitation. The ComIntern writes: "The great majority of Negroes in the rural districts of the South are not 'reserves of capitalists reaction', but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat. Their objective position facilitates their transformation into a revolutionary force, which, under the leadership of the proletariat, will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against capitalist exploitation."

The Black liberation struggle in the U.S. has to be tied to the worldwide struggle against imperialism in the general sense, but it must along with that, be tied in a particular sense to the

struggles of Black people throughout the world and particularly Afrika. The attempt to liquidate the special relationship that Black people here have to black people throughout the world, is not to understand even the history of the development of the Black Nation here, and to lay the foundation for the liquidation of the Black Nation based on this faulty understanding of its history. Blacks in the U.S. certainly have a special relationship to Afrika. Even though we have our own particular history etc. here in the U.S.

The ComIntern states: "The Negro question in the U.S. must be treated in its relation to the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world. The Negro Race everywhere is an oppressed race. Whether it is a minority (U.S.A. etc.) majority (South Afrika) or inhabits a so called independent state (Liberia etc.), the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism. Thus a common tie of interest is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the negroes in various parts of the world. A Strong Negro revolutionary movement in the USA will be able to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism."

The Communist International Resolution of 1928 gives us the following analysis:

1. There does exist a Black Nation in the Black Belt south, that is oppressed by U.S. imperialism
2. That this nation has the right to self determination.
3. That the Black masses in other parts of the U.S. are entitled to full democratic rights, as an oppressed nationality.
4. The struggle of blacks must be a national revolutionary struggle led by the Black proletariat.
5. That the Black Liberation Movement is an important ally to the U.S. proletariat and this alliance is important to Socialist Revolution.
6. That the Black Liberation struggle of Blacks in the U.S. is part of the struggle of Blacks worldwide, and their strategic interconnection must be viewed in relation to the worldwide struggle to defeat imperialism.

These are the main points of the 1928 resolution of the Communist International.

Before the triumph of revisionism inside of the Communist Party U.S.A. it stood as the leader and most fearless fighter for the U.S. working class. Part of the reason for this correct leadership stemmed from the fact of it having a correct understanding of the Black National Question in the U.S.

(Continued Next Issue)

Black Womens United Front

To Meet In Atlanta October 25

The second National Assembly Meeting of the Black Women's United Front will convene at noon on October 25th in Atlanta, Georgia. The men and women meeting there will engage in a full day of ideological discussion with the aim of summing-up the principles of unity of the Black Women's United Front.

Anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-capitalism are the principles of unity of the United Front whose definition and meaning will be shaped and clarified during the Assembly session. The sum-up, upon adoption by the body, will give greater understanding to our National position and the responsibility and purpose of the BWUF and serve as a guideline for work and organizing at the local level, as the work of any united front must be guided by its principles of unity.

In sum-up, the members of the BWUF will put forth proposals for National Programs to be adopted and implemented by the total membership. The BWUF was organized in January, 1975 at its historic meeting in Detroit where over 500 women and some men came together to form an organization of women from all sectors of the Black community that would join the struggle of the working class women and the Black Liberation Movement to struggle for self-determination, Democratic Rights - full employment, welfare without abuse, free and public medical care, with an end to forced sterilization,

free and decent housing, free and public quality education and so on, an organization that would fight racism and National Oppression, to fight the triple oppression of Black women-race, sex, and class.

There are presently 26 locals organized in 16 states. We are asking for men and women to join us in Atlanta on October 25th as we struggle to gain clarity and move toward a unified direction for positive action that will add to the overall just struggles of all oppressed and exploited peoples here in the U.S. and around the world, as we move toward "The Abolition of Every Possibility of Oppression and Exploitation" -Lenin

The day will end with a Fund-raiser/Dance with speakers from the Congress of Afrikan People and the October League.

BWUF locals are now securing chartered buses for the trip and holding fundraisers such as the forum in Newark on "Women and Imperialism" September 26, at 13 Belmont Avenue to help reduce the cost of the bus fare, which will enable more men and women to attend.

We urge all Black women to plan now to attend this meeting, to join in with others from across the country to discuss our principles of unity-anti-racism, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, October 25th in Atlanta, Georgia. And we hope you plan to stay for an entertaining and enlightening Fundraiser Dance!

Future Of Afrikan Liberation Support Committee Discussed In D.C. Meeting

General Consensus to continue Afrikan Liberation Support Work

The Afrikan Liberation Support Committee held a crucial national meeting on the weekend of August 16-17th to discuss the future of ALSC, i.e., whether or not ALSC would continue as a national organization in support of Afrikan Liberation. The question of liquidating ALSC was raised by some members of the National Secretariat who put forward the position of the Revolutionary Workers League, composed of former members of YOBU, MalcolmX College, People's College, & Harambee, and this position was that ALSC should not continue. But the majority proposal from Newark ALSC put forward the position that ALSC continue to function as a black united front against imperialism, stressing Afrika, but also general struggle against imperialism.

After giving summations of local ALSC work, the local chapters made proposals for the future of ALSC, many of the locals wanted to continue to support ALSC as a national organization, though there was opposition from RWL and chapters influenced by RWL. All the people still committed to working around the question of Afrika & providing education to the masses of Afro-Americans in the U.S. agreed to set up a continuations committee that will meet in September to decide just how best to continue a black united front in Sup-

port of Afrikan Liberation, if ALSC no longer exists. Atlanta ALSC committed its resources to coordinate these interim meetings on the question of a new structure for Afrikan Liberation support work, along with Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC) and the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) and the next meetings on this will take place in Atlanta, Ga. on September 20-21st, 1975.

In our view the whole tendency of the forces trying to dismantle ALSC, is a tendency to "liquidate Afrika and another aspect of bourgeois ideology and reformism, and an "integrationist" (revisionist) trend to disconnect us from the 3rd world struggles, of which ours is also a part, at the same time being an intrinsically "American" struggle! The majority report of Newark ALSC went on to take the position that, "The militancy of the 3rd World, the cutting edge of revolution and peoples' movement toward socialism, is what is being attempted to be disconnected and we must resist this just as we resisted people telling us we're just like everybody else here. We are and we ain't. We're us. Our history, heritage, culture, politics, and emotions tie us to Afrika in ways not anyone else in the USA is tied there. We have a special relationship to Afrika. And Afrika has a special relationship to

(Continued on page 8)

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PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

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

PART 3

BLACK CAPITALIST ASPIRATIONS

The free black middle class in the North lived in the heartland of northern capitalism. Most of these free blacks believed that only by developing a strong black capitalist economic base could they achieve final liberation. During a meeting in Boston, March 5, 1858, Dr. John S. Rock, a distinguished black physician and lawyer, stated the matter in the following manner:

"...In this country, where money is the great sympathetic nerve which ramifies society, and has a ganglia in every man's pocket, a man is respected in proportion to his success in business. When the avenues to wealth are opened to us, we will then become educated and wealthy, and then the roughest looking colored man that you ever saw, or ever will see, will be pleasanter, than the harmonies of Orpheus, and black will be a very pretty color. It will make our jargon wit-our words, oracles, flattery will then take the place of slander, and you will find no prejudice in the Yankee whatever. We do not expect to occupy a much better position than we now do, until we shall have our educated and wealth men, who can wield a power that can not be misunderstood. Then, and not till then, will the tongue of slander be silenced, and the lip of prejudice sealed. Then, and not till then, will we be able to enjoy true equality which can exist only among peers."

These black capitalist yearnings on the part of the northern black middle

class were very concretely expressed at the many meetings and conventions which took place during the period of 1830 to 1860. The acquisition of capitalist means of production in both industry (workshops) and agriculture and the development of a black working class were specifically advocated. At the State Convention of Ohio Colored Men, held in Cincinnati, November 23-26, 1858, the following resolutions were among those adopted relating to developing a black capitalist base:

"...Resolved (4), That we say to those who would induce us to emigrate to Africa or elsewhere, that the amount of labor and self-sacrifice required to establish a home in a foreign land, would if exercised here, redeem our native land from the grasp of slavery; therefore we are resolved to remain where we are, confident that "truth is mighty and will prevail."

"Resolved (5), That we recommend to our people, in addition to the education they are so generally seeking to give their children, to train them in habits of useful industry.

"Resolved (6), That a combination of labor and Capital will in every field of enterprise, be our true policy. Combination stores of every kind, combination workshops, and combination farms, will, if everywhere established, greatly increase our wealth; and with it our power."

The National Negro Convention of 1853, held in Rochester, New York and attended by 114 delegates, established a detailed black economic program for achieving black capitalism. Among a wide range of measures, they called for the establishment of a "protective union" (sort of a "buy black" outfit), and a "Registry of Colored Mechanics, Artisans and Businessmen" to advance their black capitalist aspirations. Below are few excerpts from the convention documents:

"...Article 4 —The Committee on Protective Union shall institute a Protective Union for the purchase and sale of articles of domestic consumption, and shall unite and aid in the formation of branches auxiliary to their own.

"Article 5—The Committee on Business Relations, shall establish an office, in which they shall keep a registry of colored mechanics, artisans and business men throughout the Union. They shall keep a registry of all persons willing to employ colored men in business, to teach colored boys mechanical trades, liberal and scientific



John S. Rock—Black physician & lawyer, a part of the "free" Black middle class in the North, who advocated Blacks acquiring the means of production & developing a black capitalist economic base. But the so-called "free" Blacks were also held outside & on the very bottom of the system of capitalism—by national oppression as well as economic exploitation. But such Black capitalist aspirations were one ideology sounded at the many meetings & Black conventions which took place during the period of 1830-1860.

profession, and farming; and, also, a registry of colored and youth seeking employment or instruction. They also shall report upon any avenues of business or trade which they deem inviting to colored capital, skill or labor. Their reports and advertisements to be in papers of the widest circulation. They shall receive for sale or exhibition, products of the skill and labor of colored people...

"...the following branches of industry: general smithing, turning, wheel-wrighting and cabinetmaking; and a general work-shop in which may be combined such application of skill in wood, iron, and other material as to produce a variety of salable articles, with suitable buildings and machinery for producing the same. These superintended by competent workmen, under pay precisely as other teachers, would give students a foundation for after self-support in life, and break down the distinctions that never ought to exist between the study and the workshop. The above industrial pursuits are named, not because other more desirable perhaps, or more difficult to secure, might not have had a place given them in this imperfect report; but, because it seemed wise to choose some which are primary to most others in general usefulness, and at the same time, such as whose products have an extensive marketable demand. In establishing work-shops, it must be remembered that the introducing of any large part of the very useful or lucrative branches is an utter impossibility. All that can be aimed at in the beginning, is to elevate labor to its own true standard—vindicate the laws of physical health, and at the same time, as a repaying benefit, make the work done as intrinsic and profitable..."

During the entire course of slavery in America, the free black middle class had been systematically excluded from the acquisition of capitalist means of production in industry and agriculture. Moreover, they had never been "integrated" into the fabric of northern capitalism. But, living in the midst of a white northern capitalist environment, they observed that under capitalism only those who had wealth and power could command their own destinies. The white American captains of industry and agriculture ruled the day and held command over the nation. The whites who lived within this capitalist arena enjoyed varying degrees of bourgeois democracy, depending upon what class they belonged to, while the national oppression, had neither

capitalist means of production, nor wealth, nor national power, nor any of the benefits of the bourgeois democracy. It is not difficult then to understand why the black middle class aspired to black capitalism.

Capitalism requires the concentration of a mass army of free wage-laborers. The black middle class could not hope to fulfill their black capitalist aspirations while slavery and the Mason-Dixon line separated them from their potential source of black labor power. Also, the existence of slavery cramped their style in another way. In order to safeguard the enslavement of 90 per cent of the black population, the slaveholders and their northern capitalist allies had to reduce the remaining 10 per cent, who were nominally free, to a status of free slaves.

How could the oppressor in one instance make the free black man a citizen with full economic, social and political equality and, on the other hand, expect to maintain the vast majority of black men in a brutal, abject state of bond slavery? The mere existence of free blacks, even though they were no better than free slaves, was antagonistic and contradictory to slavery. That the black middle class was amply aware of this contradiction is demonstrated in the following excerpts from the Convention Address of the National Negro Convention, held in Rochester, New York, 1853:

"...Now, what is the motive for ignoring and discouraging our improvement in this country? The answer is ready. The intelligent and upright free man of color is an unanswerable argument in favor of liberty, and a killing condemnation of American slavery. It is easily seen that, in proportion to the progress of the free man of color in knowledge, temperance, industry, and righteousness, in just that proportion will be endanger the stability of slavery; hence, all the powers of slavery are exerted to prevent the elevation of the free people of color.

The force of fifteen hundred million dollars is arrayed against us; hence, the press, the pulpit, and the platform, against all the natural promptings of upcontaminated manhood, point their deadly missiles of ridicule, scorn and contempt at us, on pain of being pierced through and through, to remain in our degradation.

"Let the same amount of money be employed against the interest of any other class of persons, however favored by nature they may be, the result could scarcely be different from that seen in our own case. Such a people would be regarded with aversion; the moneyruled multitude would heap contumely upon them; and money-ruled institutions would proscribe them. Besides this money consideration, fellow-citizens, an explanation of the erroneous opinions prevalent concerning us is furnished in the fact, less creditable to human nature, that men are apt to hate most those whom they injure most. Having despised us, it is not strange that Americans should seek to render us despicable; having enslaved us, it is natural that they should strive to prove us unfit for freedom; having denounced us as indolent, it is not strange they should cripple our enterprise; having assumed our inferiority, it would be extraordinary if they sought to surround us with circumstances which would serve to make us direct contradictions to their assumption."

(to be continued next issue)

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Detroit Still Hot



Despite the repression and brutality of the police and attempts to cool out the masses by shuffling lackies of the ruling class like Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, the masses are still hot over the murder of Obie Wynn and will continue to organize and struggle against racism and fascist repression until both along with the entire system of exploitation and oppression - capitalism - is smashed and replaced by socialism. The hit men for the ruling class, special bands of armed men, the police, are shown above rampaging through the Black community.

(Continued from page 4)

time to try and convince us to call off the demonstration. They again got up 1 by 1 and tried to tell people to be cool, and to have faith in the city administration, and again 1 by 1 they were shouted down and called sellouts.

After the meeting Wednesday we again returned to the street to organize for the demonstration Thursday. Many of the people out distributing leaflets reported to us that they had been told that if they were caught passing our leaflets out they would be arrested. The leaflets continued to be distributed, sometimes secretly.

Thursday morning the demonstration

began at 12:00 noon. We marched to the police station demanding the following:

1. Andrew Chinarian be held in jail without bond on a charge of 1st degree murder. (Originally Chinarian was released with no bond, then he was rearrested and released on \$500 bond, then rearrested and released on 25,000.00 bond.)

2. That the police immediately stop the teargassing of the black community.

3. That the police withdraw the estimated 800-900 cops in the community.

The demonstration drew about 200 people, most of them from the community. There was also a host of op-

portunists and agents, present, (from several different trot groups to Revolutionary Union, Workers Congress and some opportunist ex-CAP members) showing up on the scene with no line other than tail the Black Liberation Movement. (Except the Revolutionary Union (RU), who issued a leaflet calling the working class black youth who were in the rebellion, petty criminals.) Again, a noticeable absence of the communist forces.

The demonstration itself was a success although it could have been stronger. It was successful because it caused the lackies and sellouts to show their hand. The day of the march, Negro journalist Jim Ingram (one of the ex-militants now on city payroll), made a radio broadcast praising the efforts of the sellouts and putting down the Congress of Afrikan People and the demonstration. Another ex-militant turned mayor's aide came up to the CAP and RNA comrades right before the demonstration asking us to meet with the mayor.

At the meeting, Coleman Young was questioned intensely as there was a consistent question of "what are you going to do about all of these problems?" His only consistent response to the people's legitimate demands was to make unfunny jokes about nothing, that only served to show us all clearer that he was really a clown who could not meet our needs. That meeting and the entire week showed clearer to hundreds of black people, that our problems could not be solved in this system, or by the lackies of this system. Our problems demand a revolutionary solution. A solution that will give us power to control our lives. Self-Determination and Socialism.

Friday, CAP called for another community meeting. At this meeting we again advanced the need to organize and not just let the issue drop. CAP and RNA suggested that we form a community based organization to insure that the fight for justice for OBIE WYNN and the Black community goes on. We formed, BLACK PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE! And right now the committee is organizing city wide on a daily basis to get JUSTICE FOR OBIE WYNN and JUSTICE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY! ! !

The experience of the recent rebellion in Detroit taught us;

1. The contradictions in the capitalist system are intensifying daily, and the

lackies of the ruling class cannot hide that fact, or stop the enraged masses.

2. Spontaneous rebellion will not win. Organization and revolutionary theory are the keys to successful struggle.

3. Many of the communist forces who failed to take an active role during the rebellion, and chose instead not even to show up, need to do some serious self-criticism, and discuss their seriousness about revolution. Defeat the extreme opportunism and sectarianism that would make you withdraw from the masses in the middle of head-on struggle with the state.

4. Opportunists, Chauvinists, agents and traitors are daily attempting to confuse the masses and wreck the movement. They must be fought at every turn, fiercely.

5. The main blow of the revolutionary movement must be aimed directly at the immediate lackie and sellout group, on the right and the left. Expose them through and through.

6. The Black Liberation Movement needs theoretical strengthening so as to be able to offer dynamic leadership to the masses of black people. **BLACK LIBERATION IS A STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOCIALISM!**

THE BLACK COMMUNITY DEMANDS JUSTICE! ! !

FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE! ! !

EXPOSE THE LACKIES AND SELLOUTS AS ENEMIES OF OUR PEOPLE! ! !

DEFEAT OPPORTUNISM, CHAUVINISM-RACISM, AND ALL FORMS OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY! ! !

VICTORY TO BLACK PEOPLE! ! !

VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE! ! !

Murder In Wilmington

(Continued from page 1)

sitate being spoken to. The most important of these was the demonstration/boycott that was planned by the Black community for August 11 at the downtown Mall, and the events leading up to this. It was during and after this incident that the Wilmington Police Department again revealed its true fascist nature by attacking peaceful demonstrators, arresting several people, including Rahsaan, chairman of the Wilmington Congress of Afrikan People on trumped-up charges of "disorderly conduct and inciting to riot".

At approximately 11:45 a.m. August 11 a mass rally was held at Rodney Square to plan strategy and tactics for the demonstration/boycott. And prior to this rally, the only question was: how this was to be done, since the majority of the people who had been involved with continuing activities around the shooting had already agreed to this at a mass meeting the day before. Strangely enough though, some of our "community leaders" (opportunists of the lowest variety) who had previously supported the 'mall' decision vehemently opposed it at Rodney Square. Herman Holloway Jr. and Madison Evans, for instance, both of whom had taken no real active role in any of the demonstrations or meetings up to this point, crawled out of the walls to attempt to sway the people away from the mall decision. But in spite of this, and numerous other vacillations, the people decided to go to the mall. We had decided to 1. block the mall 2. discourage potential shoppers 3. obtain signatures on a petition that had been written up, demanding a meeting with the Governor.

By the time the orderly procession approached the top of the mall on 10th and Market we were stopped by about

50 police, standing and mounted. Folks were surprised by the excessive number of police plus those of the SWAT-type sternly lined-up across the mall entrance, obviously ready to pounce on a group of peaceful demonstrators and prevent us from exercising our democratic rights. The people decided to stop and remain gathered at this entrance, while another group was sent to the other entrance at 6th and Market.

At 2:30 the police seemingly relaxed their guard, allowing the 10th and Market group to proceed down the mall. The 6th and Market group moved up to merge with this group on 8th and Market. Subsequently, the entire group of about 200 folks proceeded up to the 10th, then back down to 8th. When we attempted to return to 10th again the police moved in to prevent this action. At this point it was decided by the people to march to Bailey's house, through the city. Meanwhile, the police were actually provoking the crowd by moving their horses towards the demonstrators; one brother being struck on the foot by a hoof. The next thing we witnessed was Chief Mc Cool throwing his hands into the air and teargas being shot into our faces. All hell broke loose as folks ran trying to escape this vicious cold, blooded attack. One brother was knocked unconscious, a sister was struck in the eye by a nightstick, other people were knocked down and beaten; all the while these blood-thirsty killer cops were laughing gleefully. The attack ceased only after they had chased us back to the Westside Black community. At this point CAP and other comrades moved to disperse the people, essentially because we wanted to avoid a confrontation that we were unprepared for and to avoid being cordoned off by the police.

(Continued on page 11)

India

(Continued from page 2)

government in a cheaper, more secure form of exploitation than having to share the superprofits with a private comprador Indian bourgeoisie.

This situation is the cause of the rising of the Indian masses and Indira Ghandi's move towards fascism - a reaction characteristic of a dying capitalist class pushed by its most reactionary elements in desperation to maintain power. The revisionist Communist Party of India is collaborating, and some of its members have been the most outspoken defenders of the recent Ghandi policies. The corruption of the government is also real, another manifestation of capitalism on its deathbed, along with the mass misery and starvation caused by Imperialist exploitation. Organized resistance is spreading through India with huge demonstrations of over 100,000 people in Gujarat, Tamilnad, Bihar and New Delhi, including armed struggles with the Indian government military. There is also a Communist Party of genuine Marxist-Leninists in India whose forces are organizing the people with revolutionary theory - political education and leading armed struggle - uniting the people to make revolution. There is no force that can stop that which is coming into being from struggling with and replacing that which is dying and going out of being, and the Indian masses will continue to organize in revolutionary struggle against Imperialism, Social Imperialism and fascist rule.

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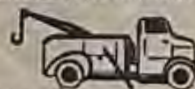
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QUESTION: What will you do in the 1976 presidential election if you have to vote for Ford, Wallace or Jackson?

Jack Ponce, N.Y., N.Y.: Well, I don't think I could vote for any one of these guys. I know Wallace & the other guy, don't know this Jackson fellow, but I guess I would have to look for an independent candidate that would help black people - he would have to help Black folks before I would vote for him for president.



Ted Jones, Long Island, New York: I vote in every election, and I look for a candidate that will serve Black people - I don't want no one who will make it harder to live, or who will raise the taxes for us Black people & just little people in general, who will make it so we can't pay our mortgages. I got a family to take care of and children. I can't vote for any irresponsible person. Them guys, Ford & Wallace are racists. Don't know this Jackson guy, I'll have to check him out.



Belinda Bobo, Detroit: I wouldn't vote. Because they would put in who they wanted anyway.



ALSC

(Continued from page 3)

Imperialism since a good part of its primitive accumulation was built on trade in Afrikan slaves, one aspect of its ideology, racism, comes as a direct result of its turning Afrikans into commodities, in fact one cultural cornerstone of capitalist western ideology is racism. In fact, the 1928 Comintern resolution on the national question in the U.S. stated, "The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world. The Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race. Whether it is a minority (U.S.A., etc.), a majority (South Africa) or inhabits a so-called independent state (Liberia, etc.), the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism. Thus a common national liberation from imperialist

domination of the Negroes in various parts of the world. A strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. will be able to influence...the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism."

This tendency is linked further to the economist tendency to belittle the role of political work and revolutionary organization (and this is especially observable with some people who think going to the workplace is the totality of communist work), because it would be difficult for any of us to understand why any group would propose to liquidate a national organization that give political education around the question of Afrikan Liberation and the anti-imperialist struggles in general, and at the very same time it knows that its task as the communist is to teach Marxism in the era when colonies, neo-colonies, and semi-colonies are rising up against imperialism and its lackeys. In light of the fact that Stalin stresses in The Foundations of Leninism, "the victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front" (page 77), our task as Marxist-Leninists is to form & consolidate fronts like the ALSC, especially on imperialism's next main battleground, Afrika. This is the kind of black united front that all our people patriotic to the cause of Afrikan Liberation could involve themselves in. But especially, communists who ought to understand that work around Afrikan Liberation is not supplementary political work, but as Stalin in Foundations of Leninism pointed out to us, these wars of national liberation "cannot help but lead to the crisis of world

capitalism" (Ibid.). So it is a dialectical relationship that must be understood by the vanguard and taught as a science to the masses.

For the revolutionaries who are in the united front, they understand that it is their responsibility to build the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of our people, and this task cannot be accomplished without injecting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought directly into our liberation struggle. Not to teach the fundamental laws of imperialism to the masses, shows that this political tendency has a very different view than Marx, Lenin & Mao Tse Tung on what it means to train the masses in preparation for revolution. Scientific Socialism must be brought from without by the vanguard party and taught to the masses. Otherwise, we would be bowing to spontaneity, which is not the road to our liberation. We must struggle against this bourgeois ideology and reformism and build a fighting black united front that perseveres over long periods of time & lead people in the fight in support of Afrikan Liberation and anti-imperialist struggles in general. Meanwhile on the continent, armed struggle is still raging, as the main force fighting against colonialism and imperialism especially against the two super powers (US & USSR), and by liquidating the support of these struggles, objectively you are giving support to imperialism.

Those Forces truly fighting for the liberation of Angola will make A United Front against the two super-powers!

Zanu

(Continued from page 2)

powers-U.S. & U.S.S.R. has been world wide. In Afrika starting in March, events point out the collusion between the two- Field Commander Herbert Chitepo was murdered by Rhodesian agents, at his funeral 50 members of ZANU Supreme Council (the leadership) were arrested and still remain arrested undergoing various forms of torture; the next day ZANU camps were raided by Zambian army and 1,400 ZANU freedom fighters were detained. In April 3 leaders who escaped the original imprisonment were arrested & charged with organizing for ZANU. In June, 13 ZANU supporters were killed while peacefully protesting a decision to hold the ANC Congress without the leadership of ZANU, ANC, or FROLIZI. In July, 2 leaders of ZANU were poisoned while in a Salisbury airport, and later in July, 2 ZANU representatives were killed by a bomb in Botswana. In the U.S., ZANU representatives Tapson Mawere and Synos Mangazva went to trial in Delaware over the June 7 incident where they were attacked & brutalized by plainclothes cops & thrown into prison. Both had

several charges against them including resisting arrest, assault on a policeman, interfering with an arrest, and disorderly conduct was thrown out July 11. The courts found Mawere not guilty & Mangazva guilty of interfering with a police officer. The racism in American judiciary would have dealt much more serious blows had they been able to. But they did not have a case & the supporters of ZANU massed at a rally & in the courtroom to insure that Delaware racists knew that the people stood behind our ZANU comrades.

Now that 'detente in Zimbabwe' as espoused & manufactured by Superpower imperialist has been clearly shown to be a sham, unworkable scheme; to liquidate ZANU, the next plot has to be exposed.

The plot is to call for a fake or formal "Zimbabwean Unity" which means the attempted liquidation of ZANU, and all Liberation movements would fall under the ANC sellout (NAACP of Zimbabwe) banner! This means that some forces would gain heavily and some would be totally isolated. The latest Superpower plan is to move Nkomo into the leadership of ANC, replacing Muzorewa who has become too 'militant' for needs of the Superpowers. This would be accomplished using Smith's forces to lock up all opposed to an Nkomo takeover - ZANU (principally) and rank & file ANC, and the masses of Zimbabwean people. Nkomo after usurping power via Smith, Superpower collaboration, would then remove all the "militants" and replace them with people totally subservient to the maintenance of imperialism in Afrika. This would permit an easy accommodation of Smith-Nkomo coalition government. Thus the advent of another neo-colonialist force in Zimbabwe. This "government" would get instant recognition from the Superpowers & other imperialist nations. Looking at Nkomo's treacherous role in this plot, it is evident Smith & co. wish to consolidate their power using Nkomo rather than Muzorewa.

But Zimbabwean people will not fall for this scheme, like they did not fall for the others previously put into motion. Zimbabweans will press for independence and revolution! They are backing ZANU efforts for armed struggle. And this clearly demonstrates the correctness of Chairman Mao Tse Tung's analysis "Countries want Independence, Nations want Liberation, the People want Revolution."

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ANTI-MOBUTU PRP LIBERATION FORCES IN ZAIRE TELL THEIR SIDE OF STORY

MOBUTU: A PUPPET TREMBLING WITHOUT THE MASTER PULLING STRINGS- PART 3

by Mwana wa Lumumba



Tanzania's desire to wash its hands of the 'Yumbu Affair' is understandable. Its reputation as a progressive state would be seriously compromised by revelations of its turning over a revolutionary to the reactionary Zaire government. Tanzania would also be forced to admit that Zaire is not the progressive state - a member of the so called Mulungushi Club which formerly linked Zambia, Tanzania and Obote's Uganda - that the Tanzanian government press presents as.

The Tanzanian government media first described the abductions as the "so-called PRP". Later it stated that the PRP's request for American and Belgium arms did not sound like "the PRP that we know." This was a cheap attempt to slander the Marxist Party by implying that asking for imperialist made arms made the PRP a tool of the imperialists. What was not mentioned is that these types of weapons are used by the Mobutu army which has unwillingly - via captured arms - supplied the PRP.

The government newspaper, the DAILY NEWS, accused the PRP of making the United States bully Tanzania into acceding to the guerillas' demands an endangering Tanzanian and Zaire's good relations. Again what was not said is most important. The United States Imperialists that are allegedly bullying Tanzania to insure the safe release of the students is by far the largest single investor in the mineral rich Zaire. Since 1965, when Mobutu came to power, over one billion dollars has flown into the country from the United States government, the World Bank, and the United Nations. From 1970, the time of Mobutu's short-lived pacification, to date, United States investments have tripled. 110 million dollars has been invested and another 125 million dollars was described as firmly committed by BUSINESS WEEK. This represents over eighty percent of the incoming capital.

JOSEPH SESE SEKU MOBUTU puppet president of Zaire, and former aide to Patrice Lumumba and later an accomplice in the CIA's overthrow and murder of Lumumba. Murderer Mobutu has made Zaire safe for U.S. imperialism to the tune of over \$200 million in U.S. military and economic aid (80% of Zaire's incoming capital). Mobutu has tried to front off as progressive with his fake "Afrikan authenticity" campaigns while he murders and represses revolutionary liberation forces like the PRP, who are struggling for true national liberation and self determination for the masses in Zaire from U.S. imperialism and its lackies and native agents like Mobutu.

Mobutu Sese Seko like most puppets in trouble is stammering. He first said that the abductors couldn't be Zaireans, because it was against authentic Zairean tradition to kidnap women. Later he said that there are no anti-government guerillas in Zaire. The United States government that put him in power knows better. If he is unable to squash internal dissent, he won't be able to serve as imperialism's watchdog in Angola. This would make him like Diem and Lon Nol - expendable.

The United States is applying pressure to Tanzania to negotiate with the guerillas. In addition, it is trying to independently contact the PRP. Dr. Peter Stern, a Michigan University professor of economics and history and probably CIA agent, - spending a year at troubled Nairobi University on a Rockefeller Foundation program - is now in Tanzania acting as an agent of the parents of the students. The American ambassador to Tanzania; a negro Beverly Carter, has said that the United States government will not pay the ransom but it is not against other parties paying the \$450,000.

Whether or not the ransom is paid and the students are released, one thing is clear. Zaire will be visited by United States counterinsurgency experts like Pappy Shelton who was sent to Bolivia to tract down Che Guevara a former combatant in the Congo. Tanzania remains in a quandry. The impending independence of Mozambique and Angola sound the death knell of classic colonialism. Whether one is progressive or not in Africa will be decided by the attitude taken toward the neo-colonial struggles that will sweep the continent. Africa today like Cambodia and South Viet Nam yesterday is a neo-colonial host for imperialist parasites and their local lackeys. To deny the class struggle or to ignore antagonistic contradictions does not remove them. Revolution has and will.

(end of series)

Black People and The Coming Depression:

by Jawanza Kunjufu and Haki R. Madhubuti

This booklet, produced by the IPE is its own harshest critic.

It flaunts its mediocrity around just as boldly as ever. **Black People and the Coming Depression** is a combination of two articles. What is a Depression, by Jawanza Kunjufu, and What Is To Be Done, by Haki R. Madhubuti. Together they soft-shoe on stage in a kind of Vaudeville version of Marx's "Das Kapital" and Lenin's "What Is To Be Done". Jawanza Kunjufu gives a Reader's Digest analysis of the coming depression, which leaves you waiting for the analysis of the current depression. He also manages to explain the cyclical crisis of monopoly capitalism without even once mentioning surplus value, pauperization of wages, or even maximum profit. It is at first, hard to believe that Haki R. Madhubuti, the beacon of the race-line nationalists, has the unmitigated gall to entitle his article by the same name as the great thesis of V.I. Lenin, **What Is To Be Done**.

The article reads more like a cook-book making it rather difficult to take the article seriously, much less review its political line. At the base of Haki R. Madhubuti's analysis is his almost irreversible commitment to petty bourgeois aversion to, no, rejection of revolution and its accompanying desire to scold but perpetuate the brutal exploitation of monopoly capitalism. As plain as day, he admits, "It is obvious that we are not going to bring down capitalism - we do not have the desire (underscore ours) or the means to accomplish such a feat at the present time." Then, in pure bourgeois fashion he demonstrates his utter contempt for black people by proclaiming, "Capitalism, with all its evil will probably kill itself before most our people even understand the principles of global corporation, monopoly capitalism or world imperialism."

He has no intention or desire to kill capitalism and believes it will die without violent revolution, of its own accord, peacefully. So clearly, he has no intentions of fighting anything or anybody and he believes that the black people are too stupid to even understand it much less kill it. So then the strategy, of What's To Be Done becomes one of a small group of individuals to just abandon the masses and get out of the way of this big monster while it gets sicker and gradually dies away.

Herein lies the theoretical premise for the specific strategy of What Is To Be Done, such as:

"Stop looking at so much television and start studying home farming. You can start gardens wherever there is land, backyards, even window boxes."

"Invest what little money we have in land. Land is the only type of investment that doesn't lose its value, unless you misuse it or buy bad land."

If he ever descended from his petty-bourgeois intellectualization and subjectivism, he would discover that is not the masses who are able to invest in land

during the middle of the worst depression since the big crash, as he had been able to purchase a farm in Michigan. He cautions black people not to buy from A & P but rather buy food direct from the distributors or farmers and buy land. Haki R. Madhubuti must not know that land owners also own the distributorship as well as the big farms.

Since many of the petty bourgeoisie do not yet feel the crunch of the depression as painfully as the working class, they speak of it as the coming depression; hence, "We need to develop a survival program - a full depression is on its way and the only thing that will stop it will be another war". But what are these survival programs? FOOD! He continues, *The Mormons have mountains of food and other survival supplies stored to last them for a minimum of one year. The Amish of Pennsylvania are also prepared for any crisis.*

On this basis then we are now prepared to receive the strategy of "What Is To Be Done".

"1. Store at least six months of food away - twelve months would be best but may cause serious handicap for most of our people." Handicap? With 25% black unemployment in the height of a depression, storing six to twelve months of food is impossible, unadulterated idealism.

"A mechanism should be developed to catch rainwater. Water - it will be needed everyday - store at least a half of a gallon per day per person in the family."

"2. Check out your diet...stick with the basic food types." We should also store away a good supply of basic everyday needs... Included in long list of everyday needs are a "transisterized short wave radio and batteries especially one that can get information from outside the country, and outdoor stove and fuel, camping equipment, candles, flints, kerosene lamps, wax sealed matches, plastic bags, scissors, thread, needle, thimble, sturdy cloth, books, family games, writing materials and magazines."

By the time he gets to What Is To Be Done #10, your eyes will light up thinking he might be getting ready to say something intelligent with each house should have defensive weapons and ammunition. And each family member should know how to use the weapons." But alas, your smile fades, as you discover that his only concern for weapons is, "there may come a time when you will need this just to protect your food, water and (finally) your family."

Haki R. Madhubuti closes with this final summing up of the Socio-Political-Economic-Military world crisis, "Keep in mind that the possession of food is more valuable than anything else in time of world scarcity."

It is not clear that this article is its own harshest critic? If it weren't so sad, it would be funny. It might better have been entitled, "What Is To Be Done Away With". (To be continued)

FILMS OF KOREA

Oct. 9 'The Steel Workers'

Oct. 10 'We Have Nothing to Envy in the World'

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It is crucial therefore that the American people be informed about the situation in Korea so they can prevent the government from starting another Vietnam War.

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STUDY



Mao Tse Tung

Chairman, Central Committee.

Chinese Communist Party
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Generally speaking, all Communist Party members who can do so should study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, study our national history and study current movements and trends; moreover, they should help to educate members with less schooling. The cadres in particular should study these subjects carefully, while members of the Central Committee and senior cadres should give them even more attention. No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems. Our Party's mastery of Marxism-Leninism is now rather better than it used to be, but is still far from being extensive or deep. Ours is the task of leading a great nation of several hundred million in a great and unprecedented struggle. For us, therefore, the spreading and deepening of the study of Marxism-Leninism present a big problem demanding an early solution which is possible only through concentrated effort. Following on this plenary session of the Central Committee, I hope to see an all-Party emulation in study which will show who has really learned something, and who has learned more and learned better. So far as shouldering the main responsibility of leadership is concerned, our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese

imperialism will be more quickly accomplished if there are one (or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow

Another of our tasks is to study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically. Our national history goes back several thousand years and has its own characteristics and innumerable treasures. But in these matters we are mere schoolboys. Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lop off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-seu and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today. Being Marxist, Communists are internationalists, but we can put Marxism into practice only when it is integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and acquires a definite national form. The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China. For the Chinese Communists who are part of the great Chinese nation, flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably Chinese character, i.e., to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics, becomes a problem which it is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve. Foreign stereotypes must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, and dogmatism must be laid to rest; they must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love. To separate internationalist content from national form is the practice of those who do not understand the first thing about internationalism. We, on the contrary, must link the two closely. In this matter there are serious errors in our ranks which should be conscientiously overcome.

What are the characteristics of the present movement? What are its laws? How is it to be directed? These are all practical questions. To this day we do not yet understand everything about Japanese imperialism, or about China. The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge, and they are emerging in an endless stream. To study this movement in its entirety and in its development is a great task claiming our constant attention. Whoever refuses to study these problems seriously and carefully is no Marxist.

Complacency is the enemy of study. We cannot really learn anything until we rid ourselves of complacency. Our attitude towards ourselves should be "to be insatiable in learning" and towards

Angola

(Continued from page 2)

and into Zambia. The importance of the railroad to political and economic developments in Central and Southern Africa can be illustrated by two examples:

1) In 1966-67 in response to Portuguese use of the railway to transport troops into contested areas in Angola, UNITA guerrillas attacked the Benguela. The Portuguese threatened to halt all Zambian traffic on the railroad. As a result UNITA president, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, was detained in Zambia and later deported. UNITA lost its rear bases in Zambia.

2) Zambia's decision to keep the Zambia-Rhodesia border closed after Ian Smith's unilateral closure in 1973 has been accomplished through a trade-off with Zaire. Zairean copper still passes through Zambia and Rhodesia on the way to the Mozambique port of Beira. The Benguela Railroad is now carrying virtually the entire Zambian copper production.

Zaire and Angola's 900 mile common border can serve as a staging point for incursions into either territory. FNLA had had unhindered access to northern Angola during periods when it has enjoyed the support of various Congolese leaders. Moise Tshombe used Angola for mercenary infiltration into the Congo during the Katanga secession.

Vulnerable to attack from Angola are the Zairean copperbelt regions of Shaba (Katanga) and Kasai and the industrial complex around Kinshasa. Intervention from Zairean territory could threaten the entire northern portion of Angola - perhaps as far south as the Angolan capital Luanda - including the coffee growing regions in the northwest and the diamond mines in Lunda Province in the northeast.

The Cabinda Enclave, separated from the rest of Angola by a 30 mile strip of Zairean territory, could easily be cut off in the event of hostilities. It is in particular danger because both MPLA and FNLA efforts in Cabinda have met with little success.

The possibility that the Congo -

rechristened Zaire as a part of General Mobutu's drive for "authenticity" - might be used as a springboard for imperialist aggression throughout the rest of Africa has long been recognized by African patriots and observers of the African scene.

In *Challenge of the Congo*, Kwame Nkrumah wrote:

The Congo, for historical reasons and owing to certain geographical factors, is more vulnerable than most African states. The Congo's vast economic resources and the insatiable avidity of the imperialist make this so. Because of this, it must be stated also that the Congo provides fertile ground for the operation of the cold war and limited war.

Zaire's strategic importance for American penetration into Africa cannot be overestimated. Its million square miles stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the great East African lakes. Zaire borders on nine African countries and provides easy access to the entire continent. American private investments and commitments in Zaire total over \$200 million. American investment is second only to Belgium and is growing rapidly. *Business Week* (Sept. 21, 1974) estimated that 80% of all foreign capital flowing into Zaire is American.

American foreign policy in the Third World, as articulated in the Nixon Doctrine, is to foster client regimes - sub-imperialisms - capable of "stabilizing" sensitive areas and intervening when imperialism's interests are threatened. This is done by the provision of economic and military grants-in-aid and credits, Military and "civilian" advisors, and training of foreign military elites at schools in the U.S. and the Panama Canal Zone.

Between 1964 and 1973 the United States provided over \$43 million to Zaire in direct military aid and credits for the purchase of military equipment. Over 300 Zaireans have been trained under the U.S. Military Assistance Program. Since Mobutu came to power in 1965, the U.S. has provided over \$100 million in "non-military" aid to Zaire.

others "to be tireless in teaching".

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Selected Readings

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- presently serving 12-20 year prison sentence
- Revolutionary Black Nationalist, led resistance to national oppression of Black Nation
- former Chairman of SNCC, symbolized rebellion & militancy of Black Nation during mid 60's-70's
- framed by FBI & CIA

(Continued from page 12)

RAISE!!

forces theory" which sees the motive force of history as the tools of production plus techniques, and belittles the role of the people as the makers of history and therefore liquidates class struggle, and the role of the party and revolutionary theory, in babbling that there was a cult of personality in CAP quoted from "... Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement".

Which is a letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party Soviet Union in March 1963, in the thick of the opening struggle against the CPSU's revisionism led by Nikita Khrushchev and the New Czars. But these local bogus types posing as revolutionaries quote the Chinese paraphrase of Lenin but make it seem that Lenin and the Chinese are backing them up in their Cult of the Personality nonsense. But in fact the quote is this "Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of 'combating the cult of the individual'; this is erroneous and harmful".

a) the masses are divided into classes, b) classes are usually led by political parties, c) political parties as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups, composed of the most authoritative, influential, and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders". The bogus types never put forward clearly that the Chinese were criticizing the anti-Stalinist revisionist Khrushchevites who attacked Stalin with the cries of "cult of the individual" and "the cult of personality", the bogus types simply quote and vaguely make it seem that they have said something intelligent, but haven't. Of course our bogus rightists under the guise of bucking for more "democracy" (a la Mensheviks) end up in the classic cry of too much centralism that characterized Martov, Trotsky, Khrushchev, Liu Shao-Chi, in relationship to Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung. We are not comparing our leadership with Lenin, Stalin, Mao in the sense of stature but as leadership under attack by revisionism, and we could add Marx-Engels attacked by Bernstein, Kautsky,

Empirio criticism (see Materialism and Empirio Criticism) and revisionists of all stripes. The reason, to widen the room in which these righties have to swing. One classic righty statement by these bogus types is that "Our mastery of revolutionary ideology springs from the day to day material realities of the masses". Hah. "Springs" is the giveaway, the true spontaneous process, the tailism of the economist worshipping the backside of the proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought is a science that must be mastered by the party and brought to the proletariat by the party, as a leading detachment of the whole class of the proletariat, guiding that class to the seizure of state power by smashing the bourgeois state, and instituting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our mastery of revolutionary theory does not "spring" from anywhere, it is gained through study and practice and brought to the working class from outside. Nor will it spontaneously leap into being in the work place simply because someone is "leading the economic struggle a political character". Marxism is what must be brought to the workers, from outside the sphere of these economic relationships "We shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow" sez Lenin. **What Is To Be Done**, p. 97.

The opportunism in matters of organization, i.e., opposition to democratic centralism, and a disciplined revolutionary organization, strengthens the bourgeoisie by keeping the proletariat weak. Likewise, attacks on leadership, and centralism of the organization. Also belittling the political role of the communists by feeling that simplifying by going into the work place (many times to absolve them of "guilt" at being petit bourgeois in a true parallel of petit bourgeois xtianity) we will build the anti-revisionist communist movement, is the same kind of failing spontaneous process that keeps us without a revolutionary party. Though we are aware that our work is to bring the working class the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought and use the work place as a basic organ of communist organization. But we quote Lenin here again, "There is

nothing clever in your assertion that the Social-Democrats' task is to lend the economic struggle itself a political character; that is only the beginning, it is not the main task of Social-Democrats.* For all over the world, including Russia, the police themselves often make the start in lending the economic struggle a political character, and the workers themselves learn to understand whom the government supports.* The "economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government," about which you make as much fuss as if you had discovered a new America, is being waged in a host of remote spots of Russia by the workers themselves who have heard about strikes, but who have heard almost nothing about Socialism. The "activity" you want to stimulate among us workers, by advancing concrete demands promising palpable results, we are already displaying and in our everyday, petty trade union work we put forward these concrete demands, very often without any assistance whatever from the intellectuals. But *such* activity is not enough for us; we are not children to be fed on the thin gruel of "economic" politics alone; we want to know everything that others know, we want to learn the details of *all* aspects of political life and to take part *actively* in every single political event. In order that we may do this the intellectuals must talk to us less of what we already know, and tell us more about what we do not yet know and what we can never learn from our factory and "economic" experience, that is, you must give us political knowledge. You intellectuals can acquire this knowledge, and it is your *duty* to bring it to us in a hundred and a thousand times greater measure than you have done up to now; and you must bring it to us, not only in the form of arguments, pamphlets and articles which sometimes — excuse our frankness! — are rather dull, but precisely in the form of live *exposures* of what our government and our governing classes are doing at this very moment in all spheres of life. Just devote more zeal to carrying out this duty, and *talk less about "raising the activity of the masses of the workers"*! We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open, street fighting, demands that do not promise any "palpable results" whatever! And it is not for you to "raise" our activity, because *activity is precisely the thing you yourselves lack!* Bow less in worship to spontaneity, and think more about raising *your own* activity, gentlemen! The Submission to spontaneity is more of the "easy way out" that is the hallmark of opportunism, the main danger in the communist movement.

*Communists, then. Now the term means reformists pretending to be Communists.

*The demand "to lend the economic struggle itself a political character" most strikingly expresses *subservience to spontaneity* in the sphere of political activity. Very often the economic struggle *spontaneously* assumes a political character; that is to say, without the intervention of the "revolutionary bacilli—the intelligentsia," without the intervention of the class-conscious Social-Democrats.

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Free All Political Prisoners And Victims Of The System!!

Wilmington

(Continued from page 7)

The following day the police issued a warrant for Comrade Rahsaan's arrest on the ridiculous charges mentioned before. He was released on 5,500 dollars bail the same day, with an initial hearing that was scheduled for Aug. 28. He was also placed under a "house curfew" from 8:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.

It should be clear that the only "riot" that occurred was the police riot. An orderly demonstration broken up... fascism's creeping presence! the black community has to struggle against the racist double standard of justice in the first place - Bailey arraigned at 7:00 in the morning, then released on the incredibly low bail considering the racist, unprovoked offense (and this what precipitated the massive demonstration to re-arrest him with higher bail) - then we get beat up for doing so. And in light of the fact that Bailey's family resides in Brandywine Hills - an exclusive middle-class neighborhood - clearly displays the class nature of justice in America. But the Black and oppressed communities' will continue to struggle against these racist killers and these killer cops, and resolutely fight the rising tide of fascism every inch of the way.

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AGAINST SOME BOGUS TYPES POSING AS REVOLUTIONARIES

Part II

RAISE!!

Amiri Baraka

Right Opportunism, based essentially on the superprofits of imperialism and their ability to bourgeoisify large sectors of the working class, bribe others, is of course most intense in the U.S.A. since this is where most of the superprofits come to rest from imperialism's international ripoffs. This bribery, reformism & c, gives rise to taking the easy way out, "seeking leverage" and coolin it, rather than struggling is everywhere. Certainly among the White sector of the working class it exists, among the petit bourgeoisie it is stifling it is also to be found among the oppressed nationalities, to a lesser extent for certain, since the capitalists principal address to the oppressed nationalities has always been repression rather than reform civil rights movement notwithstanding. But out of the civil rights movement there was, to be sure, a reform consolidated petit bourgeoisie nourished on various college campuses even amidst the cries of militancy. Nourished in urban centers too, in the poverty programs, city hall bureaucracies & c, it is a form of support for the bourgeoisie that can be made to seem intellectual, glamorous, nationalistic, hip, courageous, even funny. Now it is being attempted by some people to make opportunism, plain out reformism and copout, seem like Marxism.

We spoke before on opportunism around the question of organization. To make revolution we must build a revolutionary vanguard party, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. Such a party must be built on the scientific principles of organization, democratic centralism. Recent opportunism is nevertheless classic, Lenin spoke directly to it, when exposing the "opportunism in matters of organization" that the opportunists, namely the Economists and the Mensheviks (plus good ol Trotsky) pushed. They did not want "an organized whole", but "something amorphous". These birds wanted something "heterogenous and loose" and as such, as the history of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) paraphrasing Lenin says, Such a "party"

could not be militant, subjugated by the petit bourgeois individualism and "aversion to discipline" of squabbling intellectuals it would simply bow to spontaneity, worship the rear ends of the workers, and front off for capitalism more interestingly.

But it is important that we see the connection between the opportunism in regards to organization, which is opposition to democratic centralism, that is directly connected to the right opportunism of economism and Menshevism (petit bourgeois socialism). Economism pushes for the workers to follow a purely economic struggle between themselves and their employers in the work places, and somehow sees this narrow struggle as spontaneously delivering the workers to Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. But "in reality", as the History of the CPSU(B) points out, "Socialist ideology arises not from the spontaneous movement but from science". Also such a line sees the communist party built simply by "going among the workers". It belittles the importance of both the vanguard party and its theory, the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought, and the overall political struggle, which must be waged as Lenin repeated over and over again in *What Is To Be Done* within "the sphere of relationships between all classes". The Economists belittle political struggle and think the workers Marxist consciousness will spring into being within the narrow scope of the economic struggle. But this is the same worship of spontaneity that thinks no democratic centralist party is needed, and cries out against the "authority" that makes distinct a party from the loose "ideological influence" of intellectual study circles. These same imitation revolutionaries cry against the centralism of the democratic-centralist structure. As the Mensheviks cried out about being "cogs and wheels" and the "dictatorship of Lenin". And their first attack is always at the centers of authority from which the centralism that contributes to party discipline emanates.

The opportunists in Lenin's day said "that the demand for obedience to all the decisions of the party was 'formal and bureaucratic', and that having

the minority submit to the majority was "mechanical suppression"; also that "having all party members both leaders and rank and filers ... equally observe party discipline meant establishing 'serfdom' within the party ... that what was needed in the party was not centralism but anarchist 'autonomism' which would permit individuals and party organizations not to obey the decisions of the party". Lenin smacked this tendency calling it "glorification of the individualism of the intelligentsia", and so it is. It is also as Lenin said, "amateurish", an we are not fighting amateurs, the bourgeoisie are, if nothing else, professionals/ killers, and to go at them loose, amateurish, spontaneous and subjective is to be killed. Such Right opportunism attacked the leadership C.A.P. attacked the center because it was trying to destroy centralism. Cries of "The Cult of Personality" assaulted us by the right, merely to try to weaken the influence of the center, the entire leadership, and thereby slip the other right lines and reformism across under the guise of criticism of the center. Another grim connection with the Menshevik, economist line is the classic op-

portunism of the second international of Western Europe, characterized by people like Bernstein whose book *Evolutionary Socialism* gives the whole game away. Their "freedom to criticize" which should not be confused with unity-criticism-unity which is the life blood of the Marxist-Leninist party, was a freedom to criticize the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian revolution in other words to cut the core out of Marxism, and give us revisionism, warmed over reformism pretending to be Marxism.

Such rightists, in their attacks, usually end up having to misquote, quote out of context, distort to try to cover their tracks. And a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought is the basic weapon to defeat these bourgeois agents who thrive on and at the same time contribute to others' unclarity. For instance, one rightist clique recently, who had been spouting Trot ideas as a left cover, but these ideas are so blatantly revisionist, complete with the bankrupt "productive

(Continued on page 11)

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