

STOP THE LAYOFFS

FIRE THE CAPITALIST! THE WORKERS CAN RUN IT!

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?



Socialism, in one aspect means the liberation of all the world's peoples. Here Chou En-Lai of China welcomes Marien N'gouabi of the Peoples Republic of the Congo, two socialist nations, struggling together against U.S. imperialism, monopoly capitalism, & racism.

See RAISE page 12

WE DID IT!

BLACK WOMEN'S UNITED FRONT



Delegates from many states and organizations across the country came together to form the Black Women's United Front in Detroit in January. Since that time local Fronts have been formed in most of these states. The Black Women's United Front consists of a wide spectrum of Black Women unified in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist United Front. The national body will reconvene May 3, to elect its national officers.

Black Women's United Front
In Detroit, on January 25, 1975, Saturday morning, over 600 Black women and some men joined in to build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist Black Women's United Front. There were women from 26 states including Canada, prepared for the task of trying to pull together a structure for the first Black Women's United Front in the U.S. There was a broad base of women, women who worked, unemployed women, women on welfare, students, housewives, political activists, older women, and women who want a vehicle to fight back.

The morning's session opened up with greetings from a comrade in Congress of Afrikan People who was a member of the local Detroit Task Force. From that point on the meeting proceeded with speeches from Congress of Afrikan People and the co-sponsoring organ-

izations. The first to speak was a sister from Youth Organization for Black Unity who have a historical development of the Black student movement and the emergence of a new student formation called the "February 1st Movement". Y.O.B.U. expressed that they supported women's struggles. The second speaker was a sister from the All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party who talked about some of the contradictions in imperialism and the need for a Black United Front. Third speaker was a brother from Pan Afrikan Student Organization in the Americas, who expressed his solidarity with women's struggles. Next to speak was a sister from National Welfare Rights who talked about the inequalities between men and women. Then there was a sister from Black Workers Congress who spoke to the crisis of

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In 17 cities across the United States CAP led protesters, the unemployed, the employed, students, welfare & foodstamp recipients, activists, youth, to point out the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. Full Employment was one cry! But there will never be full employment under capitalism. The only way to stop the layoffs is Fire the Capitalists! Socialist Revolution!

WORKERS SOLIDARITY DAY

February 22, 1975 marked demonstrations in 17 cities across the nation with people rallying to protest the severe hardships caused by the rotten capitalist system. The Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) advanced the slogan "STOP THE LAYOFFS! FIRE THE CAPITALISTS! THE WORKERS CAN RUN IT!", which speaks to enormous rate of layoffs that plague the working masses, and capitalizes the essential truth about monopoly capitalism, that it must be smashed so the workers can liberate themselves from this seemingly endless cycle of pauperization at the hands of the capitalists. But how can we fight it?

As the contradictions in this rotten system sharpen, the struggle against capitalism increases. More and more we must use direct action because the Democrats and the Republican parties have failed us, the big time labor aristocrats have failed us, and the revisionists and civil rights leaders have failed to lead the masses in the kind of militant direct action that will break the oppressive chain of layoffs, speed ups, inflation, recession, and depression that plague the people. The ruling class is trying to use these so-called leaders to trick the working masses into taking the crunch in the depression, while the

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BASIC STRATEGY FOR '76

The Congress of Afrikan People believes that one of the important tasks before us is to build a movement to unite all those who can be united regardless of whether they are Socialists or nationalists or elected officials or moderates unite all those who can be united to struggle against the rightward moves of both the Republican and Democrat parties. As the economic crisis in the U.S., and throughout the capitalist world intensifies, as for instance over 100,000 laid off last week in the auto industry alone, layoffs, speedups, inflation, the growing depression the crisis will worsen, especially intensifying in big cities, which is where most Black people in the U.S. live, whether north or south - as the economic situation worsens, repression will increase and intensify! People will not merely lay down when they are told that they must stay jobless or habitually unemployed. They will strike back, and with that strike back, which the state glibly calls crime, police brutality and repression will rise and the entire political fabric of the U.S. will move openly to the right. As capitalism goes deeper and deeper into crisis, one depression after another, until it stretches into one vicious economic earthquake that creates the undermining



Similar to the '72 Gary Convention, a '76 People's Convention would have even broader working class popular mass participation, to put together an anti-democrat, anti-republican, anti-depression, anti-repression popular front and program for a new mass movement.

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FASCISM BLOCKS HOUSING IN NEWARK



—sellout Earl Harris

Seven people were dragged from Newark's City Council meeting and arrested on bogus charges as the Council voted down badly needed housing slated for the Central Ward. The vote and arrests came as the struggle to build housing for over 1,000 people in the Central Ward, and by that begin to employ the 700 construction workers slated to work in the Central Ward R-32 area, intensified as it becomes evident to most of the people that the City Council has shut its eyes to the needs of people for jobs and housing a city with the worst housing and among the highest percentages of unemployment in the country, in the midst of a depression.

This struggle raises key questions to be answered by the Council. Why did the Council go out of its way and conspire to block housing loan money slated by the state to build housing in the Central Ward? Why was the housing rejected before the Council saw the plans and application? And, the real question is how can these black and white city council politicians sit before the people and on the media and pretend that they don't know we need housing in the Central Ward of Newark? How can they keep a straight face & pretend they don't know we need jobs, with a 25% unemployment rate and construction trades unemployment taking the lead in the jobs' crisis in the whole state?

The City Council is blocking housing in Newark, the worst city in America, but where is the Council housing? Nowhere!

The real reason why Earl Harris, Newark's first black city council president & co. refuse to approve the housing in the Central Ward is because they know they would receive no payoffs! Except the ones they are already receiving to try to block new housing not sanctioned by Parker, Padula, i.e., the profiteers and millionaires.

In a last ditch attempt to cover the naked greed that governs every major decision the Council makes, Harris & Jesse Allen Central Ward Councilmen have raised the question of CAP's ideology, scientific socialism. But what is the ideology of the slumlords and land speculators that the Council gave tax clearance to so they could build? Did they check that out? What is the ideology of Jack Parker and Arthur Padula? Their ideology is capitalism! And they are guided by maximum profits, which means high rents & no services, rats & roaches, slum death and inferior construction, and payoffs to corrupt city councilmen and housing inspectors.

Capitalism has made Newark the slum that it is the worst city in America. Just think about it, how could Newark be the financial center of New Jersey with all the banks and insurance companies that control finance up and down the state and at the same time be the worst city in America? Prudential won't build the housing we need; city hall won't build it; Metropolitan Life won't build it; and when the people rise up in their own struggle to build housing (a struggle waged 5 years against many obstacles) city hall sees its role is to block that effort. Well, whose interests do the petty bourgeois politicians serve? We elected them, but the banks and in-

(Continued on page 3)

STOP KILLER COPS (BROWNSVILLE)

On Martin Luther King's birthday, scores of people came out in spite of 17 degree weather for a day of protest demonstrations and community organizing, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York.

At the 73rd Precinct (home of a well-known killer cop), demonstrators marched for 3 hours shouting various slogans such as "Stop Killer Cops! End Police Brutality!" There were similar demonstrations at other sites focusing on the issues of unemployment and rising food prices.

After the demonstrations, the people marched to a local junior high school for a rally. And it was here that we really saw a clear example of the lackeys and agents of the ruling class at their collaborating best. Although there were signed letters by school officials promising the school to the people for the rally, when the people arrived, the school doors were locked. As if this were not enough, the local poverty pimp agency known as the "Bishop



Demonstrations like these forced Killer Cop Frank Bosco in Brownsville to resign, rather than face the enraged people determined to bring him to justice for the murder of young Claude Reese!

Brownsville Community Corporation" also attempted to undermine the organizing efforts by ordering their employees to work on Martin Luther King's birthday—on a day that they usually have off! But there were some progressive workers who refused to bow to this rank intimidation and came out anyway. A brief rally was held on the school steps where these efforts to sabotage were pointed out and the collaborationist politicians such as Sam Wright were exposed for their inability to deliver when the people ask for their help.

Afterwards, approximately 80 people gathered at the Howard Houses Community Center to discuss further the demands made during the day. At this rally, several people spoke including State Senator Major Owens, Ray Whitfield and Butch Austin of the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, Viola Plummer from the Queens Committee for Clifford Glover, Simba Mwenea from the Congress of Afrikan People and Joe Ginini. All addressed themselves to the need of organizing and building a mass movement.

It was Simba Mwenea who clearly showed how Martin Luther King was killed once he started talking about organizing workers e.g. Memphis sanitation workers and opposing U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam. Simba also showed the relationship and necessity to struggle against petty bourgeois, vacillating, opportunistic politicians in the community like the sad Sam Wrights, on the road of defeating capitalism and the establishment of socialism and the dictatorship of the working class people.

CORRUPT SCHOOL BOARD EXPOSED

Once again, the gimmick of "black faces in high places" has led to the further oppression of Black and Puerto Rican people and the outright smashing of their right to self-determination.

This time, this parasitic disease, commonly known as neo-colonialism, has struck the Bronx in School District #99 where a few black petty bourgeois leeches and some white racist school board members have so milked the district of its \$40 million budget, that when the children show up looking for THEIR milk, there's not even enough left in the account to pay for it!

This is the same corrupt board which has given the okay to scores upon scores of reading programs, experimental programs and other useless projects which have done nothing to bring about a material change in the quality of the students' education. This is the same corrupt board which was recently exposed for entertaining prostitutes and holding office parties and charging the liquor and flower bills to the Board of Ed. account.

Now this so-called "Community Board" has been thrown out and a single "trustee" has been sent to replace it.

Confusion and division exists in the community over whether the "Community Board" should be defended because this board was elected by the community to serve its interests. BUT THAT IS A LIE! This board was supported and maneuvered into office by the white racist teacher's union known as the UFT (with the exception of Bd. member Edith Hicks who has consistently struggled against the board's racist positions.). The only interests it serves are those of the people's enemies. Those who are spreading confusion are either agents of the ruling class or those handpicked few who were given jobs by the board and stand to lose those jobs if the board is permanently thrown out.

We support the revolutionary fervor of the people who forcibly seized the offices of District 9 and kept the trustee from taking over. But - we do not support the corrupt board they are fighting for. We must support a truly peoples Board, who will actually represent the interests of the community and working people everywhere!

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MOTION!!



South African Miner, part of the growing & enraged proletariat in that fascist settler colony, whose struggles will soon force these racists to their knees.

OAU Calls for Anti-Zionist Stance

A recent meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity called for a new African approach to the situation in the Middle East; plus financial assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization. A resolution was adopted calling for African and Arab countries to find further means to isolate Israel. It was also recommended that the Palestine question be among the topics discussed when the African Heads of State meet in July.

U.S. Puppet in So. Korea Weakens!

Fascist puppet President Park Chung Hee is losing his hold in South Korea. Discontent & open agitation against him have been running through the army. Last fall, 28 officers sent a letter critical of the Park regime to a magazine, riots at several of the bases has been broken up, an army lieutenant recently took out an ad in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, a leading newspaper to support the paper's struggle against repression. Park tried to buy off the people by allowing them to vote on a referendum as a vote of confidence in his leadership. The election was bogus & rigged - no opposition campaigning was allowed. Most recently, he released a number of prisoners including the famous poet Kim Chi Ha to placate the people, but all have vowed to continue the struggle against the puppet regime of Park & the U.S. imperialists that are providing the crutches for Park's illegal government. "Vietnamization", Bankrupt U.S. Policy

The masses of people are fed up with the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. There are more than 3.5 million people

jobless, 70% of the population undernourished, 50% of the school children forced to leave school, agriculture at a standstill, industry down 50-6%, inflation up by 114%, prices boasted from 50-300%, 130,000 drug addicts; more than 500,000 prostitutes, over 1/2 million orphans, 5 newspapers in Saigon have been forcibly closed & journalists hunted down & arrested because of opposition to Thieu. Fed up with Thieu's fascism, misery, corruption, imperialist exploitation, the people have shown their resistance in increasing the number of demonstrations, strikes, & protests.

The U.S. imperialists had Thieu to throw a few crumbs to the people, trying to convince them that it's not the U.S. war of imperialism that is causing their problem, but simply corruption and that all that is needed is a reform - in other words, replacing on U.S. stooge with another. But the people don't want crumbs. What they are demanding & struggling for is an end to all U.S. imperialist aggression.

The current situation in Vietnam shows victory after victory for the Provisional Revolutionary Government expand as the Thieu regime gets weaker, in fact, the army is so demoralized, they are refusing to fight, but are deserting.

Plus the United Nations has granted Observer Status to the PRG - a blow to the U.S. policy of withholding full international recognition for the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Cuba Finding Support

Cuba was invited to participate in a formal caucus of the Latin American nations at the United Nations. As a result of U.S. imperialism, Cuba has been isolated since 1963. But Latin American nations have awakened to the travesty being perpetrated on them by U.S. imperialism & its lackey countries and refused to continue the isolation of Cuba.

Hong Kong Intransition

Political movement is beginning to happen in the Colonial bastion of Hong Kong, for popular elections, extension of voting rights, and a referendum to determine what the people of Hong Kong really want - unification with China, independence of internal self-government. Hong Kong has been a British Colony since 1842. It has a governor appointed by England, who presides over the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. Neither body

has any elected members. So actually the 4.2 million people who are being oppressed & exploited by U.S., Japanese & British imperialists, have no say so about any aspect of their lives.

Arab Anti-Zionist Banking Policy Gains

The Arab Nations have hurt the Imperialist where it hurts - in their pockets. Several big-time banking firms have been dropped from major bond issues & investment deals because of their relations with Israel. The Arab Boycott Office maintains a list of firms that are considered economic supporters of Israel with which Arab governments and businesses are prohibited from dealing. The Arab position is that the boycott is not against Jewish bankers or businessmen but against companies & individuals that contribute to Zionist causes or actively support Israel's military effort.



Workers from the Provisional Revolutionary Government (South Vietnam) work to reconstruct liberated area. U.S. back Thieu goons oppose such developments.

Smith Fails to Attract Whites to Zimbabwe.

Smith fails to attract whites to Zimbabwe. In what was called Ian Smith's "Settler 74" campaign - an attempt to bring in a million white immigrants - statistics reveal that only 595 European immigrants can in 1974, the lowest in eight years. This obvious attempt to combat majority African rule has failed miserably.

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

ERITREAN WAR OF LIBERATION

Victory is certain as Eritrean popular forces advance against the Ethiopian occupying army in the major cities and ports of Eritrea. The Eritrean liberation forces are inflicting heavy losses on the neo-colonial military regime of Ethiopia. The advance of Eritrean liberation forces is an advance for the African Revolution & Revolution throughout the world against the forces of imperialism. And all the chauvinistic bourgeois nationalist excuses that Ethiopia's new CIA trained military elite regime tries to advance are bankrupt as they expose the fact that Ethiopia is the aggressor against the Eritrean people, who have the absolute right to self-determination secession as an oppressed nation.

Historically the Eritreans were invaded by Ethiopia's oppressive feudal regime under Emperor Haile Selassie in 1962, but Ethiopia followed a long chain of invaders and colonial rulers dating back to the mid-16th Century — the Turkish, the Egyptian, the Italian, the British, and most recently Ethiopian domination. Ethiopian colonial rule is backed by American imperialism and Israeli Zionism, where Americans have a series of military bases in Ethiopia and has strategic designs on the Red Sea Basin. The U.S. rigged the United

Nations Resolution #390 in 1950 to give Ethiopia control over Eritrea, which is another nation, and giving Eritrea fake autonomy with a parliamentary form of government. But Ethiopia's designs for Eritrea expanded, and by 1962 imperialism's interests made it necessary for them to invade Eritrea and dissolve its parliament in the capital of Asmara. Since this invasion and occupation, the Ethiopian government has met stiff popular resistance from the Eritrean people.

The Ethiopian position was to ignore the Eritrean Question and the armed popular revolution that has challenged this national oppression from the outset, while the imperialist media has attempted to characterize their struggle as a religious war (which is not true) or the acts of bandits, which is even more absurd. But in the meantime, the Ethiopians had launched a savage invasion against Eritrea full of village massacres and other fascist tactics that have brought great suffering to the Eritrean people. Poverty, hunger and disease dominate, and over 80,000 refugees are suffering in Sudan alone, as the bombings and massacres continue. But these attacks only steal the Eritrean forces in their struggle because as one spokesman from the Eritrean

Liberation Front puts it, "nothing can break the popular will, undermine the people's commitment, or block the struggle for liberation."

Some have been confused by the new Ethiopian government's pretense toward "socialism", but at the same time the fact that the new military government continues the same reactionary war policy that was established by the de-throned emperor-Haile Selassie. In terms of their claim to socialism, the military junta is controlled by the same finance capitalist that Selassie was controlled by, not the working class, so to "nationalize" industries only gives more influence to the native bourgeoisie, not Ethiopian workers. Ethiopia is a Bourgeois military dictatorship, struggling to consolidate a native bourgeoisie as capitalism penetrates more deeply into Ethiopia moving the nation past feudal relations. And, especially revealing in the history of revolution, has been the actual course of action that states take around the national question. A true socialist state would "free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union and a free union is a lying phrase without right to secession". But the junta's socialism is the same platform socialism that Nkrumah exposed, while in the real world the junta has resorted to fascist acts against the political rights of the people already. And, as the sham becomes more and more evident twenty-three Eritreans that were in the bogus parliament of Ethiopia collectively resigned and walked out after reading a letter before the parliament about the savage massacre of Eritreans by the junta. They could see no value in their presence in parliament since Eritrea is controlled only by naked Ethiopian force.

One of the motive forces in sharpening of the internal contradictions in Ethiopia which led to popular support for the overthrow of Selassie's feudal regime was the war of liberation fought by the Eritreans.

The war helped explode these contradictions because the unjust war dragged on and on with one-third of the national budget put into war; it drained the treasury and sped up Ethiopia's economic collapse. It also showed that Selassie was a servant of imperialism and Zionism. And the continuous military defeats showed the people that Selassie had "no miracle powers but only a human despot who oppressed his people".

Since the negotiations collapsed because the Ethiopian's government would not come to the table with any honest intention of respecting the national liberation struggle of Eritrea, the war has raged & the corrupt Ethiopian troops are being defeated. In desperation the junta is asking the U.S. imperialists for military aid to maintain this vicious oppression. And, progressive people in the United States must oppose the U.S. pattern of supporting fascist regimes against the democratic rights of people throughout the world, because our democratic rights are on the line too! U.S. military aid to Ethiopia is especially ironic since almost no aid went to Ethiopian people to aid in combatting the affects of the Sahel like drought. The Eritrean Liberation Front has stated its position firmly, "Our aim is to win full independence for Eritrea, and until that goal is achieved our people shall never lay down their arms."

*Lenin, On the National and Colonial Questions.



Eritrean people have right to self determination even including secession. All Socialists must support it. The Ethiopian junta is no more socialist than Haile Selassie!

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STATEMENT ON NEWPORT WEST INCIDENT

Socialist Organizer Beaten in Jamaica



Socialist organizer, Trevor Munroe was attacked by neo-colonialist President Manley's goon squad as penalty for organizing striking dock workers. Neo-colonialists like Manley masquerade as patriots and even mouth "socialism" but they are, in fact, top imperialist agents.

Part I
by Trevor Munroe
First Vice President
U.A.W.U.

WHAT LED TO VIOLENCE

Many people are still not clear about the circumstances which led to this violent attack on us. I think it is a matter of record that the port workers struck spontaneously over two weeks ago when they realized for the first time that the interest which had been accumulating on their pension funds could not be paid to them in cash. That spontaneous strike, which lasted for nine days, brought to the surface the deep general dissatisfaction of the workers with their situation and exposed the deep gap which developed between the workers and their union representatives.

It was not until Tuesday, eight days after the strike began that the UAWU became involved in any way in the strike. On that day, approximately 60 workers on motorcycles and cars came to see me at the UAWU office, waiting three hours until I could be found to inform me that they had rejected their unions (they were from all the unions represented there) and asking me to come to the docks the next day to speak to the workers. Prior to this, the UAWU and myself had not been down to the docks and had never known or even seen any of the workers.

Up to that time, the UAWU had been waiting to see if the unions would do the right thing - if they would lead the workers in putting forward positive and practicable demands on the Shipping Association and the Government to end the inequities and totally unnecessary arrangements which governed the pension agreements. They failed miserably and shamefully to do this, acting like spoiled children, abusing and insulting the workers as if it was not they who had signed the pension agreement but the workers, who they had all along kept ignorant about the details of the Scheme.

It was after the workers had twice rejected the calls of these unions that we, the UAWU, accepted the worker's invitation to go down to the docks. On that Wednesday morning, it was the police and the army who intimidated terrorized the workers, smashing their picket lines and threatening the workers with dire consequences if they did not report to work. At our meeting at 2:00 o'clock that afternoon we were surrounded by two hundred armed policemen and soliders and armoured vehicles and a clumsy attempt was made to intimidate us and disperse the meeting, which was up to then proceeding peacefully. When it was seen that we would not be provoked into violence, the soldiers and policemen withdrew. All this, needless to say, infuriated the onlooking workers both outside and within the docks.

We have since been signing up hundreds of workers and hundreds more are even signing up. This is what we are doing when we were attacked. We were not holding a public meeting. It is not our doing that the representatives of the BIYU, NYU are so hopelessly discredited before the workers and cannot now show their faces on the docks. We have made no attempt to prevent the workers from listening the leaders of any other union.

The UAWU is pressing forward to represent the dock workers. We are not afraid to say that we do have practicable solutions to their problems. We state openly that the present *superannuation and pension scheme can and must be modified and the workers must be given genuine representation in all decisions. The Shipping Association will have to deal with us. And they will have to lose a good deal of their arrogance and contempt for the workers who create the wealth which allows their children to write libellous articles in the Daily Cleaner against us.*

continued next issue

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BLACK LEADERS OF THE 60's

(Continued from page 7)

and a set of Afro-American customs and concepts of living as an alternative to the moral degeneracy and exploitative economic and social practices of American capitalism that were dominating Black people. The Nguzo Saba had a codified set of defined political ideas or doctrine, which is widely utilized at this very moment, but the conflict between the Panthers and the U.S. Organization served objectively to weaken both organizations and strengthen our enemy. Maulana was a Black intellectual, who introduced the writings of Nyerere, Toure, Nkrumah, Mao, Sun Tzu to a host of black people and who went across the nation teaching revolutionary cultural nationalism to large audiences of young militant Blacks.

The Black leader of the 60's who put

the discussion of national liberation and political power; cultural nationalism and alternative values and self defense into organization and practical programs was Amiri Baraka. Amiri Baraka was born in Newark, October 7, 1934, grew up in a marginal middle class home, but also experienced the variety of urban ghetto problems and activities - going on to Howard University and the Airforce, discharged for having "subversive literature" (leftist) and views. Amiri Baraka, like many Black intellectuals, found that the reality of national oppression had to be dealt with, even within the so called left, in order to even organize Black people to struggle against the capitalist system. Amiri Baraka became known as the Father of the Black Arts for bringing the Black Liberation struggle to the grassroots Black communities, organizing

Black Arts East and Black Arts West in the early sixties, and presenting revolutionary struggle through poetry, plays and the performing arts. Baraka was asked to help organize the first Black Student Union at San Francisco State College and during the sixties spoke on revolutionary nationalism and the need to organize at campuses across America - even in the face of having been placed on the FBI list of "political subversives." He was one of the most consistent activists identified with Cultural Nationalism and Black & African Consciousness.

Amiri Baraka expanded the Spirit House Movers drama group and organized the Committee for Unified Newark in 1967 to begin the work of building political consciousness of the masses and a vanguard organization for political struggle. It was through this organizing that Maulana Karenga's Kwanzaa has widely popularized. In 1970 Atlanta, Georgia he was a leader in pulling together the Congress of African People, as a united front which has now (after 4 years of development) become a Black revolutionary vanguard organization struggling for socialist revolution, recently armed with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. Amiri Baraka's contribution as a Black leader of the sixties was to bring revolutionary nationalism to the Black masses in their communities in an organized, consistent and well-rounded programmatic approach - that was able to provide political education, analysis and stability needed to keep struggling Blacks from becoming totally ripped-off by adventurism or stagnated by narrow nationalism - keeping struggle rooted in the Black community and maintaining its revolutionary character.

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



Unemployment in New York City has reached chaotic proportions. But capitalism has no solutions to working peoples problems, it is the cause of those problems.

NEW YORK UNEMPLOYMENT

New York City is now in the death-grip of a depression caused by the cancer on which it grew famous—capitalism. And who is being directly affected by this disease? It's the working masses in general, black, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities in particular. Capitalism has its death-grip directly on the workers throat, receiving only the meager paycheck which is worth less than a fraction of the wealth they've created with their labor.

N.Y.C. unemployment has not run this far amuck since the Great Depression of the 30's. Tho directly after the Korean war there was another cyclical recession. And for the first time since that depression almost 12,000 civil service employees have lost or will be losing their jobs- formerly one of the "secure jobs" in the capitalist system. Over 10,000 workers laid off in the apparel industry, which now has the fewest workers employed ever recorded; over 4,000 jobs lost in the construction industry; more than 5,000 in the publishing and printing industry; making an overall unemployment rate of 8.5% or 270,000 N.Y.C. workers- including 37,000 job cut-backs in Dec. alone!! Even during the highly profitable Christmas holiday 24,000 less workers were exploited to reap in the bundles of money which accounts for over 30% of N.Y.C. retailers yearly profits!!

N.Y.C. - heartbeat of a capitalist system which is laying off & firing the working masses in order to maximize the profits for the world's ruling class - it's only suffering a stroke compared to the heart attack that is to come. And who will cause this heart attack? The working masses, once politicized and organized for their own interest will deliver such a blow that the heart with all it's arteries and veins will cease to pump the wealth into the pockets of the wealthy and it will be controlled by the workers whose labor produced it in the first place. Then and only then will people be able to be free from all forms of oppression and build a socialist society.

VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!!
BLACK LIBERATION IS A STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM!!

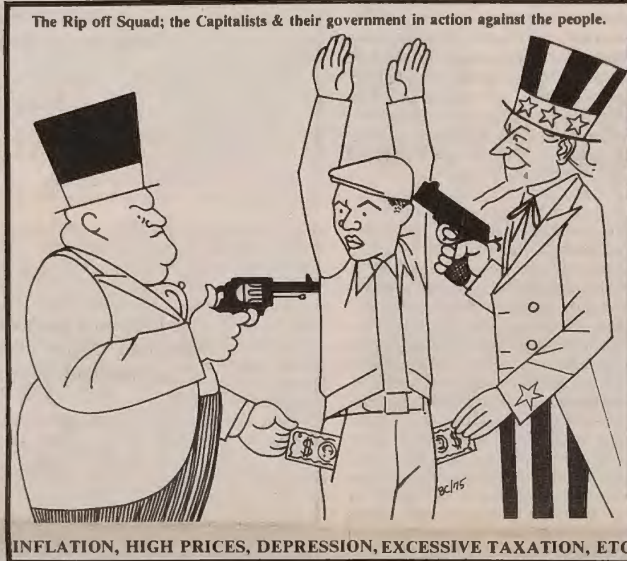
HOUSING CRISIS

(Continued from page 2)

insurance companies are doing good while the people are in a depression.

The fact that our oppressors have been joined by the black faces in high places that we voted to put in office to solve our problems, tells us that we cannot afford any more illusions about corrupt petty bourgeois black politicians. Capitalism has put them in charge of beating us in the head when we ask for housing. And, Harris has taken on this role of crushing the people since he has become president of the Council.

Two suits are being prepared against the city Council. One in Superior Court, a complaint in lieu of prerogative writ, that means we will be able to force the Council to tell the world why it conspired against housing in Newark, and what was the material basis for their rejection. And, the other suit goes to Federal Court, which seeks to overturn the "Earl Harris law" that says people lose their democratic rights when they



speak before City Council. You can't say the names of your oppressors because as Harris puts it, these slumlords are honorable citizens? And, if you tell the truth about the payoffs and Earl Harris blocking housing while the people suffer from no housing and unemployment, Harris will have you jailed and beaten by the tactical squad of the police department. Twenty-three have been arrested voicing the need for housing. These moves to the right and toward fascism will be challenged. But the actual blow that will stop this reign of corruption will have to be delivered by a mass movement that we can launch against this oppressive city council. To join this struggle call (201) 621-2300 & work with the People's Committee for Better Housing.

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BLACK LEADERS OF THE 60's

Today we can understand that Black Liberation is a struggle for socialism and begin to educate Black and other oppressed people to the fact that our oppression cannot end until we smash the capitalist system, the root cause of national oppression and racism. And we can see that it was the Black leaders of the sixties who, through their struggle and revolutionary ideas heightened the movement from a rather diffuse struggle against racism to a clearly stated struggle of national liberation against a systematically, instituted racism that was part of a larger national and international struggle.

The Civil Rights movement was a phase of the Black "Bourgeois Democratic revolution," a struggle for democratic "civil" rights which ended the Jim Crow "South Afrikan racial segregation and superficially tore down racial oppression enough to allow a negro middle class to emerge with illusions of "change" and democracy in America! Martin Luther King, Jr. from a background of black middle class ministers and school teachers, a PH.D from Boston University and a philosophy of nonviolence led this struggle against racism from the 1950's into the 1960's. In 1955, soon after he accepted a pastorate at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat in a Montgomery bus to a white man. The Black people of Montgomery began a bus boycott and called on King, who organized the Montgomery Improvement Association which sustained the boycott for 381 days until December 1956 when the courts ruled against



Hered together as prisoners of wars, 40's militancy flared into rebellion & brought oppressive police state repression. It will happen again until the Black Nation is liberated!

before the eyes of the world. This stage of the Black Liberation movement also created a militant Black middle class and laid ground for the ruling class attempt to confuse Black people with reforms, that is, poverty programs, Black mayors, court rulings, etc. Even Dr. King finally saw the depth of racism and the superficiality of America's concessions and was forced to say, "White America was ready to demand that the Negro should be spared the lash of brutality and course degradation, but it had never been truly committed to helping him out of poverty, exploitation or all forms of discrimination." King concluded that America moved "from a

hired assassin James Earl Ray, but most likely in a broader conspiracy, and in his violent death, which set off Black rebellions around the country, showed us that this capitalist system will not yield - it will have to be smashed!

The first call of the 60's for armed self defense had really been made in the South, around the same time Dr. King was organizing SCLC. In 1957 Robert Williams became president of the Monroe, North Carolina NAACP. When Williams organized the Monroe Black community in a campaign to integrate recreational facilities in 1961, officials stood by and watched the violent attacks of Ku Klux Klan, and Williams lead the Blacks to arm themselves in self-defense! In 1962, Robert Williams wrote Negroes With Guns, defending Black people's right to self-defense and he maintained his stance, even in the face of dismissal from NAACP by ruling class collaborator Uncle Roy Wilkins. Eventually Robert Williams had to flee to Cuba because he refused to stand for an unjust trial on charges of kidnapping a white couple during a

period of local disorders around integrating a swimming pool. While in Cuba, Robert Williams denounced the United States policies on national and international affairs and questioned why Black leaders and white liberals did not want Blacks armed in America, but refused to condemn them fighting America's foreign wars. Finally Robert Williams was invited to China and did not return to America until 1969. He is still faced with extradition to North Carolina to face kidnapping charges.

The period from 1964 to 1970 was alive with interaction, ideological discussion, rallies, meetings, cultural reawakening among young black leaders - who traveled around the country speaking and writing and deliberating and organizing to fight national oppression. These Black leaders combined armed self-defense with Black Power and brought the consciousness of nationalism and revolution to the Black masses. Malcolm X was the first great teacher and hero.

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in 1925, Omaha, Nebraska, had come from the working masses of America's mid west and northern city life. Malcolm was fourth of eight children, left by a minister Garveyite father who was murdered by the KK K and a mother driven to insanity by the strain of poverty. Malcolm fought his way through foster homes and racist schools in the midwest and street life, crime and finally jail in Boston and New York City. While in jail he was converted to Islam in 1952 and became a minister in 1953. By the end of the fifties Malcolm X had organized Muslim temples in Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, founded and built up Muhammad Speaks newspaper, debated whites and Civil Rights leaders across the nation and actually made Nation of Islam known among Black and Whites of America.

Pressed and threatened by corruption and jealous within the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X left in March 1964 and

Black Liberation is a Struggle for Socialism!



"Dress rehearsal for Revolution," said Rap. The 60's brought Rebellion & the clear understanding that the state apparatus was the enemy of the people!



Huey Newton first leader of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, segregated seating on buses.

organized Southern Black ministers into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and lead what became a mass movement, based on the Kwame Nkrumah, Mabatma Gandhi techniques of positive action and non-violent protest. Dr. King lead marches, demonstrations, rallies and made speeches all over America. The Civil Rights demonstrations, aired on nationwide media, exposed American (capitalism's) use of police violence and political repression to enforce its racism



Malcolm X characterized the rise of Black Consciousness and Black Identity self-determination, self-respect and self-defense in the 60's.

Eldridge Cleaver - The Panther leader first associated with bringing Marxism-Leninism into the Black Liberation Movement. Now somewhere in exile!

premise that equality is a loose expression for improvement" and only sought to make racism "less painful and less obvious." And with this he turned his attention to the poor urban Blacks and connected this struggle to the international anti-imperialist struggle with a strong anti-Vietnam War position. Shortly before his assassination, Dr. King had also begun efforts to build a broader Black united front with leaders of the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements, Stokely Carmichael and Amiri Baraka; this being also one of King's last attempts to use nonviolent in organizing the urban, mainly younger Blacks. But his failure to clearly identify the base of racial oppression and poverty - capitalism - and its vicious nature - kept him from understanding or accepting that use of nonviolent tactics no longer appealed to the America Blacks, especially youth, who had already begun to see armed self-defense as the only way to struggle with the systems attacks on their lives. And in spite of his continued commitment to nonviolence, while he made plans for a Poor People's March on Washington, and was in Memphis organizing Black and White garbage collectors in a strike for better wages and working conditions, on April 4, 1968 Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot down allegedly by a



H. Rap Brown Bad Rap successor to Stokely Carmichael as Chairman of "SNCC". He symbolized the rising rebellion of the Black masses. Our understanding that, "If America don't come round, it needs to be burned to the ground." Rap is in Auburn prison, framed, serving 12 to 20 years.



Maulana Karenga was the founder & leader of US organization, who developed the nationalist doctrine of Kawaida and introduced Afrika and the Afrikan Revolution

into the Black Liberation Movement. Karenga helped popularize the political theory of progressives like Toure and Nyerere. together the Lowndes County Freedom Organization with the Black Panther as its symbol, and went about registering voters, but by the mid-60's, SNCC workers were saying "it's not sanity to give your life away"; and by 1967 Carmichael defined the struggle in his essay "Toward Black Liberation" as be-

fore the Muslim Mosque, Inc. and from April 13 to May 21 of that year traveled to Mecca where he learned "true Islam" and began to see that the roots of oppression is not simply "white people". When he returned in June 1968, he founded the Organization for Afro-American Unity and after a trip to Afrika returned to build the OAAU and teach Black Nationalism and Pan Afrikanism, also raising the struggle of Blacks and North America to a question of human rights of nations to be fought to the United Nations. Before he was able to do this - before he was able to clearly outline and institute his ideas on Black Liberation, Malcolm X was assassinated by the imperialists or their lackies trying to stop this important new turn in the movement from spreading to the masses. But Malcolm had been successful in establishing Black identity, consolidating it and reinforcing the consciousness of our right of self-determination and self-defense, and Pan Afrikanism to Afro-Americans.



Martin Luther King represents the beginnings of the modern Black Liberation Movement, the Civil Rights Movement. The swell of the masses led by the black middle class to gain their democratic rights. King's movement toward an anti-imperialist (anti-Vietnam War), black worker oriented (leading the boycott of Memphis sanitation workers) ideology led to his assassination! Stokely Carmichael historically important leader of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, popularized the cry Black Power, & is now identified with Pan-Afrikanism with his leadership of the All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party.

But the example for self defense had been set and the angry young Blacks moved forward from that point. Stokely Carmichael, born in Trinidad West Indies in 1941, had moved to New York City in 1952. Son of a working class family, father carpenter and cab driver, mother-a maid, he also experienced the street life and gang organization of the city. In high school he joined N.Y. CORE, in 1964 Stokely joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and became the senior field representative and while attending Howard University was arrested and beaten by police in Civil Rights Freedom Rides and demonstrations from Maryland to Mississippi. Stokely Carmichael pulled

organization, internally with agents and externally by outright police attacks - legitimized in the newspapers. The Panthers' introduction of Marxism-Leninism came with Eldridge Cleaver was not brought to the working masses of Black people long enough for people to understand the program. The Panthers were ideal targets to become enmeshed in a complex "set up" of legal assassination by police agents, slander

world. A year later Stokely Carmichael resigned from his position, because he differed with the Party's policy of working with white radical organizations, he married Miriam Makeba and went to live in Guinea.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was founded by Black leaders who were among the first of the 60's to organize for national liberation and revolution. Huey Newton was born in 1942, Bobby Seale in 1937 and both grew up in the Black ghetto of Oakland, California. Newton and Seale did not actually meet until the early 1960's when they attended Merritt College in Oakland, joined the Afro-American Association briefly, but decided that an organization that more directly addressed the overall political oppression and economic ex-



Amiri Baraka, Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People, one of the most consistent leaders of the Black Liberation struggle, now

making concrete application Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the Black Liberation struggle.

pliation of Blacks was needed. In October 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party on a Ten Point Program drafted by Huey Newton and backed by a well disciplined military with real guns - Huey said "We are political and military too." The Party had rules and regulations, called for "Power to the People" raised the clenched fist salute and popularized the term "Right On," first heard from SNCC people in the South!

But it was this military stance that the state used to attack the Panther

Rap Brown fought his way up through a typical bad ghetto education and later attended Southern University. He earned the name of Rap when he was still young because that's what he could do real good - then he would fight to back up his words! SNCC, originally formed as a Civil Rights organization for Black students, had come into Alabama after summer 1964 to organize Black voters. Rap Brown worked in Greene County, then as Alabama coordinator and by 1968 was elected Chairman of SNCC. Everywhere, everytime Rap got a chance he would scream loud and clear about national oppression of Black people and called for armed self-defense and revolution! Rap said in Die Nigger Die! "Black people like the Vietnamese people, were escalating their war of liberation, so it was clear to me that if Black people began to respond by accepting a revolutionary analysis, "the man," was going to try and silence me. But if you're serious don't worry about things like that, you do your job and you're carried off the battlefield or you may walk off victorious." Rap Brown maintained this stance through a series of attacks and arrests and beatings by the FBI and local police in Cambridge, Maryland, Alabama, Louisiana, New York City - shot at, bombed, ambushed and framed - Rap Brown went underground and has most recently been found and tried for an alleged "robbery" attempt, after being beaten and shot by police.

Coming from the ideology of national identity and self-determination with emphasis on black culture to provide a political base for unifying Black people were Amiri Baraka and Maulana Ron Karenga. Maulana was founder and Chairman of U.S. Organization in California. Karenga stimulated interest in the Afrikan Revolution and raised an original doctrine called Kawaida best capitalized by the Nguzo Saba (the Seven Principles), a Black value system (Continued on page 5)

ON PRACTICE



by MAO TSE TUNG

On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing
July 1937

Before Marx, materialism examined the problem of knowledge apart from the social nature of man and apart from his historical development, and was therefore incapable of understanding the dependence of knowledge on social practice, that is, the dependence of knowledge on production and the class struggle.

Above all, Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities. Man's knowledge depends mainly on his activity in material production, through which he comes gradually to understand the phenomena, the properties and the laws of nature, and the relations between himself and nature; and through his activity in production he also gradually comes to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man.

None of this knowledge can be acquired apart from activity in production. In a classless society every person, as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members, enters into definite relations of production with them and engages in production to meet man's material needs. In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different

ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs. This is the primary source from which human knowledge develops.

Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production, but takes many other forms — class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of the practical life of society. Thus man, in varying degrees, comes to know the different relations between man and man, not only through his material life but also through his political and cultural life (both of which are intimately bound up with material life). Of these other types of social practice, class struggle in particular, in all its various forms, exerts a profound influence on the development of man's knowledge. In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.

Marxists hold that in human society activity in production develops step by step from a lower to a higher level and that consequently man's knowledge, whether of nature or of society, also develops step by step from a lower to a higher level, that is, from the shallower to the deeper, from the one-sided to the many-sided. For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of the history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited man's outlook. It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive, historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into a science, the science of Marxism.

Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by "failure is the mother of success" and "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit". The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate

knowledge from practice. Thus Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality."¹ The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice. The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge.²

But how then does human knowledge arise from practice and in turn serve practice? This will become clear if we look at the process of development of knowledge.

There used to be a number of comrades in our Party who were dogmatists and who for a long period rejected the experience of the Chinese revolution, denying the truth that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action" and overawing people with words and phrases from Marxist works, torn out of context. There were also a number of comrades who were empiricists and who for a long period restricted themselves to their own fragmentary experience and did not understand the importance of theory for revolutionary practice or see the revolution as a whole, but worked blindly though industriously. The erroneous ideas of these two types of comrades, and particularly of the dogmatists, caused enormous losses to the Chinese revolution during 1931-34, and yet the dogmatists, cloaking themselves as Marxists, confused a great many comrades. "On Practice" was written in order to expose the subjectivist errors of dogmatism and empiricism in the Party, and especially the error of dogmatism, from the standpoint of the Marxist theory of knowledge. It was entitled "On Practice" because its stress was on exposing the dogmatist kind of subjectivism, which belittles practice. The ideas contained in this essay were presented by Comrade Mao Tseung in a lecture at the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yenan.

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Poet's Circle

by Nicholas Guillen

A NEGRO SINGS IN NEW YORK

A dove it was who told me
who went through New York far:
went flying free
but didn't see
nor a flower nor a star.

Stone and smoke
and smoke and stone
and lead and flame
and flame and stone and smoke and lead
she always met.

"Dove and what you saw
was a Negro crying?"

"No."

"The Negro was singing?"

"Yes."

"When I did see,
he greeted me
with a melody,
he kept singing this melody:

"I have a piece of dream,
dove,
which a dreamer to me gave;
with that dream, dove,
I am going to make
a star and a flower.
(The star and its splendor.
The splendor in the flower.)

"I have a piece of song,
dove,
which a singer to me gave;
with that song, dove,
I am going to make
a hymn and a song.
(The hymn against Jim Crow.
Of peace and peace the song.)

"I have a piece of iron,
dove,
which an ironsmith to me gave;
with that iron, dove,
I am going to make
a hammer and a sickle.
(I hit with the hammer, hit it!
I cut and cut with the sickle!)

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WE DID IT

(Continued from page 1)

monopoly capitalism and imperialism and stated that the "Woman Question" was a class question. Last were the speakers from C.A.P., a sister who began by expressing her solidarity with Lolita LeBron, Gail Madden, Inex Gracia, Joanne Chesimard - all the unnamed working women. She then outlined the woman question as a class question rooted in capitalism and pointed to the bourgeois feminist movement as being in collaboration with capitalism rather than an instrument against it. Next Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People who ended up the morning session by expressing his solidarity with the building of a Black Women's United Front and clearly outlining the problems that face the Black Liberation Movement as well as the new Communist Movement at this point in history, and stated that what was needed is a Revolutionary Women's Organization that would be a part of smashing the system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The morning session ended in thundering applause with almost everyone on their feet.

There was a lunch break and the afternoon session jumped off with a 5 minute opening statement from each of the co-sponsoring organizations. The rest of the afternoon was given over to the women who came to build the Black Women's United Front. The first discussion was centered around whether we should have a Black Women's United Front without first having a Black United Front. This was put forth by All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party. After there was some back and forth discussion from co-sponsoring groups and conference participants, C.A.P. replied that Afrikan Liberation Support Committee is an anti-racist and anti-imperialist black united front, and we needed a Black Women's United Front. The rest of the evening's discussion was around structure. (There were some destructive counter-revolutionary forces there, like the Trotskyites, who found unity with every group who they thought they could use to block any structure, but there were honest forces there who were not turned around by Trot counter-revolutionary tactics.) At points in the meeting C.A.P., who was chairing the meeting, tended to be heavy handed in reaction to the Trots and other disruptive forces. We think we could have handled this in such a way as to not have confused honest forces who were not aware of the sectarian struggles of the left, and C.A.P. is moving to put this criticism in practice.

Out of long and honest struggle, the meeting ended up with a structure: A Steering Committee, Assembly, Regional (Northeast, Midwest, South & West) and Locals.

The Common Program was to:
1) Hold local meeting within next 60 days. Before May 3, elect 2 represen-

tatives and 1 alternate to Black Women's United Front Assembly.
2) Go to Masses of Black Women in that city, do a survey to find out what are the areas of mass interest (in order that we can put together a National Program that can deal with the problems & needs of the masses of Black Women).

At 8:30 P.M. there was a break and when everyone returned, the meeting parted into state caucuses to elect a temporary state organizer. The organizer's task is to call a meeting and make a report on what went down at the meeting and set up a time to elect official representatives to the Assembly.

The next Black Women's United Front is scheduled to be held May 3, 1975 in Detroit, Michigan.

Other issues raised at the meeting was the case of Joanne Little, raised by October League in Atlanta, as being one of their organizational projects for the Black Women's United Front.

There were papers distributed on the floor by All Afrikan People Revolution Party, October League and Congress of Afrikan People stating their position on the Black Women's United Front.

In the main, the meeting went well. All who came found unity in the need for a Black Women's United Front and the need to continue to struggle to build Black Women's United Fronts in their locals.

Now what is left is the real task of organizing Black Women's United Front rooted in the working class that will lend itself to mass struggle and this is the task of all of us who are committed to the abolition of every possibility of oppression and exploitation. That is our slogan! **BUILD THE BLACK WOMEN'S UNITED FRONT!**

*We have available for 75¢ plus postage, a booklet entitled **Black Women's United Front, Congress of Afrikan People on the Woman Question**. This is the position paper and speeches given by C.A.P. in Detroit.)

Notice:
Black Women Workers, Students, Unemployed, Old & Young join in and help build the local (Newark Black Women's United Front. A fighting organization of Black Women for Quality Education, Free Medical Care, Shorter Work Day, Child Care for Working Mothers, Family Planning not Genocide, Stop Killer Cops, help us fight inflation, High Prices and Unemployment. Join in with us to struggle for the Democratic Rights and self-determination of all Black People. Contact: Congress of Afrikan People, 13 Belmont Ave., Newark, N.J., 621-2300.

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Listen To The People!!

QUESTION:

QUESTION; What did you think about the Black Women's United Front meeting held in Detroit?



Joyce McEwen - East Chicago, Indiana - The conference was good as far as the role here. My concern is how it'll work on a local level; particularly in E. Chicago. Ours is a very industrial area and not very politically motivated. The main concern is how to reach my people.



Diane Perez - Lansing, Mich. - I felt the meeting was positive and very well organized. I just hope it will be able to carry through all the proposals that were presented. It's good to see an organization that encompasses all political ideologies and that is not controlled by one organization. It's good that a lot of different organizations are represented in one organization.

Ella Jones - Pitts, Pa. - The meeting was very constructive; if they ever get any unity it will be very constructive and beneficial to Black women all over America.



Rhnette Washington - Brooklyn, N.Y. - I felt a number of issues should have been expounded upon in more depth, by way of more evaluation, discussion and analysis. But given the nature of the co-ordination which was to present a one day conference it couldn't be successfully done. My suggestion would be to hold a 3 day conference. Issues, revolutionary tactics, political positions, etc., that involve the masses of the people on a national scale deserve more than one day at a glance.



Patricia Jones - Pittsburgh, Pa. - This is my first large gathering of Black women; I'm not from a specific group but I felt motivated to come based on I'm a Black woman. I felt that if this is a successful move and I hope that it is, this meeting will be the greatest contribution to that success because the structure was built right here.

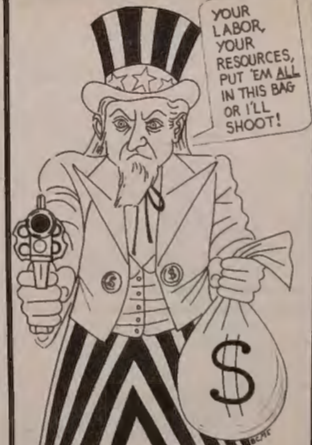



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Individualism Brings Two Resignations

Haki Madhubuti and Jitu Weusi

(end of series)

Another paper on nutrition was also advanced by IPE-Haki, in response to a Congress of Afrikan People attack on the entire question of elitist consumerism as revolutionary concern. We had taken up the question of whether or not the struggle to get the masses (?) to



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

eat organic foods was as essential as political organizing and struggle. IPE was never very active in any of the political movements in Chicago or outside Chicago. The Chicago Black Assembly is manifestly reactionary because IPE never was a significant part of it, IPE-Haki just resigned from the ALSC as well, a progressive Black United Front, because "It is too far to the left". Instead, they will probably drift more and more toward the Cress Theory of Racism, and other nonsense, and align with the "race men" an IPE advocate named Kofi had assembled in the Congress of Afrikan People's Chairman's Workshop in Chicago whose great statement was that, "Afrikan Ideology must consist of Afrikan wisdom" Yeh! But hopefully that Wisdom would consist of anything Afrikans could get wise to.

Dressing up Afrikan and drinking distilled water and eating raw vegetables is not a revolutionary program. White hippies do it, and now we are hip to black IPE doing it too. The concern with eating pig, &c. was positive because we are talking about the changing of values, the breaking down of the slave culture that engulfed us. But to make food the reason and content of struggle, other than getting the masses more of it, is absurd. It is elitist and bohemian, and coupled with sentiments like the following which comes directly out of the paper on nutrition, "It is the material base and reality of our programs which will bring the people to us (our emphasis) and the images we project around dress, language, diet must be positive and correct because we will concomitantly bring the people into those other images as well." WOW, but what are "the material base and reality" of their programs. Certainly not political action.

So that the masses must wear long dresses, diwis, and eat lentils avocados, distilled water and no canned food before they are liberated? So we are "bringing the people to us." I thought we had to go to the people, serve the people and not get them to serve us. . .organic food.

The essence of our struggle is political and economic as well as cultural. It is cultural, because we as a people will have to resist the essential destruction of our culture as part of our struggle to free our productive forces and restore ourselves to our history. But we cannot feel some elitist life style and its reproduction are the essential requirements for revolution. Consciousness is the requirement, and that consciousness must come out of the subject matter the people are drawn to by their material conditions, interpreted by the revolutionaries, or as they are forced into material conflict by the enemy, with the consciousness resultant from that. If we spent as much time reading politics

and economics as we do about organic foods, fantasy survival schemes, best sellers, irrelevant poetry, we would be well on the way to creating the indigenous ideology we need.

But these resignations, in actuality, should strengthen the Congress of Afrikan People, since it should enable us to forge ahead with the work of putting together our indigenous, unitary, ideology of a revolutionary party. Hopefully, our own practice, will get stronger as a result of having witnessed and being abused by counterrevolutionary individualism and liberalism, and as Mao said, being exposed to bad ideas is like being vaccinated, it prepares you to struggle against even worse ones.

Amiri Baraka
Chairman
Congress of Afrikan People
21 mei 1974

In our educational work we must explain that in its social origin individualism is a reflection within the Party of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

(Continued from page 12)

struggling against capitalism, and objectively helping socialist society to emerge. We are sometimes confused because white workers are tricked by capitalists into thinking racism and white chauvinism is an ideology they benefit by. But racism only serves the interests of the ruling class (bourgeois) or their middleclass (petit bourgeois) lackies. Because even though it might provide a few pennies of chump change to white workers to materially initiate and reinforce their commitment to the ideology of racism, it actually permits the capitalists to exploit all working people because while we are fighting with each other, Rockefeller, Ford, Dupont, Mellon, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, got the real money and gone. We must show these whites they are being chumped off by the capitalists too and demand revolutionary action from them instead of backwardness. But we must not be tricked or used by the capitalists either!

The Congress of Afrikan People has been condemned by the bourgeois press, and its lackies in blackface, for having accepted and begun to put forth the ideology of scientific socialism. Some of the most reactionary, play our intelligence cheap and tell us we need a fish sammich (which we got to pay some capitalist for) rather than a philosophy that will liberate us and future generations. But all such witchdoctorism is blown away by the light of science. A lamp doesn't come on because you want it to come on but because it adheres to certain principles of science. Otherwise you could drive a chair up the street, or "think" a coconut on to light up a room! If we are going to liberate ourselves we must begin to understand and utilize the science of society and the science of revolution. As for the rationalizers of nonsense who tell us that we can't utilize the science of socialism because it was founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, both Europeans, we say first of all, a science has certain universal principles generally applicable everywhere in nature. This explains why not only Lenin in Russia, but also Mao Tse Tung in China, Ho Chi Minh in Viet Nam, Fidel Castro in Cuba, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sekou Toure, and Amilcar Cabral in Afrika, all were able to utilize the universally applicable principles of scientific socialism applied creatively to the concrete conditions of their own land and their own peoples struggle. But also ask such reactionary charlatans, why they don't give up that watch, mercedes benz, teevie, or give up that plane ride. all of which have been

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 - John Mitchell "convicted" in the recent "controversial" cover-up! A long appeal will ensue, and how much time will he do? Less than a car thief!
 - John Erlichman, convicted in the cover up trial. He'll be out before any of your relatives!
 - H.R. Haldeman, the Hatchetman himself, he was convicted, but even if he serves his 6 months, when will Rocky be indicted?
 - Jeb Stuart McGruder, you see we told you he's out already!
 - John Dean, what did we tell ya. He's on the street with less time than a misdemeanor.
 - AND THERE ARE MANY, MANY MORE!!
- Most of these Nixon criminal team members serve their "time" in plush country club resort type "honor farm" environments. Better than where working people go for vacations! And they will be out very quickly, that is all those Ford pardons. . .

Meanwhile, many of those revolutionaries who have struggled for the needs of the masses of the people are either locked up, dead or out of the country unable to return.

We are calling on all of our readers to support Maulana Karenga's struggle for freedom by sending a check or money order to: **Tiamoya Karenga, P.O. Box 1597, Alta Dena, Ca. 91001**

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But seriously, fools aside, if we are serious about seeing the life of humanity go forward, if we are serious, about the liberation of our own people, we must see that only the destruction of capitalism, and the emergence of socialism, provides the means for these progressive developments. Everything else we deal with we expect science and technology why get backward when it comes to our liberation!!!

Amiri Baraka, Chairman
February, 1975



Socialism, for one thing, is where the people control not only the means of production but also decide what is produced. In this picture a group of Chinese workers inspecting new machinery.

'76 STRATEGY

(Continued from page 1)

dynamic that will enable the enraged masses to toss the entire capitalist system into the garbage can of history — more and more the illusion of bourgeois democracy will be shed for the reality of bourgeois dictatorship by means of open force and violence. It's called Fascism! Richard Nixon was its experimenting pioneer!

In 1976, we see monopoly capitalism and imperialism at points of extreme crisis, and we know that '76 is an election year as well, in the midst of the crisis. Progressive forces should deal with the enormous crisis that 1976 will usher in by launching a campaign, running a presidential candidate and holding a national people's convention in the spring of 1976. And that campaign will be an anti-democrat, anti-republican, anti-depression, and anti-repression

movement to combat the rising threat of fascism in America and imperialist wars abroad. This is what is needed.

Logistically, this could be done by calling together groups to discuss this issue get some broad agreement, then call even more groups together from all over the country, revolutionary organizations, unions, community organizations, student groups, rank and file caucuses, national organizations, political formations of various kinds. A series of such meetings, throughout '75, to refine a platform, select a candidate, and begin campaigning. And in the spring of 1976 hold a massive convention, that would not only raise the campaign to an even higher degree of seriousness, and commitment and involve still broader sections of the national population, but also witness that some of the basic work for building a mass working class movement will have been initiated at one level. Though the bottom up organizing that is necessary for any real worker's movement must have preceded this convention, in 1975 (+ go on after it), to give this convention any meaning, or the campaign that it signifies.

It is critical for progressive forces to begin building a new mass working class movement, because out of the work and struggle of building this movement will emerge the fully functioning Vanguard party of Communist revolutionaries. And, what Lenin said about tactical leadership is very key in our understanding of this point in political history, "One must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to keep hold of the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link." * The Congress of Afrikan People is advancing a basic strategy for '76 as the link in the historical chain of events, "which we must grasp with all our might". * People serious about absolutely changing this society completely, will take up the tasks of this movement.

From Friday, March 14 into Sunday, March 16, some 75 organizations will come together to discuss the basic practical questions of building such a mass movement as the Congress of Afrikan People Strategy for '76 proposes. Obviously, there are many ways into the situation and views of it. Hopefully an anti-sectarian mood will allow a maximum of unity to be achieved around the basic issue of anti-depression, anti-repression, anti-democrat, anti-republican electoral campaign for '76.

*Lenin quoted in: The Foundations of Leninism.

A Socialist Questions Uganda

The Lessons Of Neo-Colonialism In Uganda

By Horace Campell

(end of series)

The economic backwardness of the country reinforces the political instability with his mercenary army, Amin has spread terror and fear to every home in Uganda. Every Ugandan can tell of a relative who has been killed by Amin. The opportunistic and bankrupt nature of the petit bourgeois is such that they serve Amin faithfully, turning a blind eye to his killings. They serve Amin until they themselves are immediately threatened. The best example of this opportunism is the renegade and former apologist for Amin, Wanume Kibedi, who recently denounced Amin in London. Kibedi sat hand in glove with Amin all through 1972 when terror was being institutionalized in Uganda. From this safety in England he now denounces Amin. The same is true of the reactionary leader of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. In December 1973, the Kenya government returned some Ugandan exiles who were in Nairobi, knowing full well that the exiles would be returning to their deaths. Kenyatta has now denounced Amin after one of his close friends "disappeared" in Uganda.

Amin, the former tool of the Zionists and the British now finds it fashionable to parrot anti-imperialist slogans. He uses the language of anti-imperialism to mask his bloody murders. Progressives should not forget that this was the same Amin who offered to fly to South Africa to have dialogues with Vorster. The present debacle in Uganda is seen by the imperialists as the result of tribalism and not as the result of 70 years of British misrule and exploitation. In spite of the climate of fear and terror, the workers and peasants have recently circulated leaflets calling for the overthrow of Amin. The workers and peasants know that they do not have the guns at present to deal with him. But in spite of this, in the tradition of African resistance, they are calling for Amin's overthrow.

The days of Amin are numbered. At present his base is very narrow. Since the abortive coup against him on March 23 of this year, he has been trying to create alternative bases of support within the army. Even the army is now tired of the internecine killings. Recently, when Amin sentenced a soldier to death, the soldiers themselves, tired of senseless killings, released the man.

Progressive Africans throughout the world must expose Amin and other brutal neo-colonial warlords, with the same zeal as they expose the white rule in Southern Africa. The silence of progressive blacks in the diaspora helps to spread confusion about Amin. The initiative for opposing neo-colonial black leaders must be taken up by black people. This is the only way to sharpen the ideas of class struggle and the world wide struggle against imperialism and racism.

Schooled by the British and groomed by Obote, Amin surpassed his former tutors in barbarism. At the same time, while he was peddling his reactionary brand of black nationalism, Amin was unleashing a massive reign of terror on the populace. He received added jus-



GEN. IDI AMIN DADA

tification for his kidnappings and murders after the boy scout attack on Uganda organized by Obote in 1972. The Army received untold powers over the population. The military carried out acts of unnecessary killing and merciless brutality against the people. The soldiers were ordered by Amin to shoot first and then ask questions later. Some soldiers in this situation used their guns to acquire businesses. It was these soldiers who acted as administrators in early 1973, throughout the country, when the "administration of Uganda reorganized."

In the three years of the rule of the gun of Idi Amin, more than 200,000 Africans have lost their lives. While the international press always addresses itself to the disappearance of "influential Ugandans" they have never addressed themselves to the brutal exploitation of the workers and peasants, to the inhuman living conditions of these people or to the fact that Amin and his regime are promoting the most backward form of black capitalism. The age old affinity of the imperialists to private property led them to castigate Amin for his takeover of British property. It is this take over of British property why some reactionary nationalists call Amin revolutionary.

But these people do not understand the nature of international capitalism. While Amin may take over two or three British tea estates, the imperialists are quite content to pass him off as a buffoon or "Big Daddy" as long as he kills progressive Ugandans and stands in the path of Socialist transformation in Africa.

Uganda is a typical neo-colonial economy. This economy had stagnated under Amin. Excessive barbarity and political instability have become part of the way of life of Uganda. The spineless petit bourgeois who took over the Asian businesses are totally dependent on the imperialists for manufactured goods. A most servile class, they try to imitate the Europeans and send their money to be banked in Europe. Because this petit bourgeois is a comprador class par excellence, they are not innovative nor inventive. The profiteering nature of this class has led to increased sufferings of the peasants. Because of the scarcity of goods, inflation has set in. The

peasants of the rural areas have not seen sugar, salt, flour, rice or washing soap for the last two years.

The little foreign exchange earnings which could be used to buy spare parts for the import substitution industries is spent on tanks, jets and guns to be used for the oppression of the peasants. In spite of his ranting against imperialists, Amin bought an executive jet for four million dollars from the Americans (and children die in Uganda of Kwashiokor.) The peasants of Uganda are hungry. They cannot get the hand hoe, their only technological aid. Meanwhile, Amin imports beer from Denmark to quench the thirst of his mercenary army. The evidence of underdevelopment and stagnation is everywhere prevalent in Uganda. There is no medicine in the hospitals. Because there are no hoes, the peasants cannot produce enough food for local consumption or produce cash crops richest of three East African territories, registered a negative growth of 1.2 percent. Sharp declines were noted in every sector of the economy. The most marked declines were in the mining, transportation and commercial sectors. More than 6 percent of the population left the capitalist monetary sector of the economy back to subsistence living. In a fertile land like Uganda, situated at the source of the Nile, basic foodstuff is now imported.

Given this serious socio-economic crisis Amin is seeking support from the devil if possible. He has recently sent a team to recruit skilled personnel and technicians from Bangladesh. The same people who were expelled because they were exploiting Africans, are now returning as guests of Amin. He is also now working out how much compensation should be paid to the British for their estates. The British never had any land in Uganda. Amin has gone full circle. He is about to compensate the British for 70 years of exploitation of the peasants and bring back the Asians to Uganda.

WORKER'S SOLIDARITY DAY

(Continued from page 1)

monopolies intensify their cut throat policy of maximum profits at the direct expense of the worker.

We need a new mass working class movement with revolutionary leadership to combat the increasing economic exploitation & open moves to the right by the Democrats and Republicans as they prepare plans to suppress the people when we protest this unjust system. Our movement must begin to work out an integral strategy and elaborated tactics for the struggle against monopoly capitalism.

The Congress of African People is advocating a strategy for 1976 that will begin to come to grips with the important question of a new mass movement, one bold enough to challenge our oppressors and the corrupt Democrat and Republican "labor" and revisionist lackies with an anti-depression, anti-repression national presidential campaign to focus on the demands of working people in this time of crisis at home and abroad. This movement will grow as the masses of working people look for an alternative political direction as the system of monopoly capitalism demonstrates it is bankrupt.

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WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

RAISE!!



Amiri Baraka

There are a great many myths and much misinformation about Socialism spread through the United States, much of it consciously. Clear and accurate information about Socialism is hard to come by in capitalist controlled U.S. society, simply because the controllers of the society know that it is very dangerous to have a whole lot of people start understanding clearly what is at the root of their problems. If you understand what's at the root of your problems, most people will move to solve those problems, directly.

For instance, Socialism is a **mode of production** (i.e., a method of producing food, clothing, shelter, basically, but of producing **wealth**, in general). That is the fundamental question that influences everything else about a society, any society. How do the people produce food clothing and shelter. In other words, how is real life produced and reproduced. How do the people survive? Without answering this question, every other question is abstract. Because without food, clothing and shelter, there is no society, of any kind, it simply cannot exist.

Socialism, means that the means of producing that wealth; the factories, machines, storehouses, tools, as well as the land, mineral wealth, water, energy sources, &c. are owned collectively. That is **publicly**. Socialism means the collective or public control of the tools and what the tools are used to work on, to produce anything of value in a society. Whoever controls this means or production, controls society!

Under capitalism, the oppressive system under which we have existed here in the United States, these means of production are owned **privately**, that is, by an individual, or corporation, a small group of individuals. A small group of families. For instance, in the United States, the **ruling class**, i.e., the small group that controls most of the means of producing wealth in the U.S. is **only some 6/10th of 1 percent of the population!** Yet these people control **outright**, 1/3 of all the wealth in the U.S., and with their lieutenants through their interlocking boards, and various "public ownership" shams, they control almost 90% of the wealth of this country!

For most of us, who work in this capitalist society, it means we have to work directly or indirectly, for these capitalists. Under capitalism, we don't own anything (except a couple of odds and ends) **the only thing we own is our ability to work, our labor power.** Which we must sell, like any other commodity, to the capitalist in order to eat. (A commodity is simply something produced to be sold.) We can be fired or laid off at the capitalist's whim not according to our needs.

We are paid a wage, a salary, by the capitalist. But we are robbed right there, because our work produces a great deal more wealth than we ever get to take home. It takes many people in modern industry to produce the goods and services which society depends on to exist and develop, but only a few capitalists get to keep the great part of this. You work in an auto factory, you make two cars you paid yourself for the year. The rest of the year you are working for the capitalist. The basic contradiction in capitalism is that millions of people work to produce the wealth of the society, but only the capitalists that small ruling class, and their lackies, truly benefit.

Socialism, as the science called **historical materialism**, points out, is the next mode of production to emerge in society after capitalism! The very fact that production itself, i.e., the means of producing what society needs to exist, becomes each day, more and more socialized. That is, it takes more and more people to produce, more and more people are involved with the production process, in all areas of society, but at the same time, fewer and fewer people, control the enormous wealth that is produced. In the United States, for

instance, with a gross national product (total worth of the society) of 2 trillion dollars a year, yet 15% of the population eligible to work are unemployed. Smaller companies go out of business by the thousands. The big companies get bigger and bigger, swallowing their smaller competitors. More and more people are brought into the production process, only to be pauperized (go broke) by the cyclical crisis in capitalism, whereby every 8 to 12 years, there is a recession or depression. Production for profit rather than use breeds two evils, over-production and the pauperization of the workers who simply cannot buy all the things there are to buy. But prices go up as the workers demand more of a share of the wealth in order to buy what they have produced. But as prices go up the money the workers have is ripped off. The goods stand around, unbought, workers are laid off. Recession, then depression. The only way out of the depression phase of the cycle is to "stimulate the economy". **The capitalists do this by means of starting a war.** With a war workers can be hired, the surplus production can be sold (that which is not burnt or thrown in the ocean or otherwise destroyed to keep prices

high). But after the war the cycle continues.

Capitalism itself produces the masses of propertyless wage earners (proletarians) that finally destroy capitalism by a means of socialist revolution! Working people, at one point, simply will refuse to have their lives ruined and distorted by a handful of capitalists, and the crisis of capitalism will also make it more and more difficult for the ruling class to oppose the swelling revolutionary sentiment which will transform the workers, and shortly thereafter, society itself.

For Black People, our super exploitation, because of the racism that capitalism uses to make us a source of super profits, has driven us into a leading force of socialist revolution, in the United States and all over the world. Whether in Newark or South Afrika: but the other oppressed peoples in the world, in Asia, Latin America, and even the exploited European workers on the continent and the United States, are

(Continued on page 10)

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