



NO ECONOMIC RECOVERY UNDER CAPITALISM!!

MULTINATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE & INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



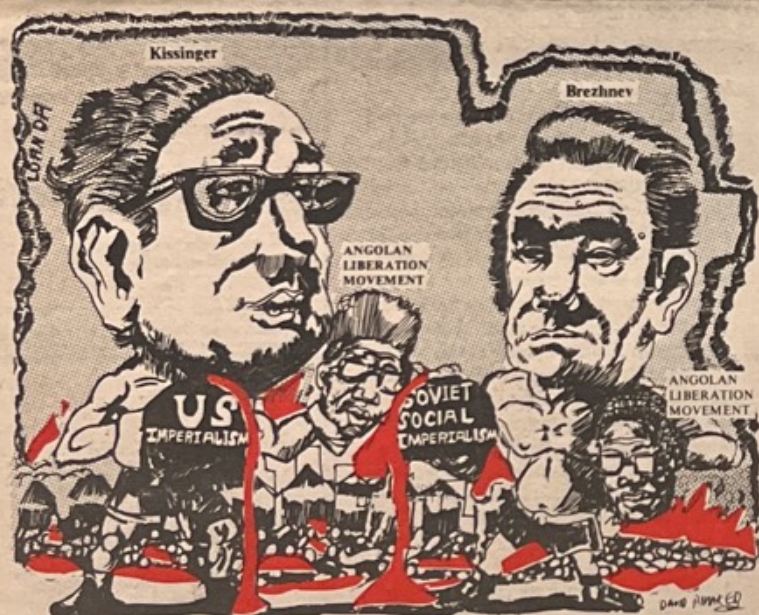
On Sunday, March 7, 1976, International Women's Day, anti-imperialist forces will march in New York City to the U.N. The Black Women's United Front is sponsoring the Multi-National Women's Conference on March 6th in New York City. (More on page 7.)

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM MEANS PERMANENT RECESSION FOR WORKING CLASS



World imperialism will not recover! Inside the U.S. a staggering "official" unemployment rate of 8 million leaves more and more people jobless, foodless and homeless. Revolutionary struggle and socialist revolution are our only salvation, all talk of "recovery" is bogus!

ANGOLA



For True Independence Superpowers Must Be Thrown Out!!

The seeming military "victory" of one liberation movement in the Angolan crisis should not be cause for rejoicing, since what the vicious intrusion of the superpowers into Angola and their contention for world domination, has done is objectively set back real independence and sovereignty until a time when the superpowers can be forced out and a government of national unity put together to politically resolve contradictions between the liberation movements and bring real independence. It was the Soviet Union, who initiated the bloody civil war which has killed more Angolans than the Anti-Portuguese Colonial War, and who is the most dangerous of the two superpowers (US and USSR) at this time, since they are

"wildly ambitious", feeling that since the U.S.A. has suffered defeat after defeat to the heroic 3rd world forces, and is known throughout the world as a bloody beast imperialist, the Soviet Social Imperialists, crying "Socialism" to cover their misdeeds, now want to take up where the "old" plunderer left off actually crawling in the back door as Kissinger and Co. get kicked out the front.

What kind of real independence can be bought with 10,000 Cuban troops winning the battles killing Angolans for Soviet Social Imperialism? Will the Cubans have to be stationed in Angola permanently to secure MPLA's "victory"? What about the certain guerilla warfare that will now drag on, with USSR & USA each taking part in front and behind the scenes? Obviously there is no real independence with Cubans. (Continued on page 5)

RAISE!
Imperialism and Revolution
Part 3 Page 12

IN CLEVELAND: YEAR OF STRUGGLE AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

As the just struggles of 3rd world people move on, cutting away more and more at the super-profits once derived by imperialism and the effects of unscientific, over-production takes its toll. The noose of economic crisis and chaos, tightens around capitalism's neck and, "veto Ford" continues to veto jobs, housing, welfare, health and other public service programs. Kicking wildly, trying to shake loose the noose, trying to put one more breath into dying monopoly capitalism, trying to curb the rising tide of the peoples resistance, the oppressed masses fighting back! So police repression is the order of the day and fascism is drawing near via the S-1 Bill.

As a matter of fact police repression in Cleveland has been escalating ever since the murder of 15 year old Robert Dennis in January of 74'. Dennis was shot in the back of the head by a homicidal freak who claims the youth made a sudden move. This murder was ruled justifiable by the courts, which are only tools of the ruling class to make sure they stay that way. This murder was by no means justifiable, nor was it an accident, nor have such murders ceased.

In May of 75', Dwayne Hawkins, a 19 year old unemployed black youth was murdered in his home, by a Cleveland Killer Cop named Sidney Rosen. He claims Dwayne was about to attack him with a butcher knife. Dwayne was shot in the back! The ruling - justifiable homicide.

In June, 12 days after the brutal killing of Dwayne, 20 year old Derrick Browne was murdered because he refused to stop the motorcycle he was riding. Derrick was shot in the back. The police say Derrick (who was going about 70 m.p.h.) turned around on his motorcycle as if to be pointing a gun. His killer, a policeman by the name of Ralph Thomas was found innocent on a charge of "negligent homicide". This killing caused mass protest from the

people. Foot patrols were placed in the area of his murder for fear of an uprising.

In September a 44 year old man, by the name of Joe Saunders, a U.S. Postal worker was shot down in his home. Police say that got a call that a heavily armed man was shooting at people and that they were in fear of their lives. Saunders suffered fatal multiple shotgun wounds and the right side of his face was blown off! Not a policeman was injured. The ruling, justifiable homicide.

Also in September, a 66 year old senior citizen was murdered in front of the building where he lived. Frank Mitchell had just finished chasing away someone who was trying to steal his car, when the police drove by and saw him with a gun in his hand. They turned their car around and before Mitchell could mumble a word, he was dead from a shotgun blast in the chest. The ruling, again, justifiable homicide.

Several months ago, Dan Johnson a 17 year old white youth, who resided in a white working class community, the West side of Cleveland, was the last to be killed by the Cleveland Killer Cops (that we know of). Dan and a friend had stolen a 1962 automobile. The police allegedly, were attempting to pull them over because they thought they saw one of the youths with a gun. The chase ended on a dead end street, where Dan broke and ran from the car, which by this time was surrounded by police who

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PAUL ROBESON



Paul Robeson, the internationally known singer and actor, a foremost revolutionary activist and a leader of Black peoples struggle for democratic rights, and supporter of the struggles of all oppressed peoples against imperialism, died on January 27th, 1976, at the age of 77. Mr. Robeson was born on April 9th, 1898 in Princeton, New Jersey. In 1915 he won a scholarship to then Rutgers College for Men, in New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he won Phi Beta Kappa honors, membership to the Rutgers Cap and Gown honor society, and won over 13 varsity letters in four sports. He was named the first All-American athlete from Rutgers, and was the first Black All-American, hailed as the best all around athlete in the U.S. in 1917 and 1918. He went on to earn his law degree from Columbia University, where he married Eslanda Cordoza Goode and in 1924 began his career as singer and actor. The beauty and richness of his voice won him acclaim as the world's foremost baritone and he was considered one of the most impressive and convincing actors of his time. Because of the racism and national oppression of Black people in America at this time, mob violence and lynching of Blacks in the North, the climatic rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the South and West, plus the Jim Crow policies that permeated social and economic life, Mr. Robeson was forced to go abroad in order to gain full recognition of his talent as an artist. Later on in his life he stated in reference to the discrimination of Black Artists (in a speech "The Negro Artist Looks Ahead") "Think of Handy, one of the creators of the blues; think of Count Basie, playing to half-filled houses in the Apollo; colored arrangers receiving a pittance while white bands reap the harvest. What heartbreak for every Negro composer! Publishing houses taking his songs for nothing and making fortunes. Theaters in the heart of Negro communities dictating to Negro performers what they shall act... arrogantly telling Negro audiences what they shall see..."

He remained abroad until 1939, living mainly in London and beginning in 1934 made several trips to the Soviet Union, which had developed a strong Socialist heavy industry and mechanized agriculture, abolished unemployment and exploitation of man by man, opening the way to a prosperous material and cultural life for "ALL" of the working people of the USSR. He was most impressed by the absence of racism and racial prejudice, performing in the late 30's before the International Brigades fighting against the march of fascism across Europe. Considering himself a "peoples artist" and understanding "that the art comes from the people" he returned to the U.S.A. and performed before the trade unions, bringing his talent to working people on the picket lines and workplaces, leading delegations in protest to the discrimination, killings, and segregation of Black people in the North and the Black Belt nation, in the factories and the armed forces. As to the role of the art he brought to the workers and struggle of Black people for self determination and democratic

rights, he wrote "the culture with which we deal comes from the people. We have an obligation to take it back to the people to make them understand that in fighting for their cultural heritage, they fight for peace. They fight for their own rights, for the rights of the Negro people, for the rights of all in this great land. All is dependent so much upon our understanding the power of this people, the power of the Negro people, the power of the masses of America, of a world where we can all walk in complete dignity" (speech, "Negro Artists Think Ahead"). He was not just a most talented artist, but a revolutionary artist, who brought with him the understanding of the power of Black people and of the working class, and the need for art that brought them to understand the power of the oppressed Black nation and the multinational working class. In 1944 he founded and was the chairman of the Progressive Party which nominated former Vice President Henry Wallace for president in the 1948 presidential election.

Perhaps the greatest single influence on the world and the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism, during this time was the victorious socialist revolution of the Russian working class and the broadening of the concept of proletarian internationalism and the self determination of oppressed nations and colonies in their struggle against imperialism, put forward by V.I. Lenin and J. Stalin.

Lenin and Stalin declared that the Proletarian Party must support the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. Consequently the Bolshevik Party advocated the right of nations to self determination, even to the point of secession and formation of independent states. The resolute and consistent position of the Party on the National Question, its struggle for the complete equality of nations and for the abolition of all forms of national oppression and national inequality secured for the Party the sympathy and support of the oppressed nationalities ("History of CPSU(B), p. 190") within Russia and throughout the Third World. "In this way the question of the oppressor nations became one of supporting the oppressed nations and of rendering real and continuous assistance to them in their struggle against imperialism for real equality of nations, for their independent existence as states." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 72, by J. Stalin) and the Soviet Union became a center for 3rd World revolutionaries such as Ho Chi Minh and others from China, Korea, other parts of Asia, Afrika, and Latin America, some of whom were later to lead their peoples to national independence onward to socialist construction.

The correct Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro Question in America in 1928 by the Comintern and the CPUSA in 1930 before its turn to revisionism and American Exceptionalism under Earl Browder say the influx of thousands of Black workers into the Communist Party and on commissions in the Comintern. In 1945 in his address at the founding of the UN in San Francisco, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov raised "From the viewpoint of the interests of international security, we must first of all see to it that dependent

(Continued on page 6)

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ALSC NATIONAL MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK

The weekend of January 9, 10 and 11, the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) Continuations Committee, as well as the national body, met in New York at the Afrikan Information Service's office in downtown Manhattan. The weekend included 3 meetings, a forum and a demonstration on the Superpower contention in Angola.

Even though the forum and rally were important and generated much discussion in and out of the meetings, the primary subject for the weekend was the continuations of the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee, or the disbanding of the committee. These 3 meetings were the summation of several other meetings of the Continuations Committee, where both continuation and disbandment have been discussed.

It was made obvious from the very beginning that the consensus of those at the meetings was to continue ALSC, but then the questions of how, what would be the nature of the organization, who would be the audience, etc. became the primary discussions. After the first day of discussions which were for the Continuations Committee only the general body met, that included representatives from approximately 10 chapters and representatives from at least 6 national organizations, 3 of them Communist organizations.

The discussions that took place throughout the weekend were for the most part very intense and in many instances the result of sectarian struggles between two of the Communist organizations, CAP and RWL. That is the struggles were often the result of political differences between our two organizations that did not necessarily have anything to do with what was being discussed or any disagreement, on the surface, about what was being discussed.

It is important that the Congress of Afrikan People start this section with some self-criticisms. We first have to criticize ourselves for the general lack of preparation of the CAP comrades who attended the majority of the meetings during that weekend. The comrades had not done sufficient study and analysis of the work that the Committee was doing that weekend and therefore were unable to contribute very much of value. One example was that CAP put forward that ALSC is a united front but it is not and this was pointed out by a Comrade from RWL who using Dimitroff's works on the United Front explained why ALSC did not scientifically fit the description of the united front. We also put forward other ideas and suggestions that we were unable to back up with more than just our opinions. This incorrect behavior led to more of the unprincipled dis-

cussion and we accept the criticism for this and criticize ourselves for this opportunism.

We also criticize those who despite our self-criticism and agreement with their criticism around certain of the issues, they continued as if nothing had been said or as if they were the party. This opportunism, by the RWL, particularly, also added to the sectarian and otherwise unprincipled exchange between our two organizations.

Again we understand that if not for our own unclarity and opportunism (which is the cause of the unclarity) much of the unprincipled discussion would not have taken place, but it is also clear that the opportunism of the RWL and other organized comrades contributed to the sectarianism and opportunism and should also be criticized.

Through these struggles and in some cases despite these struggles some decisions were made about the future of ALSC. Already mentioned is that ALSC will continue, it was also decided that it be a mass organization and also that ALSC now become multi national.

There were also several principles of unity that were agreed on: they were anti-imperialism and anti-soviet social imperialism. Other points were put forward too by CAP (anti-capitalism, anti-racism and anti-sexism) and one by RWL (anti-national oppression) but each of these were supposed to be sent back so that the people putting them forward could write papers that would give more solid reasons why these things should be principles of unity. RWL's proposal was put forward to replace CAP's suggestion on anti-racism and so their paper will argue for one as a

(Continued on page 3)

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MOTIC



Civil War in Lebanon, a class war provoked Lebanon using right wing Phalangist gunmen overwhelm counter-revolutionaries with the both Muslim and Christian workers and pe

Richard Dhoruba Moore, Black Activist, Convicted for Crime He Didn't Commit. Because of his political activism in the Black Panther Party & involvement in the Black liberation movement, Moore became the target of a conspiracy by the FBI to jail him for his political activism. The manufactured testimony of a psychotic led to Dhoruba's conviction of attempted murder of two New York City policemen. Dhoruba was given 25 years to life in prison for this bogus "assault". Presently he is the only man in NY state who has such a sentence and did not cause the actual death of someone. It is obvious Dhoruba would not be in jail if it was not for his political involvement in the Black liberation movement & the determination by the capitalist system to use the courts, jails, prisons to repress & control the masses of working people who refuse to be exploited by this system. Presently Richard Dhoruba Moore's appeal in pending before the courts.

Two Black Women Being railroaded to Prison for Defending Themselves Against Rape. Cheryl Todd, age 23, and Dessie Woods, age 30, are on trial with charges of murder and armed robbery by South Georgia officials on October 13, 1975 in Alamo, Georgia. The women were defending themselves against a white man, Ronnie Horne, who presented himself as a detective. He was killed with his own unregistered gun, during the course of the women's resistance to his sexual assault and physical attack. The two women who had defended themselves against an armed rapist posing as a police officer were arrested for murder and armed robbery; the latter charge stemming from more lies that the man's wallet was missing while a gun, his gun, was present. Because of the racism and sexism in this capitalist system, two Black women who defended themselves against an armed racist's sexual attack, find themselves on trial for murder. This is the Joanne Lit-

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NATIONAL MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK

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(Continued on page 5)

MOTION!!



Civil War in Lebanon, a class war provoked by U.S. Imperialist CIA agents in Lebanon using right wing Phalangist gunmen, recently saw revolutionary forces overwhelm counter-revolutionaries with the strength of the Lebanese masses of both Muslim and Christian workers and peasants.

Richard Dhoruba Moore, Black Activist, Convicted for Crime He Didn't Commit. Because of his political activism in the Black Panther Party & involvement in the Black liberation movement, Moore became the target of a conspiracy by the FBI to jail him for his political activism. The manufactured testimony of a psychotic led to Dhoruba's conviction of attempted murder of two New York City policemen. Dhoruba was given 25 years to life in prison for this bogus "assault". Presently he is the only man in NY state who has such a sentence and did not cause the actual death of someone. It is obvious Dhoruba would not be in jail if it was not for his political involvement in the Black liberation movement & the determination by the capitalist system to use the courts, jails, prisons to repress & control the masses of working people who refuse to be exploited by this system. Presently Richard Dhoruba Moore's appeal is pending before the courts.

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tle case all over again, and such acts are not uncommon, it's just that now sisters, and women in general, are fighting back. Anyone interested in supporting Dessie Woods-Cheryl Todd, should contact the Wood-Todd Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1935, Atlanta, Georgia, 30301.

Alabama Prisons Ruled "Unconstitutionally Cruel: Governor Wallace Calls them "Hotels" Judge Johnson, Federal District Court, ruled that prisoners suffered from cruel and unusual punishment saying "rampant violence and jungle atmosphere existing throughout Alabama's penal system". The guards are mostly whites from rural areas while a majority of the prisoners are black from urban areas. This ruling was attacked by reactionary racist George Wallace, who accused Judge Johnson of creating a "hotel atmosphere" in the Alabama prisons. Judge Johnson's response said those who talk about "hotel" atmosphere must not be aware of the conditions or have ulterior purposes (Wallace obviously has ulterior motives). Judge Johnson said that "the elimination of conditions that will permit maggots in a patient's wounds for over a month before his death does not constitute creation of a hotel atmosphere. The elimination of other physical and mental indignities such as the rape of a retarded minor homosexually four times in one night will not be creating a hotel atmosphere." Wallace, declared candidate for President, represents the most reactionary sector of the bourgeoisie. If elected Wallace would continue the move to the right to fascism. It should also be noted that Wallace is part of the democratic party, the same party that the Negro misleaders, the petty bourgeois elected officials are promising the masses of Black people that will save them.

Continued Rightward Move Seen in Recent Supreme Court Ruling In latest Supreme Court ruling, law enforcement

officials do not have to get warrants before they make arrests in public places even when there is adequate opportunity to obtain a warrant. All they need is "probable" cause or "good reason," to believe that the person being arrested committed a felony. This decision is directly hooked to the S-1 Bill now being discussed in Congress. Both clearly point out, the move to the right, toward a fascist state that will use violence to oppress, terrorize, & exploit the masses of people. The S-1 Bill makes sure that illusion democracy exists no more. To add to the Supreme Court ruling on no warrant, the S-1 bill carries this line to its furthest extreme - the reinstatement of the death penalty, long sentencing, high bails, severe limits on demonstrations, making it illegal to demonstrate against war activities, severe penalties to dissent, illegal to be a member in an organization that advocates any change in government (organizations such as NAACP, SCLC etc couldn't recruit members), limits freedom of press, & redefines a riot to be 5 more people. The S-1 Bill like the other laws, the courts, jails, are meant to serve the ruling class as a method of controlling the people. The S-1 Bill must be opposed. With its implementation will come a police state.

Japan-China Treaty - Another Blow to Soviet Social Imperialism. Despite threats from Social Imperialist Soviet Union, Japan concluded a peace treaty with China to formally end World War II. The agreement included a key section - stating that both countries oppose the efforts of any third nation to achieve hegemony in Asia, which is a major blow to Soviet Social Imperialism in its attempt to gain hegemony in Southeast Asia. Japan has been also demanding the return of four northern islands seized by the Soviet Union at the end of WW II. But Soviet Union in its quest for World domination has refused to return the islands.

Portugal Moving to the Right: Left forces continue to be attacked. One of the key figures in the 1974 Portuguese revolution against the fascist government, Major General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, former military security chief, was arrested as being one of the principles in the attempted coup on November 25. Carvalho was one of the highest ranking progressives in the armed forces until his demotion and arrest. The rightist forces are using the unsuccessful coup to try to stop the advance of the masses of workers & peasants & to continue their attacks on the progressive forces. Carvalho is quoted as saying "my arrest must be included as part of the right wing offensive. I am sure that the popular masses and the workers of his country will know how to respond to the forces that are now running things from the wings and are interested in my own arrest."

Black Workers Losing Ground According to NAACP report "it is now clear that the slow and hard gains made by black wage earners during the past quarter century were fragile and temporary." In every category - unemployment rates, duration of joblessness, in earnings and in labor force entry of young workers - the Black worker is being forced back. Unemployment rate in 26 major areas of Black population is 30% with 40-50% for Black teenagers. The report also said unemployment for Black & Puerto Rican Vietnam Veterans is 40-60%. The figures of the NAACP report exposed lies put out in Scammon & Wattenberg report which claimed "remarkable development" and "mighty strides" by Black workers. Ac-

tually figures put out by such groups as the Urban League & NAACP refute their own bourgeois "integrationist" lines. Black & other oppressed nationalities are not being integrated into the capitalist system. Most are marginal workers, if they find work at all. (see article, pg 1).

PFLO Continues Struggle in Oman. Contrary to reports in bourgeois media, the liberation struggle in Oman (located on the Persian Gulf) has not been smashed by the reactionary regime of Sultan Qabus bin said. For the past 10 years the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) has been waging a fight against Qabus and his U.S. British and Iranian backers. Qabus' army is being reinforced by Iranian troops

main fighting has been going on in Dhofar province, which is next to Democratic Yemen. The Democratic People's Republic of Yemen has supported the PFLO since the beginning of its armed struggle in 1965. PFLO has vowed that it would "continue its struggle for the evacuation of foreign invasion forces and the liberation of the country from foreign occupation until Oman occupies its decent and free place in the progressive and world community." Clearly, imperialist powers are struggling for hegemony in the Middle East. The struggle in Oman is also aimed at the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen, one of the few progressive governments in the Middle East, which has consistently supported revolutionary struggles and opposed imperialism.

Oil Struggle Developing in Depth in 1975 In the past year, the third world countries have waged an unremitting struggle for recovering sovereignty over the oil resources. The oil weapon has showed its fighting power in the struggle against the old international economic order and is making contributions to the establishment of a New one. In 1975 the third world oil-producing countries have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the superpowers in the field of oil prices. The former want to maintain equitable oil prices and ensure the achievements in their struggle while the latter try to force down oil prices again and restore exploitation. With the support of the world's people, the oil-producing countries stood up to the threat of one superpower, exposed the sabotage of the other and firmly defended their right to determine oil prices. The facts over the past year have further proved that the key to the constant victories won by the third world oil-producing countries lies in their unity and their steadfastness against superpower hegemonism (struggle for world domination). The oil struggle has greatly deflated the arrogance of the hegemonists. But in the world today, the danger of war has evidently increased with the intensified contention for oil between the two superpowers. The deepening struggle of the third world oil-producing countries is not only essential to the defence of state sovereignty and the development of the national economy but also vitally important for the overall struggle against the arms expansion and war preparation of the two superpowers, against their plot to launch a war of aggression. (Hsinhua News Agency)

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PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

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

Part 9

Letter to American Slaves, 1850

A convention of fugitive slaves was held in September, 1850, in Cazenovia, New York. This convention adopted a document called *Letter to the American Slaves*. This is one of the most important documents in the annals of black revolutionary nationalism. There is no doubt that, destitute as they were in the northern "land of freedom," these fugitive slaves were heavily dependent upon white Abolitionists for economic aid. A few were influenced by the philosophy of these Abolitionists. Therefore, this document not only shows the influence of revolutionary nationalism on this body of black people, but their "tongue in cheek" subtle condemnation of the white Abolitionist. It is a perfect example of how revolutionary nationalism undermined the foul role of the Abolitionists. Here are excerpts:

"... The Abolitionists act the part of friends and brothers to us; and our only complaint against them is, that there are so few of them. The Abolitionist, on whom it is safe to rely, are, almost all of them, members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, or of the Liberty Party. There are other Abolitionists; but most of them are grossly inconsistent; and, hence, not entirely trustworthy Abolitionists. So inconsistent are they, as to vote for anti-Abolitionists for civil rulers, and to acknowledge the obligation of laws, which they themselves interpret to be pro-slavery. . .

"The priests and churches of the North are, with comparatively few exceptions, in league with the priests and churches of the South; and this, of itself, is sufficient to account for the fact, that a caste-religion and a Negro-pew are found at the North, as well as at the South. The politicians and political parties of the North are connected with the politicians and political parties of the South; and hence, the political arrangements and interests of the North, as well as its ecclesiastical arrangements and interests, are adverse to the colored population. . .

"Nevertheless, we are poor, we can do little more to promote your deliverance than pray for it to the God of the oppressed. We will do what we can to supply you with pocket compasses. In dark nights, when his good guiding star is hidden from the flying slave, a pocket compass greatly facilitates his exodus. Besides, that we are too poor to furnish you with deadly weapons, candor requires the admission, that some of us would not furnish them, if we could; for some of us have become non-resistants, and have discarded the use of these weapons; and would say to you: 'love your enemies; do good to them, which hate you; bless them that curse you; and pray for them, which spitefully use you.' Such of us would be glad to be able to say, that all the colored men of the North are non-resistants. But, in point of fact, it is only a handful of them, who are. When the insurrection of the Southern slaves shall take place, as take place it will unless speedily prevented by voluntary emancipation, the great mass

of colored men of the North, however much to the grief of any of us, will be found by your side, with deep-stored and long-accumulated revenge in their hearts and with death-dealing weapons in their hands. It is not to be disguised, that a colored man is as much disposed, as a white man, to resist, even into death, those who oppress him. The colored American, for the sake of relieving his colored brethren, would no more hesitate to shoot an American slaveholder, than would a white American, for the sake of delivering his white brother, hesitate to shoot an Algerine slaveholder. The State motto of Virginia, "Death to Tyrants," is as well the black man's, as the white man's motto. We tell you these things not to encourage, or justify, your resort to physical force; but, simply, that you may know, be it your joy or sorrow to know it, what your Northern colored brethren are, in these important respects. This truth you are entitled to know, however the knowledge of it may affect you, and however you may act, in view of it.

"We have said, that some of us are non-resistants. But while such would dissuade you from all violence toward the slaveholder, let it not be supposed, that they regard it as guiltier than those



Frederick Douglass, a leading abolitionist, represented the militant line of black abolitionists to overturn slavery by force, which opposed the bankrupt line of many liberal bourgeois abolitionists that advocated "peaceful change". Overturning slavery was a question of power not morals!

strifes, which even good men are wont to justify. If the American revolutionists had excuse for shedding but one drop of blood, then have the American slaves excuse for making blood to flow 'even unto the horsebridles.'

"Numerous as are the escapes from slavery, they would be far more so, were you not embarrassed by your misinterpretations of the rights of property. You hesitate to take even the dullest of your masters' horses-whereas it is your duty to take the fleetest. Your consciences suggest doubts, whether in quitting your bondage, you are at liberty to put in your packs what you need of food and clothing. But were you better informed, you would not scruple to break your masters' locks, and take all their money. You are taught to respect the rights of property. But, no such rights belong to the slaveholding community, the rights of property all center in them, whose coerced and unrequited toil has created the wealth, in which their oppressors

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Moreover, if your oppressors have rights of property, you, at least, are exempt from all obligation to respect them. For you are prisoners of war, in an enemy's country-of a war, too, that is unvalued for its injustice, cruelty, meanness; and therefore, by all the rules of war, you have the fullest liberty to plunder, burn, and kill, as you may have occasion to do to promote your escape.

And now brethren, we close this letter with assuring you that we do not, cannot forget you. You are ever in our minds, our hearts, our prayers. Perhaps you are fearing that the free colored people of the United States will suffer themselves to be carried away from you by the American Colonization Society. Fear it not. In vain is it, that this greatest and most malignant enemy of the African race is now busy devising new plans, and is seeking the aid of Government to perpetuate your enslavement. It wants us away from your side that you may be kept in ignorance. But we will remain by your side to enlighten you. It wants us away from your side, that you may be contented. But we will remain by your side, to keep you, and make you more discontented. It wants us away from your side to the end, that your unsuspected and conscious helplessness may make you the easier and surer prey of your oppressors. But we will remain by your side to sympathize with you and cheer you, and give you the help of our rapidly swelling numbers. The land of our enslaved brethren is our land, and death alone shall part us.

"We cannot forget you, brethren, for we know your sufferings, and we know your sufferings, because we know from experience what it is to be an American slave. So galling was our bondage, that to escape from it, we suffered the loss of all things, and braved every peril and endured every hardship. Some of us left parents, some wives, some children. Some of us were wounded with guns and dogs, as we fled. . . and should death itself prove to be the price of our endeavor after freedom, what would that be but a welcome release to men, who had all their lifetime, been killed every day, and "killed all the day long."

Need we comment on the power of revolutionary nationalism as revealed in this document? What appears to be a matter of advice is in reality a matter of advocacy, properly worded so as to satisfy the protocol of paying token homage to the concept of non-resistance. These fugitive slaves looked forward to the "insurrection" of the southern slaves. They provided the justification for a revolutionary course ("Death to Tyrants"). They declared that all of the accumulated property of the oppressor was gotten through brutal robbery of the black man, and therefore the black man was the only one who could claim title to that land and property. They provided revolutionary nationalism with a fundamental understanding of the nature of property under

the system of slavery. They declared that the black man was a prisoner of war, with the logical extension that the black people were a people at war. From a convention of fugitive slaves who declared that they represented twenty thousand in Canada, and many more thousands in the free states, and who began their letter with the words, "Afflicted and beloved Brothers," came forth a document of magnificent importance.

(Cont. next issue)

Babu Imprisoned

(Continued from page 8)

and then after examination and treatment by the torturers' doctors, they would again be tortured until they lost consciousness." It was probably this treatment, reported exclusively in *Africa Confidential* (Vol. 15 No. 13), which decided Nyerere not to return the 18 Zanzibar detainees held on the mainland for trial on the island.

There were even less inhibitions on Zanzibar, a fact admitted even by the Zanzibar Attorney-General, Wolfgang Dourado during the trial, when he conceded some "arm-twisting" had gone into pre-trial investigations. According to Babu this arm-twisting led to the deaths of at least three detainees: Lt. Mussa Abdalla Ali, Lt. Ali Othman and Abbas Mohamed. (We have learned, through relatives, that another two of those found guilty at the Zanzibar trial and awaiting the result of their appeals, have also died in prison).

Dilemma

Nyerere is, admittedly, in a dilemma. He will not return "his" detainees to Zanzibar; nor can he release them without offending the Zanzibar leaders. The third option, a mainland trial, has been suggested, but the idea has apparently been rejected, either because there is too little evidence to secure convictions, or, possibly, and more cynically, because the evidence that did surface would be embarrassing to both mainland and island leaders. Nyerere may be waiting to see the results of the appeals by the accused to Karume's successor, Aboud Jombe. If he exercises clemency, then so can Nyerere.

But the fact remains M. Babu, who was the most progressive member of Mwalimu Nyerere's government, a proven revolutionary who was a leading figure in the Zanzibar revolution and a close friend of Malcolm X's and the person most responsible for Tanzania's tremendous rapport with Afro-Americans and the recruitment of them to come to Tanzania and work for the government — against the strong opposition of petit bourgeois bureaucrats. Babu's elimination from the Tanzanian Government reeks of CIA machinations, since it has left the petit bourgeois bureaucratic elite in growing control of the Tanzanian government.

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ALSC Meeting Held in New York

(Continued from page 2)

preference, but ours will simply be putting forward racism as a special form of oppression. As a matter of fact it is for us a form of national oppression (as a result of imperialism) which gives the national oppression of black people in this country a "peculiar trait", but it is not a part of all national oppression nor is it necessarily a part of national oppression. And at the same time we agree with the RWL that the broader national oppression needs to also be a principle of unity.

There was also a national secretariat and a chairperson elected by consensus of the body. Sister Viola Plummer of the Afrikan Information Service and New York ALSC is the chairperson and the rest of the Secretariat is representative of the broad representation of the ALSC, from all over the country and representing most of the chapters and organizations involved with the ALSC.

The Afrikan Liberation Support Committee is a very important group and we hope that many people will begin to join and work with it on the many projects that it will be involved with in the near future.

What was glossed over in the secretariat often unnecessary aspect of the RWL-CAP clashes, was the fact that RWL had made a principled but as yet not widely disseminated self-criticism for having initially taken the line that the ALSC should be liquidated. As they said, "The past line of RWL employed a metaphysical method and proceeded from an idealist world outlook. Specifically it employed the pragmatic method and was rooted in empiricism. counterposed our own narrow organizational tasks to our strategic proletarian internationalist duty. . . failed to grasp the danger and inevitability of world war and the need to unite all who could be united against the two superpowers.

The line on ALSC flowed from the general right opportunist line that dominated our organization since inception. While we grasped correct the task of going to the working class we failed to link it with the study of MLMTT and criticizing revisionism and failed to grasp the strategic task of accumulating the revolutionary force of the BLM as our tasks in the movement.

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No Economic Recovery

To talk of U.S. monopoly capitalism and all Imperialism as having hopes for "recovery" is to talk nonsense. This can be seen in the Annual Report to the Council of Economic Advisers, when in January of this year, along with the President's Annual Economic Report, submitted to Congress it said "The U.S. economy is now recovering from the most severe recession in post-war history. Production has been rising rapidly since the spring of last year."

The fact of the matter is that, "even an upturn in some countries can hardly be expected to take them out of the recession in the foreseeable future." Hsinhua News Agency went further to state, "what merits attention is the industries of all the major western countries are still operating under capacity, only two-thirds in the United States and from three-fifths to four-fifths in Western Europe and Japan. The U.S. press reports that by November 22, 1975, raw steel production was estimated at 19.4 per cent below that of a year ago. Some steel plants are expected to make further cuts in production. Housing units built in America in 1975 were estimated at 1.1 to 1.2 million, an all-time low in 29 years. Housing construction is expected to go down about 10 percent of the present level by the fourth quarter of 1976 due to high mortgage interest rates and skyrocketing prices."

The big joke is, the imperialist powers look among themselves for help, and some of the smaller second world countries are looking to the United States to help them with their problems, but the U.S. is in the same soon to be sunk ship!

The three worlds that exist today have been summed up by our Chinese comrades as follows "In this situation of 'great disorder under heaven,' all political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War 2 is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World."

World imperialism will not recover, the economic mode of production of monopoly capitalism in the U.S. will be replaced with socialist society in transition to communism holding class

UNITY & STRUGGLE

Robeson

(Continued from page 2)

struggle and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period of socialism, as they key links. Socialist society will come with the destruction of monopoly capitalism here with the rise of the violent storms of socialist revolution.

But this will come about only as a result of our preparations, only as a result of our conducting political exposures among the broad masses revealing the class nature of the state, as a bourgeois dictatorship, and our organizational efforts to unite, on the basis of unity & struggle for the correct political line, as Marxist-Leninists to build an Anti-Revisionist Communist Party bold enough to lead the whole multinational working class and oppressed nationalities in the struggle for power!

The U.S. and the USSR are two superpowers that represent the danger of a new world war, based on their contention for world domination, in this contention the "wildly ambitious" Soviet Union, the state of revisionism in power is the aggressor.

The declining economies of the Western world fuel this fact. In the U.S. a staggering "official" unemployment rate of 8 million people, leaves more and more people in this country jobless, foodless, and homeless, without the most basic needs in society. With this comes the rise in repression on the backs of the working people and broad masses because they choose to fight back, with the termination of many unemployment benefits, U.S. News and World Report's, that in late November one million laid off American workers could not receive unemployment pay.

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (000)

	October 1975	October 1974	October 1973
United States	3,362	3,248	3,000
Britain	3,372	3,424	3,100
France	4,012	3,712	3,012
The F.R.G.	2,810	2,712	2,612
Italy	3,862	3,512	3,012 (Approx)
Japan	338.0	338.0	338.0

(Chart from Peking Review)

The bourgeoisie offers solutions with issues such as, busing, in order, as in South Boston, to stir up racial conflicts in an attempt to divide the working class and shift the attention from the economic crisis that factually is worse than the 1930's crash! Faced with these kinds of tactics on the part of the state communists must take the correct stand, and not tail the spontaneity of the working class such as supporting reactionary white chauvinism, as did the Revolutionary Union now RCP". See Unity and Struggle in the Boston Busing situation.

Hsinhua commentary on the economic crisis of the western world goes on to say "For the 12 months ending last October, the rise in consumer prices is 7.6 percent in the U.S.; 9.6 percent in Japan; and 5.8 percent in West Germany, with France, Britain and Italy remaining at two digits and Britain topping the list with 25.9 percent. This is imperialism worldwide on its deathbed. It is why Lenin said "Imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold: Imperialism is 1) monopolistic capitalism; 2) parasitic, or decaying,

In 1939 Robeson helped found the African Affairs Council in New York City raising the question of national independence for the Afrikan states and

capitalism; 3) moribund capitalism." (Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement)

"The awakening and upsurge of the third world has sharpened the contradictions inherent in the capitalist economy and steadily reduced the chances for the imperialist countries, the superpowers in particular, to shift their economic crisis onto others. Western countries acknowledge that their economic prosperity is based on "cheap oil and raw materials". With the rise of the Third World, the days are gone forever when they could plunder cheap, raw materials at will. They are forced to say goodbye to their "golden age" once and for all."

So with crisis ringing throughout the U.S., production has fallen, the economic crisis is deepening and class and national struggles are rising, added to this is the internal contradictions among the bourgeois ruling class.

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE RISE OF COMMODITY PRICES

	October 1975	October 1974	October 1973	October 1972
United States	7.4	7.9	12.8	7.6
Britain	7.2	10.0	17.1	25.9
France	6.4	8.0	14.8	16.3
The F.R.G.	6.3	6.5	7.3	5.8
Italy	7.9	11.1	24.9	12.1
Japan	5.8	12.2	25.5	8.6

(Chart from Peking Review)

In the home of the other superpower, the USSR, its society too is riddled with turmoil, daily the Soviet revisionists build up their nuclear and conventional war machine in order to be able to fight either kind of war! The intense move to remain number one warmonger pushes the USSR to increase the suppression of the growing number of working class struggles based on its social-fascist dictatorship.

The economic base of soviet social-imperialism is state monopoly capitalism headed lock, stock, and barrel by Party bureaucrats, who have under the traitorous leadership of Nikita Khrushchev and his lowly heir L. Brezhnev and co. Have established, in this period, modern revisionism with state power the ideological expression of once Marxist-Leninists who cut the core out of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought—class struggle, proletarian revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restored capitalism completely!

The soviet revisionists have the capacity to dull the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses of world's people who are struggling for independence, liberation and revolution by raising its signboard of "socialism" and posing as "the natural ally" of the liberation movements and with these bogus claims the revisionists sneak like tigers into the homes of third world countries who have kicked the wolf, U.S. imperialism, out of the front.

But, the cold reality is, none of the tricks can hide the true character of modern revisionism and its world ravenous expression social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao Tse Tung has said "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictator-

the question of anti-imperialist struggle right here in the U.S.A., which had just emerged as "The Super Power", the most powerful imperialist nation in the "great" imperialist powers Great Britain and France, who were supposedly the victors of WW II, as well as the losers Germany and Japan dependent on U.S. imperialism for their postwar development. The U.S. bourgeoisie anxious to begin its imperialist aggression and domination of the world, began to propagate an anti-Soviet Union and anti-communist campaign through the "Cold War," and McCarthy era of "red-baiting". In an effort to mask its intentions, of imperialist domination and control of the world and as a result of an international eye on the oppression of the Black nation and denial of democratic rights of Black people in the North and South, the U.S.A. while suppressing communists, began to institute a line of laws which supposedly out-

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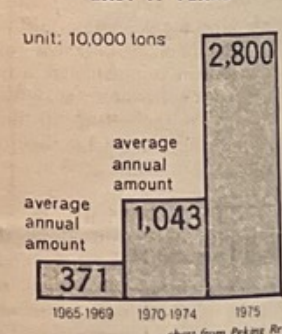
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- Growth rates have plummeted lower and lower as shown by the principal targets set in the four consecutive five-year plans since 1956. The growth rates for national income, industrial output value and farm output value, set in the ninth five-year plan, are respectively 36 percent, 28 percent and 69 percent lower than in the sixth plan (1956-1960). As compared with the eighth plan (1966-1970), the growth rates for both national income and industrial output value are 6 per cent lower and for agricultural output value, 13 percent.

- The grain harvest fell in four out of the five years. According to official statistics, the average yield for the five years was about 9 percent short of the planned target and this year's production, reaching only 137 million tons, was truly catastrophic. It was 80 million tons below the planned target and 30 million tons less than in 1972 when a serious crop failure occurred. The seventh slump in grain production since Brezhnev took office 11 years ago, it represented the worst dip in 20 years. It totally exposed the bankruptcy of the Brezhnev clique's agricultural policy. In per capita consumption, the 1975 crop was lower than that of tsarist Russia in 1913.

SOVIET GRAIN IMPORTS IN THE LAST 11 YEARS



(Chart from Peking Review)

- A member of the central committee of the soviet revisionist party managed to embezzle as much as half a million rubles—the equivalent of the total yearly earnings of over 400 average workers and built a magnificent house for herself.

- Widespread prostitution is another perceptible sign of the demoralization of Soviet society.

- Venereal diseases have spread far and wide as streetwalkers have increased in number. Quoting from a Soviet underground publication, a French magazine disclosed that prostitution, the ulcer of capitalism, definitely exists in the Soviet Union. At night in many parts of Moscow streetwalkers are at work, some protected and supported by the police.

(Continued on page 7)

Black Women's United Front MULTI-NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Saturday, March 6, 1976

AGENDA

- 9:00 a.m. - Registration
- 10:00 - 12:00 PLENARY SESSION
- 1. "What is the Black Women's United Front - Why the Need for a Multi-National Women's Front?"
- 2. "Why the Need for a Multi-National Women's Front?"
- 3. "Struggle of Women as an Anti-Imperialist Struggle"
- 4. "Issues that Affect Women Under Imperialism"

- 12:00 - 1:00 p.m. - LUNCHEON
- 1:00 - 5:00 p.m. - WORKSHOPS

- a. Soviet Social Imperialism - History of V. I. Lenin
- b. Triple Oppression of Third World Women
- c. Women Fight Back Against the Crisis Causes

5:00 - 6:00 p.m. - DINNER

6:00 - 8:00 p.m. - PLENARY SESSION

Summary of Workshops and Plenary

Cheryl Todd - Dessie X. Woods

International Women's Day

9:00 p.m. - FUNDRAISER/DANCE

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Angola

(Continued from page 5)

the exploitation of other countries, and primarily, of the East European "allies." ("The Soviet Economy - A Completely and Definitely Capitalist Economy," by Aristotel Pano, p47, Albania Today, July-Aug 1975).

For years the Soviet revisionists, who babble usually about a "peaceful transition to socialism," refused to support national liberation struggles claiming they would be the "spark to set off world conflagration," now, and only after the three Angolan Liberation Movements had reached agreement amongst themselves about the formation of a government of national unity, the only natural form in which to solve the normal political differences that exist between all liberation movements, the Soviet Social Imperialists let out their deadly yodel about supporting liberation movements, declaring one liberation movement "progressive" and shipping in tons of sophisticated arms. When, in fact, they are interested only in annexing Angola and setting up their hegemony in Southern Africa, like the colonialists before them. The Soviets have also, tragically, agitated some 10,000 Cubans into the civil war.

What is also dangerous about the Soviet Union's temporary military domination of Angola, is that it will undoubtedly be followed by new attempts at social imperialist annexation, i.e., hegemony and control in other parts of Afrika

MEANING FOR ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe in the present situation with ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo the only "negotiator" with Rhodesian Ian Smith, while the other two leaders of the Zimbabwe national liberation movement, Sithole, ZANU and Muzorewa, ANC (both as leaders of individual organizations, and as part of the unified leadership of the ANC coalition) are excluded from even coming into Zimbabwe for negotiations, and those forces fighting armed struggle are severely set back by Zambia's acts of hostility toward ZANU and the ZANU supreme council, still holding them in prison in Lusaka, promising investigation and an International Commission report on the

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the question of anti-imperialist struggle right here in the U.S.A., which had just emerged as "The SuperPower", the most powerful imperialist nation in the world, which made even the formerly "great" imperialist powers Great Britain and France, who were supposedly the victors of WW II, as well as the losers Germany and Japan dependent on U.S. imperialism for their postwar development. The U.S. bourgeoisie anxious to begin its imperialist aggression and domination of the world, began to propogate an anti-Soviet Union and anti-communist campaign through the "Cold War," and McCarthy era of "red-baiting". In an effort to mask its intentions, of imperialist domination and control of the world and as a result of an international eye on the oppression of the Black nation and denial of democratic rights of Black people in the North and South, the U.S.A. while suppressing communists, began to institute a line of laws which supposedly out-

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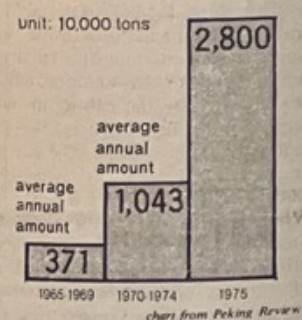
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"Abolition of Every Possibility of Oppression & Exploitation.
-that's our slogan!"

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**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S
DAY 1976**



In 1908, women on the lower East Side of New York organized a march of 1,000 of garment workers to demand an end to the brutal and oppressive working conditions, child labor, and for the right to vote. In 1910, it was proposed that March 8th be a day of solidarity with women everywhere in their struggle against oppression and exploitation. The purpose of International Women Day is to mobilize the masses of women as well as men in giant demonstrations, and in a fight against the wage slavery system that is at the root of women's oppression, the system of Imperialism.

**International Women's Day
Sunday, March 7
March to United Nations!
12:noon - Meet at Tompkins Square Park
(Ave. A between 7th & 10th St.)**

**Speeches & Live Entertainment!
speak out!**

**JOIN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM!!
CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY!!**

Angola

(Continued from page 5)

the exploitation of other countries, and primarily, of the East European "allies." ("The Soviet Economy - A Completely and Definitely Capitalist Economy," by Aristotel Pano, p47, *Albania Today*, July-Aug 1975).

For years the Soviet revisionists, who babble usually about a "peaceful transition to socialism," refused to support national liberation struggles claiming they would be the "spark to set off world conflagration", now, and only after the three Angolan Liberation Movements had reached agreement amongst themselves about the formation of a government of national unity, the only natural form in which to solve the normal political differences that exist between all liberation movements, the Soviet Social Imperialists let out their deadly yodel about supporting liberation movements, declaring one liberation movement "progressive" and shipping in tons of sophisticated arms. When, in fact, they are interested only in annexing Angola and setting up their hegemony in Southern Afrika, like the colonialists before them. The Soviets have also, tragically, agitated some 10,000 Cubans into the civil war.

What is also dangerous about the Soviet Union's temporary military domination of Angola, is that it will undoubtedly be followed by new attempts at social imperialist annexation, i.e., hegemony and control in other parts of Afrika

MEANING FOR ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe in the present situation with ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo the only "negotiator" with Rhodesian Ian Smith, while the other two leaders of the Zimbabwe national liberation movement, Sithole, ZANU and Muzorewa, ANC (both as leaders of individual organizations, and as part of the unified leadership of the ANC coalition) are excluded from even coming into Zimbabwe for negotiations, and those forces fighting armed struggle are severely set back by Zambia's acts of hostility toward ZANU and the ZANU supreme council, still holding them in prison in Lusaka, promising investigation and an International Commission report on the

assassination of Herbert Chitepo, ZANU military commander, but in fact simply obstructing the armed struggle by such openly hostile acts. Nkomo, who was ejected from the ANC coalition has continued to go thru the motions of "negotiation" with Smith, without the other leaders which is highly suspect but now the question arises, that since Nkomo has always had ties with the Soviet Union, that now they might see an opportunity to use the momentum of their rapacious Angolan campaign to press for some advantage of accommodation for forces which they would "back", as the exclusive "progressive" liberation movement, as in Angola splitting the liberation forces and trying to annex Zimbabwe. AND SO THE NEED FOR REAL UNITY AMONG THE FORCES GENUINELY STRUGGLING AGAINST COLONIALISM! And the real danger that superpower interference, as a result of either their contention or collusion, will allow them to try to turn Zimbabwe into another Angola! The true anti-Colonial anti-racist forces will oppose superpower meddling in Zimbabwe. We must also demand that President Kaunda and the Zambian government release the ZANU supreme council and stop obstructing the legitimate armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people against colonialism, racism and imperialism. . . .

The Soviet Union and USA must be opposed in their attempts to carve up Afrika. Superpowers Out Of Angola! A Government Of National Unity, of all three liberation movements in Angola to move toward real independence for Angola! Afrikan People must firmly oppose Superpower intervention and the new neo-colonialism of Soviet Social Imperialism is especially dangerous as it tricks the unsuspecting. In the U.S. we must wage a steel on steel struggle against the revisionists who peddle Soviet hegemony as Afrikan progress, and patiently explain to those who do not yet understand the phoney "socialism" and rapacious ambitious imperialism of the Soviet Union. Having the correct political line on the struggle in Angola is obligatory to Marxist-Leninists fighting against the propaganda of revisionists and the U.S.

No Economic Recovery

(Continued from page 6)

• Divorce has become an increasingly serious problem in the Soviet Union and family relations have become very abnormal.

• Alcoholism is another serious social problem over which the Soviet revisionists find themselves helpless. Average annual consumption of liquor per person in the Soviet Union is twice as much as in the United States.

• An article in the October 15, 1975 issue of *Literary Gazette* said that 75 percent of the boys in the eighth grade, 80 percent in the ninth grade and 95 percent in the tenth grade indulged in drinking alcohol.

This is the picture inside the Soviet Union, for all those who have been fooled by its "progressive" mask.

The western countries are in a political and social uproar. Hard hit by deep economic crisis, the people of these countries are bound to rise and defeat the criminal rule of imperialism. But we must understand that the danger of war is growing daily and we must make preparations or as our Chinese comrades say we will suffer great defeat.

bourgeoisie, at the same time a matter of principle and an essential factor in uniting Marxist-Leninists around the correct political line and organizing the advanced workers around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

The preparation we must make is to unite genuine Marxist-Leninists and bring the advanced workers to MLM to build the Anti-Revisionist Communist Party, the mighty weapon of the proletariat on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

To quote Chairman Mao Tse-Tung on the question of war: "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war. History knows only two kinds of war, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, all revolutionary wars are just. Mankind's era of wars will be brought to an end by our own efforts, and beyond doubt the war we wage is part of the final battle. But also beyond doubt the war we face will be part of the biggest and most ruthless of all wars. The biggest and most ruthless of unjust counter-revolutionary wars is hanging over us, and the vast majority of mankind will be ravaged unless we raise the banner of a just war." (Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, P. 80, Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung)

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Listen To The People!!

QUESTION: Do you think Lockheed will be penalized for possibly spending borrowed government money to buy off foreign companies and officials? What would happen to poor and working people if they did something (not pay taxes, etc.)? Why is this?

Joe Lofton, Newark: Nothing will happen to Lockheed. They will make money or get it even if it comes from us taxpayers. Poor people will pay. Lockheed might get a little \$30,000 fine, but black and poor people will get 10-15 for one charge, 10 for another and they will get every charge they can find to get us.

Chas Hern, Newark: Yeah, I guess something will happen-like what's happening in Japan. The executive will resign and the company will get away with it. But the poor man, he can't afford all the legal help it would take.

Ernestine Joyner, Newark: I think that a regular person especially if his skin is black will go to jail. Black and poor-they will get life, white and poor-they'll do some time, but rich and white (like Patty Hearst)-no time, and probably nothing will happen to the company.



James Peavy, N.Y.: Say a crime in the street is committed. Then a "higher-up crime" is committed. And they are "equal", the punishment will be unequal. Lockheed, Getty, etc. are the rich, they control so you don't expect them to punish themselves. It's a system of who controls rules, and those who don't are subjected to their rule. ex. a regular B & E on the street will get somebody who doesn't rule 10-15 years, the rich might get up to 2 years, but the crime gets called 'in the interest of national defense' or something.



BABU STILL IMPRISONED IN TANZANIA!

(Article excerpted from Afrika Confidential Vol. 16, No. 19, 9-26-75)

From within a Tanzanian prison, make a pun here: at the Zanzibar trial it was alleged that a fishing trip Babu was making in the Zanzibar Channel the day before the assassination was a cover for invading the island and taking over the government once Karume was dead.

Trailing After Kawawa had refused to see him Babu noticed that he was being trailed by police vehicles. "These surveillance teams were not intended to protect me, but to harass me." On April 13, 1973, a week after the assassination, at 3 a.m. "para-military police, armed to the teeth, and in the typical Gestapo tradition, banged my door in the name of law and order, walked in, arrested and handcuffed me; with loaded sub-machine guns pointed at my head."

Throughout his ten-page letter Babu maintains he is innocent of the charge of masterminding a plot to kill former Zanzibar President Abeid Karume, and for which he has already been sentenced to death in absentia by the Zanzibar "People's Court." He hints strongly that he has been framed by Tanzanian and Zanzibar leaders, and gives an account of his arrest and detention.

The house was searched and Babu was taken to Ukonga Prison. "As soon as I was taken in I was stripped, searched and then thrown into an isolation cell which I later came to know was reserved for the leprosy cases. I had to spend the rest of the night on a bare wet cement floor in this cell of six feet by seven. I remained in this cell for exactly two weeks in complete isolation without being allowed out for fresh air..." Babu was then put in chains and taken to Tabora Prison, where he stayed for ten months; during this entire time he was never told the reason for his arrest, which was in fact in contravention of the law — the Preventive Detention Act 1962 — under which he was detained, which states that a prisoner should be told of the reasons for his arrest within 15 days of his detention, and afforded an opportunity of making representations to the President.

According to Babu he received a message from Mohammed Sahnun, then OAU Assistant Secretary General, who was attending Karume's funeral, that a leading Zanzibar police officer told him (Sahnun) that he was "going to get Babu dead or alive." Babu tried to tell Tanzanian Prime Minister Rashidi Kawawa about this, but Kawawa refused to see him "in a most unbecoming manner. I therefore had a feeling that something fishy was going on." (One imagines that Babu is not trying to

Babu was then transferred back to Ukonga, where he learned of the team of Zanzibar interrogators who had been allowed into the prison to question the detainees about the alleged plot. "Two of our comrades, namely Captain Hemed Hilali and Lt. Hashil Seif... were brutally tortured to near-death,"

(Continued on page 4)

Internationalist Glossary

Hegemonism

The domination or attempted domination, influence or control of other countries by an imperialist country, especially the superpowers.

"A Superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony" —Peking Review

Social Imperialism - That form of imperialism which emerges from the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, as a result of the usurpation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by "those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture" of a socialist state, turning socialist economy into a state monopoly capitalist economy. "This new type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class not only exploits and oppresses the peoples of its own country, but it necessarily engages in rapid expansion and aggression, joins the company of world imperialism, in redividing the world" Lenin's, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, page 131-32, indicates the origin of the term social imperialism in his exposure of the people in the 2nd International. The leaders of the present day, so-called, "Social-Democrats" Party of Germany are justly called "social-imperialists," that is, Socialists in words and imperialists in deeds.

REVOLUTIONARY REVIEW:

THE BLACK NATION

THESIS

(Part I)

The Pamphlet, "Critique of the Black Nation Thesis, is yet another recent attempt by a group claiming to be Marxist to liquidate the Afro-American National Question and reduce the struggle of Black people to a watered down "moral" and intellectual plea for equality.

The authors are a group of people calling themselves the Racism Research Project. This group gives as their point of departure the need for a Marxist critical analysis of racism in America. However, nowhere in the pamphlet is this analysis given. And, upon reading it you know why. Even in their weak attempt to dispute the existence of the Black nation, Marxism is never used, though they make twisted references to comrades Lenin and Stalin.

The chauvinism in this pamphlet is

NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY

"Everything Divides Into Two"

"In society as in nature, every entity invariably breaks up into its different parts, only there are differences in content & form under different concrete conditions."

"Acknowledging that one divides into two means acknowledging the existence... of classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road..."

Chairman Mao Tse Tung
3 Major Struggles on China's
Philosophical Front, p. 9

After relentlessly struggling with the "new comprador (or wholly subservient to Imperialism) leadership" of the National Black Assembly during the meeting on Saturday, November 15, 1975, in Dayton, Ohio, people were prepared to again try to come to some working relationship with, as well as thoroughly expose, this new leadership at the Sunday, November 16, 1975 meeting that was scheduled. However, in tune with their "Dayton Strategy", aimed at isolation and pushing out any progressive elements, the comprador leadership saw fit to cancel the Sunday meeting, without any notification to state delegations present. In fact, people actually went to the site of the meeting only to find the building locked. Since people had travelled great distances to attend the scheduled meetings, seeking some clear directions, solutions, and actions around the work of the National Black Assembly, we did not want to just leave without some further discussion, at least. Upon agreement, there was a caucus of these progressive forces, at which it was decided - after thorough discussion and concrete analysis - that in addition to continuing to work in the areas we were already functioning in various states, that at our state meetings we would further decide: 1) if we would remain a part of the National Black

evidenced by such statements as, "This view has long been identified as the Marxist position on Black Liberation-both because its authors have invoked the name of Marxism... and because no one outside of Marxist Circles has ever seriously espoused it." Obviously these intellectual racism researchers never bothered to research the Black Liberation Movement, because they would have discovered that such groups as the African Blood Brotherhood in the early 1900's called for Self-determination of Black People in the old slave south. Or had they really investigated they would have seen that the Nation of Islam, one of the largest Black organizations to exist, called consistently for 40 years for independence and separate statehood for the Black masses in the U.S. using the land base of the slave south as our national territory, all this being based on Black peoples historical development. Or what about the Republic of New Africa, what circle are they in? It is obvious already that this book is a shallow attempt to attack the right of self-determination for the Afro-American people.

(Continued on page 9)

Assembly, or 2) if we would form a separate, progressive "united front". Two representatives from each of the states present would attend a meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on January 31, 1976 to report on the decisions reached by their states.

On Sunday, January 31, 1976, those representatives from the various states did meet in Pittsburgh, and came to the following decisions:

1) TO OFFICIALLY WITHDRAW FROM THE NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY

2) TO WRITE UP ONE POSITION, WHICH WILL INCLUDE RELEVANT EXAMPLES AND ANALYSES FROM STATE ASSEMBLY STRUGGLES, AND AN OVERVIEW OF THE ENTIRE STRUGGLE IN THE NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY, AND REASONS FOR WITHDRAWAL

3) TO FORM MASS ORGANIZATIONS IN LOCALITIES AROUND PARTICULAR ISSUES (i.e., Unemployment - Economic Fight Back, Budget Cuts, &c. Housing-Tenants Struggles, &c. Repression-Prisons, Police Review Boards, Stop Killer Cops, S-1 Bill, &c.)

4) THAT THE STEERING COMMITTEE (formed at the January 31, 1976 meeting) MEET IN SIX MONTHS TO SUM UP THE WORK OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND ALSO BEGIN TO ARRANGE FOR A GATHERING OF THESE

(Continued on page 9)

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Part IV Section 2 Power Lies in Control of Investment Capital and Distribution

Wealth is power. But certain forms of wealth yield greater power than others. For example, Bob Hope's personal fortune has been estimated to be as large as \$500 million. Though he is technically one of the wealthiest men in this country, no one is going to admit that this comedian is a political and financial giant in this country, because most of his wealth is invested in California real estate, and not in controlling interest in New York investment houses. Likewise, Bank of America is the largest bank in the U.S., but the bulk of Bank of America's \$23.9 billion in assets is in the forms of small personal savings and loans to agribusiness, and cannot compete with the over 20 investment banks controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan Financial Groups, which in turn handle the investment portfolios of the U.S. largest corporations. Likewise, Jean Paul Getty, the "richest man in the world," is completely shut out of controlling interest in oil because of the Rockefeller Financial Group's virtual monopoly in oil.

The power of Rockefeller and Morgan groups lie in the vast investment capital they manage, and also in the selectivity with which their money is dispersed in key industries. Thus, David Rockefeller owns only 1% of the stock in Chase Manhattan Bank but this is sufficient to completely dominate the affairs of the strongest of all investment banks. Thus, we see a vital difference between ownership and control. An investment bank need not own 51% of a corporation's stock to seize its control, only enough to dominate the board of directors through proxy votes.

There is a myth that the IBM stocks are so finely distributed among millions of stockholders that this is somehow democratic. Nothing could be farther from the truth. If anything, having a corporation's stocks so dispersed only facilitates the take-over by the New York banks, who need only buy enough to dominate the proxy fights. Lesser billionaires have been foolish enough to place the bulk of their fortunes in one corporation, which severely limits the flexibility and fluidity of capital in the market place.

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Who is the Enemy?

Part IV Section 2 Power Lies in Control of Investment Capital and Distribution

Wealth is power. But certain forms of wealth yield greater power than others. For example, Bob Hope's personal fortune has been estimated to be as large as \$500 million. Though he is technically one of the wealthiest men in this country, no one is going to admit that this comedian is a political and financial giant in this country, because most of his wealth is invested in California real estate, and not in controlling interest in New York investment houses. Likewise, Bank of America is the largest bank in the U.S., but the bulk of Bank of America's \$23.9 billion in assets is in the forms of small personal savings and loans to agribusiness, and cannot compete with the over 20 investment banks controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan Financial Groups, which in turn handle the investment portfolios of the U.S. largest corporations. Likewise, Jean Paul Getty, the "richest man in the world," is completely shut out of controlling interest in oil because of the Rockefeller Financial Group's virtual monopoly in oil.

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For example, the tremendous burden of totally owning Ford Motor Co. by Henry, Benson, and William Ford and their families proved too great. Between 1956 and 1963, 29 million shares were sold, thereby allowing the Lehman Corporation (allied to Morgan) to move in. Presently, the Fords own 11% of the stock. Henry Ford II is answerable to a board of directors which contains: 2 men from Morgan Guarantee Trust, 3 from Lehman Corp., and 1 from a William Street Fund (the last two dominated by Morgan).

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Northern Trust	1,473
Utility & Railroads	
Commonwealth Edison	2,624
Sante Fe	2,026
Northwest Industries	1,286
Illinois Central	1,093
Chicago, Milwaukee	727
Industrials	
Marcor (Mont. Ward)	2,618
International Harvester	1,502
Deere & Co.	1,376
Swift	734
U.S. Gypsum	534
Abbott Labs	345
Quaker Oats	281
Amsted	165
Scarle	141
Stewart-Warner	117

MELLON GROUP

	Assets (in millions of dollars)
Banks	
Mellon National Bank	4,3674
Pittsburgh National Bank	1,725
Union National Bank, Pitts.	496
Steel	
National Steel	1,139
Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel	600
Colt Industries	587
Allegheny-Ludlum Steel	356
Sharon Steel	190
Other Industries	
Gulf Oil	7,498
Westinghouse	2,271
Alcoa	2,192
Alum. Co. of Canada	1,910
PPG Industries	1,094
American Standard	948
White Consolidated Industries	620
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Koppers	340
Carborundum	253
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(To be continued)

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Poets Circle

GOODBYE, CHRIST

Listen, Christ,
You did alright in you day, I reckon
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story, too.
Called it Bible-
But it's dead now.

The popes and preachers've
Made too much money from it.
They've sold you to too many

Kings, generals, robbers, and killers-
Even to the Tar and the Cossacks.
Even to Rockefeller's Church.
Even to THE SATURDAY EVENING POST.
You ain't no good no more.
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.

The Negro Worker, November-December 1932

LANGSTON HUGHES

Revolutionary Review

(Continued from page 8)

But, they do not stop there. They go on to say that upholding the existence of a Black Nation and the right to Self-determination can "serve as a sophistic means of dividing a nation." What outrageous chauvinism! Perhaps the racism researchers would do good to read Lenin and get an understanding that it is not the oppressed nations that have divided the world but Imperialism!

But it is clear that the intent of the racism researchers is not to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, to support and/or clarify their position, (M-L-M would only prove this thesis' incorrectness). But they only intended to distort and attack the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

Check out how they distort and attack Stalin's definitions of a nation, as he clearly and correctly laid out in **Marxism and the National Question**. "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and a psychological makeup manifested in a common culture." What do these racism researchers have to say, "those characteristic features which a nation necessarily exhibits are not always what is sufficient to make a nation." Well, what is, the approval of the racism researchers?

But this is not the end of their attacks on Marxism. They also state, "the Black Belt being the national territory of the Black Nation... and Blacks elsewhere being a national minority... constitutes the "communist" contribution to this muddled debate." But if this is the communist contribution, what or who are they saying is muddling the debate? Because this contribution was not only made by leading American communists, but in 1928 and 1930 the Communist International passed resolutions firmly stating the definite existence of the Black Nation and upholding the right of Self-determination. Again a little research will reveal that the C.I. at the time was under the leadership of the first socialist country the U.S.S.R. headed by Comrade Stalin. Or if the debate is so muddled perhaps these racism researchers think it was Comrade Lenin who muddled it when he said, "In the United States the Negroes... account for only 11.1%. They should be classed as an oppressed nation..." Or maybe it is the fact that the CPUSA when it was fighting to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, and took the correct stand in support of the Black Nation's right to Self-determination, registered 10,000 black people in their ranks in one year during the 30's. This is just an opportunist attack on Marxism-Leninism.

(To be continued)

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Goodbye,

Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all-
A real guy named
Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker ME-
I said, ME-

Go ahead on now.
You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
And please take Saint Gandhi with you when you go.
And Saint Pope Pius,
And Saint Aimee McPherson,
And big black Saint Becton
Of the Consecrated Dime.
Move!

Don't be so slow about movin'!
The world is mine from now on-
And nobody's gonna sell ME
To a king, or a general,
Or a millionaire.

NBA

(Continued from page 8)

MASS ORGANIZATIONS (i.e., a meeting, conference, or similar event) **IN ONE YEAR** (about January 31, 1977)

5) THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF UNITY RECOMMENDED BY ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, BE SENT TO ALL STATES TO BE USED AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION IN FORMING THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

It is clear from the above, to paraphrase Chairman Mao Tse Tung that the struggle between the two lines is in the final analysis, the struggle between the two world outlooks, the proletarian (multi-national working class and oppressed nationalities) and the bourgeois (ruling class). One's world outlook decides which line he defends and implements."

What we see happening now in the NBA is its comprador leadership has gone so far as to select and publicly back a candidate for president (Georgia State Senator Julian Bond - Democrat), on behalf of the National Black Political Assembly, without the NBPA having first decided that he would be their candidate! Press conferences have been held, releases issued, all in the name of the NBPA. In direct opposition to a decision made by the NBA that registration fees for all meetings, conventions, &c., would be scaled according to peoples income, the fee for this year's National Black Political Convention has been set at \$25. How can they on the one hand speak of addressing themselves to the needs of the people, and on the other hand exclude the working class' participation by imposing outlandish registration fees? --which must be paid in addition to travel, food and housing.

We, at the Congress of Afrikan People, see the decision of the progressive forces as a good thing and absolutely necessary, at this point, in order to further advance and continue the work in those areas which affect our day to day lives (i.e., Unemployment & Welfare, Housing, Repression, &c.). Because this, together with the heightening of contradictions that exist in this country under the system of monopoly capitalism (it takes millions of people to produce the wealth, i.e., workers-propertyless wage earners, but only a few ruling class - Rockefeller, Morgan, DuPont, &c.) benefit from it, will inevitably lead to the unification of the working class and oppressed nationalities which, led by the anti-revisionist vanguard Communist Party, will ultimately deliver the shattering, smashing death blow to this system.

UNITE THE MANY TO DEFEAT THE FEW!

LIBERATION OF THE BLACK NATION!
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

evidenced by such statements as, "This view has long been identified as the Marxist position on Black Liberation-both because its authors have invoked the name of Marxism... and because no one outside of Marxist Circles has ever seriously espoused it." Obviously these intellectual racism researchers never bothered to research the Black Liberation Movement, because they would have discovered that such groups as the African Blood Brotherhood in the early 1900's called for Self-determination of Black People in the old slave south. Or had they really investigated they would have seen that the Nation of Islam, one of the largest Black organizations to exist, called consistently for 40 years for independence and separate statehood for the Black masses in the U.S. using the land base of the slave south as our national territory, all this being based on Black peoples historical development. Or what about the Republic of New Africa, what circle are they in? It is obvious already that this book is a shallow attempt to attack the right of self-determination for the Afro-American people.

(Continued on page 9)

ASSEMBLY

Assembly, or 2) if we would form a separate, progressive "united front". Two representatives from each of the states present would attend a meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on January 31, 1976 to report on the decisions reached by their states.

On Sunday, January 31, 1976, those representatives from the various states did meet in Pittsburgh, and came to the following decisions:

1) TO OFFICIALLY WITHDRAW FROM THE NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY

2) TO WRITE UP ONE POSITION, WHICH WILL INCLUDE RELEVANT EXAMPLES AND ANALYSES FROM STATE ASSEMBLY STRUGGLES, AND AN OVERVIEW OF THE ENTIRE STRUGGLE IN THE NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY, AND REASONS FOR WITHDRAWAL

3) TO FORM MASS ORGANIZATIONS IN LOCALITIES AROUND PARTICULAR ISSUES (i.e., Unemployment - Economic Fight Back, Budget Cuts, &c. Housing-Tenants Struggles, &c. Repression-Prisons, Police Review Boards, Stop Killer Cops, S-1 Bill, &c.)

4) THAT THE STEERING COMMITTEE (formed at the January 31, 1976 meeting) MEET IN SIX MONTHS TO SUM UP THE WORK OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND ALSO BEGIN TO ARRANGE FOR A GATHERING OF THESE

(Continued on page 9)

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DIALECTICAL and HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) 1939 (Part 6)

It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of philosophical materialism to the study of social life, of the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat.

If the connection between the phenomena of nature and their interdependence are laws of the development of nature, it follows, too, that the connection and interdependence of the phenomena of social life are laws of the development of society, and not something accidental.

Hence social life, the history of society, ceases to be an agglomeration of "accidents," and becomes the history of the development of society according to regular laws, and the study of the history of society becomes a science.

Hence the practical activity of the party of the proletariat must not be based on the good wishes of "outstanding individuals," not on the dictates of "reason," "universal morals," etc., but on the laws of development of society and on the study of these laws.

Further, if the world is knowable and our knowledge of the laws of development of nature is authentic knowledge, having the validity of objective truth, it follows that social life, the development of society, is also knowable, and that the data of science regarding the laws of development of society are authentic data having the validity of objective truth.

Hence the science of the history of society, despite all the complexity of the phenomena of social life, can become as precise a science as, let us say, biology, and capable of making use of the laws of development of society for practical purposes.

Hence the party of the proletariat should not guide itself in its practical activity by casual motives, but by the laws of development of society, and by practical deductions from these laws.

Hence Socialism is converted from a dream of a better future for humanity into a science.

Hence the bond between science and practical activity, between theory and practice, their unity, should be the guiding star of the party of the proletariat.

Further, if nature, being, the material world, is primary, and mind, thought, is secondary, derivative: it the material world represents objective reality existing independently of the mind of men, while the mind is a reflection of this objective reality, it follows that the material life of society, its being, is also primary, and its spiritual life secondary, derivative, and that the material life of society is an objective reality existing independently of the will of men, while the spiritual life of society is a reflection of this objective reality, a reflection of being.

Hence the source of formation of the spiritual life of society, the origin of social ideas, social theories, political views and political institutions, should not be sought for in the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves, but in the conditions of the material life of society, in social being, of which these ideas, theories, views, etc., are the reflection.

Hence, if in different periods of the history of society different social ideas, theories, views and political institutions are to be observed; if under the slave system we encounter certain social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, under feudalism others, and under capitalism others still, this is not to be explained by the "nature," the "properties" of the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves but by the different conditions of the material life of society at different periods of social development.

Whatever is the being of a society, whatever are the conditions of material life of a society, such are the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society. In this connection, Marx says: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." (Karl Marx, Selected Works, Vol 1, p. 356.) Hence, in order not to err in policy, in order not to find itself in the position of idle dreamers, the party of the proletariat must not base its activities on abstract "principles of human reason," but on the concrete conditions of the material life of society, as the determining force of social development; not on the good wishes of "great men," but on the real needs of development of the material life of society.

The fall of the utopians, including the Narodniks, Anarchists and Socialist-Revisionaries, was due, among other things, to the fact that they did not recognize the primary role which the conditions of the material life of society play in the development of society, and, sinking to idealism, did not base their practical activities on the needs of the development of the material life of society, but independently of and in spite of these needs, on "ideal plans" and "all-embracing projects" divorced from the real life of society.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lie in the fact that it does base its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society, that they do not reciprocally affect social being, the development of the material conditions of the life of society. We have been speaking so far of the origin of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, of the way they arise, of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the significance of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, as regards their role in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the role and importance of these factors in the life of society, in its history.

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(To be continued)

Robeson

(Continued from page 6)
lawed discrimination in employment, elections, federal employment and the armed services, housing, to name a few areas, the affects of which, of course could not end the oppression of the Black Nation or gain Afro-Americans their democratic rights, nor even begin to weaken segregation or discrimination. A post war era ushered in by bourgeois laws on paper to end the denial of democratic rights of Black people on the one hand, and a period of some of the harshest repression and violence on Black people in America, complete with lynchings, shootings, bombings and jailings. It is during this period that Mr. Robeson's passport was revoked by Truman for his stating how "the Soviet Union has demonstrated how it is possible to wipe out colonialism and all that word connotes within a single generation. No wonder this imperialism (U.S.) cries stop Russia" and other pro Soviet Union statements, during the McCarthy era, before Soviet Unions' fall to revisionism and social imperialism. Unwilling to become a 'closet queen' and hide his beliefs, under constant harrassment by Congressional Committees, his name was removed from libraries, his records and films taken off the shelves of stores, and his earnings dwindled from \$100,000 per

(Continued on page 11)

Commentary By Hsinhua Correspondent: Soviet Social-Imperialism Most Dangerous Source of War

Part 2

The Soviet economy has taken on a peculiar form of war economy. With stress laid on "an economy which can guarantee the waging of a war by either nuclear fragmentation means or conventional weapons", the new Tsars have all along given top priority to arms expansion and war preparations and have geared ever more manpower, material and money to military objectives, steadily speeding up the militarization of the national economy.

Consequently, Soviet military spending has been spiralling year after year. According to statistics from various sources, in the 14 years ending 1974, the average annual rate of increase in actual Soviet military expenditure is about 10%; 12% in the four years 1971-1974. The 1974 military expenditure was nearly four times that of 1960.

The proportion of military spending in the national income registered a similar increase. It was about 13% in 1960 and 20% in 1974. The last percentage is not only well ahead of that reached by Hitlerite Germany on the eve of World War II, but also greatly surpasses those of U.S. imperialism in the time of its war of aggression in Korea and Viet Nam. According to obviously-doctored official Soviet statistics, its national income is about 66% of that of the United States, while actual military spending tops that of the U.S. by 20%. In 1974, actual Soviet military spending accounted for about 35% of its overall expenditure.

With 60% of the industrial enterprises geared to military purposes, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has for years devoted more than 85% of the industrial investment to the production of capital goods, mainly to sectors closely linked with armament production; whereas more than 15% was earmarked for the production of consumer goods. As a result of the malignant development of the armament industry, other industries and agriculture in the Soviet Union remained seriously backward, market supply strained, prices soaring, and the labouring people impoverished.

The bloated military build-up of Soviet social-imperialism has come to the point that its weapons and military equipment have expanded rapidly. The strength of the Soviet armed forces has expanded from about 3,000,000 men in the 1960s to the present 4,200,000. The Soviet revisionists have also taken a series of measures to enlarge the source of reserves and put its system of mobilization on a war-time footing. According to data of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Soviet reserves of men and officers total 25 million, of whom nearly 6 million have served in the armed forces in the last five years.

Certain noticeable changes have taken place in the balance of forces between the two imperialist super-

powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. At present, from the point of military strength, their nuclear weapons now match each other's as a result of the much faster pace of the Soviet arms drive; although the total tonnage of Soviet navy craft falls a little behind, the number of Soviet vessels, particularly that of submarines, has outstripped that of the United States; though out-numbered in long-distance bombers, the Soviet Union has more combat aircraft; the Soviet ground forces have four times as much tanks as the United States and the strength of the Soviet armed forces is nearly double that of America's.

In the field of economy, the Soviet Union on the whole lags far behind the United States. However, the growth rate of some Soviet heavy industrial sectors closely connected with armament production and war preparations and the absolute quantity of their products have caught up with or surpassed those of the United States.

Especially noteworthy are the cunning tactics of the new Tsars in growingly making use of western material forces to keep up the arms expansion and war preparations. Since 1965, the Brezhev clique has obtained from the West several tens of thousands of million U.S. dollars of credits and imported considerable advanced industrial know-how and equipment and nearly 100 million tons of grain to cope with the staggering consequences of a militarized economy and to boost further the military potential. Some sober-minded people in the West have pointed out the perils of giving such blood-transfusions to the Soviet war economy.

(To be continued)

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RAISE!!

(Continued from page 12)

All over the United States at this period, we see the re-emergence of busing conflicts, the reappearance of the all but forgotten Ku Klux Klan, who are mostly federal agents and policemen, whose role is to turn to the White and Black workers against each other so that they will not join forces to smash capitalism and build socialism. The various busing conflicts for instance do not solve the question of quality education which the bourgeoisie do not intend to solve, they only intend to raise conflict and divide. National Chauvinism from so called Marxists only adds to that division. And it should be obvious that much of the division among the Marxist-Leninists and in the national liberation movements themselves is also caused by federal agents, as the so called counter-intelligence program of the F.B.I. has revealed consistent splitting and harassment activities directed by the F.B.I. and C.I.A. and other special agencies against all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces. As well as the assassinations of people like Lumumba, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and more than likely John and Robert Kennedy.

A secondary obstruction to party building is narrow or reactionary nationalism from the oppressed nationalities. This is secondary because it is usually a response to national chauvinism and racism. And even though bourgeois nationalism does exist in the Black Liberation Movement and other liberation movements of oppressed nationalities, these movements are essentially anti-imperialist and revolutionary, and bourgeois nationalism does not dominate them ultimately. Groups that pushed the line that narrow nationalism was the main danger in the Communist movement despite the fact that White national chauvinism is the exact ideology which justifies racism and the actual national oppression of oppressed nationalities are simply guilty of more national chauvinism, and such lines will lead them to tail the most reactionary sector of the working class such as in Boston and end up supporting the bourgeoisie themselves!

But each day the determination to utilize a scientific approach to our liberation spreads among yet broader sectors of the various national liberation movements in the U.S.A. Discussions about the science of Dialectical and Historical Materialism, the growing understanding that the basic entity in existence is matter in motion; the recognition of opposites, contradictions in all things; the study of things, a process, as they really are, and in their interrelationship to other things, in their development and constant change; the understanding that under certain conditions based on their internal contradictions, things can change into their opposites. These are the concerns of dialectical materialism. The application of these concerns to social life especially

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Imperialism Source of War

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(Continued from page 12)

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to history, analyzing society's development based on its material or economic base, the mode of production by which the necessities of the society's reproduction, its food clothing and shelter are produced. And understanding that all the ideas, customs, laws, institutions are derived and emerge because of this economic base and mode of production, these are the concerns of Historical materialism. The analysis of capitalist society based on the science of dialectical and historical materialism and the recognition of the basic contradiction in capitalism of labor versus capital, the workers versus the bourgeoisie, and the further understanding that capitalism itself would create this class of propertyless wage earners, called proletarians, who would be the gravediggers of capitalism itself.

These are the contributions to the world of Marx and Engels, developed in later periods by people like Lenin, who made creative additions to Marxism in the period of the imperialism, generally the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat specifically, as well as pointing out that the struggle against imperialism is a sham and a humbug if it is not joined with the merciless struggle against opportunism and developing the model for a new kind of political party, the party of a new type, the vanguard Bolshevik party, which led the Russian people forward to the first Socialist Revolution the world had seen. These are the great contributions of Lenin. The codification of Leninism, brilliant work on the national question, including the very formulation of what is a nation, and the carrying out and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the actual building of the Soviet Union against all the odds of being surrounded by a hostile imperialist controlled world, these were the great contributions of Comrade Stalin. Marxism in the era when the colonies, semi-colonies, and neo-colonies are rising up against imperialism and its lackies, and the death of imperialism is near; the use of cultural revolution as a weapon to prevent revisionism in a socialist state; the perfecting of the use of Marxism-Leninism in a protracted peoples war, these are the major contributions of Comrade Mao, the greatest Marxist of our age. And it is to these great teachers and to others that the advanced elements of the liberation movements are drawn as to light to understand and develop a scientific approach to our own liberation.

Day by day more of us come to realize that our patriotism and emotionalism alone cannot liberate us. More and more, larger sectors are coming to realize that skin color does not determine the class stand or political line of people, as we watch the treacheries of neo-colonialism, imperialism ruling through native agents as Cabral pointed out, all over the world. And to reactionaries who have told us that we cannot use Marxism-Leninism because Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin were Europeans, we point out that Mao, Ho, Kim, Cabral are not Europeans and they have utilized Marxism-Leninism to make revolution just as we must take the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and unite them with the concrete conditions, the day to day practice of the Black Liberation Movement to make socialist revolution. And bring the Black Liberation Movement into uniting with the whole working class struggle in order to achieve this. We need science not metaphysics or idealism. We need analysis not just emotionalism. We also need a revolutionary vanguard party, a multi-national communist party, guided by the science of revolution by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, if we want to, as Marx said, not only understand reality, but change it. Defeat Bourgeois Ideology, Grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought! Unite the Multi-National Working Class!



FREE RAP BROWN!

We urge our readers to write and demand information on the status of Rap's case! If you are in the area, call and harass the prison officials for this, write directly to the prison officials

H. Rap Brown has just been transferred to Green Haven Prison, Stormville, N.Y., which is a large behavior modification center.

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

Cleveland

(Continued from page 5)

were pledged by the city council on police gunfire, and he asked the people to follow him and he'd make sure they got justice.

This seeming protest and concern for justice was nothing more than an act, to dupe and pacify the people. Obviously Forbes cooled out before the people cooled down, because the movement in the streets against repression is still growing. But nothing more is heard of the so-called investigation or new rules on police gunfire by city council or George Forbes.

With the exception of Robert Dennis all the justifiable homicides were handed down by the chief prosecutor, a black bourgeois-feminist-neo-colonialist named Alemeta Johnson. She hands out almost as many justifiable homicides as Ford does vetoes. She ruled the murder of Dwayne Hawkins justifiable in less than 14 hours after it happened, the story had barely hit the press.

An arch neo-colonialist Louis Stokes, who is the Congressman of the 21st District in Cleveland, in which Derrick Brown resided, virtually had nothing to say! But he can be quoted along with Shirley Chilsholm, and Charles Rangel for mouthing, "Rockefeller is the best friend the negro ever had." Since he supports the "fiend of Attica", we can see why he was so silent in regards to the murder of Derrick Browne.

With all the beatings, shootings and killings that have taken place in Cleveland, it was only with the murder of Derrick Browne that these opportunist crawled out of the woodwork in full force. Why? Because when Derrick Browne was killed just 12 days after the killing of another black youth, Dwayne Hawkins, strong resentment rose in the black community, people were ready to hit the streets. This is the neo-colonialist and lackeys job, to stunt the struggles of the people, to tell us everything will be okay, leave it in their hands, there's no need to struggle or organize a mass movement, we'll see that you get justice, (yeah, just another justifiable homicide).

In the face of these onslaughts, the people have rose up at every turn, calling for the removal of these killer cops, organizing mass marches in protest, mass petitioning for the removal of Killer Cops and their conviction for murder, holding community meetings and mass rallies against police repression. Presently a city wide coalition is in the process of being formed, to Stop

Build the Vanguard Anti-Revisionist Party! Liberation of the Black Nation! Socialist Revolution! Victory to All Oppressed People!! Amiri Baraka December, 1975

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Killer Cops, to organize a Civilian Police Review Board with the power to investigate cases of police brutality, the power to subpoena witnesses and to conduct public hearings, to get rid of unqualified policemen and to agitate for changes in policies and practices in the police department.

But we understand that ultimately the only way to Stop Killer Cops and to end all forms of exploitation and national oppression is through socialist revolution. The armed uprising of the people to seize state power from the bourgeoisie (i.e. that .6 of 1% of the U.S. population who controls 90% of the wealth). We must mount a national campaign to Stop Killer Cops (wherever they may be) who serve to keep the people poor and the ruling class rich and ruling. We must organize to smash this system of bourgeois rule, where soon no illusion of freedom and democracy will exist!

STOP KILLER COPS! FACIST REPRESSION IS NOT THE ANSWER TO DEPRESSION! AHEAD WITH THE CITY WIDE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION!

Cleveland Section

Robeson

(Continued from page 10)

year to \$6,000, Mr. Robeson continued to struggle for the democratic rights of Black people and in support of the struggles of other oppressed peoples against imperialism, and even put forth the cry for self defense, while leading delegations to see Truman to protest the lynching and continued denial of the democratic rights of Black people in Here I Stand he wrote "I am not suggesting of course that the Negro people should take law enforcement into their own hands, but we have the right, and above all, we have the duty, to bring the strength and support of our entire community to defend the lives and property of each individual family. Indeed, the law itself will move a hundred times quicker whenever it appears that the power of our numbers has been called forth. The time has come for the great Negro community throughout the land—Chicago, Detroit, New York City, Birmingham and all the rest to demonstrate that they will no longer tolerate mob violence against one of their own."

In 1952 he received the Stalin Peace Prize for his activities. In 1958 he received his passport and went abroad on a five year world concert tour, returning in 1963 in retirement, making very few appearances due to his poor health up until his death.

The world has not just lost another great artist, but a people's artist who brought revolutionary art with him, a revolutionary fighter for the self-determination and democratic rights of Afro-Americans, and a proletarian internationalist, who supported the struggles of the international working class and all oppressed nationalities against imperialism.

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Imperialism and Revolution

RAISE!!

Part 3
AMIRI BARAKA

It is futile to think that the final transformation of capitalist society can be accomplished through its institutions, since they are the very means by which the ruling class legitimizes and reinforces its rule. Absolute transformation of this society can only be bought about by revolution, socialist revolution. A revolution in which the state mechanism of the bourgeois ruling class is destroyed, state power seized, and the means of production turned into publicly owned state property under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class. This revolution can not be a nonviolent revolution, though at times we may use any tactic or form of struggle, but ultimately socialist revolution can only be accomplished by armed struggle. Armed struggle that is led by a revolutionary vanguard party, an anti-revisionist communist party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We say anti-revisionist, because revisionism and the right opportunism that characterizes it and follows behind it, are the main dangers in the revolutionary movement today. Largely because the Soviet Union which has restored capitalism, is revisionism in power. Revisionism is the doctrine which poses as Marxism-Leninism but advocates that Socialism can come through "peaceful transition" rather than proletarian revolution. The Bureaucrat Capitalists of the Soviet Union are the chief source of this rotten bourgeois ideology in the world. In the United States, the C.P.U.S.A. is the chief source, and also it should be added the C.P.U.S.A. is one of the chief reasons that Black people and other oppressed nationalities have moved cautiously when approaching Marxism, once it was obvious from the C.P.U.S.A.'s actions that whatever their philosophy it was not friendly to the struggles of Black Liberation and oppressed nationalities. The C.P.U.S.A.'s abandonment of the call for Black self determination in the 40's, its dismantling of the militant sharecroppers union in the Black Belt South, its dismantling of itself in 1944 to pursue its aggressive partnership with the liberal bourgeoisie and the Black comprador bourgeoisie. In fact its latter relationship ended with the C.P.U.S.A. tailing Roy Wilkins and the N.A.A.C.P. throughout the civil rights movement and supporting that

bourgeois directed assimilationist organization as the chief fighter for Black Liberation, saying finally that Black people had already exercised their right to self determination and chose integration under imperialism. They even went as far as to say that the nationalism of Malcolm X was exactly like the nationalism of the Ku Klux Klan!

We have to attack revisionism because it is the most deadly underminer and opposition to the mobilization of the people for socialist revolution. And those of us who have been in the Black Liberation Movement or the anti-war movement for that matter, know that even to exact the most minute reform in this society takes intense struggle. Little children blown up in Birmingham to register to vote, dogs, waterhoses, jailings, assassinations, just in the struggle for democratic rights, does it figure then that the bourgeoisie will smash its own state mechanism, give away the means of production to the people because of a vote in congress, or getting signatures on a petition? No it will take armed struggle, a second civil war, this time the war between the classes, between the bourgeoisie and their lackies and the working class and its allies.

But in order to make revolution, socialist revolution, the working class must be led by its own advanced forces in the form of a revolutionary vanguard party. A party which is an advanced detachment of the working class, a disciplined, organized detachment of the working class, the highest form of organization in the working class. All these are paraphrases of Lenin's definitions of the party of a new type. A party that would not tail behind the masses simply reflecting what the masses thought, but a party that would lead the proletariat, that could be a general staff of the class to lead it in the struggle for power, to lead it in revolution, to lead it in the destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the seizure of power. A party that itself would be the instrument through which the dictatorship of the proletariat was instituted and the proletarian state created.

This is the principal task of Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.A. today, and perhaps Canada as well. To build this revolutionary party, because without this revolutionary party no socialist revolution is possible. The spontaneous uprisings of the masses, though they will be part of the ever intensifying upsurge of revolutionary dynamism, should not be confused with actual revolution. It is

the party's task to make the people conscious, to bring them the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

And the party must be organized by uniting Marxist-Leninists and other advanced elements of the multi-national working class. Particularly through the struggle that must be waged for the correct ideological and political line. And by bringing the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the working class at the work places, in the communities and by mass work around the urgent needs of the people, such as employment, police brutality and the rising tide of repression, housing, education, fighting for the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and women, work in trade unions, work in coalitions, tactical fronts, and also helping the build a multi-national anti-imperialist united front of all who can be united to oppose imperialism, especially its attempt, as the tide of war on the one hand and revolution on the other continue to rise, to impose fascism here in the United States. The S-I Bill which is currently in committee in the United States Congress is a bold attempt to legislate the first stages of fascism, by restoring the death penalty; legalizing detention after arrest for long periods of time without any formal charges being made; legalizing wire tapping; calling for conviction of activists for inciting to riot even if such so called riot inciting is done by mail or phone; making it a crime punishable by 15 years in prison to advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force, are some of the essential points of the bill which make it dangerous to the working class—even some parts of the bourgeois press are protesting the restrictions it would place upon the press, including making it a crime to release what are termed documents vital to national security, which could be the pentagon papers, the countelpro, or some more of Richard Nixon's antisemitic remarks.

But it is clear that the ruling class is preparing itself for the rise of war on the one hand or revolution on the other. Although we know that even if the superpowers succeed in causing war before revolution, such a war will bring revolution. And it will be the task of revolutionaries to turn any such imperialist wars into revolutionary wars against their own bourgeoisie. The deadly rivalry between the United States and U.S.S.R. is also another reason that the pulse of revolution is quickening inside the U.S.A., since United States must spend more and more on weapons in its gigantic military budget, which is already 105 billion dollars, while all

social programs received cuts in the federal budget, if only because they received no additional monies in the face of almost 15% inflation, which would give all programs an automatic 15% cut in their spending power. More and more money spent for weapons to compete with the other superpower, while Gerald McBoing Boing the mental defective who is the president of the United States vetoes bill after bill that would deal with education, health, housing, he even vetoed a bill for children's school lunches, and is threatening to severely cut back the food stamp program. Such mad behavior can only inflame the United States working class more and more and unite them with Third World revolutionaries in the destruction of imperialism.

The people must prepare for the coming of war and revolution, and the only basic preparation is the building of the multi-national revolutionary party. Some of the main obstructions to the building of that party are generally the opportunism, based on the superprofits of imperialism, which has created an easy way out mentality which is always willing to settle for shortrange reformist goals at the expense of overall revolutionary principles. This is easily seen with isolated groups high off their own rhetoric and studying only their own analysis and polemics against each other, declaring themselves to be the party and everybody else as residents of the swamp.

This kind of impatience and subjectivism characterize the petit bourgeois outlook. And the class character of many of the preparatory formations. Plus the chief form of opportunism, White chauvinism, which is the ideological supporter of racism, i.e., Black national oppression. This has created gaps as well as reflected the objective division in the multi-national working class, and has caused many would be Marxist-Leninists to belittle the Black Liberation Movement as a minor detail in their big revolutionary picture, and take totally incorrect, bourgeois positions on the national question.

The Revolutionary Union's White chauvinist line on Boston busing, **Smash Busing**, which also objectively supports the bourgeoisie's attempt to divide the working class along national lines, further obstructs partybuilding just as the chauvinism and opportunism of the C.P.U.S.A. drove oppressed nationalities and Marxist-Leninists away earlier. We must also be aware of situations like the Boston busing conflict which are conscious efforts by the ruling class to divide the working class to prevent multi-national unity.

(Continued on page 11)

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