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Inside USA

# PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

ONE OF FOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY, OF CAPITALISM TURNED INTO IMPERIALISM, WHICH IMPERIALISM CARRIES TO "THEIR LAST BOUNDS, TO THE EXTREME LIMIT, BEYOND WHICH REVOLUTION BEGINS."



The dangerous Soviet Social Imperialism, having scored temporarily in Angola now has its nose wide open for further bites out of succulent Afrika, all the time with its slick cover story of "socialism." Zimbabwe seems the next place for it to peddle its poisonous wares. But though the principle contradiction in Zimbabwe is between the people and the colonialism of the racist Smith regime, the struggle is also a struggle against imperialism, and hegemonism. (Story on page 2)

#### Renegade Brezhnev Clique's Revisionist Congress



USSR Congress held by Brezhnev clique was a screen for fact that today the CPSU is an instrument used by a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists of the Soviet Union to carry out aggression & expansion abroad and contend for world begeinony.

The renegade Brezhnev clique held its revisionist congress in Moscow to serve as a screen, not only for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR after the death of Comrade Stalin, but more important today, the new imperialist offensive of the Soviet Union's ruling clique in their struggle for world hegemony against the other Superpower the U.S. imperialists. All the "revolutionary" phrasemongering and goulash "communism" about the "dictatorship of the whole people" and the "party of the whole people", have been scientifically exposed and "Marxist-Leninist Parties the world over scathingly denounced this sinister stuff, criticized it and pointed out that this 'party of the whole people' was every inch a political party of the bourgeoisie." (Peking Review, #10 1976, page 14, our emphasis) Moscow's propaganda is bourgeois ideology, the ideology of capitalism, disguised as Marxism, to screen us from the fact that the "Communist Party" of the Soviet Union "today is also an instrument used by the handful of bureaucrat-mono-

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Black Liberation Today
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poly capitalists of Soviet revisionist leading clique to carry out aggression and expansion abroad and contend for world hegemony." (Ibid, page 15). Specifically, the Chinese pointed out

Specifically, the Chinese pointed out in their now famous letter criticizing the revisionist line of the CPSU in 1963 that, "The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and future interests, because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people." (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist

Movement, CPC, 1963, page 42)
Historically, revisionists have attempted to liquidate 3 fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, ie, class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And moving from theoretical struggle to political struggle the first attack is aimed by the bourgeoisie and its lackies at the weapon, the instrument of the proletariat that must give guidance and leadership to class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, ie., the party of a new type, the vanguard communist party.

The sharpening of the class contradictions in capitalist-imperialist US-SR, is reflected in the economic crisis of the restoration of capitalism where "the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists appropriate as they please the Soviet people's fruit of labor and live in (Continued on page 3)



Across the USA people, like the ones shown here in Baltimore, Md, have been drawn into the struggle against monopoly capitalism, as the crisis in imperialism deepens, and the state steps up the police rule and brutal repression.

There is great disorder in the world today, caused by the sharpening contradictions of imperialism throughout the world. The main trends in the world today are revolution and war, i.e., the danger of world war caused by the sharpening of Superpower contention between U.S. imperialism and the USSR social imperialism and on the other hand the rising tide of revolution, especially in the Third World the people are struggling for national liberation and kicking U.S. imperialism in the behind all over Afrika, Asia and Latin

America.
Clearly U.S. imperialism is the Superpower on the decline, the wounded tiger, and inside the U.S.A. the struggles are sharpening more and more as a result of the fundamental contradictions of monopoly capitalism, and intensifying the wave of crisis and chaos that temper the people's struggle here. Soviet Social Imperialism is clearly the most dangerous Superpower.

dangerous Superpower.

In New York City, the bourgeoisie is openly dictating the policy of massive layoffs and cutbacks in vital social services in hospitals, education and public transportation to the state apparatus, so the banks can make maximum profit. The masses of people must understand that it was and still is Rockefeller's investment groups, the Robber Barons, who have sent the city into the crisis of bankruptcy, through their maneuvers to fill the vaults of the major lending institutions with billions of dollars at the expense of the people. Day by day the role of the labor aristo-crats is exposed by their open attempts to confuse and mismanage the labor movement so that it cannot effectively wage a revolutionary struggle, & find a revolutionary parth out of this crisis. With the massive layoffs and cutbacks, more and more workers can see the bankruptey of the labor aristocracy that has done nothing but pimp off of the labor movement and attempt to justify

capitalism.

Across the country the people are rising up against monopoly capitalism's yoke. In Cainden, New Jersey the same

kind of oppressive measures have been taken to shift the brunt of the imperialist economic crisis on the backs of multinational working class and oppressed nationalities, by trying to break the rent strike at East State Street Village. Police and court harassment were employed by the bourgeoisie in an attempt to break the collective will to struggle of the Camden County Tenant United Front. Recently, the tenants were denied their democratic rights to have a fair hearing by the courts when they notified the group of their court cases just a week before time of some 36 cases on one day and another 26 another day in attempt to discourage tenants from waiting for their case to be heard, since this process would take days to complete. The courts always act and rule in the interest of the landlord, and that's why they were set up in the first place, to suppress the struggle of tenants and enforce the collection of rents for land-lords. But every trick, every hardship, tempers the people's struggle against monopoly capitalism and sharpens their class consciousness and understanding of the role of the state.

In Elkhart, Indiana a new regulations passed on from the Housing and Urban Development, (HUD), in Washington, D.C., requires welfare recipients (Continued on page 2)

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#### **Recommendation For Withdrawal** From the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee



CAP has withdrawn from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) because of their reformist line on the liberation of Puerto Rico, hooked to their stavish alignment with the USSR's social imperialist line. Violent overthrow of the colonial Puerto Rican state is the only way independence and socialism will come, as proven in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee (PRSDC) was organized to put together the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Demonstration Oct. 27, 1974 in Madison Square Garden. After the demonstration the committee continued into the Puerto Rican Solidarity

Committee (PRSC).

The PRSC states its purpose is to build support within the United States for the full independence of Puerto Rico and the self-determination of the Puerto

Rican people.

The National Board of the PRSC is made of largely petty bourgeois Social Democrats who came together around the independence of Puerto Rico But decision-making is carried on through an Interim Committee that meets between Board meetings. The Interim Committee is a smaller committee of the National Board whose character is petty bourgeois, vacillating and heavily influenced by PSP.

We are suggesting withdrawing from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee

for the following reasons:

1. The line of PRSC is dominated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The political analysis of the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico against imperialism is from the PSP. Their line on Puerto Rican independence is closely aligned with that of the Soviet Union and its "detente", revisionist policies. The PSP has not put forth any clear lines on the overthrow of the colonial state apparatus. An example of their line on struggle for socialism in Puert a Party Congress held December, 1975 in San Juan, Puerto Rico where Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of PSP explains the participation of PSP in the 1976 elections in Puerto Rico by saying: "... in order to denounce the colonial regime and its electoral process... the use of elections does not imply that the organization is renouncing the use of all forms of struggle including armed struggle, in order to achieve the construction of an independent, socialist

2. This statement puts forth a reformist line, because there is no way Puerto Rico could become an independent Socialist state without armed struggle, that is the complete overthrow of the colonial regime. Violent overthrow of the colonial Puerto Rican state is the way independence and socialism will come. Peaceful co-existence with imperialism will not bring independence to Puerto Rico or any other oppressed nation, this was proved in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

PSP's non-line on Socialist Revolution is revising Marxism-Leninism. They purport to be a Marx-ist-Leninist Party, but in fact they down-play the basic principles of Len-Marxismninism which are proletarian revolution

and dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Lenin said: "Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks & SocialistRevolutionaries) who are striving to win over the toiling masses of the peasantry and to put an end to the revolution by a compromise with imperialism." (Foun-

dations of Leninism, p. 13)
This is exactly what PSP's line does, it compromises with imperialism when it revises Marxism-Leninism, it also liquidates the fact that in Puerto Rico, "Revolution is the only Solution."

5. Our withdrawal from PRSC has come as a result of the lines through the National programs of PRSC. The main national program of last year was the sponsoring of the "International Con-ference in Solidarity with Independence for Puerto Rico" held in Havana, Cuba. The PRSC endorsed all of the mandates and documents that came from that Conference, which was dominated by the Soviet Union Revisionists.

6. Other programs have been the tours of Puerto Rican representatives from the labor and independence movements. PSP in interpreting the liberation movement on the island also is the primary force by which PRSC uses to select who will do the tours, that is those who are most closely aligned to their lines are the ones who have been on the tours. The tours have been to cities in the U.S. that have PRSC chapters.

7. The PSP recognizes the Soviet Union as "a socialist country", that is why they collaborated with the Social-Imperialists in calling the Havana Conference, which objectively put the Soviet Union in a position to have their line dominate in the Conference

8. During the recent PSP 2nd Congress, they criticized the Peoples Republic of China for their position in the U.N. on Puerto Rico. The resolution in the Decolonization Committee was proposed by the Cuban delegate. Soviet inspired resolution on Puerto Rico was no fashioned to liberate Puerto Rico but to help the Social imperialists penetrate the Puerto Rican liberation movement and eventually Puerto Rico. The divide and conquer tactics of all imperialists were equally evident in the Soviet resolution which sought to split the 3rd world countries on resolute opposition to imperialism in Puerto Rico, and instead substitute a proposal which did not have the general sanction of the 3rd world anti-imperialist forces. The Peoples Republic of China simply did not vote on the resolution.

PSP's reactionary criticism of China is simply another Revisionist version of Social imperialism's cracked notes.

Another example of the influence of PSP's opportunist line in PRSC is through their organ, "Puerto Rico Libre". PRL is a monthly news bulletin which mainly has news about the political, economic, and social con-ditions on the island, but these views and analyses are from the PSP who get news from the PSP on the island. The same analyses that is in "Claridad" is also in the Puerto Rico Libre.

Our recommendation for with-drawal is based on line. We cannot be a

(Continued on page 11)

# Report From CAP's Central Committee Meeting

Pebruary 1, 1976 in Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania the Congress of Afrikan
People held an historic Central Committee Meeting. We view this meeting as
a qualitative step in CAP's move to
Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung
Thought, because we made some basis Thought, because we made some basic changes in organization structure and social practices intended to further our communist development as a organization.
ORGANIZATION &

SOCIAL PRACTICE

A new organizational structure was adopted, which will allow closer follow up on political work. This also included reorganization of the Central Com-mittee for more equitable represen-tation. At the meeting Organization Committee was charged with doing more research and work to represent a fully developed proposal defining the scope and duties of Commissions that will continue the ideological and political work in major areas, ie. Afro-American National Question, Party Building, The Woman Question, Labor Organizing, International Questions, Agitation & Propaganda and Organizational.

In line with these structural changes, there were important recommendations for cutbacks in mass work, continuing changes in social practices, stabilization and priority on theoretical study and reduction of expenses. One social practice we voted to abolish was the umuzi system, a collective or communal living system (the term & idea based on study of the Bantu communal living system). Originated in CAP during its nationalist period, the umuzi system was one attempt to development collective consciousness and share economic responsibility among organization members by moving together in houses of several families and houses of single members. But when we created the umuzi system we were not Marxist-Leninists. Now using the science of Marxism-Leninism we can understand that the concept of an umuzi system under monopoly capitalism is idealism, because it is an attempt to force new social relationships without changing the economic base. It was not done with a clear understanding of the existence of classes and class struggle. While this social practice did have some positive features, in the main it has given rise to a heightening of petit bourgeois irres-ponsible attitudes, elitism and parasitism, and separated us from the

masses of working people.

Part of this report was also the recommendation that more cadres find employment. There is ongoing work being done on the need for more developed lines and practice in labor organizing and we are struggling against handicaps of previous underemphasis on this area, and the present economic crisis which makes it more difficult to get jobs. But this will be pursued because we know it is fundamental in Party Building.

CAP also had other aspects of Afrikan Traditionalism and Kawaida Nationalism which had been instituted as an opposition to cultural aggression accompanies imperialism, but which we can now see as practices that support petit bourgeois ideas, separation from the masses and bourgeois nationalism. Among these practices officially eliminated at this Central Committee meeting was the performing of marriage ceremonies and naming of the children by the Chair-man. These practices are too cult-like and would continue presenting the Chair in a priest role and the organization as quasi-metaphysical. Also we decided that comrades should drop their titles (these were indications of ranks or stations in the organization stemming from Kawaida Nationalism para-military practices), unless they want to use them as names; and that comrades no longer have to use the swahili name they took during the cultural nationalist period but can use American names if they want, or keep

the swahili names, &c.
NATIONAL CONFERENCE

At our last General Assembly, October 1975, CAP had voted to have a National Conference in February 1976 to take up two main questions, The Afro-American National Question and The Woman Question. At this Central Committee Meeting comrades heard a Report on the National Conference, which gave a brief overview of where we stand in relationship to the world situation and the need to build a Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party. The summation correctly pointed out that while in reality since October out that while in reality since October 1975 we had enough time to plan the National Conference, we did not have enough clarity. Due to this lack of preparation - ideological, political and organizational - we had to cancel the Conference. The continuing struggle within CAP to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought has been obstructed by right opportunism been obstructed by right opportunion Before we can move forward with such a conference that would have to be viewed in relationship to the overall pany building motion, we must struggle harder inside CAP to defeat opportunism and bourgeois ideology, to have self-criticism and criticism and criticism and control of the control of t principled open and above board discussion on questions, and gain the theoretical clarity demanded of a genuine communist organization.

#### OTHER MAJOR DECISIONS

recommendation for CAP withdrawal from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee was accepted.
PRSC is a well known committee
originating after the organizing of the
Puerto Rican Solidarity Day
Demonstration and Rally, October 27,
1974 at Madison Square Garden. The National Board of PRSC is largely petit bourgeois Social Democrat types, and heavily influenced by Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Briefly, our reasons for withdrawing from PRSC are based on its present line being dominated by the PSP whose line now seems clearly aligned with the Soviet Union detente, revisionist policies (based on analysis of the last PSP Party Congress reports & line struggles within PRSC). The PSP reformist, not clearly stating the necessity for armed struggle to overthrow colonialism & imperialism, but possing armed struggle as "one of the possible forms of struggle", along side electoral processes, for achieving an independent Socialist state in Puerto Rico! This line has manifested in many programs and propaganda and CAP cannot be a part of an organization whose politics is dominated by such reformism and collaboration with Soviet Social Imperialism. The Central Committee decided to print a full criticism (appearing in the U & S and send a letter or resignation to PRSC).

The Central Committee also received a report on work being done at that time for International Working Women's Day weekend activities, a Black Women's United Front Conference and the Anti-Imperial of Conference and the Anti-Imperialist Coalition March & Demonstration at the UN. A brief summation of the line struggles in several New York coalitions was reported and these were to be fully summed up after that weekend.

The National Question Committee gave out some additions and corrections

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#### NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY: CHAPTERS WITHDRAW

On January 31, 1976, delegates from 10 states, the District of Columbia and some National Black Organizations, met in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania to dis-cuss the National Black Assembly and our future with it. It was the unanimous decision of the body meeting there, to resign from the National Black Assembly (NBA). Some of the reasons stated were; Lack of commitment to the concept of a Black United Front, on the part of the new leadership of the NBA. and the continuous lack of work on the many proposed programs of the NBA.

Historical View

of the NBA
The National Black Political Convention (NBPC) came together in Gary Indiana in 1972, bringing out over 8,000 Black people, most of them seeking a new and independent Black political movement. The NBPC was seen by most as a Black United Front that encompassed a broad cross-section of the Black community. At that first historic convention there were Black people from all walks of life and all political tendencies, there were hundreds of organizations represented and many of the major figures in the Black community. People like, Amiri Baraka, Jesse Jackson, Richard Hatcher, Corretta King, etc, were also in attendance at the first convention.

Out of this first dynamic convention came the National Black Assembly, the ongoing political organization of the

Since the time for the first NBPC in 1972, there have been over a dozen NBA meetings and another convention was held in Little Rock, Ark., in 1974. By November, 1975, only one of the national leaders who sat on the platform of the first convention remained within the NBA. The rest had demonstrated that they were never really interested in the day to day work of building and organizing for political ower and self-determination for the Black masses. The Black leader who did comit himself to the day to day work of the NBA and who continously demonstrated this was Amiri Baraka, who was elected to 2 consecutive terms as Secretary-General of the NBA. Because of this, he was also the target of con-tinuous attacks within the NBA, as those who sought to attach the NBA to the Democratic party saw Amiri Baraka as a staunch opponent of any attempt to do so.

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Even though there have been 2 conventions and many Assembly, Political Council and Executive Committee, meetings, the work of the NBA has suffered severely. It has been constantly obstructed by the sabotage of elected officials, and others trying to take the NBA into the camp of the Democratic party.

It has been stifled by constant attempts to destroy the united front character of the NBA, and limit its membership to certain classes, political tendencies and ideologies, in the Black community.

Most of the many resolutions to come out of the conventions and meetings have not been implemented and only remained on paper.

#### Problems on a State Level

The problems within the NBA are not only national problems. These prob-lems also manifest themselves on a local level in several of the states within the NBA. Often the reason for the problems on the local level is that many of the national leaders of the NBA are also in

responsible positions on state levels.
In states such as Maryland, Ohio,
New York Pennsylvania, Michigan,
Indiana, and the District of Columbia,
the local work of the assembly has been slowed down or completely stopped by people in leadership positions who's only work in the NBA was to go to national meetings and conventions.

In many of the states the work has suffered because of the under-handed and unprincipled behavior of many of the states leaders. For instance, out-right lying and calling illegal secret meetings in New York; or holding fake conventions to certify delegates in Pennsylvania; in Ohio the entire city of Cleveland was decertified illegally after they had justly refused to pay an outous \$20.00 registration fee for an Ohio Black Convention; in Indiana the former state chairman refused to call meetings or send out information, and when he finally did call a meeting, it was the same weekend as the NBA Economic Conference; in Michigan the chair has constantly opposed any work projects and even assumes leadership positions in the NBA while all the time preparing to leave the country to go live in Africa, and will not even be here to take care of those responsibilities.

These are a few of the many problems that plaque the NBA on the local level.

#### Problems on a National Level

On a national level, the problems of the National Black Assembly have continued to mount since the very first struggles at the Gary Convention. The problems were always struggled with inside the NBA as the united front sought to stay together, but as a new leadership of middle-class college professors, poverty program officials, and democratic party members sought control of the NBA for the Democratic Party, the contradictions in the NBA got sharper.

So important an event as the Economic Conference (August '75 in Atlanta, Georgia) and its positive resolutions, has been completely case de and never acted upon. In fact, the NBA meeting which was to have dealt with ratification of these resolutions, was disrupted by the current leadership of the NBA when the Chair failed to recognize the duly authorized Women's Caucus, and though the leadership and those influenced by it left, more than ½ of the registered delegates remained.

The Strategy for 1976 has been com-

pletely sabotaged, and it's clear that it as never the intent of this new leadership for this plan to be put into effect.

The vote in favor of a women's caucus, insuring women their demo-cratic rights and full participation within the Assembly, has never been recognized by the Chair (Ron Daniels) and therefore, a recurring issue at the past 4 meetings. And committees which were voted to be 1/2 male and 1/2 female remain as they were

(Continued on page 6)

# Kawaida Towers: Struggle Against Racism

plan to undermine Kawaida Towers is totally unacceptable. And in no way can we bow to the racism and vicious attack on the people that master--minded this bogus scheme! We started out with a 210 apartment development, aimed at the immediate needs of the masses of people in Newark for decent low and moderate income housing for families in a town where 20% of the land mass is vacant lots and the rest of the city suffers from a criminally high rate substandard housing conditions. People cannot find a decent place to live for their families! Kawaida Towers has 210 decent apartments for low and moderate income families with many amenities for the people, such as a day care center for the children, a 200-seat theatre for the people, a huge com-munity room and kitchen, an audio visual room, a library, a hobby shop, a wood shop, laundry room and garbage compactor to avoid the ills of the incinerator. It was a 16-story building rith balconies and centralized air conditioning.

But what has been proposed by the state, the New Jersey Housing Finance Agency, is totally unacceptable to the people! This bogus plan reduces the building to 9 stories for the lowest kind of political manuever to appease racism that blocked Kawaida Towers. It cuts out all the balconies and centralized air conditioning. But even more important the core of Kawaida Towers has been robbed! The states wants us to act as the rubber stamp for their racism and brutal exploitation, by accepting a building where no families could live! All the two bedroom apartments, some 75 have been taken out of these plans, and replaced with a building that has only efficiencies and one bedroom apart-ments! All provisions for day care have been politically erased from these plans because the state refuses to deal with the needs of low and moderate income families for decent housing. And these are the people whose interests we are

committed to serve.

We reject this attempt to make us the agents for capitalism, which is clearly on its deathbed, in its attempt to shift the oppressive burden of the imperialist economic crisis on the backs of the working class and oppressed nationalities! We will not rubber stamp the policies that rob the workers and op-pressed nationalities of decent housing for their families at a price that they can afford. How can a family live in an efficiency apartment, that has no bedroom, a one room apartment that must serve as the kitchen, living room & bed-room all at once? In fact, the average families in Newark need 2, 3, 4, and even 5 bedroom apartments at a price they can afford to take care of their of their families—this is our struggle!

The fact is that even though the

racism of Anthony Imperiale & Co. in the streets and the racism of Governor Byrne, Pat Sheehan and William Hyland in high places in bourgeiosic state government worked hand in hand in the brutal conspiracy to stall Kawaida Towers and ultimately to destroy it, the facts show that the racism of the state actually was what colluded to kill Kawaida Towers, as it was designed to serve the interests of the working families that struggle from day to day to get decent housing for their families! Finally, the state used its power, not to stop the racist obstruction to us getting decent housing, but they used their power to strip this building until it excluded the people who need decent low cost housing the most, working people with families! And this is a direct reflection of the function of the bourgeiosie state in the first place, to suppress the working class and oppressed national-ities so that this tiny .6 of 1% of the population can continue to own and control 90% of the wealth in the U.S. at the peoples expense. We cannot acc

cannot accept the political straight-jacket put on this plan, that



The latest scheine proposed by the New Jersey Housing Finance Agency is totally unacceptable to the people. And in no way can we bow to the racism & vicious attack on the people that mastermind this bogus plan, that they want us to rubberstamp.

forced it to be 9 stories, only to undermine any possibility of it being built, because it would require a new tax abatement from Newark's city council that has openly committed itself blocking any housing that will serve the people. Particularly, corrupt council-men Earl Harris and Jesse Allen have advocated no tax abatements precisely because they are the lackies of the bourgeoisie's decision not to build housing and to maintain these acres and acres of vacant lots, simply because they are only guided by the motive of maxi-mum profit and they cannot make maximum profit building housing for low and moderate income families. Harris and Allen must justify this policy, while the bourgeoisic spends billion after billion for the arms build up to fight an imperialist world war with the U.S.S.R.

And also the factor of the heavy toll this struggle against tremendous odds has taken on us. The cost of court case after court case, dozens of arrests and constant police harassment, and legal fees that go into tens of thousands of dollars make it impossible for us to continue to struggle on this level. And clearly this was the state's conscious attempt to divert our efforts away from the mass political struggle that is neces-sary for the tenants to shift the burden of the capitalist crisis back on the backs of the capitalists where it came from in the first place. We need to focus on the mass tenant struggle against evictions, astronomical rent hikes for cold water flats and the murderous conspiracy of the landlords to kill our people with fires so that they can reap quick insurance claims at the expense of the lives of the people, especially women and children and elders.

The primary question is why is it that the whole multinational working class (black, latin, asian, white) cannot get decent housing for their families under monopoly capitalism? And it is only through these mass political struggles to shift the burden of the imperialist economic crisis back on the backs of the bourgeoisie, and building of a multi-national anti-revisionist vanguard communist party to lead this struggle that we will be able to defeat capitalism! Actually, this last ditch attempt to sell

this bogus scheme is a reflection of the bourgeoisie dying out, gasping for its last breath, and trying to take us with them, but actually the overthrow of this dying bourgeoisie is our only salvation! The people and the people alone are the makers of history, "Mankind always advances in storm and stress. The road is tertuous, the future is bright. We are full of optimism and confidence in the future of mankind."

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# PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM indeed if we do not profit by some of the

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!

#### **Ballots or Bullets**

The conventions of Ohio black people became a veritable stronghold of revolutionary nationalist influence. The Ohio Convention of Negro Men, held at Columbus City Hall, January 16-18, 1856, indicated what the revolutionary nationalist program held for the "free" North and Ohio in particular. Here are excerpts from the Convention's address to Ohio State Legislature in which the bold revolutionary nationalist warning stands out clearly:

"...We ask you to ponder the danger of circumscribing the great doctrines of human equality...to the narrow bounds of races or nations. All men are by nature equal, and have inalienable rights, or none have. We beg you to reflect how insecure your own and the liberties of your posterity would be by the admission of such a rule of construing the rights of men. Another nation or race may displace you, as you have displace nations and races; and the injustice you teach, they may execute; perchance they may better the instruction. Remember, in your pride of race and power...

"Now, admitted that we are men, how are we to defend and protect life, liberty and property? The whites of the State, through the ballot-box, can do these things peacefully; but we, by the organic law of the State, are prevented from defending those precious rights by any other than violent means. For the same document that asserts our right to defend life, liberty and property, strips us of the power to do so otherwise than by violence. We ask you gentlemen, in the name of justice, shall this stand as the judgment of the State of Ohio?.

"If we are deprived of education, of equal political privileges, still subjected to the same depressing influences under which we now suffer, the natural consequences will follow; and the State, for her planting of injustice, will reap her harvest of sorrow. She will contain within her limits a discontented population—dissatisfied, estranged—ready to welcome any revolution or invasion as a relief, for they can lose nothing and gain much..."

#### Rock's Declaration 1858

Dr. John S. Rock, whom we have previously quoted and identified as a distinguished black doctor and lawyer, was one of the most brilliant minds of his generation. His wit, satire and knowledge of history were almost unmatched. During a speech he delivered at Boston on March 5, 1858 (at a meeting commemorating the Boston Massacre) he displayed his revolutionary nationalist influence in a brilliant defense of the black masses against the charge that the black man was a coward.

White Americans have taken great pains to try to prove that we are cowards. We are often insulted with the assertion, that if we had had the courage of the Indians or the white man, we would never have submitted to be slaves. I ask if Indians and white men have never been slaves? The white man tested the Indian's courage here when he had his organized armies, his battle-grounds, he places of retreat, with everything to hope for and everything to lose. The position of the African slave has been very different. Seized a prisoner of war, unarmed, bound hand and foot, and conveyed to a distant country among what to him were worse than cannibals; brutally beaten, half-starved, closely watched by armed men, with no means of knowing their own strength of the strength of their enemies, with no weapons, and without a probability of success. . . . take a man, armed or unarmed, from his home, his country, or his friends, and place him among savages, and who is he that would not make good his retreat?. . . . "The courage of the Anglo-Saxon is

"The courage of the Anglo-Saxon is best illustrated in his treatment of the Negro. A score or two of them can pounce upon a poor Negro, tie and beat him, and then call him a coward because he submits. Many of their most brilliant victories have been achieved in the same manner. But the greatest battles which they have fought have been upon paper. We can easily account for

Dr. John S. Rock was one of the most brilliant minds of his generation. His commitment and knowledge of history were almost unmatched.

this; their trumpeteer is dead. He died when they used to be exposed for sale in the Roman market, about the time that Cicero cautioned his friend Atticus not to buy them, on account of their stupidity. A little more than half a century ago, this race, in connection with their Celtic neighbors, who have long been considered (by themselves, of course,) the bravest soldiers in the world, so far forgot themselves, as to attack a few cowardly stupid Negro slaves, who, according to their accounts, had not sense enough to go to bed. And what was the result? Why, sir, the Negroes drove them out from the island like so many sheep.

"The black man is not a coward. The history of the bloodly struggles for freedom in Hayti, in which the blacks whipped the French and the English, and gained their independence, in spite of the perfidy of that villainous First Consul, will be a lasting refutation of the malicious aspersions of our enemies. The history of the struggles for the liberty of the United States ought to silence every American calumniator.

"The white man contradicts himself who says, that if he were in our situation, he would throw off the yoke. Thirty millions of white men of this proud Caucasian race are at this moment held as slaves, and bought and sold with horses and cattle. The iron heel of oppression grinds the masses of all the European races to the dust.\*\* They suffer every kind of oppression, and no one dares to open his mouth to protest against it. Even in the Southern portion of this boasted land of liberty, no white man dares advocate so much of the Declaration of Independence as declares that 'all men are created free

and equal, and have an inalienable right to life, liberty,' &C.

"White men have no room to taunt us with tamely submitting. If they were black men, they would work wonders; but, as white men, they can do nothing.

"O, Consistency, thou art a jewell"
"Now, it would not be surprising if the brutal treatment which we have received for the past two centuries should have crushed our spirits. But this is not the case. Nothing but a superior force keeps us down. And when I see the slaves rising up by hundreds annually, in the majesty of human nature, bidding defiance to every slave code and its penalties, making the issue Canada or death, and that too while they are closely watched my paid men armed with pistols, clubs and bowie-knives, with the army and navy of this great Model Republic arrayed against them, I am disposed to ask if the charge of cowardice does not come with ill-grace.

"I do not envy the white American the little liberty which he enjoys. It is his right, and he ought to have it. I wish him success, though I do not think he deserves it. But I would have all men free. We have had much sad experience in this country, and it would be strange

lessons which we have so dearly paid for. Sooner or later, the clashing of arms will be heard in this country... 150,000 freemen capable of bearing arms, and not all cowards and fools, and three quarter of a million slaves, wild with the enthusiasm caused by the dawn of the glorious opportunity of being able to strike a genuine blow for freedom, will be a power which white men will be a power which white men will be a power which white men will be 'bound to respect.' Will the blacks fight? Of course they will. The black man will never be neutral....Judge Taney may outlaw us; Caleb Cushing may show the depravity of his heart by abusing us; and this wicked government may oppress us; but the black man will live when Judge Taney, Caleb Cushing and this wicked government are no more. White men may despise, ridicule, slander and abuse us; they may seek as they always have done to divide us, and make us feel degraded; but no man shall cause me to turn my back upon my race...

\*The Haitian Revolution of 1793.

\*\*The various brutal European monarchies and despotisms of that period.

(To be continued)

#### NBA

(Continued from page 5)

Contrary to the vote by the Assembly to lower all registration fees (from \$25 for conventions and \$10 for Assembly meetings), the present leadership has maintained the same fees, in the midst and in spite of economic crisis.

The crowning insult was the last meeting, in Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 14-16, 1975, when this new leadership actually instrumented its election to the Executive Committee, in a completely unprincipled and undemocratic manner. From the issuance of bogus, illegal documents; to the ramrodding of unpassed rules; to the class distinction between "delegates" and the "observer class"; to the use of pro and con mikes with the chair in a biased way deciding who would speak; to the bringing of illegal delegates sponsored by anti-poverty pimps who threatened to take peoples jobs if they did not attend; from beginning to end, it was blatantly clear that principled struggle within the NBA would not be the trend. Once accomplishing their preorganized election, they refused to complete the business of the NBA which people had travelled great distances to cover namely, the work of the NBA - and, without notification to the people present, cancelled the meeting scheduled for that Sunday.

It is clear to us that the function of the NBA under its new leadership will merely be as a part of the Democratic party - which is exactly what 8,000 Black people who travelled from all parts of this country decided we would not do. Which readily points out the fact that bettering the lives of the people is not what the new NBA leadership is interested in, but rather simply making gains for themselves.

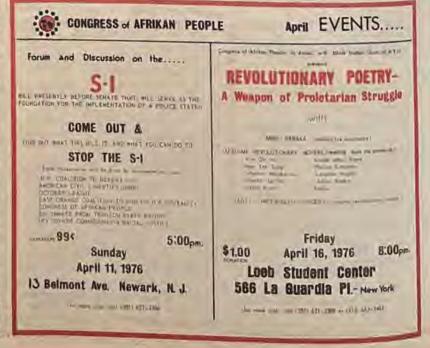
#### **New Directions**

At the meeting of January 31, 1976, the representatives from the 10 states and various organizations agreed to resign from the NBA, but we do not intend to stop struggling or even slow down. We also decided to go back to our local areas and organize the masses of Black and working people around the urgent issues facing us. We agreed to go back to our states and organize around the issues facing the masses such as unemployment, housing, police brutality, repression, welfare, education, etc. And to form fighting mass organizations in these areas.

It was also decided to meet within I year to summarize the work in the states and review the work of building the local mass organizations.

Therefore, we make public our resignation from the NBA but also our continued commitment to organize and fight in the interest of Black and working people, which brought us to the NBA in the first place and also makes it urgent that we now leave.

Signed - Indiana Biack Assembly, New Jersey Black Assembly, Missouri Black Assembly, Members of the Michigan, Ohio, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Deleware, Black Assemblies. Congress of Afrikan People.



#### Southern Afrika

(Continued from page 2) relationship becomes more unmistakable. Angolan struggle cannot be solved by Cuban troops!

Revolution cannot be exported, and is a totally incorrect and bankrupt political line, to call oneself a Marxist-Leninist and take an idealist position such as the export of revolution. Revolution must be made by the people based on the internal contradictions and development of the country itself. Aid is necessary, though we must always depend on self-reliance be willing to struggle and sacrifice and take the correct ideological and political line. Obviously there must be much struggle inside Cuba now since the export of revolution fallacy and the sickening domination of Peoples Cuba by the Soviet Union must inflame the wrath of genuine Marxists-Leninists within the Cuban Communist Party. But to see Peoples Cuba turned into mercenaries of Soviet Social Imperialism is sickening in the extreme, but we must the incorrect political line dominating the Cuban Communist Party.

The civil war in Angola will con-tinue, the Peking Review quoted Angolans in opposition to the Soviet Social Imperialist takeover of Angola, For our freedom and our motherland we are determined to continue the fight in the forests, mountains and valleys. The Soviet invaders will meet with the same fate as the Portuguese colonialists in Afrika." The Chinese organ con-tinued saying on its own "This is the Angolan peoples best reply to the Soviet neo-colonialists who are trying to en-slave again the Angolan people in place of the old colonialists." (PR #10, March

15, 1976, p. 21).

We cannot be fool enough to support the new neo-colonialism, the the new neo-colonialism, the new Imperialism-Soviet Social Imperialismand think somehow we are supporting Angolan or Afrikan independence. Lenin was clear, "Present day democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other of the imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Any other decision will, in reality be nationalliberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism." (Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol 21, pp. 143-44, Under A False Flag)

Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania

The dangerous Soviet Social Imperialism, having scored temporarily in Angola now has its nose wide open for further bites out of succulent Afrika. all the time with its slick cover story of "socialism." Zimbabwe seems the next place for it to peddle its poisonous wares. The principle contradiction in Zimbabwe is between the people and colonialism of the racist Smith regime. The superpowers at this point are colluding, more or less, both putting (Continued on page 9).

# Brezhnev Clique

(Continued from page 3)

were, are and always will be communists Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists.

In the contention between the two Superpowers while U.S. imperialism gets its behind kicked out violently from Afrika, Asia, and Latin America, the USSR like sly wolves run quickly to sneak in the back door. That is, while the national liberation movements are moving through peoples democratic revolutions and onto socialist construction, the USSR is trying wildly to penet-rate these Third World countries by imperialist exploitation and turn them into client states just like the U.S. imperialists neo-colonize the Third World. The only difference between the

two Superpowers is the rhetoric.

Historically, the Soviet Social Imperialists betrayed the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and by this not only disapped the proletariat and all morbing disarmed the proletariat and all working people in the USSR of their most weapon against bourgeoisie, but at the same time with this restoration of capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the USSR, the Soviet Social Imperialists destroyed the possibility of unity based on proletarian internationalism in their revisionist camp. But genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations throughout the world uphold proletarian internationalism, and we are uniting our ranks against the two Superpowers, so that we can continue on the road of peoples democracy and on to socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that will bring the liberation of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the true friend of working and oppressed people throughout the world, but the Soviet Social Imperialists try to swindle us off of the road to our liberation with a sham congress of the "dictatorship of the entire people," which is the same dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and imperialism that people are uniting to defeat all over the world.

The doom of the small Brezhnev clique in the USSR is inevitable, because the rising tide of mass resistence fused with the leadership of the underground revolutionary organizations that are working hard to bring revolutionary theory to the people of the Soviet Union, will smash the Soviet's bureaucratic-monopoly capitalist state ap-paratus. And both in the US and the USSR, we must take up the revolutionary call of Marxist-Leninists in imperialist wars, ie., to turn the imperialist war between the two Superpowers into the civil war we need between the tiny ruling class and the masses led by the proletariat under the guidance of its vanguard anti-revisionist communist party. This revolutionary road is the only solution to the horrors of Superpower domination and contention, the only road that can avert imperialist world war three.

### Trenton State Prison: Another Attica or Worse???

Trenton State Prison (TSP) for the last three months has been the scene of many bloody struggles which have caused two people to die and many others to get hurt. For the last 4 years the state has attempted to run TSP like a Nazi concentration camp and this should give an idea of what the Bourgeiose (the ruling class) has in mind in terms of running this country (check out the S-I bill). Butcher Superintendent Alan Hoffman and the rest of the gang have failed thru the old way (which is the reforms, that they give in order to stop any kind of struggle) to halt the struggle of the brothers who are determined not to submit passively to the brutal way they are being treated. The Congress Of Afrikan People and many other organizations have been working in Trenton to organize a mass organization to expose the fascist kind

of rules that are being practiced at TSP. On March 2 The Congress Of Afrikan People, Black Youth For Progress, a mother of a prisoner on 7 wing (Management Control Unit) and the Prisoner support committee, met with Commissioner Ann Klein head of Institutions and Agencies of N.J. for an hour and a half to discuss the TSP situation. CAP began by laying out our demands, which were: 1. Firing Alan Hoffman as Superintendent of TSP; 2. Independent Investigation by Citizens of the community; 3. Ending of The Management Control Unit (7 wing). We continued by telling Klein that as long as Hoffman is superintendent that there will always be confrontation that will end with lives being taken (the majority will be the prisoners). We don't make these charges on unfound truths but on hard cold facts. Here are a few exam-

In September of 1974 at a black studies banquet Arnold Bank was brutally beaten by a number of guards. After the incident there were two indictments (Officer Trautment and Wise) but these two guards were found innocent even though one of the gaurds admitted

that they beat Banks up! On October 16, 1975 TSP Officials under the direction of Alan Hoffman set up a confrontation between two Islamic groups (The Nation Of Islam And The New World of Islam) that left one person dead and others hurt. Hoffman had these two groups put together knowing that if they did that, it would end the way it did with lives being taken. But the prison Officials maintain that they had to put the groups together because it was illegal to have them separated without

cause. What cause do they need?
On January 19, 1976 John Clark was murdered by Hoffman and the gang and John Douglass was wounded. The reason that the prison officials gave was that the inmate had guns and was trying to escape from TSP. The prison officials try to lay out a whole thing on how the prisoners try to escape and the fact they had guns. But the story which they gave holds no water whatsoever. Because there is no way that the prisoner can get a gun into the prison, they are strip searched when they go to a visit and when they come back. If anything, it was brought in by one of the guards. It was a known fact that John Clark (Adiliwa) was an outspoken person and that he was continually trying to educate other prisoners to struggle against the fascist dictatorship that they are trying to run in the prison. But the creation of The Management Control Unit, "7 wing" was to stop anybody who might struggle against the injustice that they were performing at TSP. Now Hoffman and the rest of the gang are finishing the rest of the plan to take all reforms and rights away from the prisoners. For example, they took contact visits away for 7-W there is no medical treatment for the prisoners; they don't have access to law materials that would allow them to work on their case; all radios, T.V. and things of this sort has been taken away; food packages are limited to just meats, eggs and fish. This is the only way they can bring in a 25-pound package, and on top of all that, they are locked in their cells 24 hours a day. So with these facts we came to the conclusion that they have set all these incidents up to justify their action and as you can see there is more in store. To put more in reality Trenton State Prison is like a time bomb. After laying out our facts, we asked Commissioner Klein if her philosophy was one in the same with Hoffman's. Klein said no and went on to say that TSP wasn't fit for human habitation and that it needed to be closed. She said that she is doing everything she can to deal with the situation. Klein said her hands are tied. A CAP representative pointed out to Klein that her so-called "liberal philosophy" was abstract if it can't be put into practice. Hoffman's philosophy was real and in control because it is what is being practiced now

The Prisoner Support Committee presented Commissioner Klein with an eye witness account of what happened on the night of January 19, 1976. This is part of a letter from a prisoner who witnessed the whole incident. The murder of John Clark was perpetrated by the racist administration to murder more brothers than they did. The alleged escape attempt was planned by the administration to systematically murder certain brothers. John Clark was not dead when he was first shot. He fell on the floor and was shot at for some time while many watched helplessly one cell away from him. The other prisoner Douglass was shot while he walked down the tier with his hands over his head. He was following orders of Lt. Fiscor when he came out. Fiscor told him nothing would happen if he placed his hands on his head and gave himself up. By trusting that racist he was shot. Two other prisoners beside this wit-nessed this incident, one of them white. Fiscor made a promise to the white prisoners while the shooting was taking place. After the incident was over, the white prisoners were transferred to another institution. Probably the reason was so that he could be a witness for the administration if this was ever brought to trail. "When Lt. Fiscor shot Douglass, I yelled at him that I saw him shoot Douglas with his hands over his head." After we gave Klein this letter she said that she didn't believe it. At the end of the meeting she said that about Hoffman being fired, that she would discuss this matter. The point about the Independent Investigation by citizens of the community Klein said that it would not serve any purpose because the Prosecutor's office, the state troopers and the grand jury have made an investigation, and finally Klein said that Management Control Unit will remain as long as needed. People shouldn't be disappointed with Klein's response, because she is only representing the class interests of the bourgieosie (the ruling class). First, we should understand that a prison is an instrument of state power, it is an instrument of the state. And the state is an instrument used by one class to suppress another. That is what the state is, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung have pointed that out many times. And the entire mechanism of the state power-it's courts, jails, army, police are simply the instrument that one class uses to supress another class. In a capitalist society, like the United States, it is the capitalist class that controls the state, that wield's state power. That bourgerosie ruling class that composes 6 of 1% of the population of the United States, plus another 1% who are their lieutenants that run their various enterprises like the United State Government or G.E., 1TT and Chrysler. This 1% of the population controls directly or indirectly 90% of the wealth in this society. After the January 19th incident CAP called some other people and organizations together to (Continued on page 8)

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# Listen to the People

QUESTION: How will this conference help struggle against women's oppression?

Goldie Baker, Baitt-more: I think that all organizations need unity. Then from unity is strength. If all women here could women here could unite around an issue unemployment.



jobs, police brutality, then define who to fight - people vs. whatever power it is, then that's good. Because then the complaints that you have are real. But I wanted concrete issues to be discussed, or something. I can't understand disagreement being oppor-tunistic. What's needed is a unity of action. I got concrete issues that we're dealing with in Baltimore:

Alex Hung, N.V.: There was a lot of struggle around what is the source of women's oppression. Conference brings together different forces that have different



and various lines and openly dealt with the lines. Conference did move in the correct direction. Not qualitative leap, but step in

Iblade, Albany, N.Y.: I'm for building this Multi-National

Women's Organ-ization. You are able to get to masses with organization to deal



with different prob-lems that people have, and how they are op pressed. This type gathering lets different ideas that are important come out. I am not discouraged by the talk, out of it can be built a women's areanization. women's organization.

Jenquden Lenchek: Wash., D.C.: By taking concrete examples, conference shows triple oppression, ex. (Cherly Todd) by us-



ing personal experience of her, we can broaden that and unite to defeat the whole prison system. By uniting for concrete struggle and around essentials we can learn each others views, etc. Need experience and lessons of whole.

Question asked at Multi-National Women's Conference sponsored by Black Women's United Front.

#### Trenton State Prison

(Continued from page 7)

discuss ways to expose what was happening at TSP.

The group named itself the Prisoners Support Committee. On February 14 in front of TSP the PSC held a demonstration in protest of the murder of John Clark and to give support to the rest of the prisoners in TSP who are struggling against repression and for democratic rights. About 25 people showed up to show their solidarity with the brothers inside. While we were out there the police showed their rotten faces, breathing their hot breath on us. They said that we couldn't use a bull horn, because it was against the law for oppressed people to raise objection to being exploited. But this should not mislead anybody because this is the role of the police. The role of the police is to keep the order in such an oppressive society. The order whereby a few superbillionaries become even more super rich and the majority of us labor in near poverty all our lives. It is the police's job to maintain this order, the law courts and prisons role to keep this order. To keep the rich, rich and the poor intimidated, in their place. Only a fool would willingly be poor. We are poor against our wills, starved, un-educated, diseased, exploited against our will and supressed by the state so we won't rebel. And if we do, we are called criminals and locked up. Blacks are only 12% of the population, but 40% of all prisoners in U.S. prison's are black. 8% California is black and Chicano but 46% of the state prisoners are black and Chicano. 12.8% of Illinois population is black but 52% of the prisoners are black. 13% of New York State is black and Puerto Rican but 68% of the state's prisoners are black. We are 75% of the prisoners in big city prisons, and of these more than half are still waiting trials, some for over a year and have not even been convicted of anything. The Congress Of Afrikan People urges all progressive and concerned people to in-volve themselves with the Prison Sup-

port Committee to expose the state in their attempt to repress the brothers in TSP. But finally we must understand that the Trenton State Prisons of the world will remain until the working class and the majority of oppressed nationalities rise up, and smash this degenerate system through Socialist Revolution and establish the dictatorship of Proletariat. This Revolution must be guided by a Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party, utilizing the Science of Revolution Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought the best of all weapons for people trying to free themselves from the bloody claws of Imperialism.

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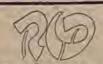
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#### Revolutionary Review:

# Critique of the Black Nation Thesis

The two main areas that these racism researchers use to attack the Black Nation, are common territory and common economic life

The land base of the Black Nation is the Black Belt south and the border areas. What most black people refer to as "down home." In their attempt to dispute the existence of this as our national territory, the racism researchers point to the fact that the analysis is done based on Black peoples relationship to whites. And that the analysis should be made based on the internal conditions in the Black Belt. But what they fail to see is that the analysis is based not on Black peoples relationship to whites as such, but based on black peoples relationship to slavery and then to capitalism and imperialism.

They continue to try and disprove the existence of the Black Nation with statistics, saying that over 45% of the Black population is no longer in the South, and the territory is over 40% white. But the fact that there was a large migration of Black people from the south does not dispute the existence of the nation, and any close look at the migration would show that black people left the south by force, violence (KKK), economic coercion, and the lack of promise of jobs.

The existence of whites in the south no more disputes the existence of the nation, than the existence of Blacks in the north dispute the existence of the American nation. Only, people using bourgeois logic as there tool of analysis would make such an absurd statement.

The Racism Research Project contends that Blacks do not have a common economic life. But as we can see through looking at the historical development of Black people in the U.S.

It was the emergence of a class structure, a black market created by segregation and served by a Black Bourgeoisie, among black people and the consolidation of those classes through reconstruction and after, that signified a definite common economic life among black people. The Black Bourgeoisie is stunted by imperialism, and kept from reaching the level of some of their U.S. (white) counterparts, but there is still an economic cohesion in the Black Nation based on a developed class structure with a Black market "served" and exploited by a Black Bourgeoisie. Though it is true N.C. Mutual can not hire as many wage workers or exploit as many blacks as Prudential. But penetration of 3rd World Nations by imperialism is not unique with the Black Belt. And even with employment by the imperialists the wage level and the standard of living is lowest among Blacks, and especially in the Black Belt, where all the workers wages are pitifully depressed by the national oppression of the Black Belt. And even outside the Black Belt that blacks in effect make up an almost separate labor market, even as an oppressed nationality as part of the multi-national working class

The racism researchers contend that there is no Black bourgeois. That they are just the upper-strata of the pro-letariat. But, the fact that imperialism stifles and prevents the Black Bourgeois

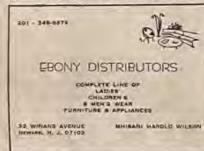
Part 2 from getting as large as the American Bourgeois, should not be confused with their role in production and society. The Black bourgeois like all bourgeois own wealth that is used to exploit and this wealth they own comes from their ex-ploitation of labor.

A section of the pamphlet dealing with Black Nationalism, claims that Black nationalism is only the call for Nation Building, and the need for Black solidarity against racism. But again, the racism researchers have negated the historical call of different Black organ-izations for "land and Power," in the historical homeland. The fact that Black nationalism is indeed a call for solidarity against racism, points to the con-tinuation of the national character of our struggle outside of the Black Belt, and the continuing national character of our oppression even in Northern urban centers where we live in almost exact duplication of the conditions inside of

the Black Nation. The racism researchers throughout the pamphlet to explain that racism is a product of the slave trade and early capitalism, institutionalized as a part of the western capitalist super-structure by the trade in Afrikan slaves. Or that racism is used as a tool that has/does objectively divide the working class, just as it was a tool to keep slaves and poor white peasants divided and just as it is used today to keep the Black nation and Black Nationality

(elsewhere) oppressed.

The "Critique of the Black Nation
Thesis", is an expose of the rampant
chauvinism and anti-Marxist positions that are in the communist movement today. Real communist revolutionaries should expose this pamphlet as a perpetuation of white chauvinism and racism, and move to uphold the rights of self-determination. Because finally the Black nation is not a thesis, it is a fact, and it will be liberated, just as there will be a socialist revolution in the U.S. The revolution will be led by a vanguard communist party, and the party will be built faster by communists taking a correct line on the Black National Question, sweeping aside all chauvinists.



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# Who Is the Enemy?

Part IV Section 3

(Part IV concludes this series, Part I consisted of a breakdown of the two Primary Financial Groups Rockefeller and the Morgan - and the Secon-dary Financial Groups, Part II, History of the Financial Groups, and Part III, Financial Groups and Asians in the Third World, Ruling Class

of U.S.A. The Council on Foreign Relations

When the financial groups have internal conflicts between themselves, the American public only sees the exterior development of these contradictions, like in Watergate and possibly Kennedy's assassination. But this does not prevent them from exchanging ideas and strategies when it suits their financial needs. This desire to cooperate on certain technical and financial matters is manifested in an organization called the Council on Foreign Relations, often known as the Ruling Class.

The CFR, which is the closest body this country has to an easily identifiable ruling class, is composed of 725 bankers and financiers from New York, and 725 from outside New York (by-laws exclude women), and represents the most powerful individuals from each of the various groups. The CFR (whose chairman is, naturally, David Rockefeller), is dominated by Rockefeller and Morgan bankers but contains representatives from secondary groups and from academia. The purpose of the CFA seems to be:

(1) to formulate all future foreign policy (e.g., the Vietnam situation was vigorously discussed in the CFR years before Vietnam became a household word):

(2) to foster cooperation among financial groups when economic interests permit;

(3) to provide scholarly research on the search and exploitation of new markets and the suppression of Third World movements.

Some of the members include: David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Man-hattan Bank; John J. McCloy, former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank and now head of the U.S. Arms and Dis-armament Agency; Allen Dulles, armament Agency; Allen Dulles, founder of the CIA and member of the Rockefeller law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell; Grayson Kirk, ex-president of Columbia University and a director of Chase Manhattan Bank, Con Edison, IBM, Mobil Oil; Theodore Gates, head

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of Morgan Guarantee Trust, director of General Electric, Scott Paper, Campbell Soup, Secretary of Defense in the Eisenhower Administration; Elliot V. Bell, director of Chase Manhattan, New York Life, and the Chemical Bank, and many more.

Among the scholars we have: Edward Teller, Kissinger, Reischauer, Glenn T. Seaborg, Reston, Arthur Schlesinger, and many more.

The CFR publishes the learned and influential Foreign Affairs, which is always several years ahead of the State Department. In 1957-8, Henry Kissinger was in a CFR study group which helped him write his influential Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, which analyzed the use of nuclear weapons in Third World countries.

These charts showing secondary financial groups, are only part of charts we did not have space to print with series. But whole series & charts will soon be available to readers as a Unity & Struggle reprint.

(in millions of dollars)

DETROIT GROUPS	
National Bank of Detroit	3,854
Detroit Bank & Trust	2,068
Mfgrs. Ntl. Bank of Detroit	1,970
Consumers Power (Jackson)	1,640
Detroit Edison	1,529
Bank of the Commonwealth	1,352
Bendix	905
Burroughs	772
Kresge Co.	657

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CLEVELAND GROUP	
Banks	
Cleveland Trust	2,449
National City Bank, Cleveland	1,450
Central National Bank	1,221
Society National Bank	717
Union Commerce Bank	564
Industrials	
Chesapeake & Ohio RR	2,523
Republic Steel	1.697
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	1,026
Ohio Oil	772
Eaton, Yale & Towne	622
White Motor	480
Addressograph-Multilith	332
Sherwin-Williams Paint	324
Interlake Steel	311
Harris Intertype	253
Midland-Ross	251
"Automatic" Sprinkler	210
Reliance Eletre, & Engning	175
Anchor-Hocking Glass	162
Clevite	142
Warner-Swasey	131

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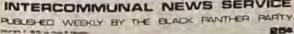
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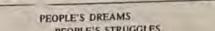
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••••••Poets Circle••••

CHINGKANGSHAN REVISITED To the Tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou May, 1965

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds, Again I come from afar To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt. Past scenes are transformed, Orioles sing, swallows swirl, Streams purl everywhere And the road mounts skyward. Once Huangyangchieh is passed No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring, Flags and banners are flying Wherever men live. Thirty-eight years are fled With a mere snap of the fingers. We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven And seize turtles deep down in the five seas: We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter. Nothing is hard in this world If you dare to scale the heights.

Chairman Mao Tse Tung

# .........

BOSTON GROUP		PHILADEPHIA GROUP	
Banks & Savings Banks		Banks & Savings Banks	
Irving Trust Co. (N.Y.)		First Penna Bank & Trust	2,506
First National Bank, Boston	3,835	Philadelphia National Bank	2,064
Shawmut Association	1,341	Philadelphia Savings Fund	1,847
Raystate Corp.	1,200	Girard Trust	1,749
State St. Bank	985	Fidelity Bank	1,378
Industrial Ntl. Bank (R.I.)	824	Provident Ntl. Bank	B46
New England Mrchnts. Bank	746	Western Savings, Philadelphia	654
Provident Savings	568	Central Pa. National Bank	427
Boston 5e Savings	534	Insurance Companies	
R.I. Hospital Trust	509	Penn. Mutual	2,337
Insurance Companies		Ins. Co. of North America	2,010
John Hancock Mutual	9,317	Provident Mutual	1,099
Massachusetts Mutual	3,934	Fidelity Mutual	533
New England Mutual	3,308		
Liberty Mutual	1,217	Utility & Transportation	1,52
American Mutual-Liability	219	Philadelphia Electric	1,553
Boston MfrsArkwright	189	Reading Railroad	350
Manufacturers Mutual	150	300	
Fireman's Ins.	126	Industrials	
Other Financial Companies		Atlantic-Richfield	2,450
Mass. Investors Growth Stock	1,263	Panhandle Eastern Pipeline	956
American Research & Devipmnt:	394	Rohm & Haas	391
Boston Fund	309	Pennwali -	347
Federal St. Fund	189	Budd Co.	346
Diversification Fund	177	Acme Markets	274
Century Shares Trust	114	Smith, Kline & French	223

#### Southern Afrika

(Continued from page 7)
forth negotiations with Nkomo, the ZAPU leader and a dismissed part of the ANC leadership group (which included, Bishop Muzorewa, ANC, Sithole, ZANU, Chikerema, FROLIZI), by Sithole, Smith as the best method of implementing some kind of pallatable to imperialism neo-colonialism. The contradiction between the superpowers and Smith regime, is that the racist Smith settlers want to maintain straight colonialism. but imperialism knows that neo-colonialism is a much superior way for monopoly capitalism to maintain control, since it is closer to the "rule by trick" illusion and swindle that characterize bourgeois democracy. And there are serious con-tradictions inside the ANC forces themselves, not only between Nkomo and the others but now between the fighters in the field in Zimbabwe, the political prisoners locked up by Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, the cadres supposedly training but receiving no real aid in Tan-zania and Mozambique on the one hand, and the whole political leader-ship of the ANC, on the other. The ZANLA fighters are reported to have sent a directive to the OAU liberation committee, and to Presidents Nyerere and Machel, demanding that they have separate representation in the OAU since they did not feel represented by the "political doglights" of the ANC leadership." denouncing everyone, including Ndanbiningi Sithole. Adding that their spokesman to the OAU, and the one person in leadership they felt some elationship to was one, Robert

Mugabe. We must be extremely wary of the "new imperialists" because they are willing to take chances, thumb their nose at
U.S. Imperialism, all the time chanting
the magic word, Detente, while steadily
moving the world toward another world

war! Also, the opportunism that has emerged in Afrika around the presence of the new neo-colonialism should give us pause. For instance, we have heard sounds issuing from certain forces in Namibia and Zimbabwe saying they would welcome Cuban troops and Soviet presence to liberate Afrika. Even the U.S. neocolonial props in Kenya have come out calling for Cuban troops to solve the question of Southern Afrika, trying to sound militant.

Abel Muzorewa of ANC is sup-posedly also sounded the note of wanting Cuban troops. The Kenyan people should remember how they exchanged British hegemony for American, and that one time the Americans also in the name of "democracy" denounced British imperialism. But for exactly the same reason that USSR Social Imperialism now denounces U.S. Imperialism, postures at giving aid to the liberation movements (which is never consistent) to rid Afrika of (Continued on page 10)

#### GI ORGANIZERS NEEDED

The US military still has over 200,000 servicepeople poised for attack against the people of Asia. While many of them are scattered on isolated bases, the concentration in Japan-both the main island and on Okinawa—is high. For over five years Pacific Counselling Service has run counselling and organizing projects there in order to help Gls resist being used against their interests, and to strengthen the class-conscious revolutionary movement in the US.

PCS needs people with a strong interest in working with GIs, and their families. Organi-zers preferably should have a proletarian standpoint and experience, and some exper-ience with the military. Subsistence and trans-portation are guaranteed.

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#### Dialectical and Historical Materialism:

From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) 1939 (Part 7)

There are different kinds of social ideas and theories. There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society. Then there are new and ad-vanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society; and their significance is the greater the more ac-curately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of

New social ideas and theories arise after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But once they have arisen they become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society. It is precisely here that the tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, political views and new political institutions manifests itself. New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribound forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.

Thus social ideas, theories and political institutions, having arisen on the basis of the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, the development of social being, themselves then react upon social being,

#### Southern Afrika

(Continued from page 9)

American Imperialism, when in reality it wants to come in the back door with the same kind of ravenous appetite characterizing all imperialism the "old" or

In Zimbaowe as in Southern Afrika generally, we must see to a unifying of all true liberation forces to struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Unify in order to fight the armed struggle against colonialism, and in places such as Zimbabwe, while we are wholly in accord with the tactic of using "dual revolutionary" tactics against dual counter-revolutionary tactics, that is we might negotiate in unity, still such negotiation must be based on armed struggle since usually such "negotiations" are a trick of the colonialists anyway to lessen our will to fight. Armed struggle is primary against colonialism. So in Zimbabwe we call for unity of all true liberation forces against colonialism, the primacy of armed struggle (and such negotiations as Nkomo's can be almost totally discounted as the collusion of the superpowers since both have an interest in Smith negotiating neo-colonialism with Nkomo - the U.S. to stop further warfare - the USSR because Nkomo is one of their old line forces). We also demand that President Kaunda of Zambia stop merely sounding off about the liberation of Southern Afrika and do something he can do easily, i.e., release the ZANU supreme political council from Zambian jails, give support to our comrades in Namibia and not turn his back on them because of a desired detente with the South Afrikans. We also demand that

upon-the material life of society, creating the conditions necessary for completely carrying out the urgent tasks of the material life of society, and for rendering its further development pos-

In this connection, Marx save

Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses." (Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechts-philosophie.).

Hence, in order to be able to influence the conditions of material life of society and to accelerate their development and their improvement, the party of the proletariat must rely upon such a social theory, such a social idea as correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, and which is therefore capable of setting into motion broad masses of the people and of mobilizing them and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society.

The fall of the "Economists" and

Mensheviks was due among other things to the fact that they did not recognize the mobilizing, organizing and transforming role of advanced theory, of advanced ideas and, sinking to vulgar materialism, reduced the role of these factors almost to nothing, thus condemning the Party to passivity and inanition.

The strength and vitality of Marxism--Leninism are derived from the fact that it relies upon an advanced theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, that it elevates theory to a proper level, and that it deems it its duty to utilize every ounce of the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of this theory.

That is the answer historical materialism gives to the question of the relation between social being and social consciousness, between the of development of material life and the development of the spiritual life of

#### (To be continued)

the cadres of fighters in Tanzanian and Mozambiquean camps be given real aid and that supplies they have received be released to them by those governments. In order to defeat Colonialism, we must unite and depend on the masses and armed struggle. But we must also be aware of the shadow of superpower in-trusion and especially in this period the "new imperialism" of the USSR, it is the same old imperialism, but now dressed up under the cover of "Socialism."

In a February 4 editorial from "Renmin Ribao" published in the February 6 Peking Review, page 9, talking about the need for the Superpowers to be kicked out for Angolan independence, "building up an independent, unified, nationally united, new Angola," they go on to speak of the task at present for all Afrika. "The road to this goal is by no means smooth or easy, but its realization is inevitable and beyond doubt. Similarly, the great Afrikan people who have stood up will certainly do away with superpower aggression and interference, close their ranks, heighten their vigilance, distinguish the true from the false and friend from foe, and push the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, white racism and Zionism ahead to a new stage."

Superpowers Out of Angola! And Cuba and South Afrika too! National Unity Government in Angola. Unity Colonialism. Imperialism, Hegemonism, Racism and Zionism.

LIBERATION OF THE BLACK NATION SOCIALIST REVOLUTION VICTORY TO ALL DPPRESSED PEOPLE

Commentary By Hsinhua Correspondent:

#### SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR

Part 3

Goaded on by their frenzied ambitions for aggression and expansion. the Soviet social-imperialists pursue a policy of war adventure, ready for both nuclear and conventional wars with their strategical key points very prominent.

As latecomers at the feast of world imperialism and discontent with the present situation, the Soviet socialimperialists have gone all out in an ef-fort to redivide the world, taking the offensive in their global contention with the U.S. imperialists. Over the past years, apart from carrying out political control, military occupation and economic annexation in some former fraternal nations' within the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance", they have tried to make their way into the undermine the U.S. imperialists' spheres of influence while carrying on feverish penetration and expansion in both the second world and the third world.
Soviet revisionist leaders have clamoured repeatedly about the need for the Soviet Union to take an "historic offensive" on the "entire front of global confrontation" and, "backed by its military might", to "start an extensive and real general attack" abroad. At a recent Moscow meeting, Brezhnev ar-rogantly declared that the Soviet Union will "start an active offensive on the international arena" in the wake of its strengthened economic and defense capabilities".

The Brezhnev clique has laid stress on the necessity to be "ready to fight a war with any weapons", "with nuclear weapons or otherwise" and "under certain conditions, probably only with conventional weapons.

The Soviet revisionists have become increasingly unrestrained in making a show of force and threat of force. They advertised that "in all circumstances, the Soviet army and navy will use or will not use nuclear weapons to carry out combat tasks in great depth and at a high speed, and successfully accomplish their tactical and strategical missions on whatever scale," that "the role of a sur-prise attack has become ever greater and, therefore, surprise attacks have become a factor of strategic im-portance" and that the Soviet armed forces are required to be prepared at all times to "fulfill offensive tasks". Europe, a land of contention among

imperialist powers in history, was made the main battlefield in the last two world wars. To date, it is also the key point of Soviet-U.S. contention. Placing Europe in the "central position" of its global strategy, the Soviet Union declared that its "fate depends on how developments evolve in Europe"

Having kept Eastern Europe in its firm grip, the Soviet Union is trying to swallow up western Europe, a piece of juicy meat. It deploys three-fourths of

its troops in Europe (including the European part of the Soviet Union proper), constantly renews their weapons and equipment and increases the number of its soldiers. A total of more than half a million of Soviet troops are now stationed in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and

The Soviet Union is now arrogantly stepping up military deployment in the southern and northern flanks of Europe in a bid to outflank the continent. Meanwhile, the Brezhnev clique resorts to "detente" tactics on the European arena to cover up its arms expansion and war preparations, and intensifies its political expansion and econonmic infiltration into western Europe, trying to split and disintegrate it and squeeze out the United States.

However, numerous facts after the conclusion of the "European Security Conference" masterminded by the Brezhnev clique with painstaking efforts indicate that far from being a "milestone" of European security, the conference was a new starting point of the Soviet social-imperialists towards "Historical experience merits attention."

It was precisely amidst the lullaby of "peace", "security" and "disarmament" that Hitler abruptly unleashed a "blitz war" and the iron heel of the Nazi fascists trampled on nearly the whole western European Continent. Several years ago, Brezhnev and company suddenly sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia while holding talks with Czechoslovak leaders and issuing joint statements of "friendship". These facts are most useful for the people to see clearly the present European situation and the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists.

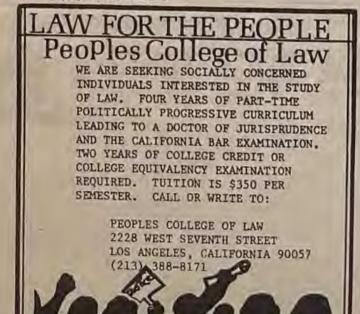
Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. This is a stark reality. Against this, the revolutionary (Continued on page 11)

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Thank you for whatever way you can to help Unity & Struggle to reach the masses of people to unite our struggles to smash imperialism!!!

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# MOTION!!

Wichita, Kansas jail on charges of Wichita, Kansas Jan on charges of interstate transportation of unregistered firearms. When jailed, although Kamook Banks was pregnant, she was thrown into solitary confinement. When the was born, it was immediately the child was born, it was immediately taken from her. Law enforcement officials, US marshals, FBI agents and the ficials, of the legal system - lawyers, judges, courts, all of these are tools of the capitalist state being used against the Indian people. Eisborate charges, exorbitant bails and false imprisonment on fabricated charges, are being used to harass, in-timidate and subjugate the Indian people, but these action only serve to heighten the Indian people struggle against the capitalist system.

Mass Arrests & Torture Continue in

the Phillipines. President Marcos has launched a mass campaign against the growing opposition of the workers, students, & peasants. Reports reveal Marcos has instituted mass arrests, mer-Marcos has instituted mass arrests, merciless torture and incarceration of political prisoners. Recently arrested were leading elements of the anti-fascist resistance Jose Luneta and Satur Ocampa, plus Nelia Sancha, head of the finance committee of the Communist Party of the Phillipines (CPP) who are being tortured to reveal the whereabouts of other leaders of the resistance. With vicious hatred for the masses of people, Marcos has lashed out to destroy the people's resistance movement. However the people are fighting back with even more demonstrations and mass protests. Each

series of arrests have brought wave after wave of new protests from the people. Being rocked one after the other by these open and public confrontations. Marcos is being forced to reveal the fascist character of his regime by attempting to use brutal repression on the people. The recent mass arrests add to the 50,000 political prisoners already detained since martial law was instituted. A complete news blackout was also placed on the media in the midst of this crisis as part of Marcos strict censorship and control. Though the arrest of many of the leaders of the resistance has created some setbacks to the resistance movement, it is by no means any "fatal blow" as the regime has tried to project. The armed struggle continues in the Phillipine country side, and the Phillipine people, continue to struggle against Marcos fascist regime.

#### PRSC Withdrawal

(Continued from page 4)

part of any organization whose line is dominated by those who think the Soviet Union is not social-imperialist and who bogusly criticize the Peoples Republic of China, telling them that they need to "adopt a position more in they need to "adopt a position more in line with proletarian internationalism." We think this position of PSP comes from the Revisionist Soviet Union. Now that PSP has openly come out support-ing the Soviet line, we feel that they will influence the PRSC to take the same

This is our basis, for recommending withdrawal from the National Board and any other affiliation that we have with the PRSC



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# FREE RAP BROWN!

We urge our readers to write and demand in-formation 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

#### Soviet Social Imperialism

(Continued from page 10)

people and many nations the world over are heightening their vigilance and making preparations. In history, past and present, those who start an aggressive war all come to no good end. At present, profound changes have taken place in the world situation. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of our time. Despite their truculence and ferocity, the Soviet social-imperialists are strong only in appearance but brittle in-side; they are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by crises. At home, class antagonism and national contradictions are sharpening day by day with deepening political and economic crises. The resistance of the people of all nationalities is growing in depth and the new Tsars are sitting on a volcano.

Internationally, the vast third world nations and people have seen more and more clearly the true features of Soviet social-imperialism in their struggle against the two superpowers. The against the two superpowers. The struggle of the second world against the superpowers, the Soviet social-imperialists in particular, continues to surge forward. The tendency of the western European nations to combat hegemony in unity grows unabated. Chairman Mao points out that "imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view from a strategic point of point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers" and that "revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." The Soviet social-imperialists are doomed to be destroyed for good should they dare unleash a new world war. "It is the people who will win the war, win the peace and win progress."

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#### CAPMeeting Report

(Continued from page 4)

to the main line document they are developing on the Afro-American National Question, to be circulated and discussed for final decision at the next Central Committee Meeting.

Our final decision was on a new name for the organization! Each district had been charged with having discussions and coming with recommendations for a new name suitable for a Marxist-Leninist organization. The importance of using Marxist-Leninist references in taking up all major questions was raised, and there were important questions arising from the discussions in the districts such as, whether to have Com-munist in the name, whether to reflect multinational character, and the use of M-L or M-L-M as a part of the name. There was emphasis on the significance of this last question throughout the World Communist Movement, and a Central Committee directive that detailed research and analysis must be done regarding the use of M-L-M in an organization's name. A committee was designated to do a total summation on the new name that was finally decided on. After this summation is thoroughly discussed throughout CAP, our new name will be publically announced.

During this time CAP will continue to

struggle internally to make more necessary changes in practices, continue the struggle to defeat opportunism and bourgeois ideology in order to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We will strive to develop correct political lines on major ques-tions, and re-build the organization to take our stand alongside other comrades in the Communist Movement, to principles Marxist-Leninist solidarity and do our part in building the Revolutionary Vanguard Communist Party USA.

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# Black Liberation Today

# RAISE!!

(Part I)

AMIRI BARAKA

Since the 50's the Black Liberation Movement then entering its civil rights phase, has undergone many dramatic transformations and developments. The civil rights movement on one hand was a mass movement but led by the black national bourgeoisie, with a line most objectively represented by Martin Luther King National black bourgeoisie because we refer to that sector of our bourgeoisie that has some objective antagonistic contradictions with imperialism. That sector of our black bourgeoisie that is in reality struggling for control of the black market, which they can never get because the Imperialists will not give up control of this market without revolution, and on the other hand when there is revolution it will not be a revolution that will put the black bourgeoisie into hegemony over the black nation in the black belt south, or the black oppressed nationality that is spread throughout the rest of the U.S.A. state.

It was the national wing that could articulate some struggle against our national oppression, i.e., against our oppression as a black nation, but who because of their class interests could never carry the struggle beyond the civil rights phase. The extension of democratic rights that marked equal access, voting rights, the most overt apartheid in the South, and slight economic liberalism that black capitalism was supposed to signify really only totally benefited a small sector of the black population, in the black bourgeoisic and bourgeoisie, i.e., the upper class and middle class. Though there were some distinct cosmetic changes proffered towards the black working class and small farmer, these were for the most part illusions, and by now, with the rising tide of economic crisis throughout the capitalist world these illusions have been rapidly destroyed

On the other hand, the comprador wing, that part of the black bourgeoisie that directly represents imperialism, articulated by the leadership of the NAACP and Urban League, could never really lead the black liberation movement, since the Booker T. Washington days, although the bankrupt Communist Party USA, which had by the 50's turned totally revisionist, i.e., cut out proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat from out of their sham version of Marxism, so they pushed the compradors, led by Roy

Wilkins, as the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement. In their slimy revisionist illogic they now said that bourgeois integration was the road to socialism. And while we favor the voluntary union of all nationalities in common struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism, the bourgeoisie's fabric of delusion and illusion have nothing to do with the communist goal of unification of the whole multinational working class. The CPUSA went at far as to characterize the great working class black revolutionary Malcolm X as "a police agent," and said that the "nationalism of Malcolm X was the same as the nationalism of the Ku Klux Klan."

nationalism of the Ku Klux Klan."

Why was this? Because once the CPUSA turned its back on Marxism-Leninism, it reversed its line on the Black Nation. It no longer viewed black people in the black belt of the U.S.A. as an oppressed nation, which they are with the right of self-determination ("up to and including secession") whose struggle for liberation is part and parcel of the overall struggle of the whole working class and oppressed nationalities for democracy and socialist revolution. The CPUSA began to say that Black people in the U.S.A. had already achieved self-determination and we had opted for integration into America under imperualism. Truly a traitorous statement!

Malcolm X's development and articulation that black people were a Black Nation with the right of self determination, self respect and self defense, signaled the re-emergence of the black working class into a leadership position in the black liberation movement. And although the mass civil rights movement was led by the black national bourgeoisie, in the future it will be understood that the most significant and far-sighted leader of the black liberation movement during the 60's and throughout the whole period was Malcolm X. Even though there were a host of movements organizations, different class strata and interests being sounded all as part of the over all black liberation movement. Once Malcolm X came forward, even though he came out of the religious and cultural nationalist framework of the Nation Of Islam, he took a consistently and developing revolutionary black nationalist and clearly anti-imperialist position. The clearly anti-imperialist position. The dramatic split between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam came shortly after John Kennedy was assassinated by the CIA, and Malcolm called it "Chickens com-ing home to roost." He was fired from the Nation Of Islam, as fast as Robert

Williams was fired from the Monroe County NAACP earlier for hospitalizing a racist when "non-violence" was the battle cry of the black bourgeoisie. These kinds of splits showed the development of the black liberation movement away from the leadership and control by the black bourgeoisie, and toward the leadership of the working class, who are the most militant fighters for democracy and ultimately socialism.

Malcolm knew that black liberation was a political struggle, not a religious struggle. He knew it was an antiimperialist struggle not a struggle for black capitalism. Malcolm knew it was an international struggle, and he sounded the struggle of third world people versus imperialism, which is still one of the sharpest struggles in the world, and the motor for revolution around the world. And as a result of Malcolm's political line, the student movement, characterized by SNCC, which had been influenced by the bourgeois line of non-violence and bourgeois assimilation, began to turn around under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown. Stokely who was identified with the cry Black Power, which was a further thrust of the Black Nationalism and that Malcolm talked about. And Rap who was identified with the national eruption of black rebellions from Harlem to Watts, to Newark and Detroit, which showed the truly revolutionary nature of the BLM!

The calls and movements for self defense identified with Robert Williams, the Black Panthers, the Deacons from La, all were indebted to the political line of Malcolm X representing the articulation and re-emergence of the black working class into leadership. The Afrikanism and Pan-Afrikanism were also inspired by Malcolm's call for black people in the U.S. to recognize our Afrikan origins, as part of the struggle against the cultural aggression that is part of imperialist oppression but also Malcolm was pointing out the need for unity by the 3rd world against imperialism, which Chairman Mao Tse Tung still calls for even today.

The splits in the black liberation movement bear out the fact that one splits into two, that the contradictions inside a thing, the confrontation of opposites that is the dialectical definition of development, can also make a thing split in half, into two opposites. The Malcolm X - Nation of Islam split; The Robert Williams - NAACP split. The SNCC - Panther split; The Panther - US organization split, all revealed the truth of one splitting into two. The black liberation movement as its name suggests was and is a broad front of

various organizations, class strata, and interests, generally united against black national oppression. But on how (or if) that national oppression is to be ended forever, the divergency widens.

The Black Panthers for instance made significant contributions to the struggle for black liberation. They raised to a higher level Malcolm's line on Self Defense, and carrying guns into the California legislature in 1967 es-tablished in the consciousness of Afro-Americans from coast to coast that we had the right to armed self defense, and didn't have to merely turn our cheek as our little children got blown up in churches or, as we ourselves were beaten in the street. The Panthers also introduced talk of Marxism-Leninism into the Black Liberation Movement again, not for the first time, since the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood of the early twenties actually put forward scientific socialism as the only ideology to liberate black people and had a delegation go to Lenin's 3rd International. Also during the 30's Marxism-Leninism made a distinct impression on the black liberation movement, but that was reversed with the traitorous actions of the CPUSA when they turned revisionist and refor-

But the Panthers error was 1st that they turned the correct cry of self defense into a gun cult, and secondly, that they identified incorrectly the lumpen proletariat, the pimps, hustlers and prostitutes as the social force that would make revolution in the U.S.A. when in reality it is the working class. the black working class in unity with other sectors of the working class, the other nationalities, who led by a van-guard Marxist-Leninist party will make ocialist revolution. The notorious split between the Panthers and the US organization was of course largely the work of police agents and the FBI who now openly admit it. But the "US organization and its spearhead of Afrikanism, that others raised to a higher level of militant PanAfrikanism in support of the Afrikan Liberation Movements, also made critical errors. For instance seeing whites as the enemy rather than the system of monopoly capitalism, and thinking that by posing some neo-traditional Afrikan culture on blacks in the U.S., that would produce a revolutionary movement. These are errors of bourgeois nationalism nationalism and petit bourgeois idealism, of which CAP was also guilty. and for which we must still make exten-

sive self criticism.\*

\*In the June issue of Unity & Struggle
the entire issue will be given to a historical summary of CAP.

(Cont. next issue)



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