

NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY TAKEN OVER BY DEMOCRAT LACKIES!!

Petit Bourgeois Compradors Engineer Destruction of United Front Via Repression and Fraud!



The recent National Black Assembly meeting in Dayton, Ohio, October 14-16, saw the on going two line struggle in the NBA grow sharper and more intense. Along with the resignation of Amiri Baraka, as Secretary-General of the NBA in a move to disassociate himself and the Congress of Afrikan People from the emerging reactionary petty bourgeois compradors (wholly subservient to imperialism) led by NBA president Ron Daniels and Co. These forces have been propped up by the Democratic party to remove communists and all other progressive elements from the NBA to make the NBA safe for the impending sell out and games that will be played at the National Black Political Convention in March and make the entire '76 presidential campaign, a repeat ala McGovern, Miami '72 style featuring the same political pimping and shuffling in the name of bargaining with the Democratic party in exchange for a "key appointment" or new suit.

MIDDLE EAST and ZIONISM WHY ZIONISM IS RACISM

The whole Arab world has united to oppose the odious terms of the Sinai agreement calling for U.S. observers in the Sinai desert and to oppose the neo-colonial stance the Egyptian rulers have taken with U.S. imperialism. In a recent interview here in the U.S., Egyptian newspaper editor Mohammed Hasanain Heykal was quoted as saying the Sinai pact was a "tragic mistake" and a Middle East war is highly probable. The Pact was an attempt to divide the Arab World, but it did not work. It only succeeded in exposing the character of imperialism and its willing servant of neo-colonialism in Egypt. We need a united front against the Superpowers

and Zionism, but at the same time we cannot be blind to the objective truth that neo-colonialism will collaborate to sabotage the struggle of national liberation of the Palestinian people, who are suffering the brunt of the Superpower & Zionist aggression. The Palestine people have been driven off their homeland for 3 decades by Israeli Zionist aggression, and though there have been any number of negotiations held, armed struggle is the fundamental method the Arabs must use to solve this crisis.

The fact that Israel is prone to make a deal demonstrates that they are feeling

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Pittsburgh CAP Shows Solidarity With The Palestinian People

On Monday, September 22, the Palestine Solidarity Committee of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania staged a protest demonstration against Moïse Dayan who spoke near the University of Pittsburgh's campus at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall. The Palestinians were joined by the Congress of Afrikan and Third World People's Coalition in the show of resistance against zionism and imperialism, represented by the arch reactionary, Moïse Dayan. A group of about 100 people marched and demonstrated at the event.

This militant protest asserted the

**Cleaver:
What's Going On?**

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rights and will of the Palestinian people to struggle against imperialism on all fronts. The plight and cause of the Palestinian people must be brought to the American populace and the Zionist Israelis exposed as agents of American imperialism. Chants of "the Palestinian people, they do have rights, they do have a name, the name is PLO"; "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the Palestinian People are going to win" were among the many slogans raised and were indicative of the revolutionary spirit and fervor that marked the protest. The protesters also clarified their purpose as being a struggle against Zionism and not the Jewish people.

When the Palestine Problem was created by Britain in 1917, more than

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NBA: "The Dayton Strategy"

and The March of the Compradors

At the last National Black Assembly Meeting, what completely unfurled was the fact that the National Black Assembly is now completely in the hands of a new **comprador** class, namely the petit-bourgeois aspirant elite, the gunbearers of the front end of that elite who are the elected officials, and top bureaucrats that front off as "black faces in high places" around the country, i.e. the black congressional caucus, the black mayors, and appointed officials, &c. The sector of the **comprador** (or wholly subservient to imperialism) petit bourgeoisie what have taken over the NBA is the Anti-poverty official, black studies instructor, smaller bureaucrat, small time elected official, sector, who finally will be as committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system as the front ender "stars", but who now just come on a little more radical because they still trying to get to be stars!

This meeting was characterized by the

use, for instance, of anti-poverty funds by the NY assembly (Queensboro) to bring "delegates" to the conference who knew nothing of what the assembly was, had never participated in its work, and only knew that they were told by their boss (executive director of a Queens anti-poverty Agency, James Heyliger) that they had to go to a conference in order to get paid for their weeks work! Delegations from Michigan and Illinois bore the same character. In Michigan it was the model cities program in Illinois corrupt AFL-CIO organizers. And in each case, the **real delegates were not allowed to register**, and protests of this fraud and violation of democratic rights were dismissed as "disruption". This was the ruling of NBA President Ron Daniels who has come to represent the new compradors absolutely, showing how reactionary bourgeois nationalism

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THE SUPERPOWERS VS THE PEOPLE IN ANGOLA AND ZIMBABWE



The main contradiction in Angola that has instigated civil war among the three liberation groups (UNITA, FNLA and MPLA), is superpower contention between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. versus the people. This contention has increased to such an extent that it has resulted in civil war in Angola. "Superpowers Out of Angola!! is the one correct cry in this agonizingly complex situation. But how can MPLA and FNLA fight the superpowers if they receive directions from the U.S.S.R. and U.S.?"

Pictured above, left to right, Neto, MPLA, Roberto, FNLA, Savimbi, UNITA

November 11, at 12 noon, the Portuguese government formally quit their over 500 year colonial presence in Angola, overtly to avoid the civil war. The move, though expected was pushed up 12 hours. When they removed the Portuguese flag, the only liberation movement of the three contending movements in Luanda, the capital city was MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) headed by Agostino Neto. Neto declared independence and cited themselves as the "legal government of Angola." But FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) was reported only 2 hours away from Luanda and was being backed by ZAIRE armed forces.

This action by Portugal in the midst of Superpower contention has clearly given the MPLA the edge to declare themselves the spokesmen for Angolan people. MPLA is militarily backed by the Soviet social imperialists who lacking a foothold in Afrika seized the opportunity to gain a hold thru massive

support to MPLA's Agostino Neto, since Portugal was pulling out. The USSR has supplied the most modern weapons to use, not on the colonialists, but on the other liberation movements. In fact, more Angolans have been killed since the USSR intervention than during the entire years of anti-colonial struggle against the Portuguese. The Soviet bloc and other nations close to MPLA will recognize MPLA as the

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ANGOLA and ZIMBABWE

STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN SPAIN

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government in power immediately!
The Organization of Afrikan Unity has asked the Portuguese to delay independence for Angola in order to avoid the almost unavoidable blood-bath caused by this superpower contention for hegemony. The OAU has urged Afrikan nations not to recognize any of the movements separately till other developments occurred.

What is needed to stop the Civil War and defend Angola, which is very rich in mineral and human resources, is a **United Front against the Superpowers!!!** To stop the USA and USSR from stuffing Angola into its back pocket. And while UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), headed by Jonas Savimbi, has steered a course independent of the Superpowers, U.S. papers are now trying to make it seem as if UNITA is "western backed." UNITA has the popular support of the peasant masses in Angola and was a decisive liberation movement in whipping the Portuguese to the negotiation table and forging the temporary unity characterized by the Transitional Government. UNITA has control of most of the southern portion of Angola, and until the overkill Soviet weaponry was sent to MPLA, had many

holds in the central and port centers of Angola. What is important to understand is that any election held by a provisional government made of the three liberation movements, UNITA would win any popular election. This is the reason the MPLA Soviet thrust had to come when it did! F.N.L.A., headed by Holden Roberto, is backed by the U.S. imperialists and by his brother-in-law, killer of Patrice Lumumba. CIA trained Joseph Mobutu alias Mobutu Seko Sese.

The fact that the MPLA has declared unilateral independence in Luanda which is recognized by not only the Soviet bloc but Mozambique and Guinea Bissau as well as the Soviet leaning Congo-Brazzaville poses grave problems, not only for UNITA, but for the people of Angola. The first problem is that the civil war will undoubtedly go on, and be a focus of superpower contention. MPLA versus UNITA & F.N.L.A. (either separately or joined together in a temporary united front). But even as this war goes on and splits the country wide open, it allows the superpowers ever more presence inside Angola. If MPLA dominance means simply that Angola will become the client state of the Soviet Union, not only

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MIDDLE EAST and ZIONISM

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the toll of heavy armed struggle waged by the heroic Arab people, and in order to save themselves from these deadly blows they must put more into lulling the people to sleep with talk of "detente".

The Chinese point out quite clearly that, "The reactionaries habitually resort to the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of armed suppression and political deception. The revolutionary people must guard against this and be good at using revolutionary dual tactics to oppose the counterrevolutionary dual tactics. In negotiations, one should base himself on fighting." (Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping)

The danger of the incorrect position that Sadat has taken in this period is not limited to concessions in the Sinai Pact, but Arabs have criticized the fact that "the Egyptian government played an obstructionist role, directed against the efforts of Arab and international forces supporting the Arab liberation struggle to expel Israel from the United Nations to isolate it and to impose sanctions against it."

But neither the Superpowers nor neo-colonialism can stop the revolutionary upsurge of the Third World & the role it is playing in propelling the wheel of world history today! With the stinging and triumphant vote of 72 to 35, the United Nations General Assembly adapted a resolution saying, "zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination". And, thoroughly isolated and exposed, both U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism are in a frenzied attempt to make deals like with Sadat, but even more so to threaten the selective with-

drawal of "foreign aid" from the U.N. and specifically to "ice" foreign aid going to nations that supported this resolution! But the fact is it will not work. U.S. influence in the world is waning and nations are struggling for independence from both Superpowers & their intervention. The other key resolution passing was a resolution establishing a U.N. committee to promote the restoration of the Palestine state in Palestine.

In the face of the intensifying Superpower contention in the Middle East aimed at the redivision and repartitioning of the world, especially to win the "prize" of Europe by controlling oil in the Middle East, the Arab people must unite even more firmly against the Superpowers and zionism to liberate Palestine from foreign domination. A campaign must be waged to expose neo-colonialism in Egypt as one face of imperialism, and to isolate the capitulationists, and "restore to Egypt its historic role at the heart of the Arab liberation struggle".

Why Zionism Is Racism

Zionism is a form of reactionary nationalism, popularized by German Jewish intellectual Theodor Herzl in the 19th century initially and supported later by British imperialism (Cecil Rhodes who "founded" the settler colony "Rhodesia" and later the Balfour Declaration in 1917) as a method of extending the rule of imperialism into the middle east and also removing Jewish people from England and Europe. Zionist Israel is main function for Imperialism is as its watch dog in the middle east, and in northern africa.

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Generalissimo Franco will soon be announced dead and so will the Franco fascist regime which is also on its death bed probably ending fascist rule inside Spain itself. The succeeding ruling elite led by Juan Carlos, represents an attempt to maintain the line of leadership securely within the ruling bourgeoisie and the exploitation of the masses of Spanish people and where ever Spain has extended its colonial and fascist rule.

Contrary to bourgeois propaganda about the political crisis in Spain, the source of the crisis is not the dying Generalissimo Francisco Franco, but the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism on its deathbed that will lead to the end of fascist rule in Spain. Popular struggle has mounted in Spain as the militant opposition of the Revolutionary Patriotic Anti-Fascist Front (FRAP), is mobilizing more and more workers and other democratic classes against the degenerate fascist

rule of Franco, Hitler's ally in the past & now the friend of U.S. imperialism.

Massive demonstrations in Spain and Spain's executions & mass arrests have drawn worldwide criticism and demonstration in support of the Spanish people's struggle against fascism. But we should be clear on what fascism is so we will not make a mistake and gloss over the true character & danger of fascism that Spain is fighting a life and death battle over today, i.e.,

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TANZANIA CALLS FOR INTENSIFICATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE

Now See Talks With Racists As "Tantamount To Appealing To The Dead"

* Excerpts from speech delivered to U.N. General Assembly by Saint Saimu, Tanzanian permanent rep to the United Nations.

The time has come, therefore, not only to de-escalate the talking, but also to intensify the struggle through other means. The racists in Southern Rhodesia are clearly forcing the African people to opt for an armed struggle. We, for our part, have no option but to render our full support to that struggle in accordance with the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa. For a central argument of the Dar es Salaam Declaration is that if talks fail, we resume and intensify the armed struggle.

But let me make one point very clear. Tanzania is not opposed to talks with Ian Smith so long as a basis for these talks exists. If such a basis exists, we will encourage the African National Council to talk with Ian Smith. The basis for talks, however, must be the acceptance by Ian Smith of the principle of majority rule in Zimbabwe. But, as I have already pointed out, Ian Smith is not only against this principle, but he also is determined to use every resource available to him to oppose majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Ian Smith and Vorster are enemies of Africa and the international community. Talking to an enemy is, in certain circumstances, a strategically permissible form of struggle. When we started talking to them last year, we did so in the belief that our enemies were seriously looking for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem. We have always made it clear that we would

prefer to avoid bloodshed and save life if our objective can be obtained without resorting to military confrontation. It is obvious, however, that our enemies have used the intervening period to strengthen their forces of repression for the purpose of maintaining the status quo. We cannot accept this situation; neither can the United Nations. The United Nations and the international community at large must give full and unqualified support to the armed struggle, whose resumption and intensification are now inevitable.

Madam Chairman, there is one other point that I would like to touch on this statement. The talks that have been conducted with the regimes in Southern Africa were aimed only at bringing about or achieving majority rule in Zimbabwe and at giving a chance to Ian Smith to declare his acceptance of majority rule in Zimbabwe and thereby avoid war. These talks were never aimed at facilitating a working relationship with the white racist regimes in Southern Africa. They were aimed at liquidating the illegal white minority regime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe. That was the one and only aim of these talks. The word "detente" is, therefore, absolutely irrelevant to these talks. The white regimes in Southern Africa know that there is no detente between them and ourselves. They know we are determined to fight them and one day justice will triumph. We feel it is important that our friends should know this too.

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MOTION!!



King Hassan led hundreds of thousands of marchers across the "Spanish" Sahara border in northern Afrika declaring the "Spanish" Sahara Moroccan territory. This staged march "pressured" Spain into an agreement with Morocco and Mauritania to formally end Spain's colonial rule there. But the true independence of the Sahara and its rich phosphate mines has also included Algeria in the struggle for control of the area and has led them to support a liberation movement in the Sahara called the Polisario calling for armed struggle and true independence.

CLEAVER: What's Going On?

Eldridge Cleaver's sudden and somewhat mysterious return to the United States raises a lot of questions, which we hope brother Cleaver can answer. We know the anxiety any exile must feel at being forcibly kept away from home but we question the statements attributed to Cleaver, in various interviews. All of which seemed like the propaganda work leading to his return. For instance we question what he means when he says, "With all its faults, the American political system is the freest most democratic in the world", or "All these changes must be conducted through our established institutions", or his alleged putdowns of socialist countries (including China?) and his open support for the U.S. military.

Cleaver, who returned Nov. 19, from Paris, after seven years exile, accompanied by three FBI agents, was fingerprinted and taken to the Brooklyn House of Detention, presumably to await extradition to California for bail jumping charges as well as other charges allegedly stemming from a shootout between the Panthers and Oakland policemen in 1968, a few days after Martin Luther King was murdered. (As the pattern of counterinsurgency assassinations and plots is exposed, it grows more and more obvious that King was a victim of FIB-CIA violence, as was George Jackson who was murdered and there is no doubt that was the fate that awaited Cleaver.)

But Cleaver's actions at this point have brought a wide range of reactions

among forces within the black liberation movement and anti-imperialist element in general. Some point to Cleaver's Lumpen and bohemian tendencies as the reason for his unstable seemingly traitorous statements and actions in an apparent effort to get back into the country safely, possibly allowed to go free on a long bail which will allow him to make such openly antisocialist support imperialism statements in exchange for such tenuous freedom in the U.S. It is especially interesting that such a return is allowed now, that many sectors of the black liberation movement have begun to openly embrace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought! The Black Panther Party through its present leadership, David Dubois have openly disassociated themselves with Cleaver, though Cleaver's other recent activity, "ostensibly" designing pants which feature a long black penis-like attachment in the fly area, which are pushed as the creations of "Eldridge de Paris" have also drawn sharp condemnation from progressive forces.

One thing is clear, if the black liberation movement and all the forces moving against imperialism and for socialism are to be undermined by a returning counter revolutionary traitors voice, reaction will be swift and possibly even violent. Obviously some of the things Cleaver is saying now are extraordinarily useful to imperialism, one can only speculate at the present as to why, but time will reveal undoubtedly exactly what's going on.

for maximum profits. But just as Ian Smith's racist regime will be smashed by the Zimbabwean people, so will U.S. imperialism be driven out of Rhodesia.

What's Happening with the Wilmington 16. In January 1971, Black students at Hanover High School in Wilmington, N.C., with the help of Ben Chavis from Commission for Racial Justice, organized boycotts, protests and demonstrations demanding a halt to racial discrimination. They were met with violent reprisals from the local KKK and ROWP (Rights of White People). Many people were injured, 2 people died. As a result, a secret Grand Jury returned indictments against 16 people - Ben Chavis, 14 former students of the high school and an anti-poverty worker, charging conspiracy to burn and to commit murder. None of the people who actually committed the violent acts - the KKK and ROWP - were indicted. After being subjected to a trial with a jury made up of people who admitted their racial bias and the weak testimony of one witness (a convicted and confessed criminal with a history of mental instability) who was induced to testify against the "Wilmington 16." Each defendant was found guilty and given prison sentences ranging from 10-34 years. An appeal listing 2,685 trial errors committed by the judge was made. The North Carolina Court of Appeals affirmed the conviction of each defendant. An appeal was made in May 1975 to North Carolina Court, but it refused to consider it. The defense committee is now preparing to file for the U.S. Supreme Court. The Wilmington 16 have been denied their democratic rights to a fair and impartial trial. They have been denied the right to protest racist policies and actions. They have been clearly the victims of this racist and oppressive capitalist system.

Freedom for the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners. October 30 marked a significant day in the struggle of the Puerto Rican People, when in 1950 they rebelled against U.S. imperialism. But the U.S. imperialists viciously crushed the rebellion by sending in troops and bombing the homes of Puerto Ricans. But heroic moves gave inspiration to Puerto Rican patriots, and three days later, Puerto Rican nationalists (Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola) attacked Blair House, residence of President Truman, who had ordered the colonial government in Puerto Rico to eliminate the national liberation movement. Torresola was killed in the attack. Again on March 1, 1954, bullets of independence burst out in the U.S. Congress. This action took place at a time when U.S. imperialists were trying to hide from the rest of the world the true colonial condition of Puerto Rico, thru the creation of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Four Puerto Ricans were arrested: Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero. These Puerto Ricans as well as Oscar Collazo, who was involved in the Blair House incident were jailed. They were already tried by the media and public opinion in this country. They were called mad people, fanatics, but they are clear examples of dedication to the struggle for national liberation. All were given sentences from 25-50 years. As a result of all these repressive acts a committee has been formed in New York, the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, which will struggle for the unconditional release of these Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners.

Over Three Million Black Workers Unemployed. While the Ford Administration is claiming to see signs of encouragement in the official unemployment rate, the official Black unemployment rate soared from 13% to 14.3% (the actual black unemployment rate is 25.7% according to the Urban League). This "actual unemployment among Blacks in many cities is certainly as pervasive as it was during the Great

Depression of the 1930's." And while the 9.2% overall unemployment rate caused national alarm last April to the point many Congress people were calling for massive public works programs, from 1955-74, Blacks had an average unemployment rate of 9.2%. Black men have tended to be laid off at particularly high rates, but Black women and teenagers tend to leave the job market altogether out of sheer discouragement. One of the key factors for the sharp withdrawal of working women has been the unavailability of child care facilities and the spiralling costs of those that are available.

Increasing Soviet-Israeli Collusion. Soviet social-imperialism has entered into frequent contact with Israeli Zionism, in order to enhance their position in the rivalry with U.S. imperialists for domination in the Middle East. The Soviet revisionists want the Israeli Zionists to continue their trouble-making in the Middle East so that it may fish in troubled waters carrying out infiltration and expansion. Israel for its part cannot go without Soviet support in various forms everytime it is beset with difficulties. One instance of Soviet-Israeli collusion, was the Soviet revisionists refusing to sell arms and supplies to the Arab countries, while Israeli Zionists were able to build up their arms supply. This support is necessary to Israel in achieving what it called "an equilibrium between the superpowers in the Middle East", strengthening the position of Israeli Zionism and extricating itself from the state of unprecedented isolation. It is very clear that the so-called complicated Middle East question is the result of imperialist policy of aggression and expansion carried on against the will of the Arab people. The increasing collusion of the Soviet revisionists with Israeli Zionists is the natural outcome of the new developments of the superpower contention in the Middle East. But what they have done will be in vain. It is the just struggle of the Arab people including the Palestinians that determines their own destiny. Strengthening their unity, heightening vigilance and persevering in fight, the Arab people will certainly win victory in the struggle against superpower hegemonism and Zionism.

The Supremes Bow to South Afrika Apartheid. After ignoring pleas from the Black community, the Supremes went to South Afrika on a tour, in other words, the Supremes chose to support with their presence one of the most racist and oppressive regimes in the world. An explanation should be demanded from the Supremes - and Barry Gordy - to explain to the Black community "why they choose to honor with their presence the world's most outspoken practitioners of Black genocide." The South African regime is committed to a policy of absolute domination by a white minority of millions of Afrikans. Any artist who collaborates with South African Apartheid is supporting the exploitation and suppression of the masses of Afrikan people in their own land. Maybe the Supremes should go to one of those "bantustans" where the Afrikans are forced to live on land that is incapable of sustaining life, and experience first hand, Vorster's planned genocidal destruction of the Afrikan people.

Spanish Colonialism Challenged in the Sahara. Over 300,000 Moroccan people marched into the Sahara to claim the land that Spain has colonized for hundreds of years. Spain has verbally said it would grant independence to the Spanish Sahara, but has refused to negotiate with King Hassan, claiming that it wants the people in the Sahara to decide what they want to do. But in reality, Spain is using this to maintain its imperialist control over the world's richest phosphate deposits. It is unclear exactly how King Hassan thought this unarmed march was going to lead to anything but fatigue - and he is already reconsidering it.

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House Votes Down Rhodesian Sanctions Bill. The House recently defeated another attempt to restore United States compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia. Vague excuses were used to cloak the real interest of transnational corporations seeking profits, especially the stainless steel industry which used every tactic available to ensure defeat of the Bill from lobbyists to political pressure and campaign contributions. Clearly this vote shows the nature of U.S. imperialism, which subordinates any concern for a majority rule in Rhodesia, to the search

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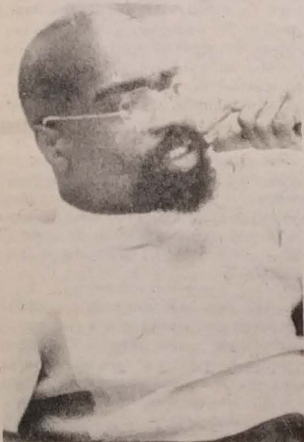
NBA: "The Dayton Strategy"

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Finally must unite with the very oppressors of the people it pretends to want to liberate. In one case, the entire city of Cleveland was actually disenfranchised (called decertified!) by the Daniels clique, and the ironic (actually scientific) aspect of the whole business was that in each case Daniels and company sounded exactly like the southern segregationists disenfranchising black people! For instance, whenever the bogus delegates sponsored by corrupt petit politicians, anti-poverty pimps, or monies scooped out of black studies budgets were opposed by the legitimate delegates, Daniels would say that States Rights were more important than the rulings of the National body. Sounding exactly like Eastland or Mississippi reactionaries challenging the civil rights of black people, or like the challenges to the Freedom Democratic Party in 1968. The cutting out of Cleveland from the Ohio delegation, is an exact replication of how the reactionary politics of capitalism USA works in trying to keep power from the big (mostly black and third world) cities and most power in the suburbs.

This striking parallel was evoked again when Mashariki Ross a member of the executive council was being put forth by herself and Daniels as a women's candidate when she had opposed the existence of the woman's caucus in the NBA from its inception.

U.S. Concentration Camps: HURRICANE CARTER



Carter and Artis have served over 9 years in a frame up murder conviction for the 1967 murder of three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey bar, despite the recantations of the states two key witnesses, who have admitted that they were forced to testify against Carter and Artis in exchange for reduced sentences on charges they were facing. Local and national pressure of the people will be the thing that frees these two brothers and also will expose that same frameup and gestapo rule that has a black woman, Assata Shakur (Joann Chesimard) locked up and continually terrorized and now facing trial in Brooklyn, NY for fighting this corrupt and ever growing fascist face of capitalism and its by products of racism and black national oppression. Free Carter and Artis! Free Assata Shakur! Free Rap Brown! Free Ruchell Magee! Free A.L.I. Political Prisoners and Victims of the System!!

Its like the middleclass negroes who got put in charge of black affairs after initially opposing any special attention for blacks, and whose appointment was made necessary by the militancy of the 60's. And though the militant women's caucus opposed Moss again, she was railroaded in by Daniels like black Musolini.

But throughout the meeting this com-pador elite showed that it had learned its lessons in bourgeois ideology well. It not only suppressed people's rights in order to register wholly illegal and illegitimate delegations from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Louisiana, New York (Daniels even went so far as to recognize a black studies professor living and teaching in Michigan, Jinamadari Bill Swann, as a Massachusetts representative). But later in the meeting, as it began its series of running "rules", "constitutions," "candidates" without even bothering to let the great majority of people at the meeting know what the documents were or who the candidates were, it was discovered that one of the documents in the package that was given out at the registration table was a complete fraud. A new charter had been struggled for and won in Chicago, and voted for submission to the assembly by the charter committee. In the Atlanta meeting Daniels and company walked out so the document and other important business could not be dealt with. In the interim

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Hurricane Carter and John Artis have spent nine years in prison following a frame-up conviction for the murder of three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey night club. It is also in this period of the 60's that black people rose up in rebellion against National Oppression, in major cities across the United States were many brothers and sisters were falsely accused of crimes and are still serving time. The Carter and Artis trial in the 60's was a typical case of a "Kangaroo" court. They were convicted by an all white jury and Carter was sentenced to two life terms and Artis was given one life term. A breakthrough came last year when two witnesses for the state filed separate affidavits, recanting their testimony and charging they had been pressured by police into lying, also the police withheld facts surrounding the "discovery" of a .32 caliber bullet, allegedly found by a police officer in Carter's car which was not recorded in the police property clerk records until 5 days after the shooting, that would have confirmed that Carter and co-defendant John Artis were not the men responsible for the murder, but were actually framed by the police. The Hurricane Carter Trust Fund, which is headed up by Muhammad Ali, a committee of a wide range of movie stars, athletes, entertainers who have rallied to support the drive to free them. A support group

PORTUGAL: Carry the Revolution Through To The End!

The revolution in Portugal (April, 1974) against fascism was a direct result of the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

The bourgeoisie of Portugal, in its fascist character, forced the Portuguese working class to fight and sacrifice their lives in colonialist wars in Afrika so that the U.S. imperialists and the Portuguese ruling class could maintain their super profits through exploiting the African masses.

Since the anti-fascist coup, the forces in power have shifted from the right openly toward the left, from reactionary toward progressive. Now there is a reverse in the gains won by the Portuguese masses. The main reason for these reverses is that the two super powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are contending in Portugal for hegemony. This means they are causing confusion and chaos, fighting each other for control over the political affairs of Portugal, by giving "aid" with chains attached, promises of large sums of money, deals of all kinds and when these tactics cannot work, they resort to CIA criminally disruptive tactics.

Recently, reported in Peking Review on U.S. and U.S.S.R. contention: "... Take for example the agreement in principle reached at the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting last November on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Since the signing of this agreement, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have stepped up their development of new-type strategic arms each trying hard to overpower the other. The two superpowers

do reach some agreements from time to time, but they only erect a facade behind which they are engaged in bigger and fiercer contention."

Massive demonstrations against the rising tide of fascism take place daily. There have been various rightist moving signs in the government that indicate very clearly that the new government might cave in toward U.S. backed fascism or Soviet backed social fascism.

But just as recently, the main danger was from the Social Imperialist backed Social Fascism (Socialism in words, Fascism in Deeds) now the ejection of Vasco Goncalves as president, and many of his associates all of whom were leaning toward the U.S.S.R., has allowed a new cabinet, the country's sixth in 17 months to come in, which is clearly dominated by the "Socialist" Party (backed by U.S. Imperialism) in coalition with the openly reactionary Popular Democratic Party, which is openly anti-socialist. These Bureaucrats are already opposing the legal takeovers by peasants and workers of farms and factories and trying to push back the tide of nationalizations which have brought "60% of Portuguese capital under government ownership." But 30,000 people marched recently in Lisbon, including soldiers, workers, peasants shouting "Portugal will not be the Chile of Europe... Death To The CIA." Because of this contention the MFA or Armed Forces Movement who

(Continued on page 8)

U.S. an illusion of "democracy" is created to try to mask the class nature of the state — this illusion is called JUSTICE, the "scales of justice" — a perfectly balanced judicial system. But just as the police, and prisons are instruments used by the bourgeois state to suppress working class people, the courts and laws are also tools of suppression. In the

(Continued on page 5)

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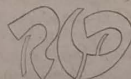
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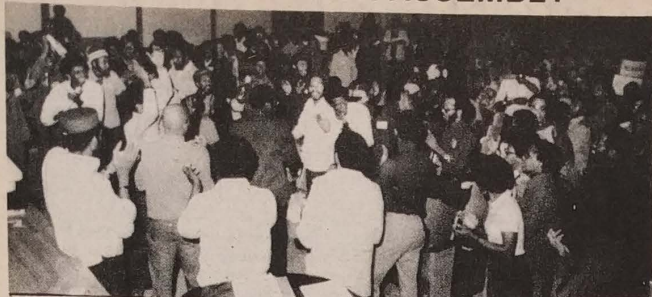


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NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY



Exclusive & reactionary petit bourgeois clique leading NBA limits mass participation by charging excessive fees for registration. While most of the people in the meeting were the observers who paid \$2 fees, the voting delegates had to pay \$10 in the midst of a depression to participate in a united front formed to struggle against national oppression!

(Continued from page 4)

they forged an entirely different document. This forgery was led by Mtangulizi Heyward Henry, the "black humanist," from Massachusetts as well as Mashariki Ross and Daniels, sneaked into the registration kit, and when it was discovered Mtangulizi said it was "a typographical error." The forged document is a clear indication of the class stand of the compradors. Not only the stooping to such a low tactic actually deleting passages they opposed because they attacked such petit bourgeois compradors and the bourgeoisie themselves, and slipping it into a registration kit, rather than engaging in open ideological struggle in the charter conference or at an assembly meeting. The hallmark of these kind of social democratic swine-no open struggle, CIA politics pure and simple!

Look at the passages that these compradors deleted from the genuine document, and you can see exactly where they're coming from and more important, where they're going. To their original bourgeois nationalist "the crises of the entire society" ... are the "natural end-product of a society built on the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism". were added after much struggle in a Chicago charter conference. "Hence black people suffer from super exploitation and double oppression from racism and capitalism". They deleted the last passage in the fraudulent document. Wanting to deny that anybody else could have anything to do with racism and capitalism other than whites, and making it seem that capitalism is some kind of white life style or something rather than an economic mode of production whose destruction will be ascertained by socialist revolution. Later on where it was put forward in the document, quoting the Gary "Black Agenda," that "American Political System like all other white institutions in America, was designed to operate for the benefit of the white races." In the Chicago charter struggle, the sentence, "Actually most whites do not totally benefit from those institutions which only benefit a small class of white and an even smaller class of blacks that benefit from them". **But in the fraudulent document both of the**

Chicago won additions were deleted. These reformers turned compradors had rather substitute the documents than struggle because they knew their pitiful bourgeois ideology would only get shot full of wholes again. And its clear to see why they would object to any line that black people were super exploited or suffered double oppression, because the only oppression these growing compradors feel is because they can't get into bourgeois society as high up as they feel they need to be. But the super-exploitation and double oppression of the masses they simply cannot identify with. Likewise where the document tries to wrest a progressive stand away from the bourgeois nationalism, these servants of the bourgeoisie want foremost to deny the class character of the U.S. system and of the oppression of blacks, or that working class and poor whites suffer exploitation and oppression as well as blacks, though we understand it is not as intense. **They must take a bogus bourgeois nationalist view to make it seem that its simply a black vs white issue because in the end this allows them to profit, and rise up in the system of monopoly capitalism all the time crying white oppression white oppression.** And that oppression finally is that they cannot be as high up in the capitalist system as the largely white petit bourgeoisie, but they do not see the system as evil, only the fact that they can't get high up in it! Because this college professor-poverty pimp clique are not superexploited as the working class blacks are, and they see their role finally as servants of the bourgeoisie, no matter how cryptically or elegantly, or militantly or idealistically or metaphysically that is described.

There were many other areas in the fraudulent document that were simply taken out rather than being struggled about. The whole question of the NBA as a united front was opposed, so it was simply going to be taken out. They opposed the idea that black people of many different political tendencies could come together, they wanted and have succeeded in narrowing the NBA to one dominant tendency the petit bourgeois comprador, that is, he middle

class negroes whose main task will be to help make capitalism function better and even seem as if it is "democratic" because it has induced some blacks in it. They also wanted to oppose any principled relationships with 3rd world peoples or working class whites. Though these are the same sector of the petit-bourgeoisie that invariably work in "white controlled" institutions, and will and have already to some extent been involved with bourgeois electoral politics, subordinated to the democratic party.

As the meeting went on, it grew clearer and clearer that it was to be an example of how well these compradors have learned their bourgeois ideology, and even how they could be, like the petit bourgeoisie of any other nation, the prime carriers of fascism. In the end of the meeting on Saturday, Daniels promised to deal with the women's concerns and other key issues including a presentation of prisons and parole from inmates at Trenton Prison, but Sunday morning as delegates readied to go to the school where the meeting was supposed to be held, they were told that the Sunday meeting had been cancelled! So it was clear that nothing was intended but the railroading of the fraudulent documents and the "election" of officers. But one obvious character of most of the newly "elected" officers is that they have not functioned to any extent in the NBA before, and it is questionable whether they will now. What the NBA looks like it will turn into, is a small semi-exclusive clique of petitbourgeois compradors who will use it as a vehicle for climbing into a more profitable relationship with the big bourgeoisie at the same time into a more exploitative relationship with black people. During the meeting of the Ohio clique came out with the statement that because Cleveland has refused to pay the 20\$!!! registration fee at the last Ohio State Assembly meeting they were no longer voting delegates and hence had to "go to the observer class". The registration fees at the Ohio meeting were \$10. unemployed \$5.00, \$2.00 for observers. Most of the people in the meeting were the observers, and many of the honest forces who had struggled with the exorbitant fees in the meeting in January in New York where a resolution was passed banning all such high fees, now not only saw those fees restored, but themselves fascistically kept from participating in the assembly even though they were the ones who had been doing the day to day work of keeping the assembly alive. The Daniels clique even went so far as to put forward a \$25.00 registration fee for the forthcoming convention in Cincinnati in 1975!

One thing is clear, the Dayton strategy was meant to completely take over the NBA, and squash all aspects of its united front character. In every post and spot on the executive council the Daniels-Mtangulizi clique (which included ex-N.Y. State Senator Waldaba Stewart, who is still a unrocked democrat but only because he lost the last election, he'll be back in the saddle the first time Shirley Chisholm gets her foot out

of his back), there are only the bourgeois nationalist, comprador petit bourgeois combination. What this means as far as the survival of the NBA is not totally clear except that it will move further and further away from serving the needs of black people. This is clearly the reason why the 76 anti-democrat "anti-republican electoral program was sidelined because these people only intend to serve those masters not oppose them. Now the question squarely facing the progressive forces after the "Dayton Strategy," which (1) Removed all progressive forces from any organ of responsibility in the Assembly and replaced them with the compradors (2) Mashed unread, in some cases fraudulent, rules, constitution and charters on the people (3) Established unprincipled, reactionary, and even "CIA politics" on the assembly as a precedent (4) Made accomplishment of progressive programs like the (a) Strategy 76 electoral program (b) Resolution from the August Economic conference which called for a Black Workers Conference: a day of national demonstration against the cutbacks and unemployment (c) Recognition of a woman's caucus (d) Badly needed resolutions concerning international issues, such as Angola, Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa as well as support of the U.N. condemnation of Zionism, &c., seemingly impossible - the question is should these progressive, in some cases Marxist-Leninist forces remain in the assembly under the total domination of the compradors, or should an alternative progressive united front be put together?? **Especially in light of the uncertainty which now surrounds the (ALSC) African Liberation Support Committee,** wherein it might also disappear, if Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) has its way, and then there will be no significant united front mechanism that is largely black in the country, at a time of absolute critical need. These are questions that must be answered immediately!

Assata Shakur

(Continued from page 4)

U.S. the terms democracy and justice only apply to the bourgeoisie, i.e., there is no democracy or justice for the masses of people.

Assata Shakur, black revolutionary woman, member of the Black Liberation Army, is presently housed in Rikers Island. She is in the "psycho" ward, not because she went crazy, Patty Hearst style, after being captured, but because the state is trying to prevent her from organizing a revolution among the population in Rikers. Although Assata has been in jail for 2 years, she has not technically served any time, i.e., she has not been convicted of any charge yet. Her first trial (stemming from charges of robbery) led to an acquittal, a second trial ended in a hung jury. She began a third trial (stemming from the N.J. Highway shootout) but because she was pregnant, this trial was postponed. Shakur is presently on trial for a charge of kidnapping and robbery in Brooklyn. After this trial she faces still another trial in Brooklyn on charges of killing 2 policemen and bank robbery. Then she will be extradited to New Jersey to complete the N.J. highway shootout trial. Assata Shakur will be on trial AND IN JAIL for the next two years and faces accumulated sentences of more than 99 years - this is what the bourgeoisie call the right to a "fair and speedy trial".

All these "speedy" trials and Assata's segregation from the Rikers population is designed to "hide" her from the people, i.e., a bourgeoisie attempt to hide the fact that people are fighting back against capitalist repression. To further cover her, the state has Assata's entire Defense Committee plus her lawyer, Evelyn Williams, facing grand jury indictments for allegedly "slipping guns to BLA members in the courtroom" (a bogus charge using the recent escape attempt of members of the BLA from Rikers Island, in which they supposedly had arms received while they were in

(Continued on page 11)

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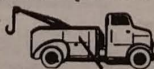
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PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

The series "Pre Civil War Black Nationalism" was put together in 1966, by Bill McAdoo, as part of the "Black Liberation Commission" of the Progressive-Labor Party. McAdoo was one of those arrested for refusing to testify against PL's Bill Epton who was charged with "Criminal Anarchy" in the Harlem Rebellion in 1964. Obviously the Epton-McAdoo period, and the article itself, are from a time when PL was struggling to take progressive stands. Since then however, and sadly Progressive Labor has become the most outrageous carriers of the American sickness, white chauvinism, and are now not even a serious communist organization. Unfortunately white chauvinism has always stood in the way of the construction and growth of a truly vanguard communist party, in the USA. Now as then! Part 6

H. FORD DOUGLASS

H. Ford Douglass (no relation to Frederick Douglass), native of Louisiana and noted black zionist cohort of Martin R. Delany, delivered a revealing address at the Emigration Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, on August 27, 1854. This address was a reply to J. M. Langston (brother of the revolutionary nationalist, C. H. Langston), who had spoken in opposition to the black zionist schemes for emigration. The reply was also aimed at Frederick Douglass and J. McCune Smith, who likewise had opposed the black zionists.

Because Mr. (Frederick) Douglass, Mr. (J. McCune) Smith or Mr. (J. Mercer) Langston tell me that the principles of emigration are destructive to the best interests of the colored people in this country, am I to act the part of a 'young robin,' and swallow it down without ever looking into the merits of the principles involved? No! Gentlemen. You must show some more plausible reason for the faith which is within you.

"Is not the history of the world, the history of emigration?... The coming in and going out of nations, is a natural and necessary result... Let us then be up and doing. To stand still is to stagnate and die... Shall we then refuse to follow the light which history teaches, and be doomed, like our 'fathers,' to perish in the dark wilderness of oppression?"

"No! In spite of the vapid anathemas of 'Eastern Stars,' who have become so completely dazzled by their own supposed elevation, that they can scarcely see any of the dark realities below; or the stale commonplace of 'Western satellites' the expediency of a 'COLORED NATIONALITY,' is becoming self-evident to Colored men more and more every day.

"It is not our 'little faith' that makes us anxious to leave this country or that we do not believe in the ultimate triumph of the principles of FREEDOM, but that the life-sustaining resources which slavery is capable of commanding may enable the institution to prolong its existence to an indefinite period of time. You must remember that slavery is not a foreign element in this government nor is it really antagonistic to the feelings of the American people. On the contrary, it is an element commencing with our medieval existence, receiving the sanction of the early Fathers of the Republic, sustained by their descendants through a period of nearly three centuries, deep and firmly laid in our organization. Completely interwoven into the passions and prejudices of the American people. It does not constitute a local or sectional institution as the generous promptings of the great and the good (Charles) Sumner would have it, but is just as national as the Constitution which gives it an existence.

"I can hate this Government without being disloyal, because it has stricken down my manhood, and treated me as a saleable commodity. I can join a foreign

enemy and fight against it, without being a traitor, because it treats me as an ALIEN and a STRANGER, and I am free to avow that should such a contingency arise I should not hesitate to take any advantage in order to procure indemnity for the future.

"When I remember that from Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic waves to the Pacific shore, I am an alien and an outcast, unprotected by law, proscribed and persecuted by cruel prejudice, I am willing to forget the endearing name of home and country, and as an unwilling exile seek on other shores the freedom which has been denied me in the land of my birth."

One of the key passages in Douglass' remarks contains the concept that the "life-sustaining resources which slavery is capable of commanding may enable the institution to prolong its existence to an indefinite period of time." In other words, slavery was almost eternal. This notion parallels Delany's assertion that "insurmountable obstacles" stand in the way of black liberation on the North American continent. Douglass' estimate as to the national scope of slavery and the white supremacist prejudices of the American people was totally valid.

But even white supremacists have been known to die when they were shot down. The slave revolts proved this. Self-interest and the necessities of survival have always proved more powerful in determining the actions of the oppressor, when the deal is down, than white supremacist notions. The Civil War proved this. White supremacy is only a cover (a justification) for something which is in essence far more fundamental.

The Civil War was a conflict between northern capitalist white supremacists and Southern slaveholding white supremacists. And we can be sure that the freedom of the black man was not the issue. Even so, it afforded the black man a great opportunity to take advantage of this antagonistic division within the white American ruling class to fight in his own behalf. He pursued this opportunity heroically and magnificently. But the black man should have killed a few more on both sides. He should have prolonged the war in the South until every single slaveholder had been wiped out. In that way, the seeds that produced Senator Eastland, Senator Byrd, and Lyndon B. Johnson would have been snuffed out, and the black man would not have bestowed them on his posterity. The black man should have seized the land which belonged to him by force of arms. That way, the capitalist North would have had to use the Union Army to smash black Reconstruction, instead of employing its reconstituted, slave-master flunkies.

RAISE

(Continued from page 12)

ideology or supporting Black people's enemies. These attacks will continue. Actually we have far worse attacks in store for the bourgeoisie and their lackies in whatever color skin. Revolution will be our ultimate attack.

But finally, all in all, we feel that it is better that the Congress of African People Chairman Amiri Baraka resign as Secretary General of the National Black Assembly at this time, despite the work and struggle and commitment which he has tried to demonstrate, though he will stay on the Executive Council and continue to struggle as consistently, and work as vigorously, for the completion of positive National Black Assembly work. The Congress of African People's Chairman is resigning because we do not want to continue to be part of this leadership clique which now sees the National Black Assembly as its own pocket bauble and instrument to broker money and position from the bourgeoisie and we do not want to allow them to hang their pointed hats upon the lie that the Congress of African People though the Secretary General is "trying to impose"

The black man would not have been any worse off. And there would probably be fewer brainwashed "Negroes" today.

On the other hand, if a black man had shot Lincoln, we would not have to see his picture in our textbooks and on our school walls to remind us how "free" we are today. Then, instead of pretending to be our "friends," the white liberals of today would be saying: "Hark! We gave you a white Moses once, and just look what you done to him!"

In any case, the equation which H. Ford Douglass established between white supremacy and the impossibility of achieving black liberation was entirely false. Those who were willing to abandon the enslaved black masses to the whims and "mercies" of the oppressor, while they sought after immediate personal gain and glory in Africa, would have done more to prolong the agony of slavery than all the forces of white supremacy put together. What better way to justify a cowardly, and opportunist policy than to call all other courses impossible and to call the enemy eternal? What better way to serve the enemy, while at the same time pretending to denounce him?

H. Ford Douglass asserted that the history of the world was "the coming in and going out of nations," in other words, the emigration of nations. Every student of history knows that this is a falsehood. Frederick Douglass placed the question in the following correct way: "Individuals emigrate—nations never." The Irish nation didn't cease to exist because individual Irishmen emigrated to America. The Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the guerilla war against the English oppressor in 1918 took place without them. England and all of the other nations from which individuals emigrated to the United States are still intact. Nor would the black nation in America cease to exist simply because a few black zionists, who called themselves "the nation," wanted to run away.

The schemes of the black zionists failed miserably. Even though they did send a few individuals to East Africa and other places to investigate the possibilities of establishing a "promised land," their plans flopped. Ironically enough, during the Civil War, H. Ford Douglass became a captain in the Kansas corps of the U.S. Army, while Martin R. Delany became a major in the U.S.C.T. One Hundred and Fourth Regiment. Perhaps they smelled the new possibilities of putting their black capitalist monkey on the backs of the black masses right here at home? We will have more to say about the black zionists after we review the documents and principles of revolutionary nationalism. (To Be Continued)

our ideology on the National Black Assembly. Because finally it's all about that the fact that the Secretary General is a Marxist-Leninist and that the Congress of African People is an organization whose ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought.

But we at the Congress of African People call for the resignation of the Secretary General because we want to draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and these reactionaries and more and more expose them to the Black nation and the world for what they are—reactionaries, capitalist messenger people, looking for new ways to extend the rule of the minority. We will remain in the Assembly and point out the continually reactionary positions taken by this leadership clique and mobilize the people to repudiate them. It must be clear that the Congress of African People and its Chairman do not share the reactionary views of the Daniels leadership clique, and as more and more working people come into the Assembly they will understand clearly and concretely along with the progressive forces already in the Assembly that the people must oppose such reactionaries with growing force

(Continued on page 7)

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Part 3

The May 1974 National Conference and ALD demonstrations were high points of the ALSC theoretically. The theoretical struggles in the conference added much clarity to the entire Black Liberation Movement and to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S.A. in general because of the importance of the Black Liberation Movement to all revolutionary struggles in the U.S.A. on one hand, but in another sense much of the discussion was between forces which had already "parted". Certainly it would have been better, within the criteria of a progressive United Front to be able to maintain a **unity of action** with most of the forces represented at the conference. A United Front Against Imperialism & Racism is needed, and it must extend as broadly as possible. But in practical reality, this National Conference and the march were the last real attempt to keep a national broad based united front against imperialism and racism afloat.

By the Houston meeting in August 1974, it became apparent that the split between "the left and the right" within the ALSC had the effect of sending the right even further to the right and some of the left so far to the left it felt it necessary to continue on right out of the ALSC, as no longer a priority. The resignation of both Nelson Johnson and Abdul Alkalimat from the Steering Committee, the move to get CAP to accept the responsibility for dealing with the National Secretarial work (which we did not view as a negative development) but we did want to know just what kind of priorities would cause such significant shifts in the leaderships priorities. And certainly we felt those priorities were common (which we later found out were the founding of FFM and still later RWL).

The move to further "autonomize" the locals in Houston, along with the resignations, declinations of responsibilities, and attempts to put CAP in a central administrative role, all suggested a major withdrawal from the ALSC by its leading elements. And would seem to be part of the same kind of left deviation and subjectivism that so severely split the ALSC in the first place, which could now see ALSC, and indeed the support of the Afrikan Liberation struggles, as "no longer a priority". (Which we argue is incorrect since 3rd World struggles, as Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping has said, "constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the **main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.**" (our ital. April 74, Peking Review, Address to United Nations General Assembly). And the 3rd World has been this revolutionary "main force" mainly through Anti-Imperialist Liberation Fronts, guided by advanced forces. Certainly the support of this "main force" cannot be made a minor detail, and cer-

tainly no one who is serious can doubt that the struggle to peoples victory in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, South Afrika, will be even more difficult and bloody than the Portuguese colonies, since the defeat of imperialism & the prevention of neo-colonialism in these countries will radically alter the world situation and bring some second line imperialist countries to the brink of revolution.) This, of course, culminated in the August meeting in D.C. and the emerging RWL's proposal to completely dismantle ALSC which followed a fairly long period of minimal communication and national work by the national office which is dominated by RWL.

1) If the ALSC is to continue, it must develop not as a mass organization completely dependent on one formation for its ultimate relationship to the Black Liberation Movement, and the anti-imperialist movement in general, but it must be a Black United Front with a mass character, but also in practice a coalition of articulate forces consciously attempting to put forth a common line in support of the Afrikan Liberation Struggles and in support of Anti-Imperialist struggles at large, drawing more and more people to understand the relationship between these international struggles and our domestic struggle for liberation and socialism.

2) It must seek Unity of Action with a broad spectrum of people who might not be willing to take Marxist-Leninist positions or even "advanced anti-imperialist" positions, and in many cases it must seek a broad unity in support of important struggles with all segments of the population. Such unity can be found in many of the struggles against the superpowers. Through such unity of action, the more extended length of time needed to reach common political platform and unity of views, as Dimitroff stated about United Fronts, can be reached. "Unity of views is worked out best of all in joint struggle against the class enemy". Throughout its life ALSC has genuinely served to put in motion progressive elements of the Black Liberation Movement towards Anti-Imperialist stances and consciousness. The function of the United Front in one aspect is exactly this, to raise the level of consciousness while struggling against a common enemy. It is our view that even those who see party building, i.e., the creation of the revolutionary vanguard party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought as the main task of the revolutionary movement must see the importance of creating broad United Fronts that can create the "vanguard from the mass" not "the vanguard from the vanguard".

3) A new structure must be worked out that features fewer national meetings, perhaps one per year, to sum up the years work. Perhaps more regional meetings and a national secretariat made up of elected people from each region who would meet a minimum number of times a year, but whenever necessary. (end of series)

RAISE

(Continued from page 6)

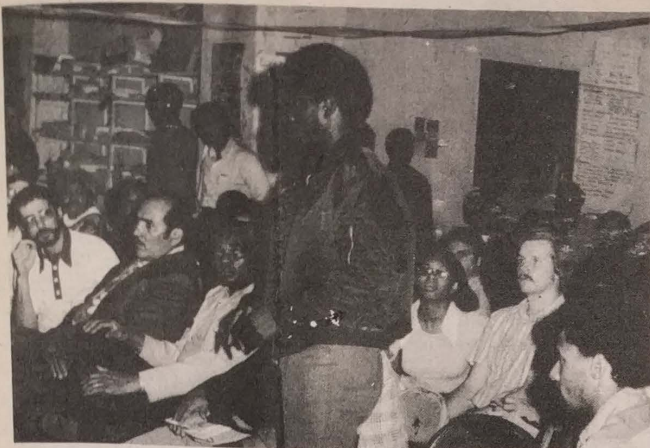
and put together a real anti-imperialist black united front that will join the advanced forces of our Black nation in unyielding struggle against racism and monopoly capitalism.

LET THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE NBA EMERGE CLEARLY!
UNITE THE MANY TO DEFEAT THE FEW!

BUILD THE NBA INTO A PROGRESSIVE ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLACK UNITED FRONT!

LIBERATION OF THE BLACK NATION!

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!



What is the strategy to lead the people in the 1976 national elections? While the ruling class debates its strategy & tactics, so are the oppressed classes struggling over what will be the correct strategy & tactics to end this oppressive system of capitalism & racism forever. The first of a series of public forums was held at Harlem Fight Back & drew over 200 people into the heated discussions of an anti-democrat, anti-republican, electoral movement for the '76 elections.

With the raging struggle within the bourgeois ruling class over what strategy and what tactics will dominate in 1976, whether they will rule by reforms or open repression, 1976 is an intensely political year. And, while the ruling class is debating its strategy & tactics, so are the oppressed classes, struggling over what will be the correct strategy & tactics to end this oppressive system of capitalism and racism. In particular, the Congress of Afrikan People has proposed the '76 Strategy for the 1976 elections, as one tactic to bring socialist forces into contact with the popular masses, in a campaign to oppose the bourgeois parties (democrats & republicans) in 1976. "It must be a popular front drawing all who can be drawn to an anti-depression, anti-repression, anti-democrat, anti-republican electoral movement, put together by a united front of organizations and individuals, many of whom hold to anti-monopoly capitalist anti-imperialist views, some of whom will be Marxist-Leninists, whose ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, who understand that Socialism will emerge in the United States only as a result of armed struggle, and the destruction of the bourgeois state. But who also understand that it is the masses of people, led by the working class and its vanguard party, that must, through their own experience, come to understand that 'capitalism is their enemy and revolution is their weapon to smash it forever'." (Amiri Baraka, Unity & Struggle, April 2nd 1975).

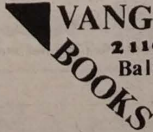
But since this proposal, there have been a series of meetings and on many fronts an intense struggle over whether or not this is the correct tactic for 1976, both in the new communist movement and in the black liberation movement. So a series has been set up to bring this crucial question to the oppressed masses. What is the strategy to lead the people in 1976 national elections? The first of this series of forums was held in Harlem November 9th, at the Harlem Fight Back headquarters. The forum drew over 200 people and the panel presented the views of the Congress of Afrikan People, Fight Back, the National Interim Committee (NIC) for a Mass Party, and the October League on the '76 elections, while many other

views were expressed from the floor of the forum during the heated discussion.

Many questions were raised, but at the core of the argument over strategy and tactics, there were essentially three lines. The traditional social democrat and economist line was represented by NIC and Fight Back, and two different views in the new communist movement were presented by the October League and the Congress of Afrikan People on how to deal with the elections in 1976, on how Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought should be applied to U.S. capitalism on its deathbed.

The National Interim Committee (NIC) came straight out and advocated building a mass party (as opposed to a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the masses of oppressed people in the struggle for power), to be an election oriented party to deal with the "bread & butter" or immediate needs of the people as a campaign and party platform. This in essence is no different than the other social reformist parties that have formed in U.S. history, that propose to solve the problems of this society thru elections. More recently Salvador Allende in Chile made the same kind of political & ideological error, which cost him his own life and the lives of thousands of Chilean working people, because the essential point is this. Socialism will be brought to the U.S. and throughout the world, not by utopians but by the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism, which teaches as one of its lessons about the question of state power "that no reactionary forces will step down from the stage of history of their own accord," to quote the Chinese position. Elections for revolutionaries is only one tactic in the struggle to win the masses and to

(Continued on page 8)



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Jim Haughton, N.Y., N.Y. - They are laying the basis to dump Ford. Rocky is embarrassed by Ford. . . can't relate. Ford is a buffoon. He falls, stumbles, bumps his head. . . maybe Rocky wait for another partner, or will run himself.



Theresa Turner, Albany, N.Y. - Rockefeller is waiting for N.Y. - he's trying to get it. Knows Ford is not gonna bail N.Y. out. Actually Rocky is waiting to acquire whole state. . . Ford is in the way. Think its gonna be bad for poor people, Black & White, whatever. Rocky is so corrupt. Never did anything for state so now he's trying to add NY to his empire.



Stanley Armer - Ford & Nixon both jive. Changes only mean hard times for Black & Poor people. You can't even get a job. They want us (Black & poor to stay poor) And the police are just their hitman.



John Williams - Both bunch of goofballs. Neither good for poor people. Plus both want us to stay poor.



STRATEGY '76

(Continued from page 7)

draw them into the revolutionary movement, but state power must be seized by armed struggle, by the smashing of the bourgeois state by a class war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and this revolution must be consolidated by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These lessons are not arbitrary, they are scientific, and they have been learned from the sacrifice of millions of lives in the war against oppression throughout world history. CAP is calling people together for an **electoral movement**, not an electoral "mass party," because the party we need now is the vanguard party that will prepare and lead the working class in the struggle for power against the bourgeois ruling class. Talk of seizing state power outside of this serious context of the science of revolution is opportunism!

Fight Back spoke of the crisis in capitalism today, especially the crisis in New York with the danger of default, and called for the collective leadership that must lead the people out of this crisis. The problem is that the economist approach advocated by Fight Back, divorced from revolutionary theory, frankly cannot lead the masses out of this crisis. And, to advocate "American Exceptionalism", saying that the U.S. capitalist system falls outside of the laws of revolution, objectively is to prolong the rule of capitalism by depriving the working class of its weapon to smash capitalism. But Fight Back does agree there should be unity around a strategy for 1976 elections calling for an alternative to the bourgeois parties, the depression, repression and the coming world war.

The comrade from the October League represented the view that they are opposed to using the elections in 1976 to oppose the bourgeoisie. To O.L. 1976 is just another election year, no difference. To them bourgeois elections don't mean anything, why should they pay attention to what the bourgeoisie is doing, they asked. But Mao said that we must not only know & study ourselves but also know the enemy, and it will help us win a thousand victories. This is especially key to the discussion of tactics in revolution, because Stalin points out tactics deal with, "those forms of struggle and organization which are best suited to the conditions prevailing during the flow and ebb of the movement at a given moment, and which therefore can facilitate and ensure the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions, the bringing of the millions to the revolutionary front, and their disposition at the revolutionary front." (Foundations of Leninism, page 93) How can we discuss tactics without discussing the significance of the timing of these national elections in particular.

And, the October League also took the position that elections were obsolete, but we take the view that Lenin

took when he said, "we must not regard what is obsolete for us as being obsolete for the class, as being obsolete for the masses." Lenin continued, "you must soberly follow the actual state of class consciousness and preparedness of the whole class (not only of its Communist vanguard), of all the toiling masses (not only of their advanced elements)." **Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder**, page 52)

On using the electoral tactic, Lenin said we "should everywhere strive to rouse the minds of the masses and draw them into the struggle, to hold the bourgeoisie to its word and utilize the apparatus it has set up, the elections it has appointed, the appeals it has made to the whole people, and to tell the people what Bolshevism is in a way that has never been possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times. . ." (Ibid. 105) We are talking of using elections in this new way to bring communism, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the mass movement, and at the same time battle the intermediate lucky sector in their hour of weakness at their most vulnerable point, their misleadership of the masses. Wherever you are dealing with the masses in 1976, the intermediate lucky sector is going to be sent by the bourgeois parties to mislead the masses, and it is our duty to struggle with them for control of the mass movement. But we need a planned tactic to deal with them when they come. And Strategy '76 is an outlined tactic for us to use in this coming battle for the leadership of the mass movement. But also, the nature of the campaign would demand the kind of unity, coordination and organization we all need to reach as communists on the way to creating a revolutionary vanguard party, and would give us the opportunity to work together coordinating a national popular front around an electoral movement, and at the very same time coordinate the united front of organizations and individuals to lead that national campaign.

These forums will continue to deal with the burning questions of our movement, and if you would like one set up in your community call the National Coordinating Committee for a '76 Election Strategy, 13 Belmont Avenue, Newark, N.J. at (201) 621-2300.

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CAP SHOWS SOLIDARITY

(Continued from page 1)

90% of the population of Palestine were Arabs. In contrast, the native Palestinian Jews comprised less than 5% of the population.

Between 1917 and 1947, the Palestinian people waged a popular struggle to resist the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. The revolution of 1936, especially the six-month strike, is an outstanding example of their heroic fight against British colonialism and Zionist invasion.

During 30 years of British rule and occupation, the Zionists did not succeed in purchasing more than 3.5% of the Palestinian land. The Zionists, therefore, owned no more than 6% of the total land in 1947.

Notwithstanding these facts, the U.N., which at the time served as a tool to promote the interests of U.S. imperialism, recommended the creation of a "Jewish State" over 54% of the total area of the country. Israel, however, immediately occupied 80% of the land.

The remainder of Palestine was annexed by Trans-Jordan and forms the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. This calculated move by the imperialists and their reactionary allies impeded the growth of an independent Palestinian liberation struggle.

This spirited event set the pace for many of the portesters for A Night of

Solidarity with Palestinian Struggle. The program took place later on Sunday evening, September 28, featuring a speaker, songs and dances, food, movie, music and poetry. This event was also sponsored by the Pittsburgh Palestine Solidarity Committee bringing the Palestinian people together along with other oppressed nationalities and supporters.

The movie shown, "Revolution Until Victory", was a very revealing film giving a historical background to the protracted struggle that the Palestinian people waged relentlessly against imperialism and its lackies. The film revealed the class nature of their struggle and gave concrete realization of the need to forward this struggle. They have been exploited consistently by the British, the Zionist Israelis, and the Arab Bourgeois and Bourgeois-elite, especially the Jordan regime of King Hussein.

The Palestinian struggle was highlighted by the keynote speaker, Hassan Abdul Rahman, the P.L.O. Deputy Permanent Observer to the U.N. Comrade Hassan elucidated on the issues and events taking place in and around the Palestinian situation. He pointed out that the U.S. imperialist theater of war has shifted from Vietnam to Palestine since their sound beating in South East Asia.

(Continued on page 11)

PORTUGAL

(Continued from page 4)

was key to the overthrow of the fascist Caetano government in 1974 in now widely divided, split by the intrigues and contention of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and their lackey parties. And there has been a distinct rise in the constituencies of the parties claiming to be following Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, which is a good thing. Also people all over Portugal are arming themselves. Whole shipments have been taken from the armed forces stores, and the CIA is arming the right as fast as it can. And of course, one of the chief reactionary forces is the Catholic Church, always, as usual, preaching reaction and support of the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie.

Returning refugees from Angola are also generally taking very reactionary positions, opposing the leftward move in Portugal because they see it as key to the crushing of Portuguese Colonialism.

Portugal is an agricultural as well as an industrial country, attention must be given to the rural as well as urban problems. The majority of land was owned by large land owners before cooperative farming began (after the April coup). Cooperative farming is a move in the direction of socialism, however, the revolution cannot be complete until the total smashing of the bourgeois state, that is, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat is not in power in Portugal, the bourgeoisie is, supported by U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism ("socialism in words, imperialism in deeds").

Organizations in Portugal vary as to which direction the main blow should be directed, according to their ideology

and class position. Our view is that the principal contradiction in Portugal is the super powers versus the people with the growing threat of the return of fascism and "social fascism." At the present time the main danger is from U.S. Imperialism backed fascism. The task of genuine Communist is to unite with whatever progressive forces they can to lead the working class and peasants and other patriotic forces to carry the revolution through to the end and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dimitroff in his report on War and Fascism to the Communist International points out that fascism will take many different forms in different countries, depending on the concrete situation and development of time and place. He also points out that fascism does not come about all at once, in one instant. It comes about in gradual stages, winning more and more positions of strength over a period of time, eroding the remnants of bourgeois democracy, until time as it feels strong enough to take power completely. He who does not fight to defeat these advances of the fascist forces in this preliminary stage, also bears a responsibility for the victory of fascism when it finally comes.

But the revolutionary proletariat in Portugal must not defeat U.S. imperialism and let Soviet social imperialism come in the back door.

But the main danger at present is from the U.S. backed fascism creeping out of the "socialist" party. Mao Tse-Tung said in 1948: "If the revolution is to be carried through to the end, we must use the revolutionary method to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely, we

(Continued on page 10)

Internationalist Glossary

COMPRADOR

The comprador is the sector of the native bourgeoisie which is wholly an appendage of the international bourgeoisie, to paraphrase Mao Tse Tung, "depending upon imperialism for their survival and growth." This class always sides with imperialism and "constitutes an extremely counter-revolutionary group."

(Mao Tse Tung, selected readings pp 11-12)

FASCISM

"Comrade Stalin pointed out that the bourgeoisie would seek a way out of the economic crisis, on the one hand, by crushing the working class through the establishment of fascist dictatorship, i.e., the dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic capitalists elements, and on the other hand, by fomenting war for the re-division of colonies and spheres of influence at the expense of the poorly defended countries."

(History of CPSU (B) pp 300-301)

Who is the Enemy?

Part 3 Kennedy's Maneuvers in Presidency — And His Fatal Errors

Kennedy, after gaining office, immediately began to replace Rockefeller men who served under Eisenhower with Morgan (e.g., McNamara was brought in as Secretary of Defense from Ford Motor Co., controlled by Morgan). Like the "New Deal," which represented the emergence of Rockefeller investments after years of Morgan control, the "New Frontier" ushered in a brief period of Morgan power after years of Rockefeller rule. Kennedy's reign was short-lived, however, partially because he made serious errors in not truly understanding the financial coalition that brought him to power.

1) he tried to make major changes in the CIA, which was firmly in Rockefeller control (Allen Dulles, founder of the CIA, is a member of Sullivan & Cromwell, the Rockefeller law firm). Kennedy effectively challenged Rockefeller's historic role in defending its overseas investments by subterfuge:

2) he tried to develop an independent Black base in the South for his next election campaign, thereby threatening the power of the Dallas and Florida Group;

3) most important, he apparently refused to back a full-scale invasion of Cuba, thereby dooming hundreds of millions in sugar and trade for the Dallas and Florida Group. Because the Morgan and Rockefeller Groups had virtually carved up most of the Third World, the secondary groups like Dallas and Florida saw Vietnam and Cuba as virgin territories for their investments. Kennedy's hesitation over Diem's rule in Vietnam further alienated him from the secondary groups of the South!

4) Robert Kennedy put Jimmy Hoffa behind bars, thereby angering the secondary group of organized crime, which is closely tied in with West and South-West Groups. (The media image of gangsters and Godfathers, of course, is fostered by organized crime to divert attention from the real structure of organized crime — the fact that the bulk of its money is invested in "legitimate corporations.")

John F. Kennedy, by severely straining the relationship between the Morgan group and the secondary groups, weakened considerably his reputation among the important bankers of this country.

LBJ and the Vietnam War

After JFK was conveniently assassinated, Lyndon Baines Johnson immediately enriched the coffers of the secondary groups by embarking upon the greatest military venture in recent history, the Vietnam War. (The fact that LBJ decisively defeated Goldwater is again illustrative of the dynamics of financial groups. Because Goldwater advocates a return to an earlier period of American history where the monopolistic practices of the financial groups were

unheard of, the groups view rightwing conservatism with much alarm. Henry Ford II, in fact, led the businessmen's swing over to LBJ. Like George Wallace, Goldwater is totally free from all financial control of the groups, and is hence viewed with suspicion.)

Emergence of a "New" Nixon: Conceived and Groomed by Rockefeller Group

The fortunes of Richard Milhous Nixon, however, directly reflect the designs of the financial groups. After his defeat in California in 1962, David Rockefeller kept Nixon on the payroll by hiring him as a lawyer with PepsiCo, which is controlled by the Rockefeller Financial Group. During his "apprenticeship," several writers have speculated that it was at this point that he shed the image of being a Cold Warrior, representing the regional interests of the L.A. Group, and took on the "new Nixon" image, the "liberalism" of international oil.

The difference between the "old" and the "new" Nixon, then, is apparently nothing more than a change of masters. The only real change is that he no longer serves the narrow, local Cold War interests of aerospace industries and the Mafia but now defends the global interests of oil and the New York banks. "Liberalism" and "conservatism" are but convenient labels used interchangeably by the financial groups when it suits their needs.

The Rockefeller Financial Group then resurrected Nixon from the ashes of defeat and obscurity and catapulted him into the Presidency in 1968. (His landslide victory in 1972 merely indicates that no financial group supported McGovern, who was seen to be an enemy of the interests of financial groups. As with Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, the Morgan Group took a secondary position in supporting the dominant Rockefeller candidate.) Not surprisingly, he chose as his foreign affairs adviser Henry Kissinger, who clearly shows the deep imprint of financial groups. Kissinger has been on the Rockefeller payroll for over two decades, has performed many scholarly studies for the Rockefeller Financial Group during his tenure on the Council on Foreign Relations, and for years has enjoyed close personal relations with Nelson and David Rockefeller.

Why Watergate?

The Watergate scandal can also be seen through the eyes of financial groups: it represents a major division within financial groups, as was the "New Deal" of FDR and possibly the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The Watergate scandal can be viewed as the interaction of three major financial groups: the dominant Rockefeller Group in close alliance with West and South-West secondary groups, and the Morgan Group.

These three major financial blocks
(Continued on page 10)

Poets Circle

WORD PLAY

Take away the sign (*man*) from the sign for *prison*.
Add to it (*probability*), that makes the word (*nation*).
Take the head-particle from the sign for misfortune:
That gives the word (*fidelity*).
Add the sign for *worry*.
That gives the word (*quality*).
Take away the *bamboo* top from the sign for *prison*.
That gives you (*anagon*).

People who come out of prison can build up the country.
Misfortune is a test of people's fidelity.
Those who protest at injustice are people of true merit.
When the prison doors are opened, the real dragon will fly out.

Ho Chi Minh

REVOLUTIONARY REVIEW: White Line Fever

You never heard of anybody in a flick most likely, except we were familiar with the two villains, Slim Rickens as the used to be correct small businessman corrupted by big business, and L. Q. Jones as the murderous capitalist! Lackey and enforcer. Other than that, all mostly unknowns. Jan-Michael Vincent in the lead, as a young newly returned Viet Nam vet who wants to begin his own independent trucking business. Kay Lenz as his sympathetic but put upon wife, and a host of a new character actors, including a couple of black ones.

You should see the film, without a doubt, because the general texture of it is refreshing, to the extent that there is a element of truth in the small trucker faced with corruption and big business and the repression that goes with that. It is a movie made probably by a combination of petit bourgeois intellectuals and the liberal bourgeoisie. Together they come up with a flick that comes on like CPUSA meets The Weathermen. Meaning that even though there is an upbeat look at the contradiction between small business and big business, and the independent truckers vs. the big firms (and a lot of put downs of the banks, and

a dismissal of the police as wholly corrupt) there is an grand jury supposed to indict the hero for murder, which has been supposedly fixed by one of the capitalist functionaries but who weirdly enough doesn't indict because the chairwoman (?) is humane and the boy's wife cries. Damn! the tears of the wives of the railroad workers could fill the grand canyon!

And the ending is the pure expression of the petit bourgeois subjective intellectual who doesn't have the discipline to help organize the masses, the worship of spontaneity that characterizes terrorism, tho for a while during the course of the action there is a quick wipe made at organizing the truckers, it seems mostly by two way radio from the roaring cabs. And that's mostly to laid up the action, and there is some of that, and generally throughout enough excitement to keep you interested and stimulated. You do yearn for the real proletarian film, the actual revolutionary document, and White Line Fever is merely a moments worth of relevance that sets that yearn into motion. But it, like they say, beats a blank.

ANGOLA and ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 2)

will it mean a new neo-colonialism, but the inevitable involvement of Angola in the war between the superpowers in a direct way, and the struggle of the people inside Angola against that new superpower neo-colonialism will also raise itself again a much higher level.

Also, what will be the effects of any UNITA-FNLA united front that is formed? Obviously UNITA cannot let itself be drawn into the web of intanglements with the US superpower that characterizes FNLA, yet the nature of the struggle at this point seems to force both movements to make some clear aggressive move to challenge the soviet hegemony that MPLA domination seems to represent. The UNITA-FNLA joint declaration of independence and united front govt. is clearly defensive and temporary, but what the outcome of such a united front will be is not clear at this time. Especially what effect this will have on UNITA as the one liberation movement free of superpower influence. Whatever transpires in the next few weeks, certainly these are grave and dangerous times in Angola, and the need to combat the increasing aggression of the superpowers by means of a united front of all true angolan patriots and progressive forces is clear.

In the north, Cabinda province, traditionally, part of Angola has been used by imperialism to divide further the Angolan people. Gulf and French petroleum have financed and supported a separatist movement, FLEC, to brake away from Angola (like Tshombe did in splitting Katanga away from the Congo in 1961) to serve the oil interests. In the south, S. African troops have invaded parts of Angola in further provocation on Angolan soil! Clearly the superpower contention is so fierce that each power has several schemes and, back up schemes to insure their victory in Angola.

True freedom fighters in Zimbabwe have disclaimed the fake "unity" imposed on people there! ZANU (Zim-

(Continued on page 11)

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DIALECTICAL and HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

from History of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) 1939

Part 3

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

If there are no isolated phenomena in the world, if all phenomena are interconnected and interdependent, then it is clear that every social system and every social movement in history must be evaluated not from the standpoint of "eternal justice" or some other preconceived idea, as is not infrequently done by historians, but from the standpoint of the conditions which gave rise to that system or that social movement and with which they are connected.

The slave system would be senseless, stupid and unnatural under modern conditions. But under the conditions of a disintegrating primitive communal system, the slave system is a quite understandable and natural phenomenon, since it represents an advance on the primitive communal system.

The demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic when stardom and bourgeois society existed, as, let us say, in Russia in 1905, was a quite understandable, proper and revolutionary demand, for at that time a bourgeois republic would have meant a step forward. But now, under the conditions of the U.S.S.R., the demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic would be a meaningless and counter-revolutionary demand, for a bourgeois republic would be a retrograde step compared with the Soviet republic.

Everything depends on the conditions, time and place.

It is clear that without such a historical approach to social phenomena, the existence and development of the science of history is impossible, for only such an approach saves the science of history from becoming a jumble of accidents and an agglomeration of most absurd mistakes.

Further, if the world is in a state of constant movement and development, if the dying away of the old and the upgrowth of the new is a law of development, then it is clear that there can be no "immutable" social systems, no "eternal principles" of private property and exploitation, no "eternal ideas" of the subjugation of the peasant to the landlord, of the worker to the capitalist.

Hence the capitalist system can be replaced by the Socialist system, just as

at one time the feudal system was replaced by the capitalist system.

Hence we must not base our orientation on the strata of society which are no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force, but on those strata which are developing and have a future before them, even though they at present do not constitute the predominant force.

In the eighties of the past century, in the period of the struggle between the Marxists and the Narodniks, the proletariat in Russia constituted an insignificant minority of the population, whereas the individual peasants constituted the vast majority of the population. But the proletariat was developing as a class, whereas the peasantry as a class was disintegrating. And just because the proletariat was developing as a class the Marxists based their orientation on the proletariat. And they were not mistaken, for, as we know, the proletariat subsequently grew from an insignificant force into a first-rate historical and political force.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must look forward, not backward.

Further, if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence the transition from capitalism to Socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist.

Further, if development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of "the growing of capitalism into Socialism."

Such is the Marxist dialectical method when applied to social life, to the history of society. (To Be Continued)

THE TOMMING TEN

10 of 17 In Black Caucus Against U.N. Resolution



Black Congresspersons supporting Zionism. Ten Black Congresspersons have expressed their so-called "shock" at Arab nations move to suspend Israel from the United Nations and have called for suspension efforts to stop. These Congresspersons include: Yvonne Burke (Calif.), William Clay (Mo.), Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.), Cardiss Collins (Ill.), Harold Ford (Tenn.), Barbara Jordan (Tex.), Ralph Metcalfe (Ill.), Charles Rangel (N.Y.), Andrew Young (Ga.), and Walter Fauntroy (D.C.). Their statement reads "We are shocked by this effort to ostracize this small, democratic nation from an international body... Just as the South African Liberation movements seek the right of self-determination and nationhood for the oppressed black majority, the state of Israel fights for the same rights for the Jewish people." First, how can these politicians collaborate with Zionism, which was just equated with racism by Third World countries in the UN. How can Israel be called democratic, when it was the Israeli Zionists who illegally took the land "Israel" from the Palestinian people? How can this "Tomming Ten" equate Zionism with the struggle for national liberation? In fact, Israeli Zionism supports the racist regimes in Southern Afrika. These Congresspersons should be exposed and asked why they are supporting racism and Zionism.

Who Is The Enemy?

(Continued from page 9)

represented an uneasy alliance within the Nixon administration. The origins of the Watergate scandal, apparently, lie in the fact that Nixon relied heavily on the extralegal tactics of the West and South-West secondary groups, especially the Cuban exiles (who have repeatedly surfaced in relationship to the assassination of John F. Kennedy) and a team of burglar-technicians with Organized Crime and aerospace technology. Nixon, though ostensibly representing the interests of the Rockefeller Financial Group, apparently used this team of experts to pry into the activities of dissidents and the financial groups themselves.

Often listed as enemies of Richard Nixon are individuals and institutions closely associated with Rockefeller and Morgan interests. The "breakthrough" in the Watergate scandal occurred when the Washington Post, the New York Times, and Newsweek magazine printed massive exposes of the Watergate burglars. All three of these media organizations are closely identified with the Morgan Financial Group, which apparently used the Watergate scandal as leverage in its battles with the Rockefeller Financial Group. Time magazine, the voice of the Rockefeller Financial Group, staunchly defended Nixon, though the media controlled by Morgan pressed hard on the Watergate issue until it became a widespread issue among the people. Much of the media which is not controlled by the Rockefeller Financial Group, which

have been economically affected by the excesses of the dominant primary group, eventually sided with the interests of the Morgan Group. And eventually, Time magazine and the Rockefeller media began to shift their support of Nixon. The only financial group supporting Nixon is apparently the South-West group, though even that support is gradually eroding — noticeable in the ambivalent attitude of John Connally toward the Nixon administration.

(Continued in next issue)

"Financial Groups and Asians in the Third World" will be discussed in the next issue, followed by the concluding section on "The Inner Dynamics of Financial Groups."

PORTUGAL

(Continued from page 8)

must unwaveringly persist in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism... If the revolution is abandoned half-way, it will mean going against the will of the people, bowing to the will of the foreign aggressors and Chinese reactionaries and giving the Kuomintang a chance to heal its wound, so that one day it may pounce suddenly to strangle the revolution and again plunge the whole country into darkness. That is how clearly and sharply the question is now posed.

Higher Ground Cinema advertisement listing film titles like 'PUERTO RICO', 'TANZAN RAILROAD', and 'INDIGENOUS AMERICANS SERIES' with showtimes and contact info.

Pyramid Body Oils advertisement featuring 'NEW WORLD' fragrance and 'TO LIVE IN FREEDOM' film, with contact information for 1418 Linden Ave.

Advertisement for 'THE HOUR OF LIBERATION HAS STRUCK' film, featuring a pyramid logo and contact info for 1418 Linden Ave.

Advertisement for GEORGE AND SON SERVICE CENTER, located at 239 Chancellor Ave., Newark, N.J., offering engine repairs and towing services.

Advertisement for McFARLAND MUSIC SERVICE, located at 261 Orange Street, Newark, N.J., offering automatic phonographs and electrical appliances.



FREE RAP BROWN!

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

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

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

ANGOLA and ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 9)

babwe Afrikan National Union) ZANLA (Zimbabwe Afrikan Liberation Army) have issued another letter to the OAU, that essentially has three main points: (1) Zanu/ZANLA do not recognize or accept the false unity imposed on freedom fighters that has allowed Ian Smith, president of racist, illegal Rhodesia, once forced into a corner to emerge crying 'detente' (since December 7, 1974) (2) ZANU/ZANLA do not recognize any leaders from the Zimbabwe Liberation Council, or recognize this council, since it is a sham organization representing the imperialist & colonialist & neo-colonialist efforts to keep Zimbabwe in Smith's controls. This scheme has put thousands of freedom fighters into prisons which are falsely called training camps, that have killed or exiled hundreds more. This unity has seen Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda kill or imprison more forces in one day than Ian Smith was able to do in 10 years of fighting. This "unity" has seen Joshua Nkomo ascend to presidency of ANC with the help of all the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces in Zimbabwe (Nkomo ran for president inside Zimbabwe where only he could get into, where the other candidates, could not enter, hence, Nkomo was the only candidate running and his loyal forces voted him to the presidency.) All illegal. Now it has negotiated some nefarious deal with Smith which, according to sources, make him a cabinet member in Smith's "new" government. (3) The freedom fighters appeal to the OAU and all organizations supporting the just liberation struggle in Zimbabwe to send aid intended for ZANU/ZANLA directly to their representatives and not to ANC! Also they warn that ANC is not representative of ZANU.

It is seen, that the fake "unity" has provided Smith time to regroup. But the peoples of Zimbabwe will struggle on, like the Angolans and all of Southern Afrika will defeat Super Power interference. Only the outsiders are fooled by media distortions that camouflage imperialist & social imperialist aggression, the aim of true revolutionaries in ZANU place their nations firmly in the hands of the people!

SPAIN

(Continued from page 2)

"fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (Georgi Dimitroff, The United Front, p. 10) And so that the class character of this is clear, it is a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, not any other class! And, fascism appears, as Dimitroff correctly points out, "as a result of the decline of the capitalist system", and moreover, "in the long run acts as a factor of its further disintegration." (Ibid., 30)

In the recent mass struggle against

Franco's regime, the revisionist "Communist" Party of Spain, characteristic of an agent for the Soviet social imperialists, is reported to have begun negotiations with the fascist government of Franco & c. for a deal which would keep fascism in power, even before the young workers blood has dried from the mass executions of members of the FRAP. Publicly, the fake "communists" have called for a "peaceful" solution to the enemy fascism, but characteristic of its total betrayal of the working class, the revisionists have collaborated in France to brutalize the revolutionary & progressive French demonstrators, who came out to support the revolutionary struggle of the Spanish masses against fascism. And, secret talks are going on outside of Spain between the fake "communists" and the fascist regime. The Spanish revisionists have formed a front with the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie in Spain, called the Democratic Junta, which wants to assume power by negotiations, because they are not aiming to replace the rule of the bourgeoisie, they are only out to "reform" bourgeois dictatorship. There is another coalition called the Democratic Convergence of questionable character, which claims to be "socialist", which is making motions to align itself in a common front with the revisionists to take power.

But clearly, the Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Front, has the political line that is correct and can steer the popular struggle past all submerged rocks to revolution. Using the three magic weapons taught by Mao Tse Tung, vanguard party, united front, and armed struggle, the people will "fulfill its historic mission with certainty to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!" (Ibid., 93)

Shakur

(Continued from page 5)

court from Evelyn Williams and the Asata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli Defense Committee.)

But the people will not forget Assata Shakur — she and Ron Myers are presently on trial at the Brooklyn Supreme Court. As of this writing jury selection has just been completed, with the jury composition being 1 black woman, 3 black men, 4 white women, 2 white men, 1 Puerto Rican woman, and 1 Puerto Rican man — a jury of "peers", i.e., peers of the bourgeoisie. Attend the trial of Assata Shakur and Ron Myers at the:

Brooklyn Supreme Court
360 Adams Street
9th Floor, Room 924
Monday through Thursday
10:30 - 1:00
2:00 - 5:00

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!! JAIL THE RICH, FREE THE POOR!! VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

Solidarity

(Continued from page 8)

He said "the U.S. has put emphasis on Egypt to pull her away from the progressive Arab front. Egypt has been neutralized by Kissinger, the U.S. Zionist. This was done with the help and aid of Anwar Sadat and the reactionary national bourgeoisie of Egypt. U.S. has been Israel's main support since and before its creation in 1948

Comrade Hassan also pointed out that the aim of U.S. intervention is to strip Arabs of victories gained in the 1973 War, as well as the Rights of the Palestinian people. It was also pointed out that among the 200 technicians in the Sinai area, the C.I.A. will be involved in the manning of the monitoring equipment and stations. The devices are capable of monitoring any military movement in the area. This would give the U.S.-Israeli combine an advantage of its military capabilities and capacity to suppress any progressive Arab struggles.

Comrade Hassan raised other contradictions in terms of Sadat capitulating to Israel to give them the markets needed to stop the economic crisis that Israel is experiencing. Israel has just devalued the Israeli pound for the fifth time, by 10%.

And also Israeli Zionism has expansionist ambitions into Lebanon especially in the Litani River waters in the southern part of Lebanon.

Relative to the recent outbreak of fighting in Lebanon, the Bourgeois press would like for the American people to believe that Muslims are fighting Christians in Lebanon. But the Palestinian struggle is between progressive forces and reactionary forces and not between Muslims and Christians. There is Palestinian solidarity with the Lebanese people — especially with progressive Lebanese.

Comrade Hassan Abdul Rahman summarized by confidently assuring that the Palestinian people would be victorious in their liberation struggles as all progressive peoples struggles have been throughout history.

THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED.

VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

PITTSBURGH CONGRESS OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE

ZIONISM

(Continued from page 2)

ZIONISM says that the Jewish people must have a "national homeland" somewhere in the world. This is a form of religious and cultural nationalism, but in reality the culture of the founders and main pushers of Zionism is not the culture of the middle east where the imperialists determined the Zionist state should be European. In fact the Ashkenazy or European Jewish culture, while dominating Israel politically, tho a numerical minority, dominates the majority in Israel who are Arabs, including the Falashas or the darker

asiatic Jews. This has caused protests by the darker Israelis themselves who went as far as to form a black panther organization in Israel.

ZIONISM is basically a political movement, and many Jews are not Zionists, and of course, many Zionists are not Jews. Witness the ten members of the black caucus, BASIC (Black Americans In Support of Israel Committee) head Bayard Rustin, are some prominent non-Jewish Zionists we can name right away.

ZIONISM backed by British Imperialism, and maintained by U.S. imperialism destroyed the Palestinian state and drove the people of Palestine, who are Arabs, out of Palestine and built the illegal racist state of "Israel" in its place. The Palestinian people led by their liberation organization PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), a national liberation front of many smaller organizations united to fight imperialism and Zionism, and restore the Palestinian homeland as a democratic secular state.

ZIONISM is a form of colonialism, which has erected the settler colony of "Israel." The land that is supposedly called "Israel" is Palestine. The Zionists, who have great influence inside the U.S., and are indispensable junior partners and lieutenants of the bourgeois ruling class in the U.S.A., have a great deal of influence throughout American society. The National Oppression of the Palestinian people which is the main form of Zionist Racism, is always covered up in the U.S.A. by the media (upon which there is great Zionist influence) and politicians sympathetic to the designs of imperialism carried out via "Israel" or controlled by the campaign contributions of Zionist organizations.

ZIONISM as Racism is quite obvious, and easy to see. Elmer Berger president of the American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, Inc. writes, in speaking out the notorious Balfour Declaration which is the so called legal-diplomatic cornerstone for "Israel's" claim to legitimacy. "It is clear, on its face, that the negotiators and drafters realized that Zionism confronted two other groups of people with jeopardy to their rights. The non-Jewish communities of Palestine was a euphemism for indignant Christian and Muslim Arabs". What the Zionists did was automatically say that all Jews were Zionists or citizens of Israel, and therefore created a Jewish Nationality, when actually Judaism is a religion! And inside Israel this "Jewish Nationality" in reality the Zionists who have power maintain all advantages at the expense of the rights of all the indigenous peoples. **THE ZIONISTS HIDE BEHIND THE "JEWISH NATIONALITY" SO THAT THEY CAN EQUATE EVERY ATTACK ON THE ILLEGAL POLITICAL LACKY OF IMPERIALISM AND SETTLER COLONY ZIONISM ISRAEL WITH ANTI SEMITISM!!**

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AMIRI BARAKA RESIGNS AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY

CAP Calls For Intensification Of Struggle Inside The National Black Assembly

RAISE!!

The Congress of Afrikan People has always seen the National Black Assembly as basically a Black United Front against Black National Oppression and Economic Exploitation. A united front which by definition would bring together a broad spectrum of ideologies, organizations, and tendencies to unite around specific issues, and struggle for such unity, and for the correct political line to emerge. The Secretary General of the National Black Assembly, Amiri Baraka, who is also Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People, has been its Secretary General since the National Black Assembly's inception, and was one of the original founders of the Assembly and convenors of the National Black Political Convention. It is perhaps not widely remembered now that the Black Political Convention itself was a project that came out of the resolutions of the Congress of Afrikan People's initial Assembly in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1970, coming out of the Political Liberation Workshop of which Comrade Baraka was Chairperson.

Since that time, the Secretary General and the Congress of Afrikan People have worked ceaselessly for the development and strengthening of the Assembly, from those months in 1970-71 which called for meeting after meeting to put the convention together, the Gary and Little Rock conventions and through all the various meetings of the Assembly and Political Council and Executive Council, despite the fact of the departure of the other two convenors and the less than dynamic support of some political figures who would show up at each convention to cavort and confuse the people.

It is obvious that there has always been struggle within the Assembly, this is the nature of a united front. But now there are elements who have seen the departure of the elected officials because the Assembly was becoming more outspokenly anti-democrat and anti-republican (as well as anti-imperialist) now see that it is time they slipped into the "vacuum" they see formed by the departure of one group of reactionaries and assume all power and control over any political lines coming out of the Assembly, a small clique of college professors and anti-poverty officials, who are the next slot "down" from the Black Elected Officials in the hierarchy of the Black class structure, especially of the consolidating petit-bourgeois (middle class) formed after the struggles of the

60's who now intend to take the National Black Assembly as far to the right as they can, actually uniting with the departed elected officials in all but being elected officials. **This is the reason for the sabotage of the Strategy '76** to run a Black candidate against the democrats and republicans because these reformists do not really intend to oppose the big bourgeoisie and their double winged electoral bird, all they want in the end is comfortable positions and their "militancy" is only toward that end, better jobs, sorry, positions, in the existing system, not revolution, not the total elimination of capitalism by smashing its bourgeois state machine, which is only possible led by a revolutionary vanguard party guided by the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought, scientific socialism. All these new reactionaries want is comfort in capitalism, and now a little hegemony as little big timers with absolute control over the National Black Assembly.

The Congress of Afrikan People, on the other hand, has taken positions based on our commitment to contribute to the liberation of the Black Nation and the ultimate socialist revolution and victory of all oppressed people. And even though people can disagree with our positions, as it is our right to disagree with theirs, it is important that all the various views within the Black Nation be heard, and that in the theoretical and political struggle that ensues, that the correct line emerge. Because some of these elements who have scrambled for the "leadership" of the National Black Assembly are opposed to our ideology, as President Daniels ingenuously blurted out in his first attack co-authored by the now departed Mayor Hatcher, they have gone to great lengths to undermine and attack the work of the Secretary General and the role of the Congress of Afrikan People within the National Black Assembly. But neither Congress of Afrikan People nor the Secretary General has ever said that we will not struggle, we have consistently said just the opposite and proved it. But whenever, which is constantly, the powers that want to be (in the National Black Assembly) find themselves opposed to us ideologically or politically they resort to lies, undermining, and other unprincipled behavior to carry out their "struggle" because they know full well that ideologically and theoretically their positions are shabby leftovers of the bourgeois ideology of the degenerate rulers of this society and will be blasted off the floor of any Assembly meeting. (In the Congress of Afrikan People we

must openly admit, and self criticize ourselves for taking ultra "left" positions in some cases, eg. pushing initially for the replacement of the National Convention in 1976 by a Multinational Peoples Convention, though we still feel that such a meeting, after the National Black Convention, is still very important, and will push for it. We also must criticize ourselves for our being extremely harsh in our criticism of Mtangulizi Sanyika in a meeting between the Executive Council and the National Black Assembly-Strategy '76 Committee, but this was occasioned by the fact that Sanyika had done next to nothing as Chairperson of that key committee, had not even notified other persons on the Committee about the meetings, nor even held key meetings, and in general has performed poorly as Chairperson, giving little leadership and no direction. This conduct continues, and the '76 electoral struggle suffers more and more by his nonfunctioning.)

The circulation by Mashiriki Ross of a letter attempting to undermine the Congress of Afrikan People's participation in the developing National Black Assembly women's caucus, after she has steadfastly opposed even the convening of such a caucus, and supported the male chauvinism of the National Black Assembly President and others in the Assembly, is a typical move of this reactionary element that now strives to totally control the National Black Assembly. Miss Ross has also opposed the 50% addition of women in all committees of the National Black Assembly including the Executive Council so it is outright hypocrisy to come on now like she is some fighter for the rights of women.

In the last issue of the National Black Assembly newsletter, which is edited solely by President Daniels from Columbus, he has included three articles written by members of the New Jersey Assembly over the Secretary General's signature in an obvious attempt to undermine what was being said. He has tried to respond to these members observations with a manifesto of reaction signifying the new cliques determination to be masters of the National Black Assembly. In this article, signed by some of these forces, some of whom are not distinguished by any consistent work in the National Black Assembly, others whose local Assemblies are jokes or little cliques of other bureaucrats and professors and anti-poverty hucksters who mount no local Assembly programs but who can take trips to National Meetings and simulate commitment. Eg. What is the work of the Massachusetts Assembly or the D.C. Assembly or

Manhattan Assembly or the Colorado Assembly, or the work of the National Support Committee or the Research and Strategy Committee or the '76 Fundraising Committee?? Minimal if at all. Such types are famous for walking around carrying big titles but doing nothing that concretely helps oppose our national oppression or topple monopoly capitalism.

We have been accused of forgering "conflicts and distrust" which were supposed to have stopped the work of the National Black Assembly when in reality these people if they were honest can tell you that what stopped the work of the National Black Assembly was the lack of participation of Mayor Hatcher and Congressman Diggs, because they had other priorities, eg. the Democratic Party. And that is why they left. We have been accused of "continual disruption", "attacks on everyone and anyone", "threats and name calling", "unprincipled behavior", "a near physical confrontation" and "screaming" and having rigged a women's caucus, also of "lying" by saying that Daniels had walked out of the Atlanta meeting. In general context of their description we deny all these accusations. We have criticized ourselves for what we think we should be criticized for, and we will accept any other just criticism. There will be struggle though these bureaucrats call it just "disruption". For instance, **the whole Assembly passed a resolution calling for low registration fees yet these reactionaries charged \$20 in Ohio meetings so as to exclude the Cleveland Assembly, \$10 in the current meeting, and plan to charge \$25 dollars!** at the height of a depression at the Cincinnati Convention! It is clear that not only are they violating the very resolutions of the National Black Assembly, but their class stand is so clearly petit-bourgeois that they cannot see that such positions automatically exclude the great majority of Black people (whom they claim to have something to do with). So, yes, there will be struggle around this issue, continually. There will be struggle around the male chauvinism of Daniels, Mtangulizi, and others in the National Black Assembly's new leadership clique and generally until such bourgeois ideology is defeated. There will be struggle around women's rights. There will be struggle around the Strategy '76, until that program is mounted and in process and the people charged with its being carried out, either do that work or split.

As far as "attacking everyone and anyone" they probably mean everyone and anyone spouting bourgeois

(Continued on page 6)

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