

SELECTED DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF PEOPLES COLLEGE
IN THE
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
(1973-74 and 1977)

Peoples College
P.O. Box 7696
Chicago, Illinois 60680
U. S. A.

INTRODUCTION

These documents were prepared by Peoples College during the second stage of ALSC from ALD 1973 to the Summer of 1974. We have also included two speeches made during the ALD 1977 campaign to reflect the current position of Peoples College. They reflect our contribution to the national movement of ALSC, and do not fully reflect the local activities of our work in ALSC. They do represent most of the major statements connected to Peoples College's leading role in the following aspects of ALSC work:

1. The National ALSC Steering Committee
2. The National ALSC Executive Committee
3. The ALSC Research and Development Committee
4. The ALSC Local Chapter in Nashville

We have collected these documents so that the historical development and contribution of Peoples College can be more accurately summed up. We are committed to studying this material so that our errors might be clearly grasped and avoided in our present and future work. Moreover, we feel that history cannot be swept under the rug, but must be held up for full review and criticism. This is our purpose.

We invite your criticisms and welcome the opportunity to collectively sum up the history of ALSC. This is part of our on going work in the struggle to build the United Front Against Imperialism, to contribute to the revolutionary process in the USA.

Peoples College
P.O. Box 7696
Chicago, Illinois 60680
USA

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African Liberation Day

**SUPPORT
AFRICAN
LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS!**

sat. may 26, 1973

"THERE IS NO PEACE WITH HONOR. WAR CONTINUES ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AND AGAINST AFRICAN PEOPLE IN THE USA."

*DEMONSTRATION to be held in NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

*For Further Information, write or call:

NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE

address: P.O. Box 5747, Nashville, Tenn. 37208
phone: 329-9111 Ext. 343 or 343

African Liberation Day



BLACK WORKERS' FORUM

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1973

PEARL STREET YWCA - 1708 PEARL

6:00 - 8:00 P.M.

- BLACK WORKING CLASS SPEAKERS
- FILMS/SLIDES ON WORKERS STRUGGLE AND AFRICA
- QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Why should Black workers participate in African Liberation Day?

Why should the Black working class take the lead for African Liberation?

What is planned for African Liberation Day?

Come and Find Out. . . Bring your family and friends

NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE - RANK & FILE WORKERS FOR AFRICAN
LIBERATION P.O. BOX 5747 329-9111 EXT. 342

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY!!

AS WORKERS WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN:

- LAST HIRED - FIRST FIRED
- DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN JOBS AND UP-GRADING
- PAYED THE LOWEST WAGES FOR THE DIRTIEST AND MOST DANGEROUS JOBS

IN OUR COMMUNITIES WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN:

- FORCED TO LIVE IN INADEQUATE OR SUBSTANDARD HOUSING
- VICTIMS OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
- VICTIMS OF INADEQUATE HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE
- VICTIMS OF HIGH PRICES FOR INFERIOR GOODS

AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE IN THE SAME BOAT! WE ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS NOT ONLY IN HERITAGE BUT ALSO IN THE COMMON PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE. THE SAME CORPORATIONS THAT KEEP US LIVING FROM HAND TO MOUTH ALSO KEEP AFRICAN PEOPLE ECONOMICALLY UNDERDEVELOPED AND POLITICALLY OPPRESSED. WE HAVE A COMMON PROBLEM, A COMMON ENEMY AND THUS, MUST FIND A COMMON SOLUTION.

MAY 26TH IS AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY. ON THAT DAY THE BLACK WORKING CLASS MUST TAKE THE LEAD. WE ARE 94% OF THE TOTAL BLACK COMMUNITY. WE ARE IN A MAJORITY AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION WHERE PROFITS ARE MADE. WE MUST UNITE TO USE OUR POWER TO FORCE U.S. CORPORATIONS OUT OF AFRICA, END U.S. SUPPORT OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM.

COME TO THE BLACK WORKERS FORUM, MAY 23, 1973, 6:00 PM, AT THE PEARL STREET YWCA, TO FIND OUT WHAT AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY MEANS TO AND FOR YOU AND, IF YOU CAN DIG IT, THEN JOIN THE MOVEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE ON MAY 26, AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY.

AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN WORKERS UNITE!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION!

African Liberation Day

Martin Luther King



FREEDOM

MAY 26th

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

HADLEY PARK NASHVILLE, TN.

**FOR
ANTI-IMPERIALIST
FIGHTERS!**

MARCH STARTING 10:00 AM
PARKING LOT of 1st BAPTIST
CHURCH, CAPITOL HILL
(900 James Robertson Pkwy)

ENDING at HADLEY PARK
28th & MEHARRY BLVD.

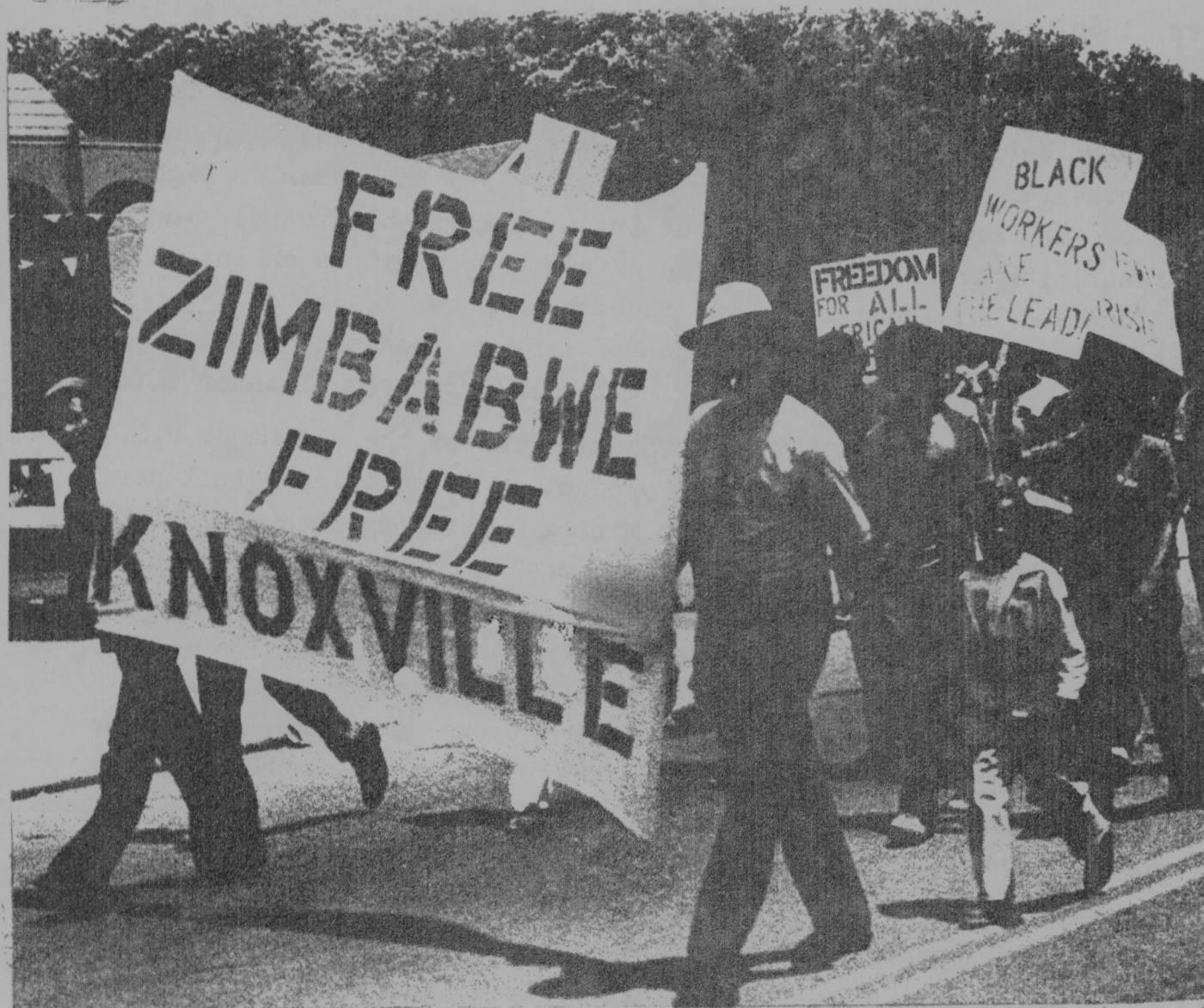
AFRICAN MARKET in the PARK



FOR MORE INFORMATION
WRITE OR CALL:

NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIB-
ERATION COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 5747, NASHVILLE
329-9111, Ext. 342

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!



Part of the African Liberation Day-1973 march in Nashville, Tenn. (May 26)

HELP!!

Repeal the Byrd Amendment!

(SEE OTHER SIDE)

COME
TO
THE

- PICKET - WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 19th, 1973 - 12:00 NOON
- FEDERAL BUILDING - 8th AVENUE & BROADWAY, NASHVILLE, TENN.
- FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

The Nashville African Liberation Committee (NALC)
P.O. Box 5747, Nashville, Tenn. 37208
(615) 329-9111, Ext. 342

SECTION 503 OF THE MILITARY PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1971 (PUBLIC LAW 92-156) MUST BE REPEALED!! This law, commonly called the "BYRD AMENDMENT", (after Senator Harry Byrd, Jr., Ind-Va., who authored it), allows the United States to purchase chrome ore from the illegal, racist white minority government of Rhodesia. This action by the United States government is in violation of United Nations mandatory economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia in December, 1966. These sanctions prohibit the importation of strategic material (including chrome ore) from Rhodesia. Two attempts have been made since 1971 to repeal the amendment. In May, 1973, a coalition was formed in Congress to begin new efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment. In the House of Representatives the fight is being spearheaded by Rep. Charles Diggs, (chairman of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on African Affairs), and Rep. Donald Fraser, (chairman of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements). Senator Hubert Humphrey leads the fight in the Senate with Senator Ed Brooke as one of many co-sponsors. This bipartisan political representation is calling for full support of their efforts!

THE BYRD AMENDMENT DIRECTLY AFFECTS US!! Two of the six major U.S. companies consuming chrome ore for the production of stainless steel have plants in Tennessee. They are Chromium Mining & Smelting with a plant located in Woodstock, Tennessee, and Foote Mineral in Steubenville, Ohio, and New Johnsonville, Tennessee. These companies not only import chrome from Rhodesia but in the case of Foote Mineral, it has a subsidiary plant in Rhodesia that pays the lowest possible wages to the Zimbabwean workers, (Zimbabwe is the African name for Rhodesia). At the same time, these companies are threatening to relocate all of their plants in Southern Africa because of the cheap labor supply and thus put the workers in the U.S. plants out of their jobs! We cannot allow the exploitation of our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe and we cannot allow unemployment to rise in the U.S.!

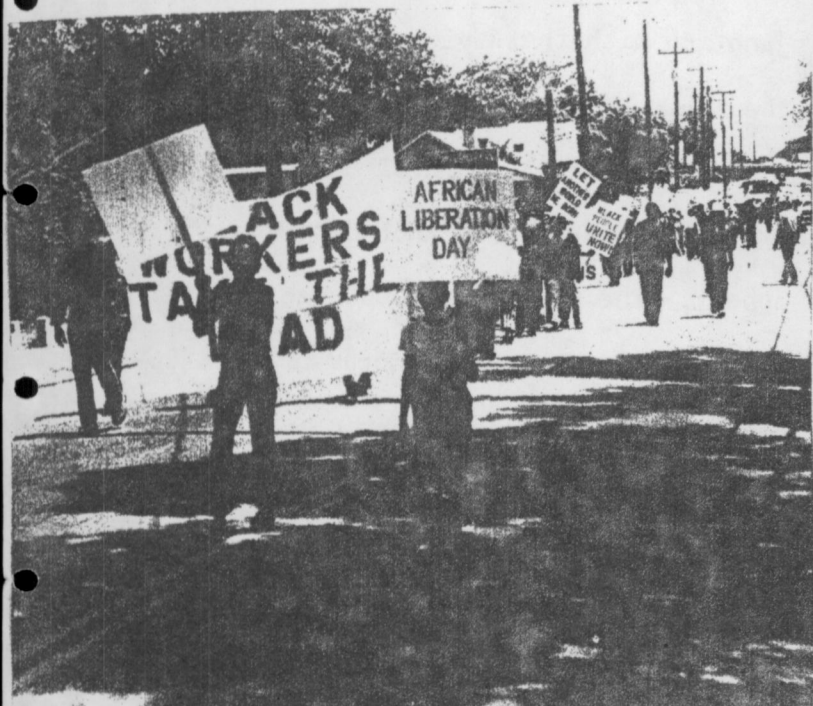
THE NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE (NALC) has been involved in efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment since African Liberation Day-73 (May 26) when petitions were circulated to support the repeal attempts. We are now joining the national motion of the African Liberation Support Committee to promote these efforts. A floor vote in the Senate on the repeal may occur as early as the end of July! The House will vote soon after the August Congressional recess! WE MUST ACT NOW! On Wednesday, Sept. 19th, African people across the country will be picketting the Federal Building in their city at 12:00 noon. This picket will be an attempt to solicit support for repeal of the Byrd Amendment. Black people in Nashville must join this campaign Wednesday, Sept. 19, at 12:00 noon at the Federal Building, 8th & Broadway.

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA!! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!!

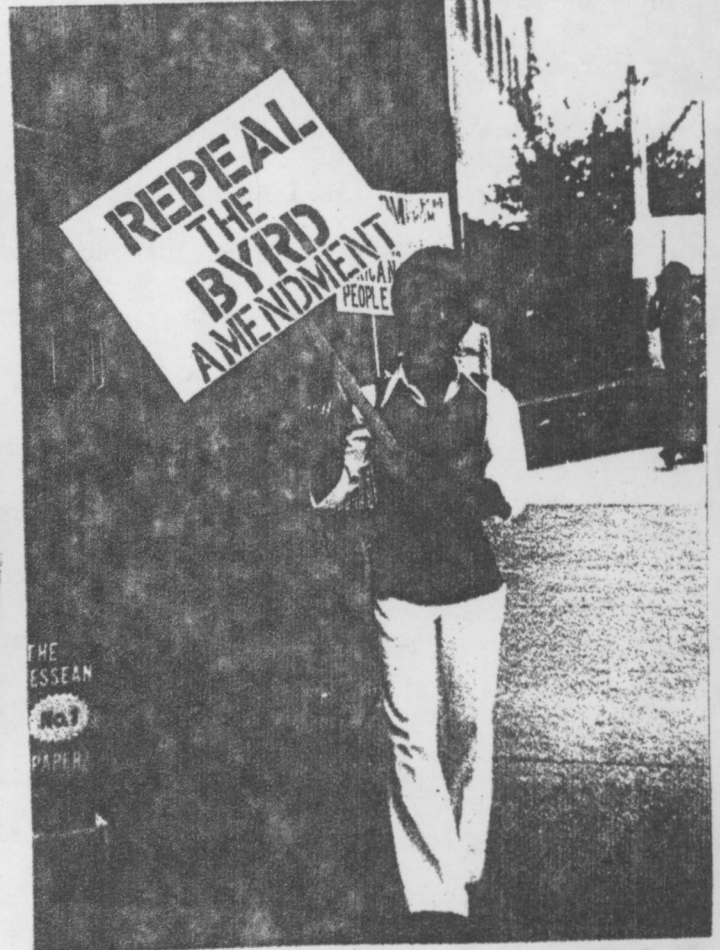
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 14093, HOUSTON, TEX. 77021

P.O. BOX 5747, NASHVILLE, TN. 37208



MAY 26, 1973 - NASHVILLE, TN. AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY DEMONSTRATION



JULY 20, 1973 - NASHVILLE, TN. REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN

BASIC PROGRAM FOR ALSC

1. Raise money for liberation groups in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau
2. Conduct educational seminars and programs on racism, imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.
3. Develop and distribute literature, films, and other educational materials.
4. Participate in and aid Black community and Black workers in the struggles against oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.
5. Engage in efforts to influence and transform U.S. policy as regards to its imperialist role in the world.
6. Engage in mass actions against governments, products, and companies that are involved or supportive of racist, illegitimate regimes in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.
7. Support and spearhead annual ALD demonstrations in conjunction with the International African Solidarity Day.

On May 26, 1973, over 80,000 Black people in over 30 locations in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean Islands took to the streets in a massive display of support for liberation movements in Southern Africa, reaffirmation of continued struggle at home, and determination to see an end to the racist exploitation and domination of African people throughout the world. The occasion was the second annual observance of African Liberation Day (ALD) in the Western Hemisphere. Most of the demonstrations were planned and coordinated in conjunction with the African Liberation Support Committees (ALSC) and operated under the theme "THERE IS NO PEACE WITH HONOR FOR AFRICAN PEOPLE. AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE AT WAR WITH IMPERIALISM BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD." The effort was a success accomplishing the aims set forth including the collection of funds under the United African Appeal. The goal of \$40,000 was reached.

Out of the June retreat of ALSC, held in Frogmore, S.C., came a document reflecting the statement of principles and program for ALSC. The three summary points of the document are: 1) The new unity of the Black Liberation Struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character. 2) The struggle to unify Black anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces is our strength in building an ideologically advanced movement. 3) Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that Black workers take the lead. Election of officers was also held and Gene Locke of the Lynn Eusan Institute, Houston, Texas, is the new chairman.

Part of the ALSC national motion since Frogmore has been to promote the Repeal the Byrd Amendment Campaign. The Byrd Amendment (Public Law 92-156, named after Sen. Harry Byrd, Jr., Ind.-Va.), allows the U.S. to purchase chrome ore from the illegal racist white minority government of Rhodesia. This action by the U.S. government is in violation of United Nations mandatory economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia in December, 1966. In May, 1973, a coalition was formed in Congress to begin new efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment. ALSC local committees have been staging pickets at Federal Buildings coordinated at the national level. The major slogan is "NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!"

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING ALSC CONTACT:

P.O. BOX 14093, Houston, Texas 77021

P.O. BOX 5747, Nashville, Tenn. 37208



DEFEAT PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

*International Week
of
Solidarity*

NOVEMBER 19 - 23, 1973

SIGN THE PETITION CALLING FOR U.S.
RECOGNITION OF THE NEW

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

WHICH AFTER 10 YEARS DEFEATED
PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM,
DESPITE MASSIVE U.S.
SUPPORT OF PORTUGAL

AMILCAR CABRAL, Secretary-General of the African Party
for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC),
assassinated January 20, 1973.

Attend a Community Educational on

"The Portuguese in Africa"

FRIDAY 7pm

NOVEMBER 23, 1973

FISK UNIVERSITY

AFRICA HALL
(Basement of Jubilee Hall)

Sponsored by

NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 5747 • Nashville, Tn. 37208

(615) 329-9111 Extension 342



NATIONAL OFFICE: AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE • P.O. BOX 14093 • HOUSTON, TEXAS

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN THE NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN THE
STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

- A. PORTUGAL HAS THE LARGEST COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA. Portugal claims Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and until recently, Guinea-Bissau as "Portuguese colonies." These territories cover almost 800,000 square miles, (about 25 times larger than Portugal), and includes over 12,000,000 people (larger than New York City).
- B. PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM COMMITS GENOCIDE IN AFRICA LIKE USA IMPERIALISM DID IN VIETNAM. Even though chemical and biological warfare was outlawed by the Geneva Agreement in 1925 and by the United Nations in 1969, Portugal was given millions of dollars worth of napalm and herbicides by the United States and uses it to destroy crops, animal life, and the population of the liberated areas. Just like the atrocious act of the U.S. Army in My Lai, Vietnam where over 100 people were massacred, the Portuguese massacred over 400 Africans at Wiryamu, Mozambique, in 1972.
- C. PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM IS REALLY A DISGUISED FRONT FOR THE IMPERIALISM OR THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES. Portugal is the poorest country in all of Europe. 40% of the people are illiterate and the average income is only \$380. Yet Portugal's total military budget in Africa is more than \$400 million yearly. HOW? BECAUSE OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN AID THAT PORTUGAL GETS FROM THE U.S. In December 1971, Nixon gave \$436 million, and the total between 1946-72 was \$334 million. The U.S. trained 474 Portuguese army officers in the U.S. over the last five years.

U.S. CORPORATIONS make millions of dollars from their exploitation of the labor and natural resources of Africa. Two-thirds of Gulf's profits come from foreign investments like Angola. Gulf paid Portugal over \$40 million in 1970, a big contribution to the Portuguese war machine.

Some of the other corporations paying taxes to the Portuguese and investing in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau are: Chase-Manhattan, Firestone, General Electric, Holiday Inn, IBM, Mobil, Singer, Standard Oil, Texaco, and Union Carbide. From these super profits taken from our African brothers and sisters, corporations like GULF can afford to give scholarships to Black people, and the \$50,000 they gave to Ralph Abernathy and SCLC two weeks ago.

- D. THE HEROIC BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN AFRICA ARE WAGING A VICTORIOUS ARMED STRUGGLE TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION BY PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM. On September 24, 1973, the independence of the new REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU was declared--the success of almost 10 years of struggle. In Mozambique, the militant comrades of FRELIMO are leading the people in steady progress against the invading Portuguese with much territory already liberated. The Angolan people are likewise engaged in a fierce armed struggle for national liberation. The same is true in Sao Tome and Principe.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

LONG LIVE THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU!



FROM NASHVILLE...



Black people in Nashville like those shown (left) are severely oppressed and exploited by the same corporations which exploit our brothers and sisters in Africa.

Black miners in South Africa (below) suffer a more brutal kind of exploitation at the hands of giant imperialist corporations that make billions of dollars yearly from the sweat and blood of Black people.

...TO SOUTH AFRICA

ATTEND A

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL

"FROM NASHVILLE TO SOUTH AFRICA"

monday 7:30 pm

MARCH 25, 1974

BAPTIST STUDENT CENTER

2023 JEFFERSON STREET



BECAUSE OF THE COMMON EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE IN NASHVILLE AND IN SOUTH AFRICA BY MANY OF THE SAME U.S. CORPORATIONS, THE NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE CALLS FOR SOLIDARITY WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN AFRICA AS WE MOVE AT THE SAME TIME TO ESCALATE OUR STRUGGLE HERE IN THE U.S.

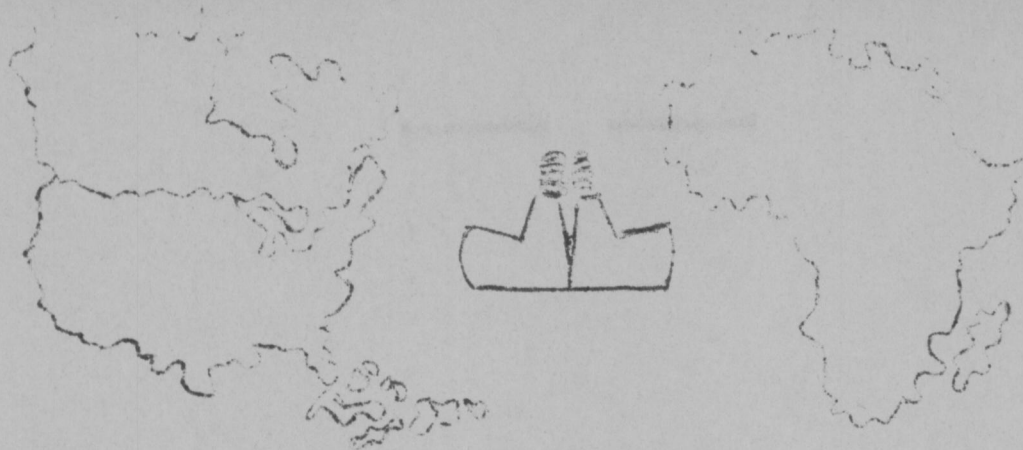
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NATIONAL OFFICE: AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE • P.O. BOX 14093 • HOUSTON, TEXAS



AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH - MAY 1974

Plans for African Liberation Month are underway in more than 40 local ALSC committees throughout the Western Hemisphere, (including Canada and the Caribbean). African Liberation Month will focus on three (3) major issues facing Black people and their manifestations in the Western Hemisphere and on the African continent:

1. The ENERGY CRISIS: The oil monopolies have created a situation resulting in high gas prices, heating oil shortages, unemployment, etc., for us in the Western Hemisphere. While in Africa, Gulf Oil is the largest U.S. investor making millions of dollars by exploiting the labor and natural resources in Angola.
2. POLICE REPRESSION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS: The brutal murder of Brother Ronald Lee Joyce is just one example in Nashville--there have been and will continue to be more. In 1972, 400 Africans were massacred at Wiryamu, Mozambique by Portuguese soldiers financed by U.S. corporations like Gulf Oil.
3. IMPEACHMENT OF NIXON: Nixon is the political puppet of the U.S. corporations. It is clear that Watergate--corruption in government, cutbacks in social services, etc., are directly related to Nixon. WE MUST CALL FOR HIS IMPEACHMENT NOW! In December, 1971, Nixon gave \$436 million to the Portuguese government for use of the Azores Islands as a strategic military base. This amount of money has significantly contributed to the Portuguese war machine.

PROGRAM

MAY 1-18th	3 community forums - 1 on each issue
MAY 18 or 19	Malcolm X Commemoration Day Local Community Solidarity Demonstration
MAY 22-24	National ALSC Conference Howard University, Washington, D.C.
MAY 25th	AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY National Demonstration - Washington, D.C.

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH MAY, 1974

Sat. May 18th

Hadley Park

1:00 pm

MASS RALLY

STOP POLICE REPRESSION!
FIGHT THE OIL MONOPOLIES!
ROLLBACK GAS PRICES!
IMPEACH NIXON! DUMP THE CHUMP!

STOP HIGH SCHOOL PUSH-OUTS!
SAVE AND CHANGE TENNESSEE STATE!

COMMEMORATE THE BIRTHDAY OF MALCOLM X!



Racism - Imperialism No! Nixon Must Go!
BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

Sponsored by the
NASHVILLE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 5747

Nashville, Tn. 37208

(615) 329-9111, Ext. 342

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH: MAY, 1974



MAY 18-19

**Local
Demonstrations**

MAY 23-24
**National
Conference**

WASHINGTON,
D.C.



MAY 25 **National
Demonstration**

WASHINGTON,
D.C.



1974
**Fund
Raising
Goal
\$75,000**



Imperialism No!



NIXON MUST GO!

SMASH RACISM!

BLACK
PEOPLE

Must be FREE

**SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH
ACTIVITIES**

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE:
PROPOSAL FOR UNITED FRONT STRATEGY
PREPARED FOR THE ALSC RETREAT
FROGMORE, S.C. JUN 28-JUL 1, 1973

I

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle against the barbarous world imperialist system. The keystone of this system is the USA military-industrial complex. At home we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form.

Specifically, we know the problems facing Black people in both Africa and the USA are escalating as the world crisis of imperialism leads to greater levels of exploitation. In Africa, the remains of classical European colonialism is held together by Portugal (in Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique). This has the support of the US government through direct aid (e.g. Azores Agreement of over \$430 million), and NATO military assistance. White Settler rule is based in South Africa, and extends through Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Over 300 US corporations have investments in Southern Africa amounting to over \$1 billion in 1970.

Major problems facing Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies as a result of this crisis are:

1. resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers who as colonists, will be expected to fight against liberation forces, (e.g., in Tete Province, Mozambique as a result of the Cabora Bassa Dam project where over 1,000,000 European workers are expected to settle);

2. increased levels of exploitation by the run-a-way shops from the advanced capitalist countries that are characterized by no-strike laws, forced labor, slave like wages, no right to organize laws, and neo-facist policies of political repression against all dissent;

3. expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to re-colonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multinational corporations based in USA, Europe, and Japan.

Major problems facing Black people in the USA are:

1. Unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, racism by management and the aristocratic trade union leadership, and super-exploitation in the shops, (e.g., speed-up and compulsory overtime);

2. cut backs in social services including public welfare, public transportation, sanitation & health facilities, education, public housing, and fire protection;

3. political - police - military repression with "hit squads" like Hitler's Brown Shirts, (STRESS in Detroit is a model), full use of electronic surveillance equipment, and rising rate of Black youth in the prisons.

The essence of this historical moment inside of the USA is reflected by two inter-related processes:

A. the alienation of the state from the people by its proven corruption on all levels from Nixon to Daley, resulting in even moderate journalists suggesting impeachment and former cabinet officials charging war crimes;

B. the crisis of capitalism reflected in rising market price of gold, the falling value of the dollar, inter-imperialist competition, and the scramble to relocate production in areas yielding super profits.

II

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle with each other to put together a movement with the organizational and theoretical tools necessary to smash our enemy, and build the new world. [The Black anti-imperialist movement must unify the national liberation struggles in Africa with the Black liberation struggles in the USA. One victory anywhere in the fight against US imperialism is a victory everywhere. We fight the capitalist beast where we are to destroy the exploitation and oppression wherever it extends itself as imperialism.]

The time is ripe for a United Black People's Struggle, an anti-imperialist struggle, a struggle to merge the Black Liberation Struggle with the process of World Revolution.

As we deliberate in the Frogmore conference we must be sensitive to our historical mission, our legacy:

Ho Chi Minh on Democratic Front Campaign (1936-1939):

"It taught us that anything which is in agreement with the peoples' aspirations is supported by the people, who will actively participate in the struggle. And only in this manner, do we have a real movement of the masses. It also taught us that we must do our utmost to avoid subjectiveness, narrow-mindedness, etc."

Kwame Nkrumah (January 7, 1961):

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each others throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa."

Malcolm X (January 28, 1965):

"The organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results."

Julius Nyerere (March 1965):

"The whole argument about whether unity is achieved through a step by step process, or through political decision is in fact a futile one. Ultimately a political decision is necessary, without it unity cannot be achieved. But in the meantime, do we merely wait and hope for a miracle, leaving our development and independence forever in jeopardy, or do we make what progress we can? Surely the answer must be clear; the African states must co-operate, and undertake common activities wherever they can, and for as many practical purposes as possible. Most of all they must each do everything which can be done to safeguard and build up the spirit and emotion of unity."

Mao Tse-Tung

"If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish."

As we deliberate we must approach our decisions by being as objective as possible, (recognizing that we are collectively helping to determine the fate of our people), by demanding of ourselves that we leave with a plan for day-to-day work towards building a strong movement that will win decisive victory.

As we deliberate we must keep in mind two major questions:

1. What kind of unity is necessary?
2. How to build this new type of unity?

III

BLACK UNITY OF A NEW TYPE

The purpose of this new type unity has two aspects:

A. INTERNAL: In order for the Black Liberation Struggle to advance there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop a correct line. This unity in struggle will develop militants with experience, committed to correct views and unified with other individuals and organizations proven in the fight against imperialism. Most Black people are not committed to fully developed

ideological positions. So we must struggle to unite the movement so that we can struggle to unite the masses.

B. EXTERNAL: Our unity must be based on an anti-imperialist thrust to smash and destroy monopoly capital at home and abroad. In the most general sense this means the struggle for democratic rights, (self determination for nations, self rule for states, and self respect for people). Again, the alienation of the state from the people means that we must fight for democracy to stop facism. For it is precisely within this context that the Black Liberation Struggle is linked with the process of World Revolution.

This struggle will become more specific and concrete when:

1. the liberation struggles move toward victory and a new political reality is proven in practice;
2. as our various struggles to defeat imperialism prove correct with victory and incorrect with failure; and
3. as our enemies move against those of us who are righteous and give support to those of us who are not.

IV

BUILDING THE NEW UNITY

The key concepts of our unity must be based on our current stage of development, and changed as necessary for new stages to come. Basic ones are:

- A. Operational Unity
- B. Unite the Many to Oppose the Few
- C. Anti-Imperialist United Front Struggle
- D. United We Will Stand, Divided We Fall

This new type of unity will be new only if we can unite dif-

ferent ideological tendencies and bring together different social groups and class formations.

A. IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES: ALSC is on record as being anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-racist. Therefore, we must make that work in practice. ALSC must reach back to the broad based coalition of ALD-1972, and combine that with the growing ideological clarity of ALD-1973. We must pull together the full range of nationalists, civil rights reformers, and socialists. This will include churches (Muslim groups to Christian denominations), political parties (Black Congressional Caucus to revolutionary political parties), and economic-oriented groups (welfare rights to trade unions). Also, we must pull in all Black intellectuals and artists to utilize all magazines, newspapers, radio stations, TV programs, and cultural events as tools of struggle.

B. SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASS FORMATIONS: The test of ideological struggle is what ideas become concrete in organized action, and work in the anticipated manner. In order of importance, our front must mobilize the following:

1. Black working Class: In Nashville our key slogan is "Black Workers Take the Lead." The vast majority of Black adults work, and this is the basis of our exploitation (as it has been since slavery). Moreover, it is Black Workers who have historically carried our struggle forward. Now we include in this, employed and unemployed workers, welfare recipients, and production and service workers.

2. Youth: Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the Black community being young, (median age of Blacks was 21.2 in 1969, whites was 29.3). Youth is a time of struggle. We must

gather together Black youth from the plants, the campuses, the penal institutions, and the military reservations to create a mass mobilization of these youth in anti-imperialist struggle.

3. Middle Class Formations: The post World War II rise of the Black middle class provided leadership, organizational skill, and ideology during the civil rights era. This struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the Black middle forces will be cut back. The middle forces include the teachers, social workers, government clerks, low level trade union organizers, rank and file local police. If they are anti-imperialist by supporting democracy we must unite with them and fight together on the same side.

This is the unity of a new type needed to fight imperialism in the 1970's.

In sum we have presented four (4) points for discussion:

1. The new unity of the Black Liberation Struggle must be anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly capital in character.
2. The current period is defined by a high level of alienation of the state from the people and a crisis in US capitalism.
3. The struggle to unify Black anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement.
4. Our unity must involve all social groups and class formations, but we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD.

APPENDIX I

UNITED FRONT IS REFLECTED
 BY SUPPORT FOR FIFTH
 MANCHESTER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS 1945
 MEMORANDUM TO UNITED NATIONS

Secretariat by Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, International President of the Pan-African Congress. It states:

Organisations which supported the petition:

New York State Conference, NAACP; James Egert Allen, President
 National Council of Negro Women, Inc.: May McLeod Bethune, Founder, President
 Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Mae Wright Downs.
 National Sunday School, B. T. U. Congress; Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President.
 National Bar Association; Earl B. Dickerson, President
 West Coast Regional Office, NAACP; N. W. Griffin, Regional Secretary
 American Teachers' Association; Walter N. Ridley, President
 National Association of Coloured Women, Inc.; Mrs. Christine S. Smith, President
 Non-Partisan Interfaith Citizens Committee; C. B. Powell, A. Clayton Powell, Co-Chairmen.
 National Negro Congress; Max Yergan, President
 Council on African Affairs; Max Yergan, Executive Director
 Southern Negro Youth Congress; Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary
 Improved Order of Elks of the World; J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
 Negro Newspaper Publishers Association; Frank L. Stanley, President
 National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.; D. W. Jemison, President
 Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., George A. Parker, National President
 National Medical Association; W. A. Younge, President
 Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity; Augustus G. Parker, Grand Polemarch
 Second Episcopal District, A. M. E. Zion Church; Bishop W. J. Walling, President

Alpha Phi Alpha; Belford Lawson, President

Pan-African Federation, Manchester, England, Affiliated with 12 organisations of Negroes in Europe and Africa; Peter Milliard, M.D., President; T. R. Makonnen, Treasurer

League of Coloured Peoples, M. Joseph-Mitchell, Secretary

National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, representing 140 organisations, 110 towns in British West Africa; Nnamdi Azikiwe, President

Non-European Unity Committee, Union of South Africa; Z. R. Mahabane, Chairman

His Excellency Ras Ha Immru of the Imperial Ethiopian Legation has expressed 'his sympathy for your efforts in the interests and welfare of the African people and to wish you success'

Nyasaland African Congress; C. Matinga, President-General

The African Development Association; F. C. Archer, Founder, Secretary-Treasurer

St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labour Union; Jos. N. France, General Secretary

Trades Union Congress of Jamaica; Ken Hill, Vice-Chairman

The Barbados Progressive League; Grantley Adams, President; H. W. Springer, General Secretary

The Barbados Workers' Union; H. W. Springer, General Secretary

International African Service Bureau; George Padmore, Chairman

Kenya African Union; W. W. W. Awori, Secretary

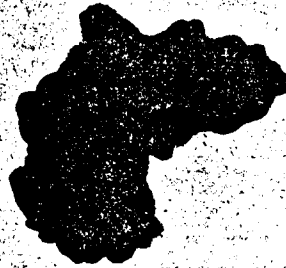
Kikuyu Central Association of Kenya; Jomo Kenyatta, Secretary

West African Youth League (Sierra Leone); Wallace Johnson, Secretary

Caribbean Labour Congress; Richard Hart, Secretary

"Imperialism has been defeated in many limited battles, but it is a considerable force in the world . . . it strikes every day, and threatens us with new blows and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary union, shall have the peoples gratitude."

Che



1973

Peoples College

P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tennessee
USA

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE:

PROPOSAL FOR UNITED FRONT STRATEGY

PREPARED FOR THE ALSC RETREAT

FROGMORE, S.C. JUN 28-JUL 1, 1973

DRAFT

#1

ALSC HANDBOOK FOR STRUGGLE

R E P E A LT H EB Y R DA M E N D M E N T

1973

African Liberation Support Committee
P.O. Box 14093
Houston, Texas 77021
USA

1. INTRODUCTION

We are about to engage in a mass action. The purpose is to repeal the Byrd Amendment, and in the process build the anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front. Everyone in this movement must understand the history of it, the ideology of it, and how to do it. We are using this Handbook as our textbook for this campaign.

Everyday in the news we are reminded of our need to struggle for survival. In Alabama they not only have been experimenting with syphilis on Black males over the last forty years, they are currently sterilizing young Black women. The police murder Black youth in every city, and welfare-jobs are being cut back. We must rise up with righteous indignation! We must rededicate our lives to struggle! We must commit ourselves to work quietly and carefully, everyday, in a collective, disciplined manner. We must build a movement that can win the decisive victory.

This campaign is about the issue of Rhodesian Chrome. There are three aspects:

1. Illegal importation of Ferrochromium ore from Rhodesia in violation of United Nations mandatory sanctions
2. Loss of jobs for Black workers in plants in the U.S., especially Union Carbide and Foote Mineral (Tennessee, Ohio, New York and Kentucky are the major states involved)
3. Anti-colonial war of national liberation of the people of Zimbabwe as led by the joint military command of ZAPU-ZANU.

This is a fight we must wage. We have the responsibility to fight U.S. imperialism for our good, and the good of mankind.

Our goal is to build a movement walking one step at a time. We must do every task like it is the most important task, because right then it is the most important for you. When you get petitions out - you are asking Black people to sign for freedom. Be cordial, and patient, but wage ideological struggle, struggle for the minds of our people.

This Handbook is a tool, a textbook, and should be read through everyday. You are a leader, and must know these things in order to lead. We must be consistent, we must be correct.

DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!

2. SLOGANS

Main Slogan: NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA!
FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

Also: BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!
AFRICA IS AT WAR!

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

During the summer of 1971, Owusu Sadauki, then director of Malcolm X Liberation University, made a trip into the liberated areas of Mozambique under the auspices of FRELIMO. During the few weeks he spent there, the FRELIMO leadership spoke about the need for a world wide movement for peace and freedom in support of African liberation struggles (like the anti-war movement concerned with Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam).

A meeting of movement leaders was held in Greensboro on his return. They decided to use May 25th as the key day, since the Organization of African Unity had chosen it as World Solidarity Day with freedom struggles in Africa. However, we would have demonstrations on the closest Saturday to the 25th in order that working people could participate fully.

ALD-1972 was organized as a national demonstration with the major mobilization in Washington D.C., and another in San Francisco. There was also a demonstration in Montreal. The day before in Washington D.C., the Congressional Black Caucus held a conference at Howard University and debated the role of the U.S. in Africa with State Department officials and movement activists. The discussions revolved around the capitalist and non-capitalist roads of development. (See

ALD-1972 mobilized people to protest U.S. policy toward Africa. The strength was the quantity of support, both mass participation and variety of endorsements and sponsorships.

ALSC met in Detroit on September 30, and formulated governing principles and objectives, and also adopted a national structure. The first national officers were elected and an ALSC office was opened in Dar es Salaam.

The next national meeting was on November 4th in Atlanta. The concern was reorganization and the committee structure and leadership was consolidated. A report was made of Cabral at Lincoln University when ALSC gave him a check for \$2,200.00.

During the December 1972 meeting of the National Steering

Committee, a major qualitative change occurred as expressed by an internal document drafted by Chairman Owusu, (presented in Washington D.C., December 23rd),:

" . . . the question of what we do in the U.S. comes at us from two perspectives;

1. That people have to be worked with in terms of their existing concrete reality. To work with people in a significant way, is to work with them on those problems that they see existing in their daily lives.
2. On the other hand, a correct analysis of racism and imperialism indicated that it must be understood in terms of its effect on the day to day lives of Black people. So, although Africa seems abstract and far away in reality what is happening there is as close to us as Harlem is."

On February 10, 1973, in Chicago the plans for ALD-1973 were finalized: (A) \$2000 goal for each committee, (B) goal of mobilizing 3% of the Black population of each state, (C) theme, "There is no peace with honor, there is still war on Black people here and in Africa.", (D) "it was agreed upon that local and state committees were to extend invitations to non-white organizations (who would, or have taken similar stands against imperialism) to participate in the demonstration under the guidelines devised by the support committee."

The next meeting was in Atlanta on March 31 - April 1. Concern focused on fund-raising (United African Appeal month of May 1973) and local organizing. There were 12 local reports, 15 other demonstrations were planned and 8 were tentative, (total of 35). This was the first meeting attended by NALC as the Tennessee delegation.

The last meeting before ALD-1973 was in Greensboro on April 28, 1973. The decision was made to allocate 80% of the funds raised to the liberation organizations and allocate 20% later under recommendations of an investigation committee. Groups chosen were PAIGC, FRELIMO, UNITA and the joint command of ZAPU-ZANU. Tennessee had a representative on the Investigations Committee, (total of 11). It was also decided to boycott Gulf Oil, all Portuguese Wines, and freeze-dried coffee from Southern Africa.

ALD-1973, MAY 26th, WAS A GREAT SUCCESS.

After ALD-1973, a national retreat was planned in order to deal with:

1. an evaluation of past years work,
2. formulation of an ideological position,
3. develop a program
4. reorganization of national organizational structure, and
5. elect national officers.

There were 21 locals and 5 regions represented, and over 70 people in total. 10,000 copies of the special newspaper supplement were distributed.

1. Generally all reports indicated a high level of consciousness among Black people. But, because of ideological problems ALSC had reached a crisis. The key seemed to be a lack of clarity - no national ideological document, no clear structure. The local committees needed to be pulled together;
2. Based upon documents submitted from Tennessee, California, (three different positions), Connecticut (later withdrawn), and North Carolina, a national position paper was unanimously adopted. Its summary statements are:
 - a. "The new unity of the Black Liberation Struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character;
 - b. The struggle to unite Black anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advance movement.
 - c. Our unity must involve all social groups and class formations, but we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD."
3. Program, (inclose final program as adopted at Frogmore).
4. & 5. New structure consists of the National Steering Committee with an Executive Committee. Also, regional - state - and local committees. Our task is to build a solid united front build a state structure for ALSC work,

The new national officers are
 Chairman - Gene Locke, Houston, Texas
 Secretary - Brenda Paris, Montreal, Canada
 Treasurer - John Warfield, Austin, Texas
 Research & Development - Abdul, Nashville, Tn.

The new national officers continued:

Production & Distribution - Nelson Johnson,
Greensboro, N.C.

Fund Raising - Akosua, Boston, Mass. (tentative)

Investigation - Kwadjo Akpan, Detroit, Mich.

Southern Region - Owusu, Greensboro, N.C.

Northeast Region - Imamu Baraka, NewArk, N.J.

Midwestern Region - Don Lee, Chicago, Ill. (tentative)

Western - (vacant pending reorganization of region)

4. IDEOLOGICAL GUIDELINES

We propose to use some information on Zimbabwe, and a booklet written on chrome by the UN Association.

IDEOLOGICAL GUIDELINES
ZIMBABWE
Background: Land, Labor, and Capital

<u>Population</u>	Africans	Asians Coloureds	Europeans
1972 Population	5,400,000	29,300	262,000
% of 1968 Population	94	1	5
1968 % of Land	46		54
1972 Salisbury (total 463,000)			
% Rural 1966	80		17.6
<u>Employment</u>	African	Non-African	
% of Racial Group Employed in Agriculture	44.9	5.3	
Mining	6.4	3.0	
Manufacturing	10.9	18.1	
<u>Income</u>	Africans Employed	Africans on Land	Non-African
1960% Population	35	57	8
1960% of Income	28	12	60
1963 Average Wages Agriculture	\$187.60		\$3,474.80
Mining	322.00		4,300.80
Manufacturing	507.20		3,841.60
Construction	420.00		3,774.40
1967 Average Wages	386.40		3,810.80

Ethnicity

Basically two languages -- Shona and Si Ndebele, with English as the colonial language.

Exports

Since 1966 there has been an embargo against trade sponsored by the United Nations. But South Africa and the Portuguese colonies have provided an outlet for asbestos, copper, chrome, iron ore, sugar, gold and tobacco. 90% of the mineral output is exported, 54% of agricultural produce.

Imports

Manufactured goods, machinery, and transportation equipment. (80% of capital investment is foreign capital.)

Armed Forces

The 1970 armed forces budget was \$42 million. This maintained the following troop strength: army regulars 3,400; air force 1,200 with 80 combat aircraft; reserves 4,000; paramilitary activities 6,400; and paramilitary reservists 28,500.

Historical Notes on Zimbabwe

- 1888 Matabele nation forced to sign concession giving Europeans mining rights
- 1889 Cecil Rhodes gets charter for British South Africa Company
- 1895 Territory named Rhodesia
- 1896 Matabele nation revolted
- 1897 Mashona nation revolted
- 1923 "Rhodesia" formerly annexed to Great Britain
- 1953 Federation created uniting Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland
- 1961 ZAPU (Zimbabwe Peoples Union) founded
- 1962 ZAPU banned by government
The Rhodesian Front, formed by the association of four right wing racist parties, was elected to power
- 1963 ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) formed
- 1964 ZANU banned by government
Independence from Britain for Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)
Ian Smith elected new premier
- 1965 November 11th - Ian Smith's government declared its independence from Great Britain
- 1966 December 16th - Security Council voted 11 to 0 to enact Resolution 232 imposing mandatory sanctions against Rhodesian imports and exports

Historical Notes on Zimbabwe continued:

- 1967 January 5th - President Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11322 calling for U.S. adherence to the U.N. sanctions
- 1968 Three Africans were hanged in Rhodesia in defiance of the Queen of England reprieve
- 1969 Ndabaninghi Sithole, founder of ZAPU sentenced to 6 years hard labor for allegedly organizing to kill Ian Smith
- 1971 FROLIZI (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe) formed by unity tendencies within ZAPU and ZANU
 ZANU-ZAPU Joint Command formed by remaining tendencies in ZAPU and ZANU
 African National Congress formed in wake of wave of strikes by Black workers
 September 23rd - Senate enacted Public Law 92-156 by vote of 46 to 36 to violate the embargo, known as the "Byrd Amendment"
- 1972 Ian Smith visits Portugal and signs secret defense agreement with Caetano
 March 15th - First chrome shipment from Rhodesia unloaded on barges in Burnside, Louisiana. Armed guards held off militant longshoremen and students from Southern University who were protesting
- 1973 May 21st - Three Africans hanged in Salisbury because of guerrilla activities
 June 22nd - Three Africans hanged in Salisbury, charged with possessing arms for the purpose of committing "Terrorism and sabotage"

5. PLAN OF ACTION

Our first activity in building this anti-imperialist African Liberation Support Movement over the coming year will be a campaign designed to accomplish A REPEAL OF THE "BYRD AMENDMENT", (Public Law 92-156).

We will utilize the following FORMS OF STRUGGLE to achieve this objective:

- A. The petition: our goal will be 50,000 signatures by September 15th
- B. The conference: our goal is two national press conferences
- C. The picket: we will mount pickets once a week at local Federal Buildings, from August 15th to September 15th

From the outset we will:

- A. Be making conscious attempts to build the anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front
- B. Be making conscious attempts to build ALSC participation throughout each region
- C. Press coverage for the mass activities will be solicited
- D. We will solicit the involvement of the Zimbabwe community in the U.S.A.
- E. We will make sight visits to plants particularly affected by the importation of Rhodesian Ferrochromium ore
- F. We will be organizing new committees to participate in this campaign.

FOCUS ON MOBILIZATION

Our national slogan is BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD. Therefore, we must concentrate on the following:

- 1. Production workers
- 2. Service workers, (hospitals, school staffs)
- 3. Welfare recipients
- 4. Unemployed
- 5. Prison inmates
- 6. Students (all ages)
- 7. Professional workers (social workers, teachers, ministers, health professions, trade union officials)

Remember - ideas are revolutionary when they are internalized by masses of people (particularly the working class), and materialized in mass struggles. We must go to a plan in our head, and for now, petitions in our hands.

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

6. TIMETABLE OF CAMPAIGN

August 4	Executive Committee Approval of Campaign Handbook
August 4-15	Local - Regional study of Handbook and preparation to struggle
August 15	National Day of Protest against Byrd Amendment (protest every Wednesday at noon)
August 15 - September 10	Collect petitions 2500 in each local
September 10-15	Local delegation meet with local Senators and Representatives to solicit their efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment
September 15	National Press Conference and presentation of petitions to Congressman Diggs.

APPENDIX 1
PETITION

BY WAY OF:	HONORABLE BROTHER CHARLES DIGGS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES CONGRESS	HONORABLE BROTHER EDWARD BROOKE SENATE UNITED STATES CONGRESS
FROM:	AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE on behalf of 100 million Black people in the Western Hemisphere	
TO:	THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS	

We, the undersigned Black people, stand firm in our committment to prevent the illegal importation of Ferrochromium ore from Rhodesia, (Zimbabwe). We are committed to change the illegal policies of multi-national corporations like Union Carbide and Foote Mineral Corporation, who control 78% of the Rhodesian mining industry. We are committed to repealing the Byrd Amendment (Public Law 92-156) with Bills H.R. 8005 and S. 1868, and thereby conform to the mandatory sanctions initiated by the United Nations. You must implore Congress to vote with compassion for Black people if they can, or vote submitting to the political power of the Black vote because they must.

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

Name

Mailing Address

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THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002
(202) 546-7961

October 30, 1973

Mr. Gerald McWorter
Afro-American Research Center
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Mr. McWorter:

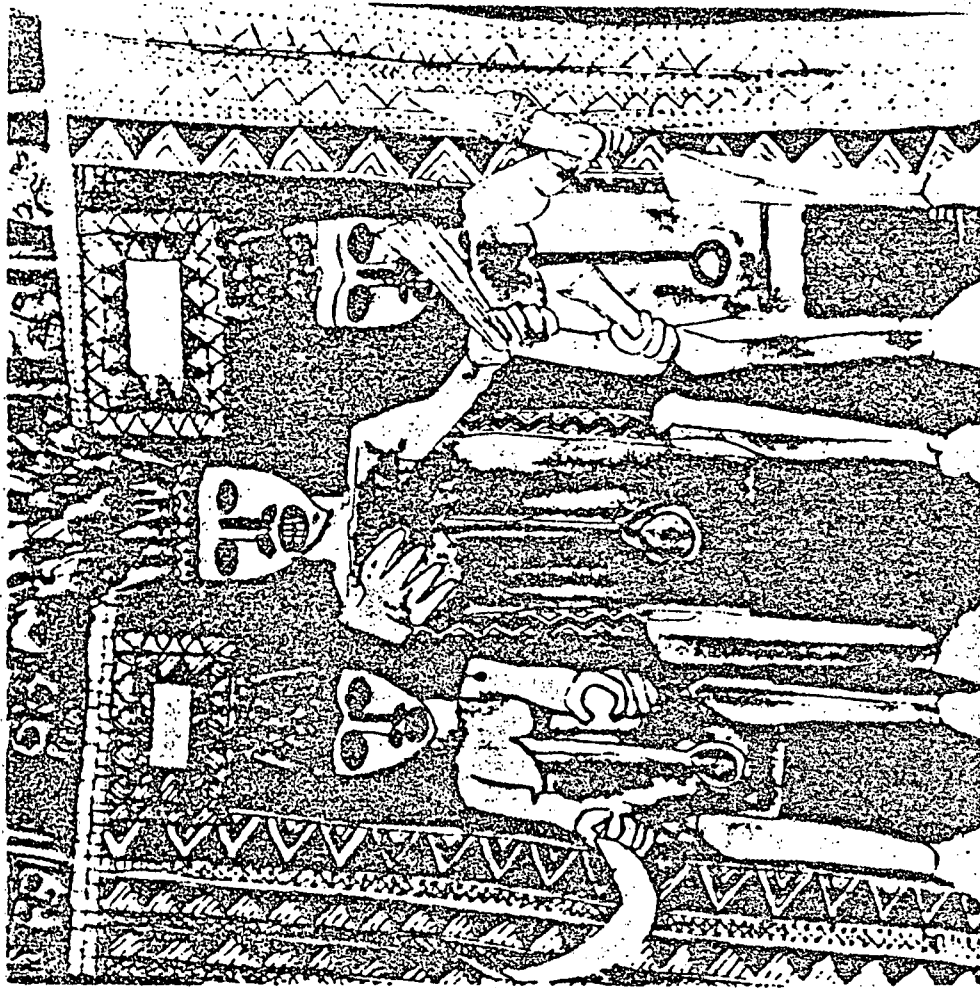
This is just a short note to let you know that our office has gotten a fairly firm conformation from a staff person in Representative Fulton's office, that Mr. Fulton will vote for HR8005 to restore U.S. compliance with the U.N. sanctions on Rhodesia, and to say thank you for all the good work that you've been doing in the district.

At present we expect a vote in the Senate sometime during the first week in November, and we expect a vote in the House sometime before the end of this session.

Thanks again for sharing this concern and for all the efforts you have put toward passage of this legislation.

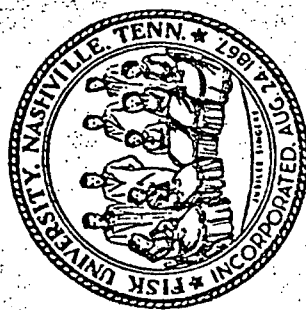
Sincerely,


Patricia Murray



INC CARIBBEAN

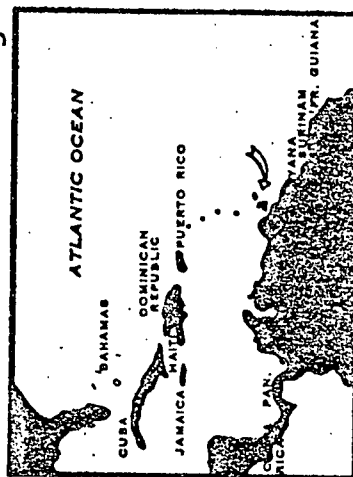
CRISIS · CONFLICT · CHANGE



AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM
AFRICA HALL - FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37208 USA

(615) 329-9111 Extension 342

crisis · conflict · change



the CARIBBEAN IN THE 1970'S

A CONFERENCE CALL

NOVEMBER 8th and 9th, 1973

sponsored by

AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

FISSK UNIVERSITY

Nashville, Tennessee
U.S.A.

The Afro-American Studies Program at Fisk

University is consciously struggling to be the catalyst for a cultural revolution. We are dedicated to change the fundamental world view of the Fisk curriculum and return to the Fisk years of social involvement, intellectual productivity, and educational innovation. In this spirit we welcome you to our first major conference:

"Crisis, Conflict and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's."

We are proud to stand in the tradition of work on the Caribbean at Fisk by Charles S. Johnson, Mark Hanna Watkins, and Donald Pierson. We hope to raise issues similar to the basic course formerly taught on the area (1949-1961) "Social Economics of the Caribbean."

After some experimental programs were initiated in the period of the struggle around the Black University concept (1967-1970), Fisk formed the interdisciplinary program of Afro-American Studies. Fisk under the far-sighted leadership of James R. Lawson, (president), has acclaimed its special responsibility to Black people. The Afro-American Studies Program accepts the responsibility to implement programs to fulfill this responsibility.

We extend a warm welcome to everyone attending this conference. And we encourage you to use this as a time for intense intellectual and ideological struggle. We believe nothing positive can result if not from creative conflict, so let us proceed vigorously to the task at hand.

**LONG LIVE UNITY OF AFRO-AMERICAN
AND CARIBBEAN PEOPLES!**

STOP THE BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA NOW!

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

**SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF CARIBBEAN
PEOPLES FOR PEACE, FREEDOM, AND DEVELOPMENT!**

SCHEDULE OF CONFERENCE EVENTS

Thursday, November 8, 1973

9:00 am EXPO CUBA: A Photo Exhibit (University Library)
2:00 pm CONFERENCE REGISTRATION
2:30 CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

Gerald McWorter, *Director*
Afro-American Studies Program
Fisk University

WELCOME

James R. Lawson
President, Fisk University

PANEL: "Crisis, Conflict and Change
in the Caribbean"

8:00 MAIN SPEAKERS

Professor Trevor Munroe,
University of the West Indies

Brother Owusu Sadaukai
ALSC Executive Committee

Friday, November 9, 1973

9:00 am CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

9:30 PANEL: "The USA, Foreign Domination, and the
Caribbean"

2:00 pm PANEL: "Racism, Strategies for Change, and
National Development"

8:00 PANEL: "African Liberation Support Committee
and the Caribbean"

10:30 CARIBBE FEST

*All events will be in the Appleton Room,
Jubilee Hall, unless otherwise noted.*

Any understanding of the present situation in the Caribbean must of necessity begin with a historical analysis of the region. Many continents have been involved in shaping Caribbean history. In *Capitalism and Slavery*, Prime Minister Eric Williams of Trinidad-Tobago, demonstrated that Britain was the first of the European powers to achieve industrialization because of its dominance over the Triangular Trade of slavery which persisted from the middle of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th. The triangle involved Britain (and other parts of Europe), Africa, and the New World, mainly the Caribbean. Before the introduction of African labor, the indigenous Indians (including the Caribs from whom the region acquired its name) were tested as slave labor. They became virtually extinct through a combination of extermination and their inability to withstand the diseases introduced by the Europeans. West Indian labor preceded the introduction of Black labor from Africa, and East Indian labor was introduced into the region after the slave trade was abolished. When cotton became king, the Caribbean was used as a trans-shipment depot, and a breaking-in area for raw Black labor from Africa on its way to the plantations of Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, etc. Black labor from the Caribbean also found its way to the mines and plantations of South America. Thus most of the world's continents were affected by and in turn have left their mark on the modern Caribbean. The diversity of these islands has, however, created a set of social and racial problems that each of the panelists will undoubtedly allude to in one form or another.

The colonial past, the neo-colonial present, and the prospects for a truly independent future will be another theme that will run throughout the papers to be presented, and the discussions that will follow. Oppression breeds conflict, and conflict breeds crisis. That the Caribbean is in a state of crisis is evidenced by the high and rising unemployment rates, and the persistent poverty of the masses of the people. The recurring conflict situations are evidenced by the massive strikes in Puerto Rico in July, and the labor stoppages amongst university workers in Jamaica in recent months.

The dependent nature of most Caribbean economies is manifested in the export of raw materials and the import of most industrial products consumed in the region. Capital goods imported in most of the regions of the Caribbean are a small part of total imports since very little progress is being made toward industrialization and modernization. The foreign exchange constraint on economic development is not as crucial as it is in many African countries. The major obstacle

to industrialization in the micro-states of the Caribbean would appear to be the smallness of the individual markets, and the lack of an effective planning mechanism in both industry and agriculture. Substantial amounts of foreign exchange are still being spent on food imports, which seems senseless in the case of countries that are still essentially composed of an agricultural peasantry. Increasing urban populations, many of whom are without any visible means of support, help to sharpen the contrast and conflict between the rich and the poor.

Foreign exploiters have supported a sizeable West Indian elite in most of the countries of the region but these elites will find their ability to govern seriously impaired without foreign military support unless they begin to address themselves to the solutions of the problems of poverty besetting the vast majority of their countrymen. The old exhaust valves of migration to England and the United States have been shut off for most of the countries in the region, although Puerto Rico's peculiar situation as "a self-governing commonwealth in union with the United States" keeps the safety valve open in this case, but anyone even remotely familiar with the conditions of the Puerto Rican ghetto of Harlem and the other barrios in the Eastern and Central cities of the United States would question whether out-migration is really a viable alternative. Foreign investment is certainly not improving the lot of the Caribbean masses, and it would appear that something has to give in the very near future.

The specific countries to be analyzed by the panelists offer contrasting patterns of economic, social, and political development, but the fundamental neo-colonial pattern of trade would appear to be almost universal. Differences there are, however. Compare the bauxite-exporting countries like Jamaica and Guyana with the sugar-exporting economies of Cuba and Barbados, the tourist economies of Barbados, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica, and the contrasting industrialization and modernization programs of Cuba and Puerto Rico! In terms of social and political development consider the contrasting situations of Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and the socialist revolution in Cuba.

An alternative to the existing imperialist, neo-colonialist exploitation, are highly visible to the Caribbean masses - Cuba. Whether the Cuban model can be attempted in the un-liberated countries of the Caribbean is perhaps a moot question. But, certainly the high literacy rates, low infant mortality rates, advances in workers' housing, and the other obvious increases in the welfare of the masses of the Cuban people is not without impact on the consciousness of the Caribbean's peoples.

Puerto Rican militancy and progressiveness is at a highly developed state. Here, American capital has combined with Puerto Rican capitalists to build much import-substituting, and export-oriented light industry. An enlarged industrial labor force has become increasingly politicized by the failure of real wages to rise fast enough to keep up with its rising aspirations. The Puerto Rican "miracle" has failed to provide high enough employment rates to keep down urban unrest. Our Brother from The Puerto Rican Socialist Party will enrich our knowledge of this dynamic Caribbean country, and I am sure we will gain some insight into the possibility of Puerto Rico providing the model for the other Caribbean progressives in their search for viable alternatives to the existing intolerable situation in their countries.

The United States has been involved in the Caribbean economically and politically (including militarily) since the Spanish American War and Manifest Destiny. Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Santo Domingo were the three most important areas of U.S. economic penetration, but the case of the Virgin Islands also deserves notice. U.S. tourism throughout the Caribbean has long been an important aspect of this feature of many Caribbean economies. The United States has also dominated the cultural life of many parts of the region. As with Mother Africa, many have vied for the resources and attractions of the Caribbean. England, France, Holland, Spain, and the North Americans have all participated in the scramble for the Caribbean. The scramble continues, which means that the struggle for true liberation continues.

Afro-Americans must link up throughout the Americas - Canada, U.S.A., Caribbean, Central and South American countries. We have planned this conference to include academic intellectuals and movement activists. Specifically, involving folks from Fisk, Vanderbilt, Meharry, Tennessee State University and the University of the West Indies, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the African Liberation Support Committee. We are holding this conference because we are committed to both scientifically understanding the world, and organizing progressive forces to do something about it. We hope everyone who participates will join us in walking on the two legs of analysis and action, theory and practice.

A SPECIAL THANKS TO THE

WORKERS

STUDENT COMMITTEE

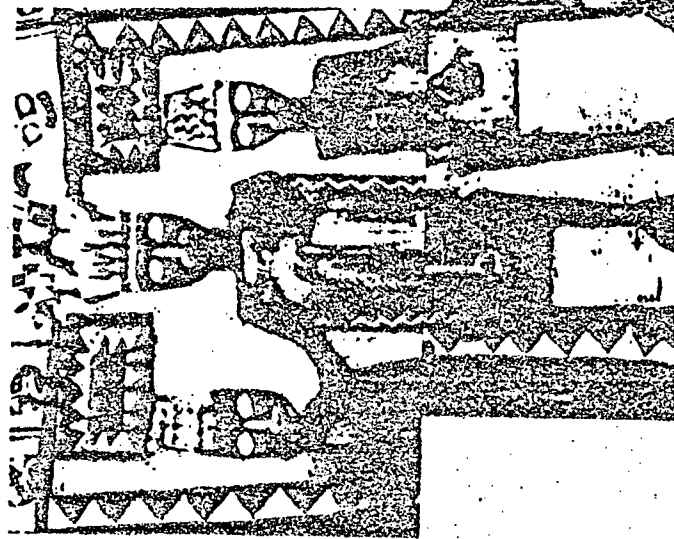
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Professor
JOSEPH SEWARD,
CONFERENCE CHAIRPERSON
Professor
RONALD BAILEY
Professor
GERALD McWORTER
Ms. JOCELYN HUNTER

PANEL I Thursday, November 8, 1973 2:30 pm

"CRISIS, CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairman:

Professor
RONALD BAILEY, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:

Professor
AUBRY ARMSTRONG, GUYANA, Fisk University

"The Economic Crossroads of an Ex-Colony
and Dependent Economy: Guyana"

Professor

RON PARRIS, BARBADOS, Vanderbilt University

"Inequality, Crisis and Change in Barbados"

Brother

TIM HECTOR, ANTIGUA, Chairman, Afro-Caribbean
Liberation Movement

"On the General Line of the Afro-Caribbean
Unity Movement"

Professor

ANSELM REMY, HAITI, Fisk University

"The Duvalier Phenomenon: Recent Developments
in Haiti"

EXPOCUBA



A PHOTO-ESSAY PRESENTATION • The Afro-American Studies Program (in conjunction with sponsoring the Caribbean Conference), is hosting the main photo display from Expo-Cuba, a photo essay depicting the heroic struggle Cuba waged to set her people free.

The picture above is from the display on Puerto Rico, "the last classical colony of U.S. imperialism." The exhibit is being shown at the Fisk University Library, November 8th and 9th, 1973.

190°W.

20°N.

170°W.

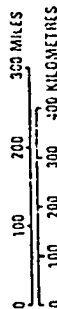
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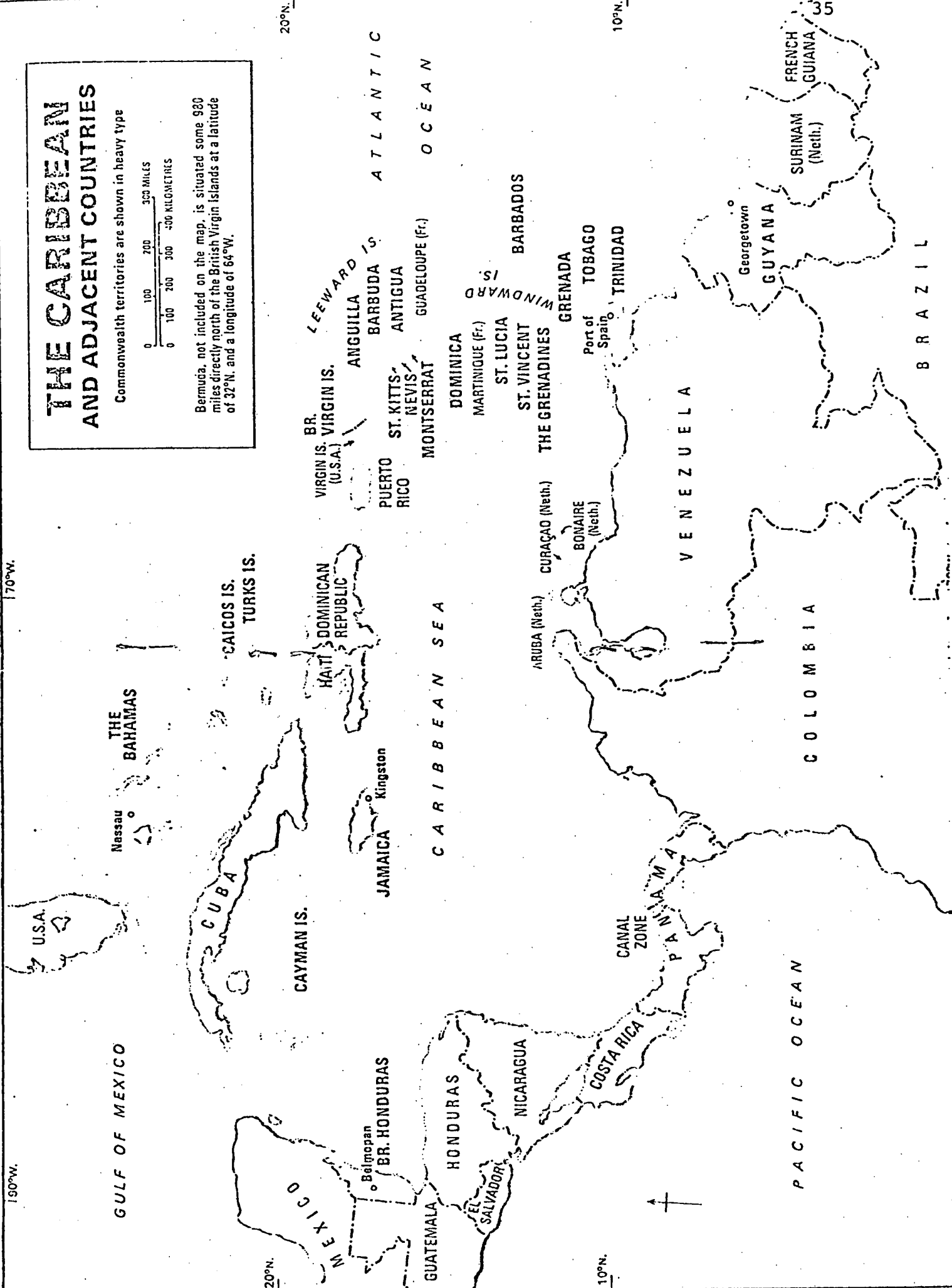
10°N.

THE CARIBBEAN AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES

Commonwealth territories are shown in heavy type



Bermuda, not included on the map, is situated some 980 miles directly north of the British Virgin Islands at a latitude of 32°N. and a longitude of 64°W.



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CHARLES S. JOHNSON

1939-40

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MAIN SPEAKERS Thursday, November 8, 1973 8:00 pm

Professor
TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of
West Indies

"The Politics of Decolonization in the Caribbean:
An Overview"

Brother
OWUSU SADAUKAI, U.S.A., USA Southern Region,
ALSC Executive Committee

"On the Present Stage of the Afro-American
Liberation Struggle: The Caribbean Front"

Response: Professor Wilfred David

PANEL II Friday, November 9, 1973 9:30 am

"THE U.S.A., FOREIGN DOMINATION, AND THE
CARIBBEAN"

Chairman:

Professor
JOSEPH SEWARD, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:

Professor
DAWN ELVIS, GUYANA, Fisk University
"Nationalization and Economic Development: The
Case of Bauxite in Guyana"

Professor
RONALD BAILEY,
"On Ending Underdevelopment in the Caribbean: The
Cuban Model"

Senor
RAMON ARBONA, PUERTO RICO, First Secretary,
Puerto Rican Socialist Party
"On the General Line of the Puerto Rican
Socialist Party"

Professor
MAURICE ST. PIERRE, GUYANA, University of the
West Indies
"Social Relations in a Post Colonial Setting"

PANEL III: Friday, November 9, 1973 2:00 pm

"RACISM, STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE, AND
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

Chairman:

Professor
WILFRED DAVID, GUYANA,
Fisk University

Panelists:

Professor
PATRICK LIVERPOOL, GUYANA, Fisk University

"Cooperatives: A Strategy for National Development"

Professor

ALEX SWAN, JAMAICA, Fisk University
"Independence: Some Problems of a New Nation
(Bahamas)"

Professor

ABDUL ALKALIMAT, U.S.A., Fisk University
"Racism and the National Question: The Cuban
Case for Socialism"

Professor

TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the
West Indies
"Racism and the Class Struggle in Jamaica"

Panel IV - Notes

PANEL IV Friday, November 9, 1973 8:00 pm

"AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairman:

Professor

ABDUL ALKALIMAT, Research and Development,
ALSC Executive Committee

Panelists:

Dawolu

GENE LOCKE, U.S.A., International Chairperson,
African Liberation Support Committee

"Toward a General Line on the Caribbean"

Brother

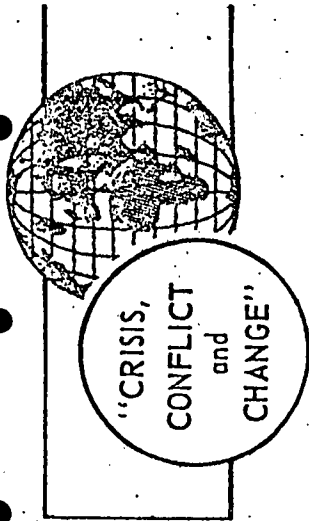
TIM HECTOR, Caribbean Region,
ALSC Executive Committee

TIMBUKTU

SUPPORTS

THE CARIBBEAN

CONFERENCE



Timbuktu Bookstore and Market of New Africa is located at 1821 Jefferson Street, hours are 12:00 noon to 8:00 pm, Monday thru Friday, and 12 noon to 6:00 pm on Saturday. Timbuktu Bookstore plays a very special role in the Nashville Black community. It is our center for progressive education, information, and discussion of the problems we have in common as oppressed people. Timbuktu has everything relating to the progressive movement in general and our collective Black Liberation Struggle in particular.

In African history Timbuktu was a center of learning and progress. Timbuktu today represents a rebirth of African progress and independence everywhere in the African world. Our community market contains information concerning:

1. OUR HISTORY AND PAST STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM,
2. OUR TRADITIONAL CULTURE,
3. OUR HISTORY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION IN AMERICA,
4. OUR PRESENT CONDITION AND PROBLEMS AND HOW TO FIGHT THEM,
5. THE WORLD-WIDE PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL, COLONIAL, AND CLASS OPPRESSION BY THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR ALLIES, AND
6. BLACK WORKERS STRUGGLE, WOMEN, AND STUDENT STRUGGLE.

Timbuktu proudly announces its total support of the Caribbean Conference and the countries engaged in struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Our conference slogans are:

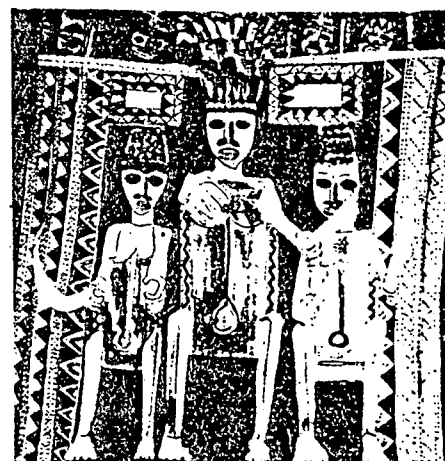
FREE PUERTO RICO!
STOP THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA!
LONG LIVE AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY:
CANADA, CARIBBEAN, U.S.A.!

CONFERENCE BULLETIN

the crisis-conflict-change
CARIBBEAN
IN THE 1970'S

A CONFERENCE HELD
NOVEMBER 8th and 9th, 1973

Sponsored by
AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee U.S.A.



"CRISIS, CONFLICT, AND CHANGE: THE CARIBBEAN IN THE 1970's"

Afro-American Studies Program
Fisk University
Nashville, Tn. USA

PREFACE

The Fisk University Conference "Crisis, Conflict, and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's," was a tremendous success. The Afro-American Studies Program takes very seriously our responsibility to bring the insights of the conference to the attention of all those genuinely interested in improving the quality of life of the masses of the Caribbean people. A complete conference publication is now under preparation and will be available in the near future. As an interim step, however, we have prepared a summary of the key points raised during the conference. This will enable those who attended the conference as well as many who could not attend to more fully engage in a full and critical exploration of the events in the Caribbean. Further information concerning the conference publication can be obtained by writing the Afro-American Studies Program, Fisk University, Nashville, Tn. 37203, USA.

We can only reiterate and reconfirm the intentions which led us to convene the Fisk University Caribbean Conference as stated in the Conference Call:

"Our aim is to confront the problems of the Caribbean with the most relevant intellectual forces we can mobilize. Our goal is to develop a clear historical analysis of what is happening now and a basis for formulating policy. Our goal is to build an intellectually stimulating environment at Fisk University that serves the needs of Black people and the liberation of Man. As the West Indian revolutionary Frantz Fanon put it in Wretched of the Earth, 'For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.'"

SCHEDULE AND TITLES OF PANEL PRESENTATIONS

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8th

PANEL I: "CRISIS, CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:

Professor RONALD BAILEY, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:

Professor AUBRY ARMSTRONG, GUYANA, Fisk University
*"The Economic Crossroads of an Ex-Colony and Dependent Economy: Guyana"*Professor RON PARRIS, BARBADOS, Vanderbilt University
*"Inequality, Crisis, and Change in Barbados"*Brother TIM HECTOR, ANTIGUA, Chairperson, Afro-Caribbean
Liberation Movement
*"On the General Line of the Afro-Caribbean Unity Movement"*Professor ANSELME REMY, HAITI, Fisk University
"The Duvalier Phenomenon: Recent Developments in Haiti"

MAIN SPEAKERS

Professor TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the West Indies
*"The Politics of Decolonization in the Caribbean: An Overview"*Brother OWUSU SADAUKAI, U.S.A., USA Southern Region, ALSC
Executive Committee
"On the Present Stage of the Afro-American Liberation Struggle: The Caribbean Front"

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9th

PANEL II: "THE USA, FOREIGN DOMINATION, AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:

Professor JOSEPH SEWARD, USA, FISK UNIVERSITY

Panelists:

Professor DAWN ELVIS, GUYANA, Fisk University
*"Nationalization and Economic Development: The Case of Bauxite in Guyana"*Professor RONALD BAILEY, USA, Fisk University
*"On Ending Underdevelopment in the Caribbean: The Cuban Model"*Senor ANDRES TORRES, Puerto Rican Socialist Party
*"On the General Line of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party"*Professor MAURICE ST. PIERRE, GUYANA, University of the
West Indies
"Social Relations in a Post Colonial Setting"

PANEL III: "RACISM, STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE, AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

Chairperson:

Professor WILFRED DAVID, GUYANA, Fisk University

Panelists:

Professor PATRICK LIVERPOOL, GUYANA, Fisk University

"Cooperatives: A Strategy for National Development"

Professor ABDUL ALKALIMAT, USA, Fisk University

"Racism and the National Question: The Cuban Case for Socialism"

Professor TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the West Indies

"Racism and the Class Struggle in Jamaica"

PANEL IV: "AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:

Brother ABDUL ALKALIMAT, Research and Development, ALSC
Executive Committee

Panelists:

DAWOLU GENE LOCKE, USA, International Chairperson, African
Liberation Support Committee

"Toward a General Line on the Caribbean"

Brother TIM HECTOR, Caribbean Region, ALSC Executive Committee

NOVEMBER 8, 1973 (THURSDAY)

The Conference convened at 2:45 P.M., Thursday, Nov. 8th, and was greeted by Dr. James R. Lawson, President of Fisk University. Dr. Lawson expressed his support of the Afro-American Studies Program and the efforts put forth to convene the conference. He called for this to be an annual event, and pledged his continued support toward this end.

The first panel discussed "Crisis, Conflict, and Change in the Caribbean," with special emphasis on Barbados, Guyana, Antigua, and Haiti. The main points raised by the panelists were:

1. The problems of nationalization of foreign, imperialistic enterprises in Guyana and other areas of the Caribbean were fully discussed. Ultimately the question was raised as to whether nationalization should really be the objective, or whether the real question was who should own the means of production if the needs of the masses of the Caribbean's peoples were to be met.

2. One of the panelists defined development in terms of reducing the inequality in the international distribution of income and welfare. This raised the question of intra-national distribution of income, thus referring to the growing conflict between the Caribbean elites and the Caribbean masses.

3. The phenomenon of Duvalier in Haiti was thoroughly dissected. The conclusion that emerged from the analysis was that Duvalier, while professing a Black (as opposed to Mulatto) revolution, really supported the interests of the Mulatto elite. President J.F. Kennedy was seen as having "misunderstood" Duvalier, and let racism get in the way of economic interests, since Duvalier was more than willing to play the neo-colonialist game.

4. Finally, the question of organizing the West Indian peasantry for meaningful political action was aired. The peasantry, it was concluded, has a good understanding of the fundamental issues affecting their everyday life, but is justly suspicious of the urbanized elites who attempt to organize them. In both Antigua and Haiti, the peasantry is fully aware that they have been "sold out" by the Black nationalist elites in the past, and can best be organized by patient demonstration of sincere dedication on the part of those who demand their loyalty.

Following a reception held in the Honors Center, the evening session convened at 8:15 P.M. Professor Trevor Munroe from the Department of Government, University of the West Indies, and Brother Owusu Sadaukai, former Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., and now Southern Regional Chairperson of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), were the featured speakers. Professor Munroe made the following points:

1. Imperialist areas of penetration in the Caribbean have increased since independence and the three main areas of penetration are banking and finance; industry - especially mining, assembly plants, and tourism; and agriculture.

2. The workers struggle is largely defensive at this point, but their economic demands for better wages and working conditions, housing health care, and the rising cost of living, is expected to be transformed into political demands in the near future.

3. Middle strata, neo-colonial elites, have also been hurt by the rising costs of living, but the imperialists and their Black supporters in West Indian governments have so far managed to keep the middle strata and the working class from uniting in effective anti-imperialist struggle.

4. Government suppression of the legitimate demands of the workers has become more overt as labor discontent increases, thus heightening the contradiction between the classes in West Indian societies.

5. Youthful members of the intelligentsia are being drawn into the struggle on the side of the oppressed masses.

6. Sizeable concessions of land to the bauxite mining interests in Jamaica have alienated peasants, workers, and the middle strata.

7. Malnutrition, illiteracy, high crime rates, and an upsurge in racism as manifested in employment discrimination, and in discrimination in the enjoyment of social and recreational facilities has been the result of imperialist expansion in the area.

Owusu Sadaukai defined revolution to mean fundamental change in the political-economic system, the transformation of capitalism into socialism, and the changing of the ownership of the means of production from a handful of foreign exploiters to the masses of the Caribbean peoples, with a democratic State apparatus as the intermediary. Imperialism, or the highest stage of capitalism, and the profit motive were also defined, and their relationship to the misery suffered by most of the Caribbean's peoples outlined.

A lively discussion, with much contribution from the floor, revolved around the question of what constitutes a Black revolutionary, and how Black revolutionaries from the Caribbean and elsewhere could best participate in the struggle for Black liberation now being waged in the area. Owusu urged our Caribbean brothers and sisters whose skills and ideas are needed to return home because, "the revolution in Grenada will not be fought in Toronto, New York, or Nashville, but will be fought in Grenada."

Much clarification was given to the question of internationalization of the struggle, and the relationship between the struggles for Black liberation in the United States, the Caribbean, and in Africa. This question was further pursued in Friday night's session, when the African Liberation Support Committee and the Caribbean was discussed.

In summary, the first day of the conference ended with great enthusiasm and much interest in the many questions which were raised. The second day was to be an even more exciting and insightful session bringing much clarity to strengthening Afro-American unity in the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States.

NOVEMBER 9, 1973 (FRIDAY)

The second day of the Fisk conference on the Caribbean reconvened at 9:45 A.M. The morning panel entitled "The USA, Foreign Domination, and the Caribbean," was opened with a penetrating analysis of the "Economic Effects of the Bauxite Industry." The main points raised were:

1. Bauxite earns some 40 per cent of Guyana's foreign exchange and provides ten per cent of the Guyanese government's revenue, but of the \$1 billion worth of bauxite exported over a 50-year period (1917-1969) from Guyana, only 1.6 per cent of the proceeds accrued to the coffers of the Guyanese government or those of the pre-independence government of British Guiana. The government's share was the result of taxes paid by the foreign companies which until recently were responsible for the mining and the processing of the ore into alumina. One of the companies was nationalized by the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's government in 1971. The equipment and the other inputs needed to mine and process the bauxite are imported, so very little in the way of backward linkages are provided to further stimulate the Guyanese economy.

2. The relationship between ownership and national development is such that only incidentally do the goals and interests of the local economy get served by the foreign owner, whose interests diverge sharply from those of Guyana. The potential benefits of nationalization to the Guyanese economy include the possible development of industrial linkages, both forward and backward; the utilization of the surplus (i.e. profits) for investments and expansion within the Guyanese economy and employment training and the development of skills among the Guyanese labor force. It was also pointed out that community services as compared to the lack of expenditures in this important area by foreign owned companies.

4. A diagram distributed to the participants of the conference showed in graphic form that the interests of the Alcan Aluminum Ltd., (a joint U.S.-Canadian corporation) are, by contrast, large profits for the shareholders, the expansion, growth, and efficient operation of the multi-national corporation, and the minimization of revenues paid to the Guyanese and other governments in which the multi-national corporation operates.

5. Guyana's bauxite could potentially make a contribution of some \$200 million annually to the Guyanese economy, since that is the approximate value added in the three processes of mining, alumina processing, and aluminum smelting of bauxite presently being taken from Guyana each year. The total value added in the smelting stage alone for bauxite exported from the Caribbean (including Jamaica, Guyana, Surinam, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic) is \$911 million annually, but the smelting is done in North America and in other parts of the world by the same large multi-national corporations which not only extract the bauxite, but process it and produce aluminum. Nationalization, potentially, might mean that the smelting process would occur in Guyana. (There was some disagreement over whether nationalization was an effective method to bring the benefits of bauxite to the Guyanese people.

The second panelist spoke on the "Social Effects of Bauxite on the Guyanese Economy." Four main points were discussed:

1. With the establishment of the bauxite industry in Guyana, new towns had to be created by the companies, including physical in-

frastructure such as houses, roads, hospitals, schools, etc. A company introduced segregated housing patterns in McKenzie with 1.8% of the total population being white in 1946 when the industry was established, and 5% white by 1960. This white population was housed in splendor in South McKenzie and the Black labor force was housed in North McKenzie, the two sections of the town being separated by a bridge manned by guards who did not permit the Black workers to enter South McKenzie except by permission.

2. The labor force is 98% Black, and only 38% of the Blacks were born in the surrounding area, thus it is largely a migrant labor force. Inadequate company housing forced this migrant labor force to leave their families at home in many cases thus weakening the family structure of these workers.

3. Segregated seating on boats, in cinemas, and the restricted entry into the white residential area generated strains in the Black community and helped lead to organization among Black workers. As the company attempted to co-opt the workers' organization by establishing company-controlled unions, the workers became more politicized.

4. An eight-week strike in 1947, union recognition in 1951, company infiltration of the workers' organization, corruption within the union, and wildcat strike activity in the period 1962-1970 (when 48 such strikes occurred) trace the history of industrial conflict in the bauxite region in Guyana. In 1965, 1,993 workers struck at the expense of \$105,715 in lost wages. Most of the wildcat activity was over working conditions and general living conditions, including the residential and other segregation. This industrial and social conflict led to the nationalization of one of the firms in the industry in 1971, but it was argued that the Black managers are pursuing the same elitist policies vis-a-vis the workers as did the white managers who preceded them. Thus conflict and social strife continue.

The third panelist departed from the form of previous presentations and made remarks on "Puerto Rico: The Struggle Today," outlining the principle fronts of struggle among Puerto Ricans on the Island and inside the United States. The sharpest front of struggle inside Puerto Rico is around the question of the "super port"--a massive oil refinery complex being pushed by U.S. oil corporations such as Gulf, Shell, and Western. The "super port" is one of five which must be developed by 1980 if the energy needs of the U.S. are to be met. The construction of the port has been shown to have a potentially destructive impact on the natural environment of Puerto Rico (deep ports, pipelines, pollution, oil spills, etc.), and will cause a forced migration of people from the island.

Another front is the mass labor struggles occurring with increasing intensity over the last five years. They culminated last July in a firemen and electrical workers strike which paralyzed the island and forced the calling of the National Guard, the first time this has happened in over 20 years. Over one thousand workers met in the Congress of Socialist Workers and passed a series of resolutions calling for independence of Puerto Rico and other progressive measures.

A third front of struggle is represented by the struggles of Puerto Ricans in the United States who were mainly forced to leave Puerto Rico and come to the United States as a result of the intervention of U.S. capital transformation of the economy of Puerto Rico from sugar to light industry after World War II. Inside the U.S.,

Puerto Ricans represent a tremendous ally to the struggle for the national liberation of Puerto Rico. In addition to supporting this struggle for the liberation of the island, Puerto Ricans are taking an active lead in the struggle to liberate the United States through socialism.

The struggle around the Puerto Rican question in the United Nations and the recent upsurge of the struggles of militant students in Puerto Rico were also mentioned. The final front of struggle was in the area of ideological struggle. Formal independence and nationalization has not meant very much for countries in the Caribbean. They have been dead-end roads and cannot lead to any real long term change and development of the Puerto Rican economy. The question of what direction the change in Puerto Rico will take--what will national liberation mean--is a very significant one. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party believes that the victory of the ideological struggle "must point to the application of the world view of Marxism-Leninism to every nation, every people struggling for national liberation."

The fourth panelist discussed Cuba from the approach of "On Ending Underdevelopment in the Caribbean: The Cuban Model." The main points are summarized below:

1. It is important to develop a clear understanding of the Cuban revolution especially given the intense efforts of the U.S.-inspired economic and information blockade to prevent the Cuban model from succeeding and from being studied and adapted elsewhere in the Caribbean, in Latin America, and in the world.
2. The fact that Cuba represents the first socialist revolution in which Black people have played an important role and the fact that Cuba is gaining in popularity among the masses in other Caribbean countries, points to how the Caribbean peoples are relating to Cuba as a model for ending underdevelopment.
3. We find that before the 1959 revolution, Cuba was very much an underdeveloped and dependent economy almost identical to the present state of other Caribbean countries. U.S. firms controlled 50 per cent of the public services, 40 per cent of the raw sugar production, 25 per cent of all bank deposits, and 90 per cent of all telephone and electric services. In addition, land-ownership was highly concentrated with 8 per cent of all the farms comprising 71 per cent of all the arable land, with U.S. firms dominating this eight per cent.
4. Exports and imports reflected the domination of U.S. corporations over the pre-Revolutionary Cuban economy. In 1957, only two years before the victory of the Revolution, 58 per cent of the exports were to the United States. Between 1902 and 1957, 72 percent of Cuba's exports went to the U.S. Cuba was a one-crop economy operating as a colonial appendage of the U.S. providing the U.S. with sugar, which comprised 82 per cent of Cuba's exports over this period. Cuba also served as an important market for U.S. produced goods, with 72 per cent of Cuba's imports coming from the U.S. Twenty-two per cent of all food consumed in Cuba was imported from the U.S. while U.S. corporations allowed only 21 percent of Cuba's land to be under any type of cultivation preventing the growing of fresh crops. The motive here was to make the Cubans dependent, and to create a labor force for the cane.

fields. The object of all of this domination was to drain Cuba's resources into the pockets of U.S. corporations.

5. The socialist revolution in 1959 altered the structure of the Cuban economy by almost completely socializing the means of production and put Cuba on the path of social and economic reconstruction and development. The revolution took control of the Cuban economy out of the hands of a few foreign imperialists and their native Cuban lackeys and into the hands of the Cuban masses.

6. As a model for ending underdevelopment in the Caribbean, Cuba must be viewed in terms of its impact on improving the concrete material and social life of the Cuban people. This is important because the masses of people will only struggle around concrete improvements in the quality of their lives and not over abstract ideas in the heads of intellectuals or spokesmen. Cuba represents a most viable path in this regard. For example, outlay for social security, health, and education rose from \$214 million to \$850 million between 1958 and 1960. Between 1958 and 1968, there was a 100 per cent increase in land under cultivation, a 500 per cent increase in the number of tractors imported, a 200 per cent increase in the quality of nickel processed, and a 300 per cent increase in the number of hospital clinics. The infant mortality rate of 37.7 per 1000 in 1966 was the lowest in Latin America (the rate for nonwhites in the U.S. in 1966 was 36.7).

The Friday afternoon panel entitled "Racism, Strategies for Change, and National Development," involved these presentations. The first presentation concerned "Cooperatives--A Strategy for National Development." The main points follow:

1. The alternatives faced by Caribbean countries are three-fold: development under capitalist auspices, which invariably means foreign domination; development under public ownership of the means of production; and development with cooperative institutions. The panelist argued the case for cooperatives.

2. Guyana declared itself a cooperative republic on February 23, 1970. The declaration was based on the historical identification of the peoples of Guyana with the cooperative ideal from the Amerindians to the freed slaves who, after emancipation in 1833, purchased and organized villages around the cooperative principle.

3. Self-help movements in contemporary Guyanese society also exhibit a high degree of cooperation, and the cooperative movement in Guyana is an attempt to mobilize and articulate this spirit of cooperation thereby directing it towards the goal of economic and social development.

4. The distributive system is capitalistically motivated, and one obvious place for the introduction of the cooperative principle would be in the distributive trades. Other sectors where the cooperative movement has gained a foothold is in the financial sector, where a Cooperative Bank has already been established in competition with the foreign private banks, and in the agricultural sector, where producers' cooperatives already exist to some degree.

5. There are problems inherent in cooperative organizations, such as the tendency for a few experts to dominate the internal management of the coop, and a partial answer to this and other problems such as the limited time horizon of the people would be to establish a cooperative college which would communicate the psychological and ideological intent of the movement while training managers and other personnel to serve in the cooperative organizations.

The Cuban experience represents the vanguard experiment in the Americas in the fight against the ills of racism. This is due to the fact that Cuba has broken the bonds of imperialist control, and has begun the historical task of socialist reconstruction. The Cuban historical experience was summarized into four stages:

1. 1510-1800 - The Spanish conquest, and colonial rule. During this period the racist genocide of the Carib and Arawak Indians (Amerindiand) occurred and Black workers (slaves) from Africa were introduced.
2. 1800-1895 - Gradually, over the 19th century, the Cuban national bourgeoisie arose, and bourgeois democracy in the form of abolitionist sentiment made itself manifest. Jose Marti and Antonio Maceo were revolutionary democrats, who struggled in the Ten Years War (1868-1878) and succeeded in the Revolutionary War of Independence, (1896), well before American intervention in Cuban affairs in 1899.
3. 1895-1953 - This period saw the rise of a comprador bourgeoisie, U.S. intervention, the entrenchment of racism, and the consequent rise of Black nationalist groups.
4. 1953-1973 - The workers and peasants rose up in revolutionary armed struggle and seized State power, with which they began the task of constructing a socialist society. Racism was destroyed and social ideas were transformed.

The struggle against racism after the 1959 seizure of State power by the popular forces of the July 26th Movement was waged on four major fronts:

- (1) in the work fronts ,
- (2) in the schools and through the mass media,
- (3) in cultural activities including museums and via the Cuban Folkloric Troupe,
- (4) in practical political work demonstrating the philosophic position of proletarian internationalism.

Cuba has not created a society without problems. But it has moved to a qualitatively higher level than all other societies in the Americas. This is true because Cuba has managed to alter social relationships in a fundamental way. Cuba has liberated the working class and the peasantry in such a way that these formerly oppressed groups have risen in unity to defeat racism, the ideological tool of monopoly capitalism. Cuba is the vanguard nation!

In Friday night's session, the anti-imperialist, anti-racist Black United Front position of the African Liberation Support Committee was presented by Brothers Gene Locke, international chairperson of ALSC, Tim Hector, ALSC representative to the Caribbean region, and Abdul Alkalimat, chairperson of the research and development committee of ALSC. The ALSC position is summarized in its slogan - Black Workers Take the Lead. Much evidence was given of the fact that in the Caribbean, Black workers have done just that.

Brother Hector gave a detailed, concrete analysis of the struggle against monopoly capitalism in his native Antigua and showed how Black workers have taken the lead there. The Caribbean was described as an important area in the struggle against colonialism, and its more subtle manifestation, neo-colonialism.

Each of the speakers referred to the striking contrast between U.S. imperialism and socialist Cuba, which represent the two extremes in the Caribbean. The Cuban case demonstrates what can happen when the State represents the aspirations of its people. Cuba has gained increasing recognition in the Caribbean and Prime Ministers Manley (Jamaica) and Burnham (Guyana), in response to the desires of the masses of their peoples have extended formal recognition to the government of Fidel Castro despite heavy opposition from the U.S. government.

Dawolu Gene Locke, the international chairperson of ALSC, strongly condemned the attitudes of many Blacks in the U.S. toward the Caribbean as a place for rest, recuperation and "par-dee-ing." He reiterated the anti-imperialist character of ALSC and the attempts of the organization to support anti-imperialist struggle anyplace it occurs. Locke suggested that the struggle against multi-national corporations, particularly those based in the U.S. which exploit our people all over the world, including the Caribbean, will assume a much higher priority in ALSC and called on the Caribbean Conference to begin the research and investigation needed to develop a sound ALSC strategy. "We support the right of the Puerto Rican people to be independent," Locke said, and called for more discussions between ALSC and the leaders of revolutionary movements in Puerto Rico and leaders of the anti-imperialist movement in Puerto Rican communities in the United States.

Locke said that ALSC viewed Cuba as a leading anti-imperialist force and stated because of our direct link with Cuba through the number of African people there, we have a direct responsibility and obligation to maintain the development of socialism in Cuba. He also indicated that the national executive committee will be studying the Caribbean situation even more intensely as a result of the Fisk Conference, and that a study trip is planned for the very near future. The purpose of the study trip is to gather concrete information with a view toward formulating a definitive ALSC position regarding the various problems existing in the Caribbean.

The final session endorsed the following resolution put forth by the Nashville African Liberation Committee:

"That this conference, "Crisis, Conflict, and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's" support the program laid out by Dawolu Gene Locke by building ALSC in Nashville and in areas where others of us are from; and that we support the struggles in the Caribbean in general and the particular movements in Antigua, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico."

Capsule Report of Registration:

163 people were officially registered at the conference. (This figure does not include approximately 75 Fisk University students that attended the conference at some point.)

Aside from the Nashville community other cities represented included:

Pittsburgh, Pa.	Santa Barbara, Calif.
Wilberforce, Ohio	Princeton, New Jersey
Grambling, La.	Kingston, Jamaica
Houston, Texas	St. John's Antigua
Atlanta, Ga.	
Washington, D.C.	
Kansas City, Mo.	
Jackson, Miss.	
New York, N.Y.	

Of the 163 registered participants approximately 25% were either from the Caribbean or had traveled to the Caribbean.

Part of the purpose of this conference can be summed up in the following slogans:

BUILD AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE!

FREE PUERTO RICO!

VIVA CUBA!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD TO TRANSFORM THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT INTO AN EVEN MORE VITAL PART OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT THE WORLD OVER!



AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

Staff

Professor
GERALD McWORTER, Director

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RONALD BAILEY, Instructor

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JOSEPH SEWARD, Instructor

Ms. JOCELYN HUNTER,
Administrative Assistant

ALSC HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE

#2

DEFEATPORTUGUESEIMPERIALISM

International Week of Solidarity

November 19-23

1973

African Liberation Support Committee

P.O. Box 14093

Houston, Texas 77021

U.S.A.

The African Liberation Support Committee is based on the necessity of waging intense and protracted struggle to defeat racism and imperialism. This general position can be nowhere more relevant than when focused on Portuguese imperialism. This Handbook of Struggle is to mount one of the many campaigns that will be necessary to DEFEAT PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM.

2. REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tennessee 37208
USA

- A. Portugal has the largest colonial empire in Africa.
- B. Portuguese imperialism is as brutal as the USA was in Vietnam.
- C. Portuguese imperialism is really a disguised front for the imperialism of major western powers, especially the USA.
- D. Portuguese colonies serve as buffer states to protect the brutal apartheid system of South Africa.
- E. Portuguese imperialism is recruiting Afro-Americans for jobs and to function as mercenaries by fighting the freedom fighters to protect their "Portuguese" job.
- F. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau led by PAIGC is struggling to achieve legitimate right to represent itself in the world community of states.
- G. The heroic people of Mozambique led by FRELIMO are waging a just and victorious struggle for their liberation.
- H. The progressive forces of the Angolan people are waging a fierce struggle for national liberation and social construction.
- I. There is a struggle to liberate Sao Tome and Principe from the fiendish grasp of the Portuguese government and western industrial capital.
- J. Portuguese imperialism openly attacked the popular government of Guinea (Conakry), and was steadfastly repulsed by the armed Guinean people led by President Ahmed Sekou and the PDG.

4. SLOGANS

- A. LONG LIVE THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU!
- B. DEFEAT PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM IN THE USA, AFRICA, AND PORTUGAL!
- C. DEFEND THE REVOLUTION OF GUINEA (CONAKRY)!
- D. SMASH THE CABBORA BASA DAM! STOP THE CUNENE RIVER SCHEME!

5. STUDY MATERIALS

A. Portugal has the largest colonial empire in Africa.

	Area (m ²)	Population (000)	Largest City	Pop of City	%African (Black)
USA	3,615,123	203,185	New York	11,529,000	20-35%
PORTUGAL	35,553	8,851	Lisbon	825,800	-
ALL PORTUGUESE COLONIES	799,556	12,232	-	-	-
ANGOLA	481,351	4,841	Luanda	224,540	95%
MOZAMBIQUE	302,328	6,604	Lourenco Margues	177,929	97.7%
GUINEA-BISSAU	15,505	721	Bissau	18,309	98+%
SAO TOME & PRINCIPE	372	66	Sao Tome	5,714	-

B. Portuguese Imperialism commits genocide in Africa just like USA Imperialism did in Vietnam.

1. USA MILITARY ASSISTANCE:

- A. The USA military works through NATO and gives aid to Portuguese imperialism, just as it worked through SEATO to conceal some of its control of Vietnam.
- B. Total military aid to Portugal from 1946-72 from the USA was \$334.0 million, while the recent Azores pact made by Nixon amounted to \$436 million.
- C. Over the last five years the USA military trained 474 Portuguese military officers and specialists, thus following the pattern set in Vietnam.
- D. Over the last five years US military personnel has made at least 12 official trips to Portuguese controlled Africa and maintains a military advisory staff in Portugal.

2. "STRATEGIC" VILLAGES:

- A. Based on research at Michigan State University (now with a Black President) the USA developed a strategic hamlet program to pacify the local population in Vietnam. The Portuguese implemented a similar program beginning in 1967.
- B. In 1968, \$2.5 million was spent on the relocation of Africans to these special villages in Mozambique. An example of this is in Cabo Delgado Province (Mozambique). There is a 24-hour vigil from all sides, with sentinels posted openly, large public security police, and the Fiscal Guard.
- C. In Mozambique, there are already 1 million people relocated in these villages. There are plans to uproot 3 million out of a total 8 million by 1975.

3. CHEMICAL WARFARE:

- A. The world governments outlawed chemical warfare in the Geneva Protocol of 1925, and the United Nations resolution of 1969. The USA did not sign the Protocol, and it nor Portugal voted for the UN resolution.
- B. The USA began its chemical warfare in Vietnam in 1962, and Portugal began chemical warfare in Africa in 1970 (May). This includes the use of defoliants and herbicides (to kill crops in the liberated areas, and animal life), napalm (to destroy crops and main the population). Much of this is manufactured in the USA.
- C. USA export of herbicides: (total \$1,279,790)

Year	Angola	Mozambique	Portugal
1969	2,210	-----	57,330
1970	42,676	28,205	343,980
1971	-----	87,535	114,660
1972	39,379	413,175	150,640
Totals	\$84,265	\$528,915	\$666,610

4. MASSACRES:

- A. The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese army in Mozambique has called for a policy "aimed at achieving an equilibrium between the Black and white population." He said the Atlantic slave trade did some of this well. The present policy must involve "on the one hand, the growth of the white population; on the other, the limitation of the Black population."
- B. Clear Examples of Political Murders:

<u>How</u>	<u>USA in Vietnam</u>	<u>Portugal in Africa</u>
1. Mass Murder	My Lai, Vietnam Over 100 people killed (Spring, 1968)	Wiryamu, Mozambique Over 400 people slaughtered (Winter 1972)
2. Political Assassination		Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO (murdered Feb. 1969) Amilcar Cabral PAIGC (murdered Jan 1973)

C. Portuguese Imperialism is really a disguised front for the imperialism of major western powers, especially the USA.

1. Portugal is a very underdeveloped country:
40% illiteracy, 43% of population is in agricultural work, \$380 GNP per capita. Also, there is an estimate for the 1970 budget of 58% for military expenditure. There is a high rate of unemployment, and young people leave Portugal for jobs in other countries.
2. The U.S. government is linked to Portugal:
 - A. NATO: Because of the NATO alliance Portugal is able to maintain a large military force and have access to war materials.
 - B. AZORES PACT: In December 1971 Nixon signed an agreement with Portugal for \$436 million aid. In early 1960's nearly 80% of all US military transports en route to Europe stopped at the Azores. Now it is not as important and the US is blatantly allowing Portugal to continue its war at a \$400 million annual military budget with this aid.
3. Portuguese African Territories and the USA are linked:
 - A. The US is Angola's second largest trading partner taking 26.6% of Angola's exports and supplying 12.0% of its imports, (1968). In 1964 coffee accounted for 98% of exports to the US. Revenue for Portuguese warfare was \$10 million.
 - B. The US in Mozambique takes 8.5% of its exports and supplies 5% of its imports (1968).
 - C. Over 30 US corporations have investments in the Portuguese contested areas. (See list in Appendix)
 - D. Gulf is the largest US investor in the Portuguese contested areas. (11th largest corporation in USA, 4th largest in oil, 2/3 of Gulf's profits come from foreign investments) Gulf paid Portugal \$16 million in 1970, and some \$40 million in 1972. This pays a considerable part of Angola's military budget.

6. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN PORTUGUESE CONTESTED TERRITORY

Allis-Chalmers
American Cyanamid Company
Caterpillar Tractor Company
Chase Manhattan Corporation
Diamond Distributors Inc.
Diversa, Inc.
California Texas Oil Co.
Clark Oil & Refining Co.
Continental Ore Corp.
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.
Fort Dodge Laboratory; Division of American Home Products Corp.
General Electric Co.
General Tire & Rubber Co.
Gulf Oil Corp.
Halliburton Company
Holiday Inns of America, Inc.
Hunt Intl., Subsidiary of Placid Oil, Dallas, Texas
IBM World Trade Corp.
Inter-American Capital Corp.
Intercontinental Marine Drilling
Loffland Brothers, Inc.
Mobil Oil Corp.
National Marine Service, Inc.
National Cash Register Co.
Ocean Drilling & Exploration Co., Subsidiary of Murphy Oil Corp.
Charles Pfizer & Co.
Place Gas Oil Co.
The Singer Company
Schlumberger, Ltd.
Skilly Oil, indirect subsidiary of Getty Oil Company
Sunray D.X., Subsidiary of Sun Oil Co.
Standard Oil of California
Standard Electric; Subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph
Tenneco Oil Co.
Texaco, Inc.
Tidewater Marine Service, Inc.
Union Carbide Corporation
Universal Tobacco

APPENDIX B STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER MARCELLO CAETANO OF PORTUGAL IN
LUANDA ON APRIL 15, 1969

In our Homeland there is room for all who were born under the guiding shadow of our flag, regardless of the colour of their skin, their social customs, their religious beliefs. The Homeland is, as it were, a cauldron in which all differences melt away and all divergences mingle. In the heart of that Homeland an open society is developing, providing a communion of races and classes, as a further step toward a real community of life and culture. This lovable Homeland is the synthesis of the natural qualities of hard-working, affable, long-suffering people, capable of all forms of generosity and ready to make any sacrifice.

Angola is part of the wide Homeland, great Angola where, over five centuries the characteristics of the Portuguese mentality have taken deep root, and which, in its turn, has made so great a contribution to the universal features of the Portuguese-speaking world, in Europe, Brazil and the African Provinces.

To provide Angola as quickly as possible with the future which belongs to it by right, all forms of loyal collaboration are desirable. We are open to the entrance of capital, to try out new forms of enterprise, to apply new techniques. We only seek to prevent any loss of the concern to enhance the land and people of Angola above all. We find the concept of an economy of exploitation repellant.

The contemporary economy must be imbued with a deeply humanist sense. We are only interested in wealth when it really serves man. Man is God's creature, from whom the light of the mind shines forth, and he cannot be only in theory the king of Nature. All men must be given an actual share in the benefits that human ingenuity manages to wrest from the world about us. We want Angola to be rich and prosperous, but we do not want the children of Angola to be strangers to the wealth and prosperity of their homeland.

Let us boldly face the difficulties! Let us not be cast down by the temptations of discouragement, much less let ourselves be poisoned by the virus of disbelief in the virtue of our own efforts! Angola has set before the world admirable examples of constancy, firmness, energy, perseverance and victory. In combat it is the most obstinate that win the battle. The secret of triumph lies in the strength of one's will to conquer.

Angola is quite firmly determined to remain Portuguese!

Angola, Portuguese Angola or Angolan Portugal, has a brilliant future before it, clearly visible, a future that all we Portuguese together shall gain, to show the World, to the good of Africa, to the greater glory and enhancement of Portugal!

U.S. Business Involvement in Southern Africa, Hearings before Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs - House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, First Session, Part 1, May 4 - July 15, 1971, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1972.

DATE April 10, 1973PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

Opposition Bids Portugal Cease Warfare in Africa

By HENRY GINIGER

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, April 9—The first gathering of opponents of the Portuguese regime to be allowed in four years issued an appeal last night for the end of the "colonial war" in Africa and the establishment of political freedom in Portugal.

Republicans, monarchists, Communists, Socialists and liberals, united by a common dislike of more than 40 years of authoritarian rule, met for a week in the small northern town of Aveiro, but what they said was confined largely to the movie theater where they staged their debates.

Heavy censorship, a characteristic of Portuguese life, prevented news media from disseminating essential parts of the positions taken by delegates from all parts of the country.

The long and expensive effort by Portugal to hold on to her African provinces—Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese guinea—in a conflict with local liberation forces has been a taboo subject in Portugal until now. Consequently, the opposition consensus that the wars have to be ended by self-determination and eventually independence did not find its way into print.

"Twelve years of colonial war represent a crime against humanity by the destruction of African populations and cultures and by the absurd sacrifice that has bled the country in lives and in resources and which constitutes a profound sapping of moral energies of a people that needs to mobilize them to build the future."

Government's Objectives

The Government of President Marcello Caetano has proclaimed a multiracial commonwealth of self-governing provinces as its eventual aim, and recently staged elections for local assemblies in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Although large numbers of blacks were elected to the assemblies, only a small part of the territorial populations voted and candidates were presented on a single approved list.

In Portugal elections for a new National Assembly are to be held next fall and, as in 1969, the various elements opposing the official Popular National Action party were allowed to assemble to prepare a kind of platform for candidates willing to defy the official line publicly. But the restrictions evident before, during and after the Aveiro meetings did not bode well for the opposition's chances of making political headway.

Aveiro, normally a sleepy town devoted to fishing and ceramics, appeared besieged on the weekend as heavy police forces were brought in.

As delegates poured in for the closing sessions, officials became alarmed and set up roadblocks to halt cars and buses several miles from town. Hundreds of delegates had to

walk the rest of the way. A train from Oporto, the nearest big city, was detained halfway to Aveiro and the identity of passengers was checked before it was allowed to proceed.

Public gatherings outside the theater in Aveiro were forbidden. Yesterday 1,500 delegates tried to march to a square where there is a monument to José Estavao, a 19th-century liberal politician. When the police blocked off the square, the marchers turned back to the theater, singing the national anthem, denouncing the secret police and displaying a banner saying "Youth Rejects the Colonial War."

According to all accounts, the marchers were attacked from behind by club-swinging policemen and by dogs, and some 25 persons were injured. The local authorities said that the demonstrators had thrown stones although none were reported seen.

Epoca, the right-wing pro-Government newspaper in Lisbon, denounced the meetings as Marxist and subversive and said that six knives had been left behind in Aveiro streets as the demonstrators fled from the police.

One delegate, asked why the meetings were permitted, said that the Government wished to bring about Portugal's integration with the European Common Market and felt it had to improve its international reputation by building a "democratic facade."

A professor at a Government-controlled university reflected the political atmosphere by saying: "I can be dismissed for being here. Civil servants are not supposed to engage in political activity without authorization. I did not ask for it."

He and other delegates professed to be encouraged by the large turnout, which, at the end, consisted of several thousand people. One said that he did not feel so isolated as in the past. Gatherings of more than 21 persons are illegal unless specifically authorized; consequently the opposition does not get much opportunity to meet.

Between the meetings in 1969 and this year the influence of Communists and other leftists seems to have grown, particularly among young people. In addition to demanding the end of the wars in Africa and the establishment of freedoms in Portugal, the delegates called for a "struggle against the absolute power of monopolistic capitalism" and the introduction of socialism to end Portugal's economic and social backwardness.

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU PROCLAIMED

● **CONAKRY, September 26 (PL).** — The first session of the National People's Assembly, held in the liberated zones, proclaimed the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in a history-making meeting in which representatives of the liberation movements of Africa participated.

The constitution of the new African republic was decided on in the meetings held by the high legislative body on September 23 and 24 in a liberated zone in the eastern part of this country.

The National People's Assembly stated in a communiqué issued in this capital that, by decision of the highest body representing this African people, Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign and independent state.

● The election of the Council of State of the Republic, presided over by Luis Cabral, and of the Council of Commissars of State (Government), under the leadership of Francisco Mendes, was also announced.

One communiqué issued today over Radio Conakry stated that President Sékou Touré had sent a message to the leaders of the new state, which borders on the Republic of Guinea, testifying to his recognition of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, with an area of some 14,000 square miles and a population of 600,000, has declared its sovereignty while continuing its armed struggle against the Portuguese troops which still occupy a part of its territory.

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), founded on September 19, 1963, by Amílcar Cabral and other African nationalists, decided three years after its founding that the only possible way was that of armed struggle.

The massacre of the dock workers of Fidjiguiti in 1959, gave a push to the

development of the thesis of armed struggle, which led the PAIGC revolutionaries to the liberation of more than three fourths of the territory of Guinea-Bissau and to the proclamation of their sovereign state.

Amílcar Cabral announced the establishing of the National People's Assembly and the imminent proclamation of the independent state of Guinea-Bissau as long ago as September of last year.

These plans were delayed by the murder of Amílcar Cabral last January, but the other leaders of the PAIGC, carrying out their promise to the Guinean people, stepped up the armed struggle and attained the goals announced by the late revolutionary leader.

With the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the African continent now has 42 independent states.

PUBLISHED: 9/27/73

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

● **CONAKRY, September 26 (PL).** — The National People's Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, presided over by Major Joao Bernardo Vieira (Nino), is composed of 120 members selected democratically among the members of the regional councils.

The Assembly names a Council of State, composed of 15 members, seven of whom are representatives of the seven main ethnic groups and eight are leaders of the National People's Front, made up of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and several mass organizations.

The Council of State chooses a Chairman and two Deputy Chairmen from among its members.

The Council, presided over by Luis Cabral, will study drafts of laws; deliberate on national matters concerning the economy, defense and security; and submit to the people for discussion those proposals it deems fit for presentation to the National People's Assembly.

The Council is also charged with naming the national (governmental) Council of Commissars, presided over by Major Francisco Mendes (Chico Te), which will be the executive organ of the National People's Assembly and of the Council of State and will be held responsible by them for the application of the policies of the country.

In addition to its President, the National People's Assembly has three Vice-

Presidents, all four of whom will automatically be members of the Council of State, as well.

The Assembly will discuss and decide on basic matters of domestic and foreign policy of the state and will guide the application of the political, judicial, economic, social and cultural policies set by the PAIGC.

The Secretariat of the National People's Assembly will have the responsibility of drawing up the agenda for each day's sessions and presenting it to its members prior to each meeting.

The Secretariat will be composed of a General Secretary, two secretaries and two other members.

PUBLISHED: 9/27/73

APPENDIX E FACT SHEET: THE STRUGGLE IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

ANGOLA

Population: 5.1 million Blacks, 250,000 whites

Colonized by: Portuguese

Valuable Resources: oil, diamonds, iron, copper, coffee

American Exploiters: Gulf Oil Corporation (largest investor in Africa), Allis-Chalmers, Chase Manhattan Corporation, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Standard Oil of California and Union Carbide Corporation

Liberation Movements: UNITA, MPLA, GRAE

MOZAMBIQUE

Population: 7 million Blacks, 160,000 whites

Colonized by: Portuguese

Valuable Resources: gas, oil, cotton, copra, hydro-electric power, sugar, cashew nuts

American Exploiters: General Electric, Holiday Inn, Mobil Oil Corporation, The Singer Company, Texaco, and International Telephone and Telegraph.

Liberation Movements: FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)

FACT SHEET: THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

(FORMALLY PORTUGUESE GUINEA)

Population: 700,000 Blacks, 5,000 whites
(including 3,000 soldiers)

Colonized by: Portuguese

Valuable Resources: agricultural products, unextracted minerals

American Exploiters: EXXON (Standard Oil)

Liberation Movements: PAIGC controls over 75% of the territory and proclaimed the independence of Guinea-Bissau September 24, 1973.

POLICE MURDER MUST STOP NOW!

PROBLEM:

THE MURDER OF RONALD LEE JOYCE IS ONE GROTESQUE INDICATION THAT THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF THIS COUNTRY IS CORRUPT. THE SYSTEM IS IN DEEP CRISIS AS VIETNAM AND THE SO-CALLED "ENERGY CRISIS" PROVES. U.S. CORPORATIONS CAN NOT EXPLOIT THE OTHER PEOPLES AS IT HAS IN THE PAST. THEREFORE, AS U.S. CORPORATIONS LOSE OUT ABROAD, THEY INCREASE THEIR EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION HERE AT HOME.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY FEELS THE LARGEST SHARE OF THE CURRENT SQUEEZE THROUGH INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT, RACISM ON THE JOB AND IN THE SHOP, COMPULSORY OVERTIME, CUTBACKS IN MUCH NEEDED SOCIAL PROGRAMS LIKE HEALTH CARE, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC WELFARE, AND POLITICAL MURDERS BY RACIST POLICE.

SOLUTION:

Chief Mott has resigned,
but that is not enough .

WE DEMAND:

- (A) 4 POLICEMEN BE SUSPENDED IMMEDIATELY WITHOUT PAY UNTIL THERE IS A FULL INVESTIGATION BY A CITIZENS COMMITTEE;
- (B) A CITIZENS COMMITTEE BE FORMED TO SELECT THE NEXT CHIEF OF POLICE, WITH AT LEAST 50% BLACK MEMBERSHIP SELECTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS ASSEMBLY OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY HERE IN MOUNT CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, NOVEMBER 28, 1973.



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The brutal murder of our Brother Ronald Lee Joyce must be understood by everyone in the Black community as the result of a repressive, racist government without the capacity for administering justice. Therefore, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) is committed to doing whatever is necessary to defend Black youth against the vicious arm of racist state power. ALSC is an international committee that mobilized over 100,000 brothers and sisters in the USA, Canada, and the Caribbean to move against this system last May and is moving for another major demonstration May 25 - African Liberation Day. ALSC is here in Nashville, and we mean to build a broad peoples movement - an anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front. The murder of Ronald Lee Joyce will be like the murder of Jesus, Martin Luther King, or Malcolm - it will result in more than the death of a man. It will result in the re-birth of a peoples struggle in Nashville. We must see in this murder all of our assassinated heroes - Medgar Evers, Fred Hampton, Ralph Featherstone; and in Africa, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique; and in Latin America, Che Guevara in Bolivia and Salvadore Allende in Chile.

Black people are at war at home and abroad and ALSC is dedicated to building a peoples movement to defend ourselves. We are many voices in this room, but we must leave here speaking one voice, acting on one plan, building one organized coalition. Our proposals for action are:

1. That we form in this meeting a city-wide steering committee composed of representatives of students, labor, civil rights organizations, churches and community groups;
2. That we send the committee out of this room and have them come back before we adjourn with a concrete plan of action;
3. That the majority of us should remain here and discuss our many grievances. We should expose the murderers of Ronald Joyce and get more information so that the entire system may be exposed.

A.L.S.C. is committed to building an organized response to an organized enemy. We must fight to win. Remember the words of Claude McKay:

"IF WE MUST DIE LET IT NOT BE LIKE HOGS
HUNTED AND PENNED IN AN INGLORIOUS SPOT
WHILE ROUND US BARK MAD AND HUNGRY DOGS,
MAKING THEIR MOCK AT OUR ACCURSED LOT.
IF WE MUST DIE O LET US NOBLY DIE,
DO THAT OUR PRECIOUS BLOOD MAY NOT BE SHED
IN VAIN: THEN EVEN THE MONSTERS WE DEFEY
SHALL BE CONSTRAINED TO HONOR US THOUGH DEAD!
O KINSMEN! WE MUST MEET THE COMMON FOE!
THOUGH FAR OUTNUMBERED LET US SHOW US BRAVE,
AND FOR THEIR THOUSAND BLOWS DEAL ONE DEATHBLOW!
WHAT THOUGH BEFORE US LIES THE OPEN GRAVE?
LIKE MEN WE'LL FACE THE MURDEROUS, COWARDLY PACK,
PRESSED TO THE WALL, DYING, BUT FIGHTING BACK!

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

PROPOSAL FOR A DECEMBER OFFENSIVE

The Coalition Against Police Repression was formed at a mass meeting held at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, on November 28, 1973. There are about thirty organizations in the Coalition, an anti-racist unity movement in the Black community. The Coalition is focusing its attention on building the broadest possible participation from groups throughout the Black community so that we can be as representative as possible. This is a proposal for action, a plan of attack. It is necessary for us to consider what we want, what we're prepared to do to get it, and have a general understanding of how our current motion fits into the total world-wide struggle for justice, peace and freedom.

WHAT ARE OUR DEMANDS?

The event that sparked the motion was the brutal murder of our Brother Ronald Lee Joyce. His life was blasted away by an instrument of racist state power. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott Decision that Black people had no rights that white people are bound to respect. In 1963 over 250,000 people marched in Washington to demand respect for Black people in the form of rights - right to work, right to vote, right to good housing, schools, and health care. But we have also been brutalized in the process including the murders of Malcolm, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Ralph Featherstone, Che Payne, Fred Hampton, Leonard Brown and Denver Smith, John Huggins. and Bunchy Carter, George Jackson, Cedric Overton, Greg Darden, Huddleson,

We have to wage a struggle against state power gone mad by advancing a consistent struggle for democracy. The political leadership of Nashville - Mayor Beverly Briley - has been arrogant and insensitive to the needs of Black people, and has tried to shift the responsibility of the police force to the police chief. This is the type of cowardly politics that flows from a corrupt system, a system not reflecting the masses of people, but only certain powerful interest groups. We see this in the Nixon Watergate Scandal, and we see this in the Briley police scandal of Nashville. The political leadership is no longer able to exert the kind of leadership that we need, on the national and on the local level. Therefore, the people must take a more direct role in running the state.

It follows from this analysis that our two demands are necessary measures to attempt to bring justice to a system that has never worked. In the words of Langston Hughes, our beloved poet: "Let America be America again, the land that never has been yet and yet must be, the land where everyman is free." We must understand that it has been the struggle of Black people for democratic rights that has been the cutting edge for revolutionary change for the last 200 years.

We are demanding two specific things:

1. That the 4 policemen involved in the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce

be suspended immediately without pay until there is a full investigation by a citizens committee; and

2. That a citizens committee be formed to select the next chief of police, and to investigate police brutality in general, with at least 50% Black membership. The committee will be selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression (the representatives of the assembly of the Black community that met in Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, November 28, 1973).

We must not let brutal murders go unpunished. There is great public outrage over this case of obvious overreaction - excess force, and the officers involved must be suspended. What Mayor Briley has done is reassign them to office work. We want them suspended. This is a non-negotiable demand. We must have these murderers off the street, and off the police force until we have the grounds for final dismissal and the evidence is in to initiate criminal charges against them.

And we must have more direct participation in the government process by the masses of people. This means that the chief of police must be hired only if there is a review process that establishes beyond any question that the new chief will be an anti-racist defender of justice, and sensitive to the objective interests of the entire community. Black people want crime stopped, and this means police brutality, intimidation, and harassment must stop as well as burglarly, robbery, and rape. Mayor Briley has a choice between the tactics of shoot-to-kill before all else, or a community based police system in which the people play a major creative role in policing themselves for the good of everyone. Briley is behind the corrupt system, so he is and has been the guilty party. Our demand is for Briley to change his ways and begin to support a democratic approach to government and denounce his violent racist tactics.

WHAT ARE OUR PLANS?

The Coalition Against Police Repression must have a step by step plan for mobilizing the greatest quantity of people from all sectors of the Black community, and the entire city of Nashville as well. It will be necessary to engage in increasingly more militant action until there is a positive response to our demands. The police must be made responsive to the needs of the entire community. This must be achieved or they will have to resort to greater political repressive forms of control to contain our movement. This is a struggle for power and we must prepare to wage a courageous fight.

STEP ONE: BLACK STUDENT STRIKE!

We must unite the masses where we are the strongest at this time. The students have provided the greatest physical force in the Coalition until now, and are the base of our power. Brother Ronald Lee Joyce was a student attending TSU, and a graduate of Pearl High School. We must have a student strike in order to unify the masses of students around this issue.

This action will have two secondary demands:

1. to get the police out of the high schools
2. to save Black colleges.

Black students must be united around these demands.

On Tuesday, December 4th, the key phrase is STUDENT STRIKE. This phrase must be put on leaflets, posters, sidewalks, walls in bathrooms, on blackboards, over public address systems, and in every conversation that you have. STRIKE for justice! STRIKE for democracy!

STRIKE ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5th!

All striking students will be asked to come together at 10:30 a.m. at the place where Brother Joyce was murdered. This will be for a unity rally and to get assignments to go into the Black community. Our STRIKE from school will be for the purpose of going into the Black community to get support for our movement to make the government process more democratic, and to stop the brutal murder of Black people. We are continuing the petition drive. All students will be asked to talk with people throughout the community so that the community will be united.

Wednesday night there will be a mass rally at 7:30 p.m. at the . This rally will have as its focus mobilizing the Black trade union movement, the political organization of the Black working class. All members of the Coalition are scheduled to attend this rally so that our brothers and sisters in the trade union movement will join us in large numbers and build the base of the Coalition.

STEP TWO: BLACK TAG DAY

The next major action will be organizing teams of four people each to work shifts of three hours each from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Friday, and all day Saturday, collecting signatures and donations. The major goal is to raise \$1,000 for the Joyce Family Legal Fund. Half of this amount will come from selling 1500 buttons. Coalition fund raisers will have an official arm band to prevent misrepresentation. We will sell the buttons for 50¢ of which 38¢ will go to the Joyce Family Legal Fund.

On this tag day we must cover every work place, every major traffic intersection, every major shopping area, every major public housing project, every Black residential area and every school. The purpose of this Tag Day is to heighten the consciousness of the masses of Black people. We must work hard to convince every brother and sister that the movement for freedom and justice is a real movement. We must convince all of us that when racist madman shoot us and hide behind a corrupt Mayor that all of us move in unity until justice is done. The death of Ronald Lee Joyce must spark us to build a movement that will force the fountains of evil to dry up under the heat of militant unity.

STEP THREE: BLACK SUNDAY

We appeal to all ministers, and the Black media to rearrange their schedules to focus on the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce and the unity movement for justice, the Coalition Against Police Repression. We must combine sermons, notices in church bulletins, petition signing before and after services, T.V. and radio talk shows, and sending teams of Coalition workers into the community. Our motion must be to

let the ministers and the media, representing two powerful institutions in the Black community, unify the movement with a sense of direction and ultimate purpose.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's was born in the church and grew to be one of the greatest mass movements of all time. We must return to the church and seek guidance from the ministers, and allow the institutional leadership to play an important role in this struggle. But we must be mindful that many are called but not all choose to come. So when we look to established leadership to provide a way, the Coalition is on the move. As the old spiritual says, "Which side are you on? Which side are you on?"

STEP FOUR: CONSUMER BOYCOTT

WHAT IS THE STRUCTURE OF THE COALITION?

The Coalition meets every _____, and there is a mass meeting every _____. The officers are Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer. The committees are mobilization, negotiations, research-investigation, fundraising, and publicity. All interested parties are invited to join as an organization or an individual.

The Coalition wants to have a speaker appear before all groups in the Black community to explain the plans and solicit support for the movement. We hope your organization will endorse the demands and come to one of the meetings and make it known to the Coalition.

The Coalition brings together all aspects of the Black community, although it must seek roots in the Black adult working sector as well as the student youth sector in order to have a long life, to fight hard, and to go on to win even greater victories.

JUSTICE NOW!

JUSTICE NOW!

JUSTICE NOW!



DECEMBER OFFENSIVE

NASHVILLE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

ACTION
JUSTICE

NOW



sponsored by
NASHVILLE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION



RONALD LEE JOYCE

Murdered November 23, 1973

DECEMBER OFFENSIVE

The Coalition Against Police Repression was formed at a mass meeting held at Mount Calvary Baptist Church, on November 28, 1973. There are about thirty organizations in the Coalition, an anti-racist unity movement in the Black community. The Coalition is focusing its attention on building the broadest possible participation from groups throughout the Black community so that we can be as representative as possible. This is a proposal for action, a plan of attack. It is necessary for us to consider what we want, what we're prepared to do to get it, and have a general understanding of how our current motion fits into the total world-wide struggle for justice, peace and freedom.

WHAT ARE OUR DEMANDS?

The event that sparked the motion was the brutal murder of our Brother Ronald Lee Joyce. His life was blasted away by an instrument of racist state power. We have to wage a struggle against state power gone mad by advancing a consistent struggle for democracy. The political leadership of Nashville - Mayor Beverly Briley - has been arrogant and insensitive to the needs of Black people, and has tried to shift the responsibility of the police force to the police chief. This is the type of cowardly politics that flows from a corrupt system, a system not reflecting the masses of people, but only certain powerful interest groups. We see this in the Nixon Watergate Scandal, and we see this in the Briley police scandal of Nashville. The political leadership is no longer able to exert the kind of leadership that we need, on the national level and the local level. Therefore, the people must take a more direct role in running the state.

We are demanding two specific things:

1. That the 4 policemen involved in the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce be suspended immediately without pay until there is a full investigation by a citizens committee; and
2. That this citizens committee be formed to select the next

chief of police and to investigate police brutality in general. The committee should have at least 50% Black membership selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression.

We must not let brutal murders go unpunished. There is great public outrage over this case of obvious overreaction - excess force, and the officers involved must be suspended. What Mayor Briley has done is reassign them to office work. We want them suspended. This is a non-negotiable demand. We must have these murderers off the street, and off the police force until we have the grounds for final dismissal and the evidence is in to initiate criminal charges against them.

We must have more direct participation in the government process by the masses of people. This means that the chief of police must be hired only if there is a review process that establishes beyond any question that the new chief will be an anti-racist defender of justice, and sensitive to the objective interests of the entire community. Black people want crime stopped, and this means police brutality, intimidation, and harassment must stop as well as burglarly, robbery, and rape. Mayor Briley has a choice between the tactics of shoot-to-kill before all else, or a community based police system in which the people play a major creative role in policing themselves for the good of everyone. Briley is behind the corrupt system, so he is and has been

the guilty party. Our demand is for Briley to change his ways and begin to support a democratic approach to government and denounce his violent racist tactics.

WHAT ARE OUR PLANS?

The Coalition Against Police Repression must have a step by step plan for mobilizing the greatest quantity of people from all sectors of the Black community, and the entire city of Nashville as well. It will be necessary to engage in increasingly more militant action until there is a positive response to our demands. The police must be made responsive to the needs of the entire community. This must be achieved or they will have to resort to greater political repressive forms of control to contain our movement. This is a struggle for power and we must prepare to wage a courageous fight.

STEP ONE:

BLACK WORKERS UNITY RALLY

Wednesday night, December 5th, there will be a mass rally at 7:30 p.m. at the Labor Temple. This rally will have as its focus mobilizing the Black trade union movement, the political organization of the Black working class. All members of the Coalition are scheduled to attend this rally so that our brothers and sisters in the trade union movement will join us in large numbers and build the base of the Coalition.

STEP TWO: STUDENT STRIKE DAY

We must unite the masses where we are the strongest at this time. The students have provided the greatest physical force in the Coalition until now, and are the base of our power. Brother Ronald Lee Joyce was a student attending TSU. We must have a student strike in order to unify the masses of students around this issue.

This action will have one secondary demand, saving Black colleges. Black students must be united around these demands.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, the key phrase is STUDENT STRIKE. This phrase must be put on leaflets, posters, sidewalks, walls in bathrooms, on blackboards, over public address systems, and in every conversation that you have. STRIKE FOR JUSTICE! STRIKE FOR DEMOCRACY!

STRIKE THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6th!

All striking students will be asked to come together at 10:30 a.m. at the place where Brother Joyce was murdered. This will be for a unity rally and to get assignments to go into the Black community. Our STRIKE from school will be for the purpose of going into the Black community to get support for our movement to make the government process more democratic, and to stop the brutal murder of Black people. We are continuing the petition drive! All students will be asked to talk with people throughout the community so that the community will be united.

STEP THREE: BLACK BUTTON DAY

The next major action will be organizing teams of four people each to work shifts of three hours each from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Friday, and all day Saturday, collecting signatures and donations. The major goal is to raise \$1,000 for the Joyce Family Legal Fund. Half of this amount will come from selling 1500 buttons. Coalition fund raisers will have an official arm band to prevent misrepresentation. We will sell the buttons for 50¢ of which 38¢ will go to the Joyce Family Legal Fund, (the remaining 12¢ for the cost of the button).

On this Button Day we must cover every work place, every major traffic intersection, every major shopping area, every major public housing project, every Black residential area and every school. The purpose of this Button Day is to heighten the consciousness of the masses of Black people. We must work hard to convince every brother and sister that the movement for freedom and justice is a real movement. We must convince all of us that when racist madmen shoot us and hide behind a corrupt Mayor that all of us move in unity until justice is done. The death of Ronald Lee Joyce must spark us to build a movement that will force the fountains of evil to dry up under the heat of militant unity.

STEP FOUR: BLACK SUNDAY

We appeal to all ministers, and the Black media to rearrange their schedules to focus on the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce and the Unity Movement for Justice, and the Coalition Against Police Repression. We must combine sermons, notices in church bulletins, petition signing before and after services, T.V. and radio talk shows and sending teams of Coalition workers into the community. Our motion must be to let the ministers and the media, representing two powerful institutions in the Black community, unify the movement with a sense of direction and ultimate purpose.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's was born in the church and grew to be one of the greatest mass movements of all time. We must return to the church and seek guidance from the ministers, and allow the institutional leadership to play an important role in this struggle. But we must be mindful that many are called but not all choose to come. So when we look to established leadership to provide a way, the Coalition is on the move. As the old spiritual says, "Which side are you on? Which side are you on?"

STEP FIVE: SELECTIVE BUYING AND
BANKING CAMPAIGN:
CAIN-SLOAN, HARVEY'S, AND THIRD
NATIONAL BANK

Specific details to be announced.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1973

7:30pm

TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

KEAN HALL - GYMNASIUM

3500 Centennial Blvd.
Nashville, Tennessee

Program

SIGNING THE PETITIONS
EVERYONE

INNOVATION

REV. DOGAN WILLIAMS,
Interdenominational Ministerial
Fellowship

WELCOME TO TSU

DR. ANDREW TORRENCE
President, TSU

WHAT IS THE COALITION

ABDUL, Coalition Chairperson
African Liberation Support
Committee

WHY WE MUST STRUGGLE

COMMUNITY

MRS. C.E. MCGRUDER, NAACP

STUDENTS

MALIK KAMBON, Peoples College

MINISTERS

REV. KELLY MILLER SMITH
1st Baptist Church, Capital Hill

WORKERS

WALTER SEARCY, City-Wide Black
Workers Organization

"FOR MY PEOPLE" BY MARGARET WALKER

GWEN BOOKER
Fisk University, Freshman Class

WHAT MUST BE DONE

MOBILIZATION

JIM MOCK, Citizens for a Safer
Nashville

FINANCIAL MATTERS

BLONDELL STRONG
Treasurer, Coalition Against Police
Repression

SONGS OF OUR PEOPLES STRUGGLE

JOHNSON ENSEMBLE

ACTION PROPOSALS

STUDENT STRIKE

JERRY CARTER, Fisk SGA

TONY TURNER, TSU SGA

BLACK BUTTON DAY

CRAIG EDWARDS
Concerned Citizens for Justice

BLACK SUNDAY

REV. MICHAEL GRAVES

BLACK NATIONAL ANTHEM

RICKI STEVENSON
Nashville African Liberation Comm.

TAKING PETITIONS TO THE PEOPLE
EVERYONE

WHAT IS THE STRUCTURE OF THE COALITION ?

The Coalition meets every week, and there is a mass meeting every week. The officers are Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer. The committees are Mobilization, Research-Investigations, Fund-raising, Publicity, and Negotiations. All interested parties are invited to join as an organization or as an individual.

The Coalition wants to have a speaker appear before all groups in the Black community to explain the plans and solicit support for the movement. We hope your organization will endorse the demands and come to one of the meetings and make it known to the Coalition.

The Coalition brings together all aspects of the Black community, although it must seek roots in the Black adult working sector as well as the student youth sector in order to have a long life, to fight hard, and to go on to win even greater victories!

JUSTICE NOW!

JUSTICE NOW!

JUSTICE NOW!

LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise,
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the
Dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of hope that the present
has brought us,
Facing the rising sun,
Of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers
sighed?

We have come over a way that with tears
has been watered,
We have come, treading our path thro'
the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright
star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on our way
Thou who has by Thy might
Let us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray;
Lest our feet stray from the places, our
God, where we met Thee,
Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of
the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God, True to our native land.

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ACTION NOW



MEETING
MONDAY

DECEMBER 3, 1973

7:30 pm

TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
KEAN HALL

GYMNASIUM 3500 CENTENNIAL BLVD.

sponsored by
NASHVILLE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

**JUSTICE
NOW**

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

Black people are exploited and oppressed everyday in ghetto communities throughout this country. Nashville is no exception to this terrible reality. Black people in Nashville are brutalized everyday by the racist tactics of a corrupt police force, in the streets, in the high schools, breaking in your homes, and generally intimidating Black people. WE DEMAND AN END TO POLICE REPRESSION, AND WE DEMAND THAT IT END NOW!

The Coalition Against Police Repression is an anti-racist unity movement within the Nashville Black community. It was formed on November 28, 1973, in response to the vicious slaying of a young Black man, Ronald Lee Joyce, 20 years old, and a student at Tennessee State University. Brother Ronald was shot point-blank in the back of his head and neck by a policeman gone mad with the venom of racist hatred. The Coalition Against Police Repression is the voice of justice organized to stop such criminal action.

The Coalition is composed of organizations within the Black community, including workers, students, ministers, civil rights organizations, community groups, elected public officials, etc. It is a unity movement firmly rooted among the Black masses, and dedicated to achieving justice. The Coalition unites all interests groups in the Black community around police repression.

On November 28, 1973, the Coalition adopted two basic demands:

- A. That the 4 policemen involved in the killing of Brother Ronald Lee Joyce be suspended immediately without pay until there is a full investigation by a citizens committee; and
- B. That a citizens committee be formed to select the next chief

of police, and to investigate police brutality in general, with at least 50% Black membership. The committee will be selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression (the representatives of the assembly of the Black community that met in Mount Calvary Baptist Church).

The Coalition issued the Mayor a deadline to reply by December 1st. The political power of the mayor must never be judged greater than the political power of the masses of people. The masses giveth and the masses taketh away. The Coalition Against Police Repression is the masses. If we must, we will rise in mighty indignation and bring justice to Nashville like Joshua at the Battle of Jerico or Sherman at the Battle of Atlanta.

The entire Black community is being mobilized. So when you read this paper, when you learn about the Coalition, then you must act.

1. SIGN THE PETITION SUPPORTING THE DEMANDS OF THE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION;
2. ATTEND ALL MASS MEETINGS, PARTICIPATE IN ALL MARCHES, SUPPORT ALL BOYCOTTS AND STRIKES;
3. STRUGGLE TO UNITE BLACK PEOPLE AGAINST THE DANGER OF RACIST STATE POWER BY ADVANCING OUR DEMANDS FOR DEMOCRACY!

JUSTICE NOW!!

AGENDA

1. BUILDING THE COALITION

- A. REPRESENTATION OF THE COALITION
- B. THE POLICE PROBLEM
- C. PRINCIPLES OF UNITY
- D. COMMITTEE STRUCTURE
- E. MASS MOBILIZATION
 - 1. BUTTONS
 - 2. PETITIONS
 - 3. LEAFLETS
 - 4. MASS MEETING

2. PLANS FOR ACTION

- A. STUDENT STRIKES
- B. MASS MARCH
- C. ECONOMIC CONSUMER BOYCOTT
- D. WORKER STRIKE

3. BUILDING A CITY-WIDE MOVEMENT

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION
SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE COALITION CHAIRPERSON
AT THE MONDAY MASS RALLY FOR ACTION

DECEMBER 3, 1973

The Coalition Against Police Repression is a movement for democracy and justice in a land that has never been democratic and just. The Coalition is a peoples front, a unity movement that unites all class elements and social groups to fight the racist violent tactics of a police state apparatus. This instrument of state power has thrived on the murder of Black people, especially working class Black youth. We must have Justice and we must have it now. We must have a responsive system of police, a police system based in the community it serves, and sensitive to overcoming the horrible torture and terror of the past. We have been slaves in the past, and we continue to be treated as slaves today. We must have Justice and we must have it now.

As Chairman of the Coalition I would like to address myself to two basic questions:

1. Why is there a problem with the police and the Black community?
2. What is the Coalition and why is it important?

We must approach this question with the kind of scientific precision that will allow us to probe deeper than the surface, deeper than the lies and half truths that have been stuffed down our throats in the mis-education that most of us have had. We must understand what's been the basis of our problem if we are going to deal with it effectively.

In this society the masses of people are organized into two types of warring groups, two types of teams, one based on race and one based on class. Black people are the victims of racial hatred, and class exploitation. Black people were ripped and raped from Africa to labor for the rising industrial giants of England and the United States. This was the basis for developing myths of racial superiority, manufacturing a culture based on racial hatred, as well as deep seated fear of the Black man's reaction to be oppressed. We have been slaves, sharecroppers, factory workers, welfare recipients, and even middle class. But never have we escaped the vicious terror of that racist policeman with the license to kill.

But who is it that benefits from this violence? Frantz Fanon, that great Black psychiatrist, demonstrated in his study of the Algerian revolution that the police who engage in torture also end up torturing themselves. They have nightmares, beat their wives and children, worry and end up leading miserable lives. Fanon pointed to the ruling class as the benefactors, the profit seeking greedy capitalists are the ones who benefit. They calmly sit in offices high off the street, live in comfortable villages like Belle Meade (a former slave holding plantation), and only have to deal with police brutality as statistics or when they go to church and discuss the ethical crisis facing the church. The ruling class is

guilty of murder and not the poor slob who acts out racist terror. The cop on the block is a victim, just as we are the victims. Our enemy is the ruling class.

Who is the ruling class? We are aware of the fact that in this city there is a very high percentage of millionaires, people who own and control business or represent the large multinational corporations that control the entire United States. These are our enemies. Who profits most from our misery? The corporate elite, the barons of industry. Who sucks the blood from our babies and sends our youth to die in wars against people who we, the people have no quarrel with? The millionaires, bankers, and the factory owners. We must not fight just the representatives of the ruling class, we must identify and confront the ruling class directly. This means we must understand power.

Not only does the ruling class control the police but they also control education. Their control of education is to have a mechanism for developing whatever kind of labor force they need. They used to need Black colleges to provide labor for them, but don't any more. They used to build a talented tenth, but have found they have had enough of the army of students that have begun to move on the colleges. They want to phase them out under the guise of merging them with their schools which means phasing them out. The ruling class wants to merge TSU and phase it out. The ruling class wants to fire courageous Presidents like Pres. Torrence for allowing us to hold rallies such as this one. I think we should show everyone that we are committed to saving Black colleges. We are committed to defending the interests of Black people. We will fight to keep racist cops from killing our people in the street just as we will fight a racist legislature from killing our schools in the state capitol.

In sum, the problem of the police is the problem of class exploitation and racial oppression. The police are poor working class crackers who are exploited by the ruling class, although they themselves are killing us in the interests of the ruling class. The white working class failed to recognize Black people as their allies during the Reconstruction, during the great depression, and now during the reign of King Richard of Watergate there is another chance. The ruling class wanted the racist rally the other night to make the issues seem like a Black-and-white issue. The ruling class wants our rally to be based on Black hatred of white people. But we are not going to fall for it. We are not going to allow the fool mad dog cop who murdered our brother Ronald Lee Joyce to misguide us. He is not the enemy, he too is a victim. The real enemy is the business interests, the king makers, the ruling class.

WHAT IS THE COALITION?

The Coalition is a unity movement that has as its purpose advancing the struggle for democracy. When we say a unity coalition, we mean every segment of the Black community, but most of all we mean uniting the elements that have not been united, and mobilizing those that are not in motion. It means uniting the campus and the community, uniting students and workers, labor and professionals, everybody in the struggle for Justice, Peace and Freedom.

We have two goals:

1. Suspension of the four officers who murdered Ronald Lee Joyce, and having a full investigation by a citizen's committee; and
2. Establishing this citizen's committee to help select the police chief. This committee should have 50% Black membership with the Black members selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression.

We must understand that these two goals merely scratch the surface of the many evils perpetuated by the government of Nashville headed up by Beverly Briley. He is the chief staff officer of the ruling class. He is the one who carries out their orders. He is the one who keeps the shoot to kill mentality staring at the citizens of Nashville behind every badge. He is guilty of helping killing Black youth.

We are moving to unite the entire community for justice. Not for personal gain, not for power of prestige, but for humanity's progress - peace, freedom, and justice.

We want Justice for every person - and we want to start with the most oppressed - the toiling Black masses. We want Justice and we want it now! Our program tonight is not one of sorrow but one of joy, we come not to weep but to form a militant unity of forces no corrupt police or state force can stop. WE ARE ON THE MOVE FOR JUSTICE NOW! JUSTICE NOW! JUSTICE NOW!

OPEN LETTER TO THE COUNCIL OF THE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT
OF NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY

From

THE COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

Too long has this community been threatened by lack of community involvement in regulating the police department. It must be recognized that the police, just as the armed forces, is an armed body of the state to care for the well being of the masses of people. And as such a legitimate body, you, the duly elected representatives of the people of Nashville and Davidson county, must understand your duty to keep the police responsive to the masses of people. However, this is a function that you can only partially handle, because it must be kept very close to the people. We demand direct citizen participation in an advisory capacity so that the people will have assurance that the police will be sensitive to the needs of the people.

Moreover, we feel that this selection must be made with the realities of this community and of who is victimized by the sometime excessive use of force of an insensitive police force. This means a significant representation from the Black community.

Therefore:

1. We want Section I of Resolution 73-827 amended to read four additional members, deleting the at large Councilman and including two citizens from the general community.
2. We want Resolution 73-827 to be passed with the understanding that at least one Councilman and one citizen will be Black.
3. We want Resolution 73-827 to be passed with the understanding that the Council will entertain nominees for the Black membership from the Coalition Against Police Repression, the city-wide coalition that represents the interests of the Black community on this issue.

JUSTICE NOW!

RESOLUTION NO. 73-827

A RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE CHIEF OF POLICE, OR ACTING CHIEF OF POLICE, TO APPOINT THREE MEMBERS OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL TO SERVE ON THE DISCIPLINARY REVIEW BOARD OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT.

WHEREAS, recent events in the community reflect a need to have civilian input in disciplinary proceedings involving officers of the Metropolitan Police Department; and,

WHEREAS, the former Chief of Police established a Disciplinary Review Board consisting of members of the Metropolitan Police Department to review cases involving possible disciplinary action against police officers and to recommend appropriate disciplinary action; and,

WHEREAS, the addition of certain members of the Metropolitan Council to the Disciplinary Review Board would provide the community with capacity to the Chief of Police or Acting Chief of Police; and,

WHEREAS, civilian representation on the advisory Board would provide a means whereby interested citizens can be apprised of the relevant facts of each case involving police disciplinary action.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT OF NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY:

SECTION 1. The Metropolitan Council hereby goes on record as requesting the Chief of Police or the Acting Chief of Police to appoint three additional members to the Metropolitan Police Department Disciplinary Review Board. The additional members of said Board shall be chosen by the Chairman of the Metropolitan Council from among the membership of said Council with one appointee of the Personnel Committee of said Council, one appointee being a member of the Public Safety Council, and the remaining member to be chosen from among the general membership of the Metropolitan Council.

SECTION 2. The Chief of Police or Acting Chief of Police is hereby requested to signify his compliance or noncompliance with this resolution by an appropriate letter addressed to the Chairman of the Metropolitan Council.

SECTION 3. This Resolution shall take effect from and after its adoption, the welfare of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County requiring it.

Introduced by:

Carlton H. Petway
Morris B. Haddox

Telegram

NHA153(1610)(1-161199G347)PD 12/13/73 1610

ICS IPMIIHA IISS

IISS FM RCA 13 1610

PMS NASHVILLE TN

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LT

ABDUL ALKALIMAT BOX 5747

NASHVILLE TENNESSEE

SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT FOR COALITION AGAINST

POLICE REPRESSION RACIST MURDERS MUST BE ENDED FIGHT ON

TILL VICTORY

TIM HECTOR AFRO-CARIBBEAN LIB MOVEMENT

COL 5747 RPT 5747 LIB

NNN
SF-1201 (R3-69)

The Nashville African Liberation Committee has studied the historical developments and current tendencies in the support of Black people in the United States for the liberation struggles being waged by our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

All who have the victory of Black people over racism, capitalism and imperialism at heart are indeed encouraged by the many recent developments which hasten our victory. We draw great inspiration from the recent declaration by the heroic comrades of Guinea-Bissau who, in the full spirit of their slain leader, Amilcar Cabral, have declared themselves an independent and sovereign people on September 24, 1973. Reports of advances in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa also heartens us.

But while these advances inspire us and fuel our determination to strike even more death blows to imperialism, we are also forced to become more aware of the equally inevitable attempts to either destroy our movement or to divert it from its present successful path. It is the duty of every comrade in support of our liberation to uphold the integrity and advances which have been made under the banner of the African Liberation Support Committee, and to strengthen and refine our future efforts.

It is for this purpose that we address ourselves to the contradictions ~~xxx~~ raised by the upcoming National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with Africa, October 19-21, 1973 in Chicago, Illinois. While the conference is certainly a welcomed addition to the movement to increase Afro-American solidarity with Africa, it is essential that we put the conference in proper historical context--to fully understand its place in the total landscape of our struggle. In doing so, we choose not to quibble over the chronology of the two documents produced by ALSC and the convenors of the Chicago conference. It is only important for us

to realize that since both documents have developed in the same historical period, our task at this point is to understand the historical (material) basis for both of the formulations. It is only by doing so can we make a more scientific interpretation of the relationship and the particularities of each document, and plot the course of future struggle. It is our studied conclusion that the historical basis for the present activity--especially the upcoming conference--is the concrete motions of struggle of Black people led by the African Liberation Support Committee over the past two years.

This is important because it would be unscientific--anti-historical--to act as if we can impose our subjective aspirations on Historical reality. We cannot act as if ALSC does not exist and to speak of needing a movement in solidarity with liberation struggles in Africa. To be revolutionary is to be in ~~xxx~~ ^{rhythm} ~~xxx~~ with history. And in this time and place to be in rhythm with history vis-a-vis the liberation struggles of Black people at home and abroad means to: SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT THAT ALREADY EXISTS. BUILD ALSC!!

Let us share with you some of the details of the history of ALSC and the evolving process by which it has come to represent one of the most advanced formations of struggle among Black people in the United States. At the same time we would like to compare and contrast the developments around the Chicago conference since it is only through the careful assessment of such particulars can we come to any sound conclusions. We hope this will be conducive to aiding our mutual understanding of the two thrusts and to strengthening the ongoing struggle against a common enemy.

BACKGROUND OF AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

During September, 1971, Owusu Sadauki, then director of Malcolm X Liberation University, made a trip into the liberated areas of Mozambique as a guest of FRELIMO. He has described the experience as a tremendously inspiring one and discussed with the leadership the kind of support that could be mobilized among Black people in the United States in solidarity with their struggle to liberate Africa. On his return, Sadauki called together a group of people who had been associated with movement work. The result of this meeting was the selection of May 27, 1972--the Saturday closest to the May 25 Organization of African Unity's World Solidarity Day--as a day of mass mobilization of Black people in the United States. This decision was in accordance with the suggestions of FRELIMO.

It is important to note the place of Sadauki's visit to Africa in history of relations between Afro-Americans and Africa. His trip in fact was at the end of a particular stage of this relationship. This stage was preceded by at least two other stages in recent time. One stage ends with the 1945 Manchester meeting of the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Under the inspiration of DuBois, the thrust toward national independence and economic emancipation in Africa was pushed forward. With the founding of Ghana in 1957, and President Kwame Nkrumah's call for the assistance of African peoples throughout the world in consolidating the African Revolution opened the door to a second stage. There are many people and organizations which we could associate with this period. We could talk of the travels of SNCC in Africa in the late 60's, and the more recent presence in Africa of people such as Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver. More recently, however, the focus has been on Tanzania and a statement similar to Nkrumah's by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere that his country would welcome contributions from Black people in the U.S. to their struggle. Sadauki's trip to Tanzania came at the end of this particular stage and represents the beginning of a new and even more

... AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH AFRICA.

African Liberation Day--1972 was thus organized as a series of several demonstration in the Western Hemisphere--U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean. Results showed that over 30,000 demonstrated in Washington; 4,000 in San Francisco; 3,000 in Toronto, Canada, 8,000 in Antigua; 4,000 in Dominica; and 2,000 in Grenada--three islands in the Caribbean. There were also smaller demonstrations in New Orleans, Detroit, and in several other cities. These demonstrations were the beginning of a larger struggle the full dimensions of which would become more clearly spelled out as time went on. By any measure the African Liberation Day--1972 activities were very successful.. Part of the success could be attributed to the broad-based nature of the national and local African Liberation Day Steering Committee. Black people from all walks of life - Black workers, civil rights leaders, elected officials, students, civic leaders - cooperated in making the demonstrations what they were. Such names as Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Imammu Baraka, Julian Bond, Stokely Carmichael, Charles Diggs, Nathan Hare, Howard Moore, St. Clair Drake, Ron Dellums, and Carlton Goodlet were among those who actively supported the 1972 demonstrations.

Following the ALD-1972 demonstrations, work was done to consolidate the gains that had been made. On September 30, the decision was made to drop the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee designation and rename the committee the African Liberation Support Committee (A.L.S.C.). The name change signaled a change of emphasis from a single day of mobilizations to a day to day involvement in struggle against the two-headed monster of Black oppression and imperialism. This was the beginning of a more concrete link between the struggles of Black people in the U.S. with the struggles for national liberation on the continent of Africa. Officers were also elected and the decision was made to open an office in Tanzania. ALSC continued to develop meaningful ways in which to support the struggle in Africa. In October, 1972, \$2,000 was presented to the late PAIGC Chairman Amilcar Cabral visiting in the U.S. The most pressing

issue during this period was to clarify our understanding of the concrete needs of Black people in the U.S. as a starting place for struggle in support of liberation in Africa.

In early February, plans for African Liberation Day--1973 were finalized. The goals were to have demonstrations in many places in the Western Hemisphere, raise a substantial sum of money to contribute to the liberation struggles in Africa, and to concretely link the struggles of Black people in the U.S. and abroad through the theme "There is no peace with honor. African people are at war with Imperialism both at home and abroad." Focussing more on the working sector of the Black community, the issues of rising unemployment, runaway prices, cutbacks in social programs, and escalating police harassment were stressed. The relationship between such problems in Black communities of the U.S.A. and the realities of Africa became clearer as the two-sidedness of racism and imperialism were discussed.

African Liberation Day--1973 was an even greater success than the previous year's demonstration. Over 100,000 people in over 25 cities in the U.S., Canada, the West Indies, England, and Africa were simultaneously mobilized on May 26--a tremendous quantitative success. But the 1973 demonstrations scored several qualitative victories--they successfully mobilized an even broader segment of the Black community in support of Africa in cities throughout the Western hemisphere and had concretely linked the struggle of Black people in the U.S. to the anti-imperialist struggles of Black people and other oppressed people throughout the world. This occurred in a number of ways: in San Francisco, ALSC demonstrated against the closing of a naval shipyard which would put thousands of Black workers out of work while the U.S. maintained a similar facility in the Phillipines, close to U.S. big business interests that must be protected at all costs; in Baltimore it was a protest against a chromium shipment from Zimbabwe; in several places it was protests over the assassination of Comrade Cabral, discussions of the significance of his life, and a

and a rededication to the struggle against imperialism. In addition, \$40,000 was raised through the United African Appeal to support the liberation struggles, and plans to boycott Gulf, Portuguese wines, and freeze-dried coffees were instituted.

In short, the involvement of Black people in the United States in significant struggle in support of African liberation and as an expression of a mandate for struggle on a much higher level against our common enemy of imperialism based in the U.S. was the essence of African Liberation Day--1973. It was with this mandate that the African Liberation Support Committee began to deal again with the consolidation of the tremendous gains which had been made.

The clearest expression of this process of consolidation is the ALSC Statement of Principles. The document can be summarized as making the following key points:

(1) As the blows against imperialism increase and its crisis deepens, the oppression of Black people in the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and the rest of the world will increase to new levels.

(2) That the new unity of the Black liberation struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character.

(3) That the struggle to unify forces in the Black community which share a commitment to struggle against racism, imperialism, and capitalism is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement;

(4) Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that Black workers take the lead.

The programs for ALSC included raising money for liberation groups, conducting educational seminars on racism, colonialism, imperialism, and their effects of Africa; developing educational materials, supporting the struggles of the Black community against oppression in the U.S.,

Canada, and the Caribbean; engaging in efforts to transform U.S. policy in Africa, engaging in mass actions against governments and corporations in support of the oppression of Africans, and spearheading the African Liberation Day demonstrations.

ALSC has since decided to mount an all-out drive to repeal the Byrd Amendment which permits the importation of chrome from Zimbabwe into the U.S. in spite of U.N. sanctions against such imports. Demonstrations have been ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ held several times in cities across the country and petitions have been circulated and sent to members of Congress. Certainly the recent decisions of the Nixon administration to end their opposition to repealing the Byrd Amendment is closely related to mounting pressures from the entire Black community, spearheaded by ALSC.

The most accurate way of assessing the correctness of one's program is to gauge the response of Black people across the country. Mass involvement in the ALD demonstrations as well as the nickles and dimes and dollars which were recently taken on behalf of Black people in the U.S. to the liberation fighters in Africa adds up as a significant indicator of support in the Black community. But we must ~~examine~~ not forget that we are part and parcel of a larger struggle who will evaluate us on the basis of our internal clarity and consistency and our success in advancing our common struggle. In this regard, the international response to the efforts of ALSC have been very clear. One liberation organization stated in a communication before ALD-73: "the ALSC has shirked no sacrifice in striving to translate its noble sentiment of solidarity and support for Africans still under colonial and racial domination. As a result, there exists today a marked high level of consciousness on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. American Blacks are increasingly awakening to the reality of the situation facing their brothers in their homeland, and increasingly identifying with their noble cause of armed struggle and national independence." Another liberation movement stated that if "full supports

this historic demonstration [African Liberation Day] which aims at solidifying and consolidating the revolutionary links between the struggles on the African continent and the struggles of Black people in the United States."

However, it is the most recent trip of ALSC representatives to personally deliver the funds raised through the United African Appeal that is even more indicative of the growing links between ALSC and progressive forces on the African continent. A story in the official party newspapers (T.A.N.U.) proclaimed "Owusu Comes as Party Guest," and it expressed the government's and the party's appreciation and solidarity shown by the ALSC. Discussions were held with many of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa including FRELIMO, PAIGC, MPLA, UNITA, ZAPU, & ZANU. Speeches by ALSC representatives at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania secondary schools, and rural villages, the liberation center in Zambia, and in Guinea were ex well received.

ALSC AND THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

We have shared with you these details because they speak to the historical development of an important aspect of the present situation. And if we can all agree that the past and present efforts of ALSC and the Chicago Conference are correct motions during this period, then it is essential that we have a full understanding of what is taking place now.

With this background, we would like to make some specific comments on the upcoming National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with Africa in Chicago, October 19-21. Our comments are based on a careful study of the Call issued for the conference as well as several other documents related to the conference and comparing them with the ALSC

Statement of Principles.

(1) There is a marked absence of an analysis of the most pressing problems of the Black people in the United States in the Call to the Chicago Conference. The ALSC document is, on the other hand, not ambiguous in stating that our struggle is a struggle against racism as well as a struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The problems of increasing unemployment and super-exploitation on the job, cutbacks in social programs, escalating police repression, drug addiction and the cultural aggression that grows more intense and sinister each day, ^{are} calculated to have a more intense effect on the Black community. These developments make Black people the oppressed of the oppressed and any analysis which attempts to speak to the needs of struggle in the Black community must single them out for explicit treatment or be viewed as less than a total program of struggle for our liberation.

(2) The Conference call, in ignoring the concreteness of ALSC, and calling for Black people to join them "to begin . . . a united mass on-going movement, a people's movement, an anti-imperialis movement" is anti-historical at worst, and incorrect in the extreme at best. African Liberation Support Committee is deeply rooted in the Black community and relating to the day to day motions of Black peoples' struggles. In over 20 cities in the Western Hemisphere, ALSC operates not only as a vehicle for supporting liberation struggles in Africa, but also as a local community organization dealing with other problems of the community. To simply wish that this is not the case--to negate the flow of history and to impose our subjective aspirations on historical concreteness--is to raise some serious questions about the sincerity of the convenors of the conference in building a vehicle that will move us closer to liberation and not retarding the process already underway.

(3) The emphasis of the Chicago Call is clearly on SUPPORT for the liberation movements in Africa. The ALSC Statement of Principles speaks

unambiguously not only to support but to STRUGGLE within the U.S. In the words of the document, "we must merge the Black liberation struggles in the U.S. with the national liberation struggles in Africa, because a victory anywhere in the fight against U.S. imperialism is a victory everywhere. We must coordinate the Black liberation Struggles in the Western Hemisphere with the overall struggle of people of color to change the fundamental nature of this ~~sexist~~ society, because we have a responsibility to the world ^{to} fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold." Without struggle--without an intense and militant fight here in the belly of the imperialist monster--there will be no progress towards liberation.

(4) In calling for a "united mass on-going movement," the Chicago conference has left open a most essential question--which group in the Black community will be the leading force. The ALSC document states the necessity to scientifically identify different classes and social groupings so that we can build an effective movement. The ALSC position on the question is instructive: "we must give the highest priority to mobilizing Black workers because they have demonstrated the power to do many things, such as stop the illegal chrome shipments from Rhodesia, expose the repressive use of Polaroid identification systems and stop the production of cars, not only in solidarity with the liberation struggles, but also as part of the fight against their own oppression. Therefore, we encourage Black workers to take the lead."

ALSC's relationship to the vanguard role of Black workers is important to note. The stand of Black dockworkers in Burnside, La., in refusing to unload chrome shipments from Zimbabwe in 1972 is now legend. The African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (now ALSC) provided the context for the proper understanding of the chrome issue. Owusu Sadauki cooperated with the local union in Burnside in bringing national attention

to the Burnside struggle. The result was the involvement of Burnside workers in the activities of African Liberation Day in 1972 and 1973, and ~~much~~ much broader support for the Burnside workers. The Bay Area ALSC was instrumental in securing an endorsement and full support for the Burnside action from the Bay Area Longshoreman's Union. The Burnside demonstration also pointed up the fallacy of imperialist logic that concluded that Black workers and indeed the Black community in Louisiana represented a weak link in anti-imperialist struggle. This was the reason that the chrome shipment went to Burnside and not to San Francisco, or to East Coast ports. It is the growing militancy of the working sector of the Black community which forms the material basis of African Liberation Support Committee and it is this sector which will lead the struggle for liberation to victory.

(5) The conference call, intentionally or unintentionally, fails to unequivocally assert the vanguard role that ALSC has played and continues to play in anti-imperialist struggle in the Black community. While the call mentions activities around African Liberation Day as having mobilized "some sentiment in the Black community," it refuses to accept the qualitative advances of the African Liberation Support Committee over the past year and the validity of the ALSC Statement of Principles as a basis to do what it says is most important: "to inform, organize, and mobilize the people of the United States in order to stop the enemies of freedom . . .". The Conference Call fails to point out that it is the African Liberation Support Committee that has spearheaded "the continuing effort to crystallize the sentiment among Black people into a clear and decisive anti-imperialist movement" that the National Conference endeavors to support. ALSC has mounted petition drives (chrome), initiated fund-raising efforts (through the United African Appeal, \$42,000 was taken for African Liberation fighters), protest marches (African Liberation Day 1972 and 1973), and

boycott actions (Gulf, Portuguese wines, and freeze-dried coffees).

And these things have been done with mass support. In short, while the call is to a conference in Chicago, the African Liberation Support Committee has taken the issue of militant struggles in support of Africa and for our own liberation to the MASSES. And not just to Black people in the United States. ALSC has succeeded to a great extent in linking the struggle in the U.S. with the struggles of Black people in Canada, ~~xw~~ and in the Caribbean as indicated by the 15,000 who demonstrated on African Liberation Day 1973 in these two important centers of imperialist exploitation.

(6) In Summary, the conference call is without clear links to the historical and current struggles among Black people in the U.S. around the question of anti-imperialist support of African Struggles and struggles for our liberation in the U.S. The document of the African Liberation Support Committee is a much more dynamic and living document, as is the work of ALSC, because it grows from our practice--our concrete day to day involvement in the struggles of our people. It is a program in progress while the call to the Chicago conference represents at best, a somewhat late, unclear, and weakly worded but potentially destructive program in anticipation.

Before closing we want to share with you our analysis of the context in which our struggle is taking place. It is in this context that a careful scrutiny of the Chicago conference, and other related motions, become even more significant. There are only two possibilities in developing a relationship to Africa: (1) one will either ~~xxxxxx~~ serve the interests of imperialism or serve the interests of liberation. There have been clear indications of increasing activities in the first area. Recent proposals for "dual citizenship" fall in this category, and the well-intentioned efforts to assist drought victims in West Africa can unintentionally

serve the interests of imperialism since they substitute individual philanthropy for a militant posture on the underlying reasons why the richest continent in the world cannot feed its people. On the other hand, those who serve the interests of African liberation have also escalated their activities--increased material aid to the liberation movements, political propaganda and agitation inside imperialist countries, etc.

Within the reactionary camp, or those who serve the interests of imperialism, there is a growing struggle between people who are in the direct pay of imperialism, ~~XX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ (government, diplomats, military personnel, etc.), and those who are interest groups willing to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the ruling class (for example, Black people who want "a piece of the imperialist action of exploiting the resources of Africa").

Within the revolutionary camp there is a growing contradiction and struggle between the motion that is concretely moving the masses of Black people and those who are attempting to coopt this motion and redirect it to serve certain interests that they have conceived.

What is the significance of this, particularly for ALSC? Those in the pay of imperialism and ALSC have been locked in struggle as two leading aspects of the contradiction between the two camps. But each camp now has an insurgent group of an opportunist character that is escalating its attempts to become the main force in their respective camps. ALSC, as the most advanced motion of the revolutionary camp, must not only guard against increasing attacks from the reactionary camp, but must also be vigilant against attacks from other forces within the revolutionary camp which desire hegemony over anti-imperialist activity in the Black community ~~xxxxxx~~ in solidarity with African liberation struggles. We must also be on guard for very well-organized, well-laid and well-financed

coalitions between the insurgent groups of both camps in efforts ~~themselves~~ ~~different~~ to serve their common interests--that of becoming the dominant force in their respective camps--regardless of any fundamental differences which may exist between them.

In closing, we wish to reiterate the historical significance of the current struggles of Black people and the importance that ALSC has earned in the eyes and minds of Black people. It is in theory and in practice the historical embodiment, the crystallization and the synthesis of the aspirations of Black people throughout the world--Africa, the Caribbean, the U.S., South America, Canada,--for a militant and fighting united front in our struggle against the forces of racism, imperialism, and capitalism.

Our struggle, in this place and time, is not to replicate the great W.E.B. DuBois, but to ~~build on his ideas and implement~~ implement the many ideas he has left. Our task is not simply to quote Cabral or Nyere, but to build the kind of movement that will win international respect because it pushes us at least one, but hopefully many steps forward in our struggle. Our goal is not simply to carve out a niche where Black people in the U.S. can be comfortable, but to build a world which knows oppression and exploitation of no kind by destroying U.S. imperialism -- the main obstacle. It is the duty of all Black people to understand the significance of what we are doing. We must protect the integrity of our movement against those who, for whatever reason, would seek to engineer a split or divert our forces. The immediate task is not to rant and rave, not to be silent, but to be studied and calculated in understanding and struggling against attacks on the African Liberation Support Committee from the right and from the left.

The time is late in 1973, and even later in the struggle of our people for liberation. As the late Comrade Amilcar Cabral said in a speech only days before he was assassinated, "the hour is that of action

and not that of speeches. . . An action that gets more and more forcible and efficient everyday . . ." Such is the urgency of our present tasks.

DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!

STRENGTHEN AFRO-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICA!

SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT THAT ALREADY EXISTS!

BUILD ALSC!!

FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Local Area Research Guide

Prepared By

ALSC Research and Development

P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tennessee
U.S.A.

December, 1973

The African Liberation Support Committee is guided by a statement of principles based on a scientific approach to the Black liberation struggle. This requires that each local ALSC committee be guided by uniting revolutionary theory with a concrete analysis of the objective conditions in that local area. This is not a luxury, but a necessity. Therefore, the Research and Development Committee has produced this Local Area Research Guide to help each committee begin the analysis immediately. It is hoped that most of the local committees will have this form filled out by the next Steering Committee meeting. One copy should be turned into the Research and Development Committee, and the other kept for use in the local area.

OUTLINE

Part One: Questionnaire on Local Area

1. Questionnaire
2. Guidelines for Questionnaire
Item 3-F
3. Sources of Information

Part Two: Guidelines for Writing a Local History of Struggle

PART ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE ON LOCAL AREA

1. POPULATION	City		County		State	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Black	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
White	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Chicano	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Native American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Puerto Rican	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Asian	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

2. ECONOMY

A. What are the largest industries of the local economy (e.g. auto in Detroit, printing in Nashville)?

Industries	Total Employed	% Black
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____

B. List the top 10 employers.

	Total Employed	% Black
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

C. List the 10 largest locally owned businesses.

	Total Employed	% Black
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

D. List the 10 largest multi-national corporations with plants in the local area, (e.g. Ford).

	Total Employed	% Black
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

3. POLITICS

A. % vote Democratic in presidential elections:

City _____ County _____ State _____

1960 _____

1964 _____

1968 _____

1972 _____

B. Who is (are) the ranking Black person(s) in the:

1. Mayor's Office

Name _____ Position _____

_____ in the county government?

2. Governor's Office

Describe the condition of the following: see attached sheet for instructions

C. Who are the key Black and what positions do they hold?

1. Democrats

2. Republicans

3. Independents (electoral politics)

D. List the key political districts (size of population, % Black, political organizations).

1. City Government _____

2. State Legislature _____

3. Congress _____

E. Is "metro" government an issue (uniting the city with the county government)?

Yes _____

No _____

Explain: _____

F. Describe the condition of the following, (see attached sheet for instructions):

1. Public Transportation: _____

2. Hospitals: _____

3. School System: _____

4. Police: _____

5. Welfare: _____

6. Sanitation: _____

4. BLACK COMMUNITY

A. Class Structure

1. 1970 Census Occupational Structure

No.

%

Professional and Technical

Managers, Officials, & Proprietors

Clerical

Sales

Craftsmen & Foremen

Operatives

Service Workers

Private Household Workers

Non-Farm Laborers

Farmers & Farm Workers

2. What is the % of the total Black population in the city?

- A. Receiving welfare assistance _____
- B. Unemployed _____
- C. Family income \$10,000 or more _____
- D. Family income \$3,000 or less _____

3. List the top 10 major Black businessmen

	Who	Business (name & type)	#Employees
A.	_____	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____	_____
C.	_____	_____	_____
D.	_____	_____	_____
E.	_____	_____	_____
F.	_____	_____	_____
G.	_____	_____	_____
H.	_____	_____	_____
I.	_____	_____	_____
J.	_____	_____	_____

B. Social Institutions, Organizations, & Leadership

1. List the 10 largest Black churches and their ministers

	Church	Minister
A.	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____
C.	_____	_____
D.	_____	_____
E.	_____	_____
F.	_____	_____
G.	_____	_____
H.	_____	_____
I.	_____	_____
J.	_____	_____

2. List union locals with the largest Black membership, (e.g. Local 123 of UAW):

	Total Membership	% Black
A. _____	_____	_____
B. _____	_____	_____
C. _____	_____	_____
D. _____	_____	_____
E. _____	_____	_____
F. _____	_____	_____
G. _____	_____	_____
H. _____	_____	_____
I. _____	_____	_____
J. _____	_____	_____

3. List all major Black elected officials (use additional sheets if necessary).

	Name	Office	Party	Date of next election
A. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
G. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
H. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
J. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4. List mass media (Black owned or oriented)

A. Newspapers

Describe

B. Journals

C. T.V. Programs

D. Radio

E. Bookstore

5. Major organizations (size, power, & influence)

A. Political

Describe

B. Religious

Describe

C. Labor

D. Student - Youth

E. Social Welfare

F. Business

G. Social Fraternal

H. Civil Rights

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

6. What was the last issue of political significance to involve:

A. The Black Community: _____

B. The white community: _____

C. The _____ community: _____

D. The _____ community: _____

GUIDELINES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM 3-F

- F. 1. List number of employees, number of Black administrators, fares, adequacy of schedules and routes, nature of union (if any), and most recent controversial issue.
2. Number of hospitals, beds, Black employees, Black administrators, union, most recent struggles.
3. % of high school and elementary school students Black, % of teachers Black, % of administrators Black, any all Black schools. What happened around the "bussing" issue? Are there union struggles?
4. % of Black police, highest ranking Blacks. Is there any controversy around Afro-American Patrolman's Leagues, Civilian Review Boards, police brutality, etc.? Is there a special police unit for political subversion?
5. Are welfare recipients organized? Any controversy around food stamps? Any recent struggles?
6. Are workers unionized? % Black employed, any recent struggles?

GENERAL SOURCES FOR INFORMATION

ITEMS

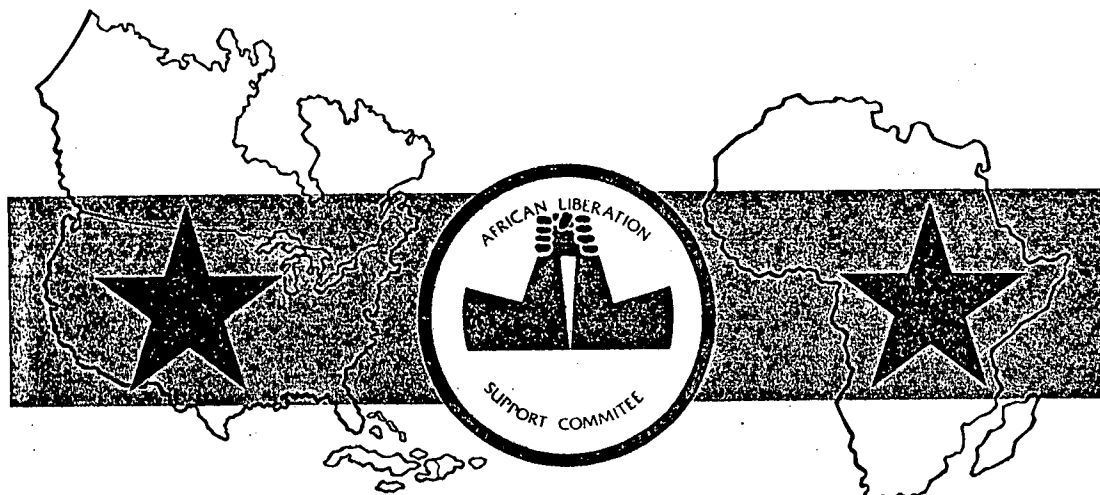
- 1 U.S. Census 1970. Available in most large libraries, or Planning Commission of the city government.
- 2 Local Chamber of Commerce. Go to their office and use any "front" (e.g., I'm doing a term paper for school, or an article for a newspaper), and ask for the appropriate information. Generally, get all "free" material available.
- 3A Local Election Commissioners Office
- 3B-F Interviews. Political reporters for newspaper or radio, political scientist at a local college who is studying the area.
- 4A1 U.S. Census 1970
- 4A2 Urban League, U.S. Census
- 4A3 Interview with Black businessman
- 4B1 Interview minister of a large church, especially someone like the head of the local Black Interdenominational Ministers Alliance.
- 4B2 Interview with leading Black trade unionist, or A. Philip Randolph Institute staff.
- 4B3 Interview with leading Black political leadership.
- 4B4 Interview with leading Black media figure.

GENERAL (Available from ALSC Research & Development Committee
P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tn. 37208)

1. NACLA (Research & Methodology Guide), \$1.00
2. Statistical Abstract of the United States (U.S. Govt. Printing Office) \$5.50
3. Where It's At? (A Guide Book for Research and Community Organizing) \$1.00
4. Care and Feeding of the Power Structure, \$.25

PART TWO: GUIDELINES FOR WRITING A LOCAL HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

1. Each analysis should have three parts:
 - a. History of struggle in general
 - b. History of A.L.S.C. in local area
 - c. Summation of current local situation
2. Each analysis should utilize a diversity of sources:
 - a. Primary material: documents from the organizations and individuals who were actually involved in the struggle;
 - b. Secondary material: every major newspaper has a clipping library that should be used, every main branch of a public library has a special collection on the city, every local university will have dissertations in their libraries on the cities, and the Readers Guide should be used in the reference section of the library to search for relevant magazine articles on the city.
 - c. Primary interviews: every high point of struggle involves people in leading roles. After listing the major struggles over the past 5 years, select one or two key participants in each and interview them.
 - d. Secondary interviews: every city has Black people who have been observing if not studying the movement and problems facing Black people. The key types are newspaper people, social scientists at a college, a researcher for social agency, (Urban League, Human Relations Council, etc.). These people are good for an overview and historical development of the struggle, and also to identify primary interviews and source material.
3. Each analysis should be written by a collective of A.L.S.C. members:
 - a. people should be asked to write up a descriptive history of the committee work they've been involved in (just a few paragraphs will do, especially if everyone participates).
 - b. When the analysis is in draft form all committee members should be asked to make comments in writing on how to revise it.
4. Each analysis should be written so that our "Statement of Principles" is balanced by demonstrating that our theory has been tested in (or historically reflects) our practice. In other words we must answer the question "Do we or have we practiced what we preach?"
5. Each written analysis should be backed up with a documentary file consisting of photographs, slides, films, and tapes of the events. A collection of photographs is an important addition to a written essay.



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 5, 1974

THE CONSOLIDATED FORCES OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE WILL ENSURE OUR FREEDOM

For further information contact:
 Dawolu Gene Locke, Chairperson
 African Liberation Support Committee
 P.O. Box 14093
 Houston, Texas 77021
 (713) 524-8679

In an Executive Committee meeting of the African Liberation Support Committee, held January 4th in Nashville, Tn., the following ALSC position on OIL AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM was adopted.

The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) firmly supports the heroic struggles of the Palestinian peoples, and staunchly opposes the oil monopolies in their attempt to continue the superexploitation of oil-producing third world countries, and the masses of people inside of the oil importing capitalist countries. ALSC supports the nationalization of oil companies, and urges more boycotts by the oil-producing countries against the major imperialist countries: Israel, Portugal, Rhodesia, South Africa, Japan, Western Europe, Canada, and the USA.

The widespread belief that there is an "energy crisis" is the sham result of imperialist propaganda generated by the oil monopolies. This view holds that, in the long run, the crisis is the result of a world shortage in oil reserves due to an increase in demand for oil, and in the short run, is the result of the Arab countries boycotting the pro-Israel oil-importing countries in order to get an unreasonably high price for oil. However, the problem is not with natural resources nor with the countries being exploited by the monopolies. The so-called energy crisis is a general crisis of the imperialist system. This general crisis is manifested in the oil-energy industry as well as in most other areas of world trade, in the Middle East, as well as Southern Africa, and Guinea Bissau, the Caribbean, Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands; in the Watergates of the capitalist capitals as well as in the fascist feudalism of kings and military dictators.

(MORE)

ALSC holds the following position on the world crisis of imperialism and the so-called energy crisis.

1. The oil monopolies in the USA must be smashed. As immediate measures towards that end, ALSC calls for the following:
 - A. No tax subsidies for the oil monopolies (elimination of the depletion allowance and tax rebates for exploration and research);
 - B. Repeal of recent ruling to cut back gasoline allocations to the people and instead to cut back on the fuel allocations to the U.S. military establishment;
 - C. Reinstatement of conservation and ecology legislation concerning strip-mining; off-shore drilling and water and air pollution controls;
 - D. Price controls on all gasoline and heating fuel at a pre-1973 level.
2. Black people throughout the world must rally in support of the heroic peoples of Mozambique and Angola to smash the South Africa-inspired projects for hydro-electric power - the Cabora Bassa Dam and the Cunene River Dam Scheme. The imperialists plan to settle one million armed colonists in each area to serve as a buffer force to protect South Africa, while the energy is used to power the industrial base for apartheid expansion into "independent Africa". This hydro-electric energy must be kept from the apartheid imperialism at all costs.
3. The continued presence of Gulf Oil Company (controlled by the Mellon interest group in Pittsburgh, Pa.) in Angola-Cabinda Province must be challenged by the masses of the USA. Gulf has over \$250 million invested and pays taxes to finance 1/3 of the Portuguese military budget for Angola. Gulf helps kill African people in Angola, so we must help kill Gulf in the USA.
4. USA monopoly control of the petroleum industry in Canada and the Caribbean must be ended. No longer can Black people tolerate the anarchy of capitalist production in which a country's natural resources are exploited by foreign monopolies while they must go without the benefit of these resources. We call for the peoples of African descent in Canada and the Caribbean to rise up and confront the US monopolies (operating as multi-national corporations) while the Black liberation movement moves to lead the attack of the angry masses of the USA.

ALSC views the current period as one of a great disorder, the downward motion of a system in crisis. Our task is to agitate among the masses of Black people, and unite the people into a broad based anti-racist,

(MORE)

anti-imperialist united front movement. Democracy - the right to a decent life - is the key to our struggle.

SMASH THE OIL MONOPOLIES!! MORE LOWER-PRICED FUEL FOR THE PEOPLE!!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!!

SMASH THE CABORA-BASSA DAM!! SMASH THE CUNENE RIVER DAMS!!

BUILD MORE ASWANS!! BUILD MORE AKOSOMBOES!! *

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!!

BUILD ALSC!!!!

*Awsan Dam is located in Egypt on the Nile River - Akosombo Dam is in Ghana, on the Volta River.

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BUILD ALEC!!!!

*Aswan Dam is located in Egypt on the Nile River - Akosombo Dam is in Ghana, on the Volta River. **BUILD IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (RATHER THAN APARTHEID)**

SHORT STUDY GUIDE ON POSITION

ADOPTED AT JANUARY 4th SESSION OF ALSC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ON OIL AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

Prepared by ALSC Research and Development

1. The general crisis of imperialism reflects the fundamental contradictions within the capitalist mode of production at this stage of history, the 20th century. ALSC must have a clear theoretical grasp of this condition if we are to wage a successful struggle.

- A. What is imperialism? Lenin, in his classic work of scientific analysis Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, wrote:

"We must now try to sum up, to draw together the threads of what has been said above on the subject of imperialism. Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites, when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves in all spheres. Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the basic feature of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still larger-scale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen of so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system.

"If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist associations of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolist possession of the territory of the world, which has been completely divided up.

"But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since we have to deduce from them some especially important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

- (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

- B. The general crisis of imperialism has two faces: a struggle between advanced capitalist countries and a struggle against capitalist countries by oppressed peoples and nations. This has developed in three stages:

Stage I - World War I (1914-1918) represented a struggle between advanced capitalist countries for the control of colonies, followed by the October Revolution of 1917--the rise of the first socialist state;

Stage II - World War II (1940-1945) was also a war between advanced capitalist countries followed by the rapid development of anti-colonial wars of national liberation. These national liberation struggles reached their highest levels in Cuba, Vietnam, and Guinea-Bissau;

Stage III - Current Crisis: The current crisis is an internal struggle between capitalist countries that stems from the loss of U.S. hegemony and the rise of industrial competition from Japan and the European Economic Community (Britain, France, etc.). In addition, the socialist world now has increased greatly in size and strength, and is active on all continents. (For a fuller discussion of these points, see the ALSC Statement of Principles)

2. The Oil Monopoly

A. The International Oil Monopoly

THE SEVEN SISTERS - The most important fact about the so-called energy crisis is that it is not just an energy crisis, but a crisis of the entire imperialist system--a system that is dominated by giant corporations that monopolize all five aspects of economic production (exploration, production, transportation, refining, and marketing), and because of their size and power are able to exploit people all over the world to make super-profits. The international oil monopoly is dominated by **THE SEVEN SISTERS**:

NAME	RANK IN ALL CORPS.	CONTROLLING INTEREST	ASSETS BILLIONS	SALES BILLIONS	PROFIT MILLIONS
1 EXXON (Standard Oil of New Jersey)	1	Rockefeller Empire	20.3	18.7	1,461
2 Royal Dutch/Shell	2	Dutch/British Capital	20.0	14.1	902
3 Texaco	4	Chicago/Texas Interests	10.9	7.5	904
4 Gulf	7	Mellon Family	9.5	5.9	561
5 Mobil (Standard Oil of N.Y.)	8	Rockefeller Empire	8.5	8.2	541
6 British Petroleum	9	British Government	8.2	5.7	362
7 Standard Oil of California	11	Rockefeller Empire	7.5	5.1	511
			<hr/> 84.9	<hr/> 65.2	<hr/> 5,242

As indicated, these seven oil corporations are among the largest 11 corporations in the world. If compared to the 500 largest corporations in the U.S., these seven oil monopolies would total:

19% of the total assets of the 500 largest U.S. corporations					
13% of the total sales	"	"	"	"	"
19% of the total profits	"	"	"	"	"
2.7% of the total workforce	"	"	"	"	"

These oil monopolies control every aspect of the international oil industry. In 1970, these seven companies controlled:

70% of the world's production of crude oil,
 70% of the world's tanker capacity to ship crude oil
 55% of the world's refineries used to convert crude oil into gas, fuels, etc.

- B. MONOPOLY in general is a key part of the U.S. economic picture. In many industries there are four giant corporations which produce most of the products: plate glass (98%), telephone equipment (94%), cigarettes (81%), motor vehicles (79%), rubber tires (71%), aircraft (67%), and steel (64%). The total sales of the largest 500 corporations was \$502.9 billion in 1971--2.5 times as large as the budget receipts of the U.S. government.

In oil, the 21 largest oil companies all have assets over \$1 billion, totaling \$101.6 or 22.3% of the assets of the largest 500 U.S. corporations. The profits of these 21 corporations totals \$6 billion. or 26.1% of the total profits of the largest 500 corporations.

In 1972, the top 20 oil monopolies dominated the U.S. oil industry, controlling at least:

70% of crude oil production

80% of the transportation

80% of all refining capacity

72% of all gasoline sold.

Another important factor about the U.S. oil monopoly is that the concentration of power and control over all aspects of the industry is increasing and not decreasing. Between 1956 and 1968, the 20 major oil companies absorbed 20 formerly independent firms engaged in petroleum refining. Five of these mergers involved assets of over \$2 billion. The major oil companies also made 52 mergers in the field of crude oil and natural gas production, and important acquisition in coal and nuclear energy. Thus, the oil monopoly has very rapidly transformed itself into an ENERGY MONOPOLY, controlling oil and other alternative sources of energy.

3. Exploitation of the Third World

- A. Investments - U.S. investments are heavily concentrated in the Third World (Asia, Africa, and Latin America) and especially concentrated in petroleum.

Total U.S. Investments Abroad	\$86 Billion
Total U.S. Investments in Third World	\$23.3 Billion
Percent of Investments in Third World	27.1%
Total U.S. Investments in Petroleum	\$24.3 Billion
Percent of Investments in Petroleum	29.0%

B. Because of the super-exploitation of the Third World, these countries are also the source of super-profits for the oil monopolies. As the following chart indicates, all of the major oil companies in the U.S. rely on the Third World for their profits.

SOURCES OF PROFITS FOR MAJOR OIL COMPANIES (In percent)

	U.S.	OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES	AFRICA, ASIA & LATIN AMER.
EXXON	46	21	35
TEXACO	49	14	37
GULF	70	10	20
MOBIL	42	5	53
STANDARD OIL OF CALIFORNIA	46	5	49

To be more specific, U.S. corporations earned a total of \$10.2 billion in 1971. Of this total profits, 38.9% came from petroleum (almost \$4 billion). Of this \$4 billion earned in petroleum, \$2.4 billion, or almost 55% came from the exploitation of petroleum in Africa and the Middle East. Also, in 1970, Venezuela in Latin America, provided 10% of all U.S. petroleum earnings.

C. Control of Oil Reserves - The reason for this tremendous investment is to maintain control over important oil concessions in various parts of the world. In 1973, the Middle East and Africa accounted for 69.4% of the world's proved reserves of crude oil. The control of the companies permitted to produce the oil in these most important oil producing countries were the major oil monopolies:

PRODUCING COMPANY	MAJOR OWNERS	PERCENT
Abu Dhabi	British Petroleum	66 2/3%
Marine	CFP (French)	33 1/3%
Kuwait Oil Co.	British Petroleum	50%
	Gulf	50%
Iranian Consortium	British Petroleum	40%
	Shell	14%
	Texaco	7%
	Gulf	7%
	Standard Oil/Calif.	7%
	Mobil	7%
	CFP (French)	6%
Iraq	British Petroleum	24%
	CFP	24%
	Shell	24%
	Mobil	24%
	EXXON (Standard/N.J.)	12%

PRODUCING COMPANY	MAJOR OWNERS	PERCENT
Aramco (Saudi Arabia)	EXXON	30%
	Texaco	30%
	Mobil	10%
	Standard Oil/Calif.	30%

4. ALSC RECOMMENDATIONS

A. U.S.A.

1. **END TAX KICKBACKS TO OIL MONOPOLIES.** The oil depletion allowance allows the oil monopolies to deduct 22% of its gross income from the amount of income on which it is charge taxes. The result is a direct subsidy to the oil monopoly estimated at \$3.5-4.0 billion. These taxes have to be provided by working people. Gulf Oil got away with paying taxes at a rate of 0.43% in 1969 on net income of \$990 million. The average taxpayer making between \$8,000 and \$10,000 must pay more than 25%.

A. The U.S. government proviced import quotas for the oil industry restricting the importation of cheaper oil into the U.S. from overseas sources. This would have cost the consumer an estimated \$8.4 billion by 1980. Since this "important quota" was only a disguise to allow U.S. monopolies to make super-profits from cheap foreign oil without expanding oil production in the U.S., the Arab boycott forced the U.S. to abandon this sham and adopt a "get all the oil from wherever you can" policy, completely abonding the 14 year old import quota system.

B. In addition, the U.S. government has always restricted oil production in the U.S. by rationing how much each state and each oil well in that state could produce. This was fronted off as a conservation measure but was in fact a way to aid the oil monopolies in their greed for super-profits by restricting the quantity of all available and keeping the prices high.

C. The Nixon administration has repeatedly proven that it is clearly nothing more than an executive committee in charge of protecting the interests of the oil monopolies-maintaining low taxes, adjusting important quotas when necessary, releasing exploration and research funds, lowering the standards of ecology, releasing exploration and research funds, lowering the standards of ecology legislation, etc. Nixon clearly dances to the tune of the oil monopoly's piper. A recent study released by the U.S. Congress reported that officials and major stockholders of 178 oil companies gave \$5.7 million to the Nixon re-election fund in 1972--over 10% of what he spent. As one congressman put it: "The big oil companies have Mr. Nixon in a double hammer-lock. It is now clear why the administration has been so consistently pro-big oil."

D. All of these practices succeed in what the oil companies want--increasing profits by any means necessary. In November, 1973, all of the major oil corporations reported giant increases in profits

over the same period in 1973. These increases included:

	91% (Percent increase in profits)
Gulf	80
EXXON	71
Getty Oil	64
Mobil	61
Cities Services	43
Phillips	38
Continental	37
Standard Oil/Indiana	35
Marathon	23
Shell	

2. MORE GAS FOR THE PEOPLE! LESS GAS FOR THE MILITARY!

The U.S. ruling class is making sure that the current shortages of fuels do not affect the U.S. military--the arm that is used to maintain U.S. imperialism all over the world. On November 1, 1973, all U.S. refineries were ordered to supply defense needs regardless of previous contracts to supply consumer uses. The Defense Department also asked that jet fuels for commercial airlines be diverted to the military (not too many working people fly, but airlines are important for the delivery of important goods and services, and as a source of jobs). The importance of military uses of fuels is shown by one estimate that U.S. military operations in Vietnam for one day used as much fuel as all the people on U.S. highways.

As the military takes more and more of the dwindling fuel supplies, the people of the U.S. bear more and more of the brunt of the shortage. As of May 30, 1973, almost 3,000 gas stations have shut down or are threatened with closings. Gulf has announced that it is selling or closing over 3,000 stations in the Midwest and Northwest. While thousands of jobs will be lost and gasoline harder to buy, the shortage of fuel will have much more serious impact on sectors of the economy in which Black people are heavily employed or on other aspects of our lives:

--The auto industry has announced lay-offs of over 250,000, 30% of the entire industry. Before Nixon yelled "fuel crisis" Michigan had an unemployment rate of 8.2%, nearly twice the national average, which can only be explained by the entire crisis of the U.S. imperialist system. Steel industry officials claim that "a 15% reduction in fuel consumption will cost more than 30,000 steelmaking jobs." This will affect many other areas of the economy which use steel in production. A reduction in speed limits to 50 m.p.h. will mean a 20% cut in the income of truck drivers. Airlines have already laid off over 5,000 workers. The unemployment rate in the U.S. is expected to soar to over 6% by spring, making it as high as 12-25% for Black workers.

--Homeowners and public buildings will lower temperatures and create further health hazards--an increase in the number of colds, pneumonia, etc., has already been reported. Several deaths from

freezing and suffocation have been reported of people trying to deal with fuel shortages.

--Public utilities have been ordered by Nixon to use coal rather than oil which will add to the already polluted air, especially in urban areas.

--Daylight savings time is sending millions of school children to school in the dark, increasing the safety hazards but not doing very much to reduce fuel consumptions.

In the face of all of this, Nixon and the ruling class he represents continue to jet away for vacations; the ruling class's fleets of gas-guzzling limousines are all shiny and on the go as ever, Rockefeller had the gall to show his family's executive jet and helicopter on a nation-wide T.V. show.

ALSC must seize the hour of this crisis of imperialism to agitate among the masses. Our task is to heighten the consciousness of Black people around these critical issues by combining the projection of our correct analysis, with involvement in their concrete day to day struggles by giving courageous militant support.

3. REINSTATE ECOLOGY AND CONSERVATION LEGISLATION

The oil monopolies have always struggled to defeat measures to conserve energy resources and protect the environment. For example, Standard Oil of California paid half of the campaign fund used to defeat the Clean Air amendment on the November 1970 California ballot. The oil monopoly has always cooperated with the auto monopoly in preventing pollution control devices and non-gas powered cars from reaching the market. More recently, other anti-environment (and anti-people) measures have been instituted for the oil monopolies by the Nixon Administration:

(1) In July 1973, the Senate approved the \$3.5 billion, 789 Alaska pipeline bill (Agnew even broke a tie vote on an amendment which now prevents court suites against the bill by ecology groups). (Even though U.S. taxes will pay for the pipeline, British Petroleum, EXXON, and Atlantic Richfield own 87.5% of the pipeline, and two-thirds of the Alaskan reserves estimated at 15 billion barrels.)

(2) The National Emergency Energy Act, which Congress recently passed, authorized Nixon to suspend the Clean Air Act and allow utilities to use coal and oil which produce more pollution because they contain more sulfur.

(3) Strip mining, which destroys the earth's surface, will now be permitted in oil-rich shale areas of Colorado and Wyoming.

(4) Not only has the sham Environmental Protection Agency "eased" emission control restrictions several times, they are now considering doing away with them altogether to the detriment of air quality and health standards.

(5) Off shore drilling--and the giant oil spills which accompany it--has already been approved for the Pacific Coast (remember Santa Barbara), the Atlantic Coast, and the Gulf of Mexico.

4. PRICE CONTROLS ON ALL GASOLINE

Between the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973, cost of gas for the family car shot up by 2 to 7 cents a gallon in most parts of the U.S. The government has allowed the oil monopolies to "pass through" the increases in the price of Arab oil once a month rather than force the monopolies to absorb the increase in their already inflated super-profits. On January 3, Amoco raised prices 5.8 cents on a gallon of gas and 6.4 cents on home heating oil. In Atlanta, dealers expected a 3 cent increase above the early January price of 45 cents for a gallon of regular. In Detroit, regular was selling at 54.9 cents a gallon, and in D.C. at 57.9 cents for premium. The real question is how high will prices be allowed to go so that the oil monopoly can continue to increase in profits. Europe provides a possible answer. Estimates by government officials indicate the following can be expected:

	Price Per Gallon of Gas--	
	Now	Expected Soon
Italy	\$1.30	\$1.60
Japan	\$1.15	\$1.35
West Germany	\$1.21	\$1.27
France	\$1.10	\$1.19
Switzerland	93¢	\$1.05
Britain	87¢	96¢
Eastern Canada	54¢	64¢
Western Canada	58¢	58¢

B. The imperialist powers, fully aware that development is dependent on the availability of energy resources, are moving to harness the rivers of Southern Africa to serve their interests. Hydro-Electric power is being harnessed by building dams on the major rivers of Mozambique (Zambesi River) and Angola (Cunene River).

A. The Portuguese government is building the Cabora Bassa Dam in the Tete Province of Mozambique. This will be the largest source of hydro-electric power in Africa and the 6th largest in the world. The total cost of the project will be over \$40 million, with over two-thirds of it coming from South Africa. Moreover, most of the electricity will be sent to South Africa. The other will be used to support the development of the irrigated land to be settled by nearly one million colonialist from countries such as Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Rhodesia, and South Africa. It will generate (along with a second dam over 4 million kilowatts of power and open up 6 million acres of newly irrigated land. FRELIMO clearly stated its position in 1971:

"The construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam is the most eloquent expression of the colonialist and imperialist attitude. Cabora Bassa is a crime. It is a crime not only against the Mozambican

people but also the entire people of southern Africa and Africa as a whole. The complicity of the Western powers in the realization of the construction project of the Cabora Bassa Dam has provoked the indignation of the popular forces of these same Western countries. A vast movement of solidarity is developing in the world, especially envisioning the impediment of the Dam construction. This movement of solidarity comes to support precisely the positions and decisions of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people."

2. Based on the successful beginning of the Cabora Bassa Dam project, the South African government was able to get the Portuguese to agree to the Cunene River Dam Scheme. This is scheduled to have 27 dams costing nearly \$625 million. These dams would result in a new 500 square miles of cultivable land and a new 670 square miles of ranch land. The electricity would be used to develop this land and settle over half million settlers. Both Angola and Mozambique are rich in mineral deposits so the multi-national corporations will vie for the concessions. The dams will also be used in Namibia since the Cunene River separates it from Angola.

C. Gulf Oil was founded in 1922 and is controlled by the Mellon Family interests based in Pittsburgh, Pa. Gulf discovered oil off the coast of Angola in 1966, after 12 years of exploration.

1. Gulf is the largest U.S. investor in Africa, with over \$250 million in Angolan Oil. And, Gulf pays from \$30-50 million each year in taxes.

2. Portugal has 12.5% royalty rights in kind (in oil) up to 37.5%. But in case of war (as the Portuguese government decides) they have rights to the total production. The recent Middle East oil boycott has nearly led to this, in cooperation with the U.S. government.

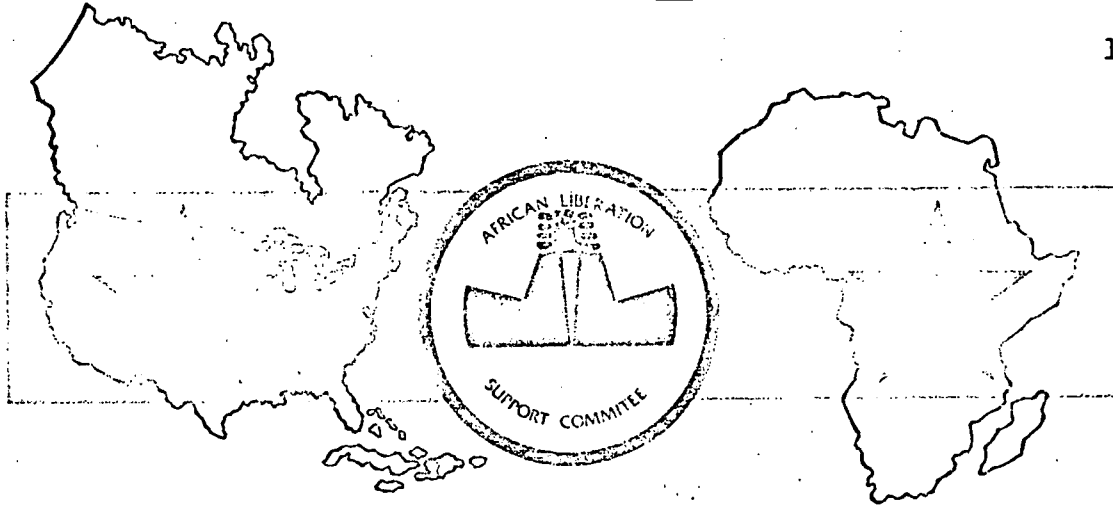
3. Gulf has hired its own force of private police composed of mercenaries from many countries. Moreover, their taxes cover more than 30% of the Angolan military budget.

D. End monopoly control of the oil industry in CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN-- The Statement of Principles of AISC makes clear that Black people in the U.S.A. must understand the control of U.S. imperialism over most of the resources of the world. It is by understanding this that we can understand the contradictions which develop between imperialist countries (e.g. Canada, and the U.S.), and better understand the attempts to increase the exploitation of the Third World (e.g., the Caribbean) to solve these contradictions of imperialism.

1. Canada was the leading source of crude oil imported into the U.S. in 1972, supplying 38.5%. The Arab boycott made the Canadian oil of even greater importance to the U.S. In March, 1973, the Canadians cut oil exports to the U.S. by 4%, concerned that their own refineries might run short of oil. Recently, Canada announced that the export tax on oil coming into the U.S. will increase almost 200% to \$6.40 per barrel, as Canada takes advantage of the increases in oil prices initiated by the Arab countries. An imperialist power like the U.S. has few

lasting friends. Since U.S. corporations control 35% of Canada's industrial property, including its oil, Canada will take every chance it gets to strengthen its hand against the U.S. This increases the competition and rivalry among imperialist powers, weakens the imperialist camp, and will quicken its downfall.

2. At the same time, the U.S. will attempt to increase the exploitation of the Third World in an effort to resolve the contradictions it is facing. The Caribbean is a good illustration of this. Between 1970 and 1972, U.S. crude oil imports from Trinidad increased from 265,000 barrels annually to more than 8.6 million barrels--an increase of over 3,000%. The Caribbean is also becoming a source of supply for refined petroleum products. The refining capacity of the British West Indies, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands has increased by 73% between 1970 and 1974, primarily through the increased investment by the U.S. oil monopoly. A more specific example of how this increased exploitation of the Caribbean will work is the Super-port planned for Puerto Rico. The super-port is a massive oil storage and refinery complex being pushed by U.S. oil corporations like Shell and Gulf and Western--backed by the U.S. government and the neo-colonial puppet government of Puerto Rico. The facility will increase the capacity of refineries on the island from 400 thousand barrels per day to more than 6 million barrels. The port is necessary if the U.S. is to cope with its energy problem by 1980 and will triple U.S. investments in Puerto Rico. The plan will force the emigration of more than one million Puerto Ricans into the U.S., and destroy the natural environment, and seriously damage the survival of the Puerto Rican people as a nation. ALSC joins Puerto Rican people in their struggle to STOP THE SUPER-PORT and monopoly control of the resources of all the people of the Caribbean.



January 7th, 1974

THE CONSOLIDATED FORCES OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE WILL ENSURE OUR FREEDOM

TO: Comrades Owusu, Nelson, and Dawolu:

FR: Comrade Abdul

RE: The Spring Offensive for ALSC

This letter comes after some thought and discussion here about what we ought to be doing. The point was made during the recent executive meeting (January 4th) that our concrete practice would put ALSC in a position to unify more so than the theoretical discussion, although it was also recognized that without the theoretical discussion our practice would not be decisive and guided toward "uniting the many to oppose the few." We must recognize that our efforts to build a united front must not be underestimated. We are the force that can unite the entire Black community in anti-racist, anti-imperialist battle, and in this manner give leadership to the mass struggles of all of the people in this country. Therefore, these thoughts are being sent to you in order that our discussion of the tendencies of ALSC can be grounded in a concrete plan of action.

1. The up-coming steering committee meeting is a major event in the history of ALSC, as it is for the entire Black liberation movement. We are of the feeling that this meeting must be approached accordingly. Therefore, we are suggesting the following as our game-plan:
 - a. In addition to our official secretary, (Brenda), there should be a three person secretariat (Imani, Hisani, Ayanna). Their function would be to produce at least two bulletins each summing up the previous days results (Sat. morning and Sunday morning). This would keep the continuity flowing, especially if someone is late, and especially since we don't take the same notes. Moreover, this process would allow for the official minutes to be sent out much faster than would otherwise be possible.

- b. Be prepared to fully document the meeting, and allow for material expression of ideological struggle (documents). This means having one official tape recorder, an official ALSC photographer, one or two typewriters available, a mimeograph machine, stencils, and paper available.
- c. We should recognize that we are making the three major presentations to the conference, each of three days. This should be done with the greatest preparation possible. We think that this should result in a publication, perhaps mimeographed at first, and constitute the major political education material for the spring offensive of ALSC. We think that it should look like this:

1. Gene: ALSC: its history and current condition
2. Abdul and Nelson: ALSC: its theoretical analysis
3. Owusu: ALSC: its programs and ALD 1974
4. Tim Hector: ALSC: its role in Canada and the Caribbean
5. Selected photos from the conference
6. Statement of Principles.

The question about the united front position is critical. After some thought we think that it would be a good idea if it was written by Imamu. This would involve him in the process of defining the limits of ALSC, and give us a much firmer position to approach our struggle around. All of us who want ALSC to survive ought to be giving papers, especially when we represent different tendencies.

2. There is a dialectical relationship between the first and second ALD, one being national and involving national leadership and was held in Washington, while the second one was held in the states and had its emphasis on local leadership. We are suggesting that ALD 1974 be held back in Washington, and try to pull together national leadership, and use the Statement of Principles as the ideological umbrella for the protest.

- a. Over the last year we have build new committees, and many of these people do not have a real grasp of ALSC, its sort of like a new generation. We can give ALSC a collective identity and build up morale and a desire to return to build even better locals if we bring everyone together again in Washington, D.C.
- b. Washington is now more vulnerable than ever. There will be much clamor for the impeachment of Nixon, but few will be able to mount a national demonstration like we would be able to do. In fact, we might be able to spark off another period of mass demonstrations. Nixon must go! is a slogan that we must have on everyone's lips in this country.

- c. 1974 will be a year of bread and butter issues for the trade union movement with many contracts coming up. This could become the mass movement vehicle that gives national and international political form to the basic grievances in each particular industry. In other words, national union leadership (especially nationally known rank and file militants) can be brought into a steering committee for the ALD.
- d. We might also plan a conference to be held at Howard Thursday night and all day Friday to hold workshops on the Statement of Principles, and allow for major ideological positions to be made by the various sectors involved in the ALD Day United Front Steering Committee (e.g., a spokesman for the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Welfare Rights Organization, National Black Assembly, etc.).
- e. This would allow for us to make a movie that reflects the new ALSC, and give us a clear national identity that we will need as we go into our summer steering committee meeting. At this meeting we must be able to plot our work in local areas with much more precision and clarity, building links with working class struggles, mobilizing students and petty bourgeois elements in support, and waging ideological struggle so that we win hegemony over struggle in the Black liberation movement.

We are interested in building ALSC into the major front, and therefore we must broaden it to include three other tendencies in our struggle: the petty bourgeois reform element, trade unions, and the Black cadre in multi-national left organizations. This we hope can be accomplished in principle by our summer meeting, so that the year 1974-75 will be the year of building the Black United Front, just as this has been the year of consolidating ALSC in principled unity toward building a united front.

This letter is being sent for your reaction, in confidence, and in hopes that it will result in more discussion to make this coming conference and our spring offensive the high stage of struggle that it must be if we are to fulfill our historical role as the organizational front leading the Black liberation struggle.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

UNITY, STRUGGLE, UNITY!

BUILD THE SPRING OFFENSIVE! BUILD ALSC!

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE!

Chicago Defender

WEEKEND EDITION ○ CHICAGO'S DAILY PICTURE NEWSPAPER

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1974

Angola poverty

LUANDA, ANGOLA (UPI)—You won't find an African taxi driver in this capital city or in any other major Angolan cities.

Nobody seems to know why this should be so, and the Portuguese appear surprised at the question.

"You see them (Africans) riding as passengers, don't you?" one said.

True, and you see them as truck drivers and driving fast, expensive sports cars, as shopkeepers, hotel clerks, newspaper editors and town councilmen—and in poverty.

In this Portuguese colony you also see whites as waitresses, chambermaids in hotels—and poor.

Though no official statistics are available, an estimated two to five per cent of the shantytown residents outside Luanda are white, a resident of this white-ruled country said.

"The presence of the European in Africa is as real as the presence of the blacks in the United States. No one there thinks of getting rid of them," said Baltazar Rebelo De Souza, newly-appointed overseas conversation in Lobito, an hour's flying time south.

"So the solution to the problem is to have a mixed society."

That isn't everybody's answer. In March, 1961, the town of Carmona in the Uige District of Northern Angola came under heavy anti-Portuguese guerrilla attack to begin the first of Portugal's African "wars".

At that time it was a dusty town of 8,000 persons. For its defense against the guerrillas, the city was awarded Portugal's highest honor, the collar of the tower and swords, which can be

seen on the village coat of arms.

Today 20,000 people, mostly Africans, live and work in the town and on the dark red soil of the coffee plantations, which provide the principal crop in the area and Angola's main export. Some of the town's population growth came from villagers, moving from the thick forests because of guerrilla attacks that still take place in the region.

But, said Victorine De' Ponte, an African farmer and member of the local consultative counsel, "mostly they come because of the work available."

In the first three weeks of November, according to official figures, there were 67 instances of guerrilla activity, leaving two soldiers and six civilians dead and 20 guerrillas killed. Most of the action took place a few miles south of Carmona.

Troops of "Cacadores" (hunters), including some former guerrillas, constantly patrol the area and villages have organized militia. A network of uniformed civil defense guards, skilled and highly trained, also operate in the area.

Both Portuguese and Diplomats living in Carmona consider the guerrilla activity light, consisting mainly of isolated villages or ambushes of a truckload of coffee plantation workers.

"Terrorism is not the problem," De Fonte said. "The problem we have is getting money for investment in our crops and the things we need."

One of the charges commonly leveled against the Portuguese presence in Africa is that they are

exploiting the African. Certainly there is discrimination, but it is not readily observable in Luanda.

The African and white can be seen eating in the same restaurants, lunching in the same cafes, buying in the same shops and living in the same street. Except in purely African townships, they go to the same schools, dressed in identical white smocks.

A resident diplomat said, "unlike South Africa, if a white man hits a black man here, he'll get hit back. And he'll get a fair break from the police."

Appearances are not all they seem. In the African village of Calema outside of Nova Lisboa, the village school is built of ochre color sod brick and thatch, and desks and stools are piles of dirt baked in the sun. Less than a mile away in Vila Brava, a mixed community of Cabo Verdeans and Portuguese, the school is of cement and tile and the desks of wood.

It is obvious, even to the casual viewer, that the 390,000 Europeans and 126,000 "Mesticos" are generally better off than the 5,157,000 Africans.

But it is equally obvious that the African has, and can, advance. One sees an African commanding a mixed troop of black and white soldiers; one meets an African farmer who is on his city council; one sees school children of all ages walking, talking, laughing and playing together.

As for making a comparison with South Africa and Rhodesia a Luanda journalist said, "their way is not our way."

PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ANGOLA

The following books tell the true story of ANGOLA and her courageous people.

ANGOLA IN ARMS

Information organ of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION

by Dr. Americo Boavida

IN THE EYE OF THE STORM ANGOLA'S PEOPLE

by Basil Davidson

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

by James Duffy

THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA

by Don Barnett and Roy Harvey

YOU CAN PURCHASE THE ABOVE TITLES FROM • A.L.S.C. • P.O. BOX 5747 • NASHVILLE, TN. 37208

TO: John H. Sengstacke
 Editor & Publisher
 Chicago Daily Defender
 2400 Michigan Avenue
 Chicago, Ill.

FR: ALSC Research & Development
 P.O. Box 5747
 Nashville, Tn. 37208

AN OPEN LETTER

Dear Brother Sengstacke:

In the January 12th issue of the Defender you printed an article from the UPI that was damaging to the cause of African Liberation, because it distorted the condition of our oppressed Brothers and Sisters in Angola. It can only confuse Black people in a period when we need clarity of analysis and militant action.

1. The article refers to "African 'wars'" and "terrorists" but it fails to point out that the heroic Angolan people are engaged in an anti-colonial peoples war of national liberation. Somehow implicit in the article there is no clear right and wrong associated with an oppressor state being in Africa after hundreds of years of plunder and exploitation. Moreover, the United Nations has voted that all colonies should be granted their freedom as soon as possible, so Portugal voted to declare Angola as part of Portugal and no longer a colony. Only 7% of the population is European, but the Portuguese contend that their claim is legitimate. Black people must stand united against this outrageous situation and demand that Angola be free.

2. The article indicates that there are Africans going to school with whites, eating in restaurants, riding in taxi cabs, etc. But the article fails to clarify that this is the "assimilado" policy of the Portuguese that requires Africans to be "white" in cultural behavior in order to have these privileges. This is 1% of the African population. He must speak Portuguese, wear European clothes, be a Christian, and arrange his home like a European. Only after a person passes an inspection is he considered "safe" and awarded the dubious honor of being an assimilado and granted citizenship. This is the award given for cultural suicide.

3. The article refers to Victorine De Fonte, an Angolan Black capitalist who is collaborating with the Portuguese invaders. This is a good example of what results from his class position. De Fonte, like David Rockefeller, whose class interests he identifies with, feels that investment is the answer to improving conditions in Angola. This is exactly what would happen for the imperialists and their followers like De Fonte, but the conditions of the Black masses would deteriorate rapidly. Over 88% of African workers are in agriculture making \$10 monthly, providing surplus value (profits) at the rate of 800%.

4. The article quotes a Portuguese official as saying, "the presence of the European in Africa is as real as the presence of the blacks in the United States. No one thinks of getting rid of them." This quote is left without any clarifying analysis, only to indicate that the so-called terrorists have developed. The fact that the Europeans have invaded Africa and raped and plundered for centuries, as compared to Blacks brought to the USA as chattle slaves, and now wage slaves forced to sell their labor power to the profit hungry capitalists is not made clear. Blacks in the USA have always had to face the threat of extinction by the most irrational racist elements of the ruling class in this society. Even Abe Lincoln sought to solve the race problem by sending Blacks back to Africa.

5. The article ends with a statement that indicates that Portugal has a different approach to the situation that Rhodesia and South Africa. The fact is that Portugal is a direct semi-colony of Western industrial society with the poorest, most illiterate population in Europe (40%), a per capita income of \$380.00, with 43% of the population in agricultural work. Portugal is a conduit for Western imperialism and must be recognized as a shield for over 30 USA corporations. Gulf has the largest investment (over \$50 million) and paid Portugal over \$40 million in taxes in 1972.

In order that your readers can have access to correct information, this position is being sent from the African Liberation Support Committee, P.O. Box 5747, Nashville, Tn. We trust that Black people in Chicago can use pro-Africa materials on the freedom struggles in Angola.

Thank you,

ALSC Research & Development

TOWARD THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF THE

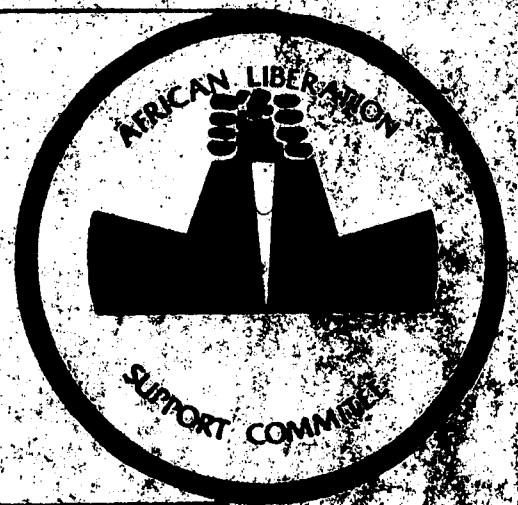
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

A RESPONSE TO CRITICISMS OF THE

A.L.S.C.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

ADOPTED AT FROGMORE,
SOUTH CAROLINA
JUNE - JULY, 1973



TOWARD THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF
THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE: A RESPONSE
TO CRITICISMS OF THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
ADOPTED AT FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA
JUNE-JULY, 1973

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

BY

ABDUL HAKIMU IBN ALKALIMAT
NELSON JOHNSON

TO

INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
FEBRUARY 1-3, 1974
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
U.S.A.

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I.

- (1) THE AFTERMATH OF OUR HISTORIC CONFERENCE AT PENN CENTER IN FROGMORE, S.C., HAS RESULTED IN THE SHARPENING OF OUR STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP A CLEARLY STATED CORRECT IDEOLOGICAL POSITION. IN FACT, THIS WAS CALLED FOR IN OUR GREAT DOCUMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT THE CONFERENCE:

"Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of ensuring that brothers and sisters within ALSC build strong organizational unity. Non-antagonistic contradictions within the committee can only be resolved through active ideological and political struggle based on principle. The basis of such struggle will ensure us a higher unity. Such a unity based on 'unity, struggle, unity,' will cement organizational unity and correct our political direction. If errors are left by themselves, organizational unity, strength and direction will not be achieved." (ALSC Statement of Principles)

- (2) THIS STRUGGLE REACHED A HIGH POINT AT THE EXPANDED SECOND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SESSION CONVENED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON OCTOBER 12, 1973. AFTER AN EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SEVERAL CRITICISMS OF IT WERE LISTED AS MAJOR ROADBLOCKS TO IDEOLOGICAL UNITY. THIS PAPER WAS CALLED FOR BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO RESPOND TO THE CRITICISMS AND MOVE OUR IDEOLOGICAL UNITY TO A HIGHER LEVEL.

- (3) TWO LINES HAVE EMERGED IN ALSC: ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, IN THE REGIONS, AND ON THE LOCAL LEVEL. THEY REPRESENT TWO DIFFERENT THEORETICAL POSITIONS, TWO DIFFERENT SETS OF CONCRETE PROGRAMS AND ARE BASED ON TWO DIFFERENT CLASS REALITIES. ONE IS A PURE RACE THEORY. THE OTHER IS THE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE WITH A CORRECT ANALYSIS OF RACIAL OPPRESSION, WITH A PROGRAM OF MASS INVOLVEMENT BASED ON THE NECESSARY LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS.

- (4) RACE THEORY: THIS POSITION HOLDS THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE ARE THE SAME, AND RACE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT FACT OF LIFE. SINCE HISTORY IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE STRUGGLE OF ONE RACE TO DOMINATE ANOTHER, THE RACIAL FACTOR IS THE BASIS OF HISTORICAL CHANGE. IF THERE ARE ANY IMPORTANT DISTINCTIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN BLACK PEOPLE THEY ARE THE DEGREE TO WHICH BLACK PEOPLE ASSOCIATE WITH WHITE PEOPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ONLY IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A BLACK STEEL WORKER AND A BLACK CORPORATE ATTORNEY IS THAT THE ATTORNEY PROBABLY WENT TO AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL AND HAS BECOME MORE LIKE WHITE PEOPLE. ALL ATTEMPTS TO BASE AN ANALYSIS ON "OBJECTIVE" CLASS DIFFERENCES IS CONSIDERED DIVISIVE AND NOT IN THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE, ALTHOUGH IN FACT THE DIFFERENCES DO EXIST.
- (5) ALSO, THIS POSITION BELIEVES THAT ALL WHITE PEOPLE ARE THE SAME, EQUATING THE ROCKEFELLERS, MELLONS, MORGANS, AND DUPONTS WITH THE AVERAGE WHITE WORKING CLASS. THE RECENT STRUGGLES AGAINST THE WAR, ON THE CAMPUS, IN THE PLANTS, AND THE TRUCK DRIVERS' HIGHWAY BLOCKADES, SUGGEST THAT SOME CONCRETE DIFFERENCES DO EXIST AND MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IF WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT IMPROVING THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE BY FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGING THE STRUCTURE OF THIS SOCIETY.
- (6) ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM: THIS RACE APPROACH ATTACKS THE FOREIGN EXTENSION OF IMPERIALISM WHILE IGNORING ITS PRIMARY BASE AS MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN THE USA. SOME BLACK CONGRESSMEN WILL MAKE SPEECHES AGAINST THE ROLE OF U.S. CORPORATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT WILL REFUSE TO CONDEMN THEIR PRACTICES HERE AT HOME AND BE FRIENDLY BENEFICIARIES OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS FROM THOSE SAME CORPORATIONS. OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SAYS:

"The world imperialist system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form."

(7) ACCORDING TO THIS RACE APPROACH THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IS A DIVISIVE DOCUMENT, FOR ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

1. BECAUSE IT SEPARATES BLACK PEOPLE INTO CLASSES,
2. BECAUSE IT EMPHASIZES IMPERIALISM MORE THAN RACISM,
3. BECAUSE IT USES LANGUAGE THAT WAS ORIGINATED BY SOMEONE ELSE AND NOT BY BLACK PEOPLE, AND
4. BECAUSE IT EMPHASIZES THE USA TOO MUCH AND AFRICA NOT ENOUGH.

(8) THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE: THIS LINE HOLDS THAT THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY IS THE CLASS STRUGGLE. CLASSES ARE LARGE GROUPS OF PEOPLE UNITED BY COMMON INTERESTS BASED UPON HAVING THE SAME RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION--LAND AND TECHNOLOGY. SOME FOLKS OWN THE LAND AND TECHNOLOGY (CAPITALISTS) WHILE OTHERS MUST WORK FOR THEM IN ORDER TO GET WAGES TO LIVE (WORKERS). THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS BASED ON THE IRRECONCILABLE CONFLICT OF THE CAPITALISTS' EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS TO REAP PROFITS, WHILE WORKERS STRUGGLE TO INCREASE WAGES AND GET BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS. INDEED, THIS CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE BASIS OF ALL STRUGGLES IN THIS TYPE OF SOCIETY BECAUSE THE CAPITALISTS CONTROL ALL THE INSTITUTIONS (GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, THE CHURCH, MASS MEDIA, ETC.), AND THE WORKERS ARE OPPRESSED, MISTREATED, AND BRUTALIZED BY THESE SAME INSTITUTIONS.

- (9) THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION HAS DEVELOPED FROM ITS EARLY STAGE OF COMPETITIVE CAPITALISM TO ITS MATURE STAGE OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THIS IS THE TRANSITION FROM MANY SMALL CAPITALIST FIRMS TO A FEW LARGE FIRMS DOMINATING EACH INDUSTRY. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IS THE DOMINANT CHARACTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE USA. FOR EXAMPLE, IN MANY INDUSTRIES THERE ARE FOUR GIANT CORPORATIONS WHICH PRODUCE MOST OF THE PRODUCTS: MOTOR VEHICLES--79%, RUBBER TIRES--71%, AIRCRAFT--67%, AND STEEL--64%. WHILE THERE ARE 12,000 OIL PRODUCERS IN THE USA, 8 FIRMS ACCOUNT FOR 51% OF ALL THE OIL PRODUCED.
- (10) BLACK PEOPLE ARE ORGANIZED INTO CLASSES AS ARE ALL PEOPLE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY. THE SMALL MINORITY OF BLACK BUSINESSMEN CONSTITUTE THE CAPITALIST CLASS WHILE THE VAST MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE WAGE-SALARIED WORKERS. THE BLACK CAPITALIST IS USUALLY A COMPETITIVE CAPITALIST, AND MADE TO APPEAR INSIGNIFICANT DUE TO THE GIGANTIC SIZE OF THE MONOPOLY CORPORATIONS. HOWEVER, THE OBJECTIVE CONDITION IS THAT SOME BLACK PEOPLE HAVE LARGE ENOUGH BUSINESSES TO HIRE AND EXPLOIT FIVE TO SEVEN HUNDRED WORKERS. THESE WORKERS CREATE MORE WEALTH THAN THEY RECEIVE AS WAGES, THE DIFFERENCE IS THEN REALIZED AS PROFIT. BEING A LITTLE BLACK CAPITALIST DOES NOT ALTER THE SITUATION: THE PROFIT MOTIVE IS STILL THE DRIVING FORCE OF ANY CAPITALIST, ESPECIALLY SINCE INCREASING THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR IS THE BASIS FOR INCREASING PROFITS.
- (11) MOREOVER, CLASS STRUGGLE TAKES ON DIFFERENT FORMS: CLASSES IN CONFLICT WITHIN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY, COLONIZED PEOPLES IN CONFLICT WITH A COLONIZING COUNTRY, AND OPPRESSED NATIONS IN CONFLICT WITH OPPRESSOR NATIONS. THE ESSENCE OF THESE CONFLICTS IS THE

STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION, DUE TO THE FACT THAT RACIAL AND NATIONAL FACTORS ARE INSTRUMENTS OF CLASS EXPLOITATION. THE CRITICAL ISSUE HERE IS HOW THE CAPITALISTS, SPECIFICALLY THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS, ARE ABLE TO REAP SUPER-PROFITS BY COMPOUNDING THE EXPLOITATION OF BLACK WORKERS WITH RACISM. RACISM DOES TWO THINGS: (1) IT PITS THE WHITE MASSES AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE BECAUSE OF A PERCEIVED THREAT TO THEIR ECONOMIC SECURITY (AND, DUE TO WHITE SUPREMACIST PROPAGANDA, BECAUSE OF A PERCEIVED THREAT TO THEIR PERSON, CHILDREN, HOME, ETC.); (2) IT PITS THE BLACK MASSES AGAINST ALL WHITE PEOPLE BECAUSE RACISM HAD TAKEN AN ALMOST "APARTHEID" FORM UNTIL THE 1950'S, AND LINGERS TIL THIS DAY FOR THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, INCLUDING LESS WORK, LESS PAY FOR HARDER WORK, AND POORER LIVING CONDITIONS (EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, AND FOOD). SO RACISM PITS THE TWO BROAD MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST EACH OTHER; AND IN THE PROCESS THE RULING CLASS PROFITS EVEN MORE BY THIS AND GETS AWAY WITHOUT ANSWERING TO ANY CHARGES.

(12) SO OUR LINE OF CLASS STRUGGLE HOLDS THAT THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IS NOT A DIVISIVE DOCUMENT BUT IN FACT IS A DECISIVE HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. AS CONTRASTED WITH THE RACE THEORY OUTLINED ABOVE, OUR LINE IS CLEARLY AN ALTERNATIVE:

1. BECAUSE THE ONLY BASIS ON WHICH TO BUILD A UNITED FRONT IS BY RECOGNIZING THE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPING A COMMON PROGRAM THAT MOST BLACK PEOPLE CAN UNITE AROUND IN A PRINCIPLED WAY;

2. BECAUSE IT RECOGNIZES THAT IMPERIALISM IS THE BASIC ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF ADVANCED CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, (USA, CANADA, WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN, ISRAEL), AND IS THE CAUSE OF THEIR EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THAT RACISM IS AN IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIETAL PATTERN BASED ON IMPERIALISM;
3. BECAUSE IT UTILIZES OBJECTIVE SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE THAT ANALYZES OBJECTIVE MATERIAL REALITY; AND
4. BECAUSE IT IS CLEAR THAT IMPERIALISM IS A WORLDWIDE SYSTEM HEADQUARTERED IN THE USA WITH ITS TENTACLES THROUGHOUT EVERY COUNTRY IN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

(13) THESE TWO LINES REFLECT THE BASIC TENDENCIES OF THE TOTAL BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE AT THIS TIME, AND THEREFORE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IS LARGER THAN ALSC. THESE TWO LINES REFLECT A LONG HISTORICAL STRUGGLE THAT GOES BACK OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS, AND INVOLVES ALL AREAS OF LIFE. THERE ARE MANIFESTATIONS OF THESE LINES IN ECONOMICS, POLITICS, EDUCATION, AFRICA, THE WORLD REVOLUTION, ETC. THEREFORE WE MUST UNDERSTAND EACH TENDENCY AND STRUGGLE TO UNITE ALL WHO CAN BE UNITED. THIS PAPER IS WRITTEN FROM A POSITION OF FULL SUPPORT OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF OUR UNITED FRONT. WE PRESENT THIS PAPER TO ALL ALSC MEMBERS FOR A FULL REVIEW IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE OUR UNITED FRONT AROUND CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD PRINCIPLES.

II.

- (14) THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WAS DEVELOPED TO PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE POSITION WHICH WOULD GUIDE OUR WORK AND ENABLE OUR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO HAVE COHERENCE, CONSISTENCY, AND CLARITY BASED ON A CORRECT ANALYSIS. IT CAN BE SUMMED UP IN FOUR PARTS:

- (15) 1. WORLD VIEW: AFRICA AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: THIS SECTION IDENTIFIES THE MATERIAL HISTORICAL STRUCTURE OF EXPLOITATION THAT OUR STRUGGLE MUST DESTROY AS "THE WORLD IMPERIALIST SYSTEM."

"In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form."

THE DOCUMENT CONTRASTS THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY, AND CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION OF BLACKS AND CORRECTLY SUMS UP THE CURRENT MOTION OF OUR STRUGGLE:

"Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces: racism and imperialism."

- (16) 2. FINALLY GOT THE NEWS: THE SECOND SECTION IDENTIFIES THE SIMULTANEOUS AND PARALLEL HISTORICAL TRENDS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN AFRICA AND THE USA. (MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN IF WE ARE TO HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF IMPERIALISM, AND AN IDEOLOGICAL POSITION THAT TRULY REPRESENTS ALL OF ALSC. THE NOVEMBER 1973 CONFERENCE ON THE CARIBBEAN HELD IN NASHVILLE, TN., IN WHICH A NUMBER OF ALSC EXECUTIVE MEMBERS SPOKE, WAS DESIGNED AS A STEP TOWARDS THIS END.) THE "NEWS" THAT BLACK PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD UNDERSTAND NOW CONCERNS THE

GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM. THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF IMPERIALISM IS IN CRISIS, AND WITH THAT ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS ARE MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY PROGRESSIVE FORCES. THIS INCLUDES THE MULTI-ISSUED WATERGATE SCANDAL (AND THE GROWING CREDIBILITY GAP WITH THE GOVERNMENT), THE SO-CALLED "ENERGY CRISIS" (AND THE MASS AWARENESS OF THE SUPER-PROFITS OF THE OIL MONOPOLIES AND THEIR ROLE IN IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION), AND THE RISING RESISTANCE TO POLICE REPRESSION (BY COMMUNITY GROUPS DEMANDING CITIZENS REVIEW COMMITTEES AND OTHER MEASURES TO PLACE RESTRAINT ON THE EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE USED IN BLACK WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES).

(17) IN SUM, THIS SECTION CONCLUDES BY STATING THAT:

"We here have the same duty as all progressive Black people--to fight imperialism in all its manifestations. To do this we must build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front among Black people."

(18) 3. TOWARDS A UNITED FRONT: THIS SECTION COMBINES THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL GUIDELINES FOR OUR STRUGGLE. THERE ARE THREE SIGNIFICANT POINTS THAT MUST GUIDE OUR MOVEMENT:

A. "REAL UNITY WILL COME ABOUT NOT BY IGNORING DIFFERENCES BUT BY AIRING THOSE DIFFERENCES AND STRUGGLING TO RESOLVE THEM."

B. "BUILDING UNITY MEANS FINDING WAYS OF UTILIZING THE ABILITIES AND SKILLS OF EVERYONE WHO IS SERIOUS ABOUT STRUGGLING."

C. "WE MUST ENGAGE IN PRINCIPLED WORK BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT; IN ADDITION WE MUST DEVELOP OUR ABILITY TO CARRY THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

AND IMPERIALISM TO DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE AROUND
DIFFERENT ISSUES, YET MAINTAIN OUR COURSE."

THESE THREE POINTS WILL HELP US COMBAT LIBERALISM, ALLOW FOR FULL
DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION, AND LET OUR REASONED PRINCIPLES (NOT
SPONTANEOUS EMOTIONS) GUIDE OUR PRACTICE.

- (19) MOREOVER, OUR MOVEMENT HAS THE DOUBLE TASK OF MOVING TO
"MERGE THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE U.S. WITH THE NATIONAL
LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN AFRICA," AND OF MOVING TO "COORDINATE THE
BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WITH THE OVER-
ALL STRUGGLE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR." TOGETHER THIS CONTRIBUTES TO
OUR MANDATE "TO MERGE THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT WITH THE PRO-
CESS OF WORLD REVOLUTION."
- (20) OPERATIONAL UNITY: THE FINAL PART OF OUR STATEMENT OF PRIN-
CIPLES PROVIDES A BASIS FOR OUR METHODS OF WORK. WE MUST COMBINE
ACTIVE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITHIN ALSC (IN ORDER TO DEVELOP
CLEARLY STATED CORRECT VIEWS) WITH THE BROAD PRINCIPLE OF STRUGGLE
TO "UNITE THE MANY TO OPPOSE THE FEW." THUS, "OUR ANTI-RACIST,
ANTI-IMPERIALIST, BLACK UNITED FRONT MUST ATTEMPT TO UNITE ALL
SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASS FORMATIONS WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN
A COMMON STRUGGLE." FURTHER, WHAT IS SPECIFICALLY CALLED FOR IN
THIS FRONT IS THAT "WE ENCOURAGE BLACK WORKERS TO TAKE THE LEAD."
- (21) OUR ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, OUR PROGRAM IS CLEAR, OUR TASK IS
TO UNIFY OUR FORCES AND WAGE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT IMPERI-
ALISM AND RACIAL OPPRESSION.

III.

(22) THE MINUTES OF THE EXPANDED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING (OCTOBER 12, 1973, WASHINGTON, D.C.), SUM UP THE DISCUSSION OF THE CRITICISMS OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THEY INCLUDE A LIST OF SIX (6) BASIC AREAS OF CONCERN RAISED AS CRITICISMS OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES:

(23) 1. DE-EMPHASIS ON AFRICA AND A NEW EMPHASIS ON LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS:

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT THAT THERE IS NO "NEW EMPHASIS" OR "DE-EMPHASIS" CONTAINED IN THE DOCUMENT. THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA IS AS CENTRAL TO THE PRIMARY TASK OF ALSC AS IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN. MOREOVER, MOST PARTICIPANTS IN ALSC CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES. IN FACT ALSC BEGAN AS A COMING TOGETHER OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL FORCES--GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS--WORKING IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO BEGIN A UNITED CAMPAIGN FOCUSING ON THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA. THEREFORE, WHAT IS NEW IS NOT EMPHASIZING ONE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER, BUT THE UNITY OF OUR INDIVIDUAL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONAL WORK WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT WORK TOWARD AFRICA.

(24) THIS NEW UNITY IS NECESSARY BECAUSE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS ONLY WHEN THEY CAN MAKE AN ACTIVE CONNECTION BETWEEN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. ALONG WITH THE INCREASE IN REPRESSIVE CONDITIONS (HIGH PRICES AND LOW WAGES, BAD HOUSING AND INADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, POLICE

BRUTALITY AND STARVATION LEVEL WELFARE PAYMENTS), THERE IS INCREASED INTEREST IN FIGHTING FOR BETTER CONDITIONS AT HOME. AND THIS IS AS IT SHOULD BE. SO OUR LOCAL WORK ON AFRICAN LIBERATION MUST BE RELATED TO THE DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE AND NOT JUST BASED ON AN ABSTRACTION OF BROTHERLY SOLIDARITY. PEOPLE FIGHT FOR CHANGES IN THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF THEIR LIVES AND NOT FOR ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES MAKE SENSE IN POINTING TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING CHANGES IN THE REAL WORLD.

(25)

THE SOLUTION TO THIS APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS IS RESOLVED BY UNDERSTANDING BOTH OF THEM AS ASPECTS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM. MONOPOLY CAPITAL IS THE BASIS FOR EXPLOITATION IN BLACK COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THE USA, WHILE ITS PENETRATION INTO THE DEVELOPING AREAS OF THE WORLD (ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA) IS IMPERIALISM. THEREFORE, IT IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT AND NECESSARY THAT WE JOIN TOGETHER LOCAL ISSUES AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN A STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS IS THE CURRENT NATIONAL ALSC POSITION ON "OIL AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM" IN WHICH THE TWO ASPECTS OF LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES ARE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT:

"The so-called energy crisis is a general crisis of the imperialist system. This general crisis is manifested in the oil-energy industry as well as in most other areas of world trade, in the Middle East, as well as Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, the Caribbean, Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands; in the Watergates of the capitalist capitals as well as in the fascist feudalism of kings and military dictators."

THE ALSC DOCUMENT GOES ON TO TAKE POSITIONS ON MATTERS INTERNAL TO THE USA (PRICE CONTROLS ON FUEL, SUPPORT FOR ECOLOGY LEGISLATION, AND ABOLISHING TAX SUBSIDIES FOR THE MONOPOLIES), AS WELL AS POSITIONS ON AFRICAN LIBERATION (STOPPING THE CABORA BASSA DAM IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THE CUNENE RIVER SCHEME IN ANGOLA, AND STOPPING GULF'S PRESENCE IN ANGOLA).

- (26) THE CORRECTNESS OF OUR POSITION IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT ALL OF THE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS THAT ALSC HAS HAD CONTACT WITH HAVE TAKEN THE SAME POSITION ON THIS QUESTION. THE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS HAVE SAID THAT OUR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION IS TO MAKE A REVOLUTION HERE IN THE USA. OF COURSE THIS DOES NOT EXCLUDE EFFORTS WE MAKE IN DIRECT SUPPORT OF THEIR STRUGGLES (E.G., THE UNITED AFRICAN APPEAL, AND THE SOLIDARITY BUTTON WITH THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU), IT MERELY PUTS THEM IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. IF GULF IS AN OBSTACLE TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ANGOLA, THEN WE MUST FIGHT GULF HERE WHERE WE CAN GET A DEATH GRIP ON ITS JUGULAR VEIN.

- (27) THERE IS NO NEW EMPHASIS OR DE-EMPHASIS, BUT RATHER A NEW UNITY IN WHICH WE SEEK TO UNITE THE LOCAL ISSUES THAT BLACK PEOPLE FACE ON A DAILY BASIS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLES OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN ARMS ARE WAGING ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

- (28) 2. THE DOCUMENT USES MARXIST OR "LEFT-WING" LANGUAGE:
THIS IS A CRITICISM THAT IS HARD TO DEAL WITH SINCE IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHAT SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IS BEING CHALLENGED, NOR EXACTLY FOR WHAT REASONS. HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE TO

DEVELOP THE DISCUSSION IN A GENERAL WAY. THE ALSC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE HAS DEVELOPED A LIST OF CONCEPTS THAT REPRESENT THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES:

(29)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. RACISM | 20. POLITICAL-POLICE-MILITARY REPRESSION |
| 2. IMPERIALISM | 21. CULTURAL AGGRESSION |
| 3. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM | 22. AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES |
| 4. COLONIALISM | 23. INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRIES |
| 5. NEO-COLONIALISM | 24. DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA |
| 6. PORTUGUESE OPPRESSION | 25. INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM |
| 7. GUINEA-BISSAU | 26. CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT |
| 8. ANGOLA | 27. UNITED FRONT |
| 9. MOZAMBIQUE | 28. UNITY OF THEORY & PRACTICE |
| 10. NATO | 29. BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT |
| 11. POLICE STATE SOUTH AFRICA | 30. CRITICISM AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE |
| 12. NAMIBIA | 31. STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS |
| 13. ZIMBABWE | 32. ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE |
| 14. MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATION | 33. BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD |
| 15. RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES | 34. BLACK MIDDLE STRATA |
| 16. RUN-AWAY SHOPS | 35. BLACK YOUTH |
| 17. EXPANSIONIST POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL | 36. PRINCIPLES |
| 18. PROBLEMS ON THE JOB | |
| 19. CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL SERVICES | |

(30)

THESE TERMS ARE PRECISE AND SCIENTIFIC. THEY CLEARLY SUM UP THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS LIVED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA, CANADA, AFRICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN, IN SUCH A WAY THAT PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WOULD UNDERSTAND WITH NO DIFFICULTY. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR LANGUAGE BE SCIENTIFIC AND NOT VAGUE, BECAUSE THE TRUTH CAN BE A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE RIGHTEOUS BUT FALSE WORDS WILL ALWAYS BETRAY THOSE WHO BEAR THEM.

(31)

AGAIN, A MEASURE OF OUR LINE BEING CORRECT IS THE UNANIMOUS USE OF THIS LANGUAGE BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY. AMILCAR CABRAL IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS:

(32)

"The destruction of colonialism and the struggle against imperialism constitutes one of the outstanding characteristics of our times. The intensive development of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, based on monopolies and the competition for raw materials, led to the first great partition of the globe at the turn of the century. Africa was divided among half a dozen European powers, principally England, France, and Germany. Having overcome the African peoples by force, they began to steal the material and human wealth of our continent through war and the technical superiority of their means of production.

(33)

But imperialism or the monopolistic stage of capitalism, could not escape its own contradictions, and after World War I, the victorious powers proceeded to a new division of the globe, characterized in particular by strengthening of the colonial positions of England and France and by the exclusion of Germany from direct exploitation of African peoples and countries. During the final phase of that global conflict, the victory of the October Revolution, leading to the final implantation of socialism over one-sixth of the world's land area, dealt the first great blow to imperialism.

(34)

Deprived of sources for raw materials and excess profits, German financiers devoted their capital, allied with that of Italy and Japan, to an effort to solve the problem the shortest way: by colonizing the European nations themselves. Although World War II was the result of that antagonism characterizing the development of imperialism it decisively influenced the destiny of peoples, principally of African peoples. Along with the strengthening in the socialist camp--another outstanding characteristic of our times--dependent peoples were awakened to the fight for liberation; the final phase in the liquidation of imperialism was thus begun. Since arriving at the final solution of this new conflict may take some time, there is no doubt that the outstanding characteristic--let us say, the principal motivating force--of the history being made now is something more than the class struggle in capitalist countries. That force is the fight for liberation being waged by colonial peoples; that fight, that conflict on three continents, integrates our struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism." (General Report on the National Liberation Struggle, 1961)

(35) THESE WORDS ARE BASED ON THE SAME SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE USED BY SUCH HEROES OF HUMANITY AS SEKOU TOURE, KWAME NKRUMAH, W.E.B. DuBois, FRANTZ FANON, JULIUS NYERERE, PATRICE LUMUMBA, LENIN, MAO, HO CHI MINH, FIDEL CASTRO, KIM IL SUNG, AND COUNTLESS OTHERS. THEY DO NOT ALL AGREE ON EVERY POINT, BUT CAN REACH HIGH LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING BASED ON A COMMON SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE.

(36) THIS PROBLEM AREA FORCES US TO TURN THE QUESTION AROUND. IF WE DON'T USE THIS LANGUAGE:

- A. PROVEN SCIENTIFIC AND PRECISE;
- B. USED BY ALL GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE 20TH CENTURY;
- C. AND USED BY ALL OF THE AFRICAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN;

THEN WHAT LANGUAGE DO WE USE?

(37) 3. THERE IS AN INCORRECT DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM THAT BLACK PEOPLE FACE:

THE CRITICAL QUESTION HERE IS: ARE THE CRITICS OF OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AGAINST THE EXPLOITATION AND EVILS THAT RESULT FROM THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS MONOPOLY-IMPERIALIST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. THE REASON IT MUST BE PUT THIS WAY RATHER THAN SIMPLY "RACISM IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN CLASS EXPLOITATION," AS SOME WOULD PUT IT, IS THAT THE STRUCTURE OF IMPERIALISM IS THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR RACISM AND ALL OTHER PROBLEMS PEOPLE FACE IN THIS SOCIETY. THEREFORE TO FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND NOT MONOPOLY CAPITALISM--IMPERIALISM,

IS TO DO NO MORE THAN TO ACCEPT THE USA GOVERNMENT'S ANALYSIS ISSUED AFTER THE URBAN INSURRECTIONS AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE RULING CLASS. THE SO-CALLED KERNER COMMISSION REPORT ISSUED IN 1968, DECLARED THAT THE SOCIETY WAS BECOMING TWO-- ONE WHITE, ONE BLACK--AND THAT RACISM WAS THE KEY ISSUE. THE PROBLEM WITH THIS APPROACH IS THAT THE LARGE CORPORATIONS THAT DETERMINE THE EVERYDAY CONCRETE ISSUES LIKE PRICES AND WAGES WERE NOT DEALT WITH, NOR WERE THE CORPORATE INTERESTS THAT ARE THE CAUSE OF EVERY WAR THAT THIS COUNTRY GETS INTO. THE RULING CLASS WOULD LIKE US TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE ARAB COUNTRIES THAT ARE MAKING THE PRICE OF GAS GO UP, AND IT IS THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM IN VIETNAM THAT RESULTED IN THE WAR.

(38)

THE NATURE OF THIS QUESTION REQUIRES THAT THE CRITICS PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO SUMMING UP THE PROBLEM. THIS IS RELATED TO WHAT LANGUAGE WE USE SINCE OUR CONCEPTS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK CONTAINED IN OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THIS APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS FACING BLACK PEOPLE PUTS THE BLACK MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE AT THE CENTER OF OUR CONCERN, AND REQUIRES THAT ALL PETTY BOURGEOIS ELITES SERVE THE MASSES AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

(39)

4. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT IS MEANT BY "BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD."

THIS IS THE CRUCIAL POINT OF OUR ENTIRE ANALYSIS OF IMPERIALISM AND IS ESSENTIAL FOR ALL FUTURE PROGRAMMATIC CONSIDERATIONS.

(40)

BLACK PEOPLE ARE DIVIDED INTO CLASSES BASED UPON DIFFERENT

RELATIONSHIPS TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND CAPACITY TO EXPLOIT THE LABOR POWER OF OTHERS. BASED UPON OUR DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS, EITHER WE OWN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND HAVE THE CAPACITY OF EXPLOITING THE LABOR POWER OF OTHERS (CAPITALISTS) OR WE ARE FORCED TO SELL OUR LABOR POWER TO THOSE WHO DO (PROLETARIAT). THE VAST MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE WAGE (OR SALARIED) WORKING PEOPLE WITH A PROLETARIAN (OR PETTY BOURGEOIS) CLASS POSITION. AND WITH CERTAIN PETTY BOURGEOIS POSITIONS, LIKE TEACHERS OR SOCIAL WORKERS, THERE IS A DECIDED PROLETARIAN CHARACTER TO ONE'S WORK AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INTO UNIONS.

(41)

THE CLASS THAT CREATES THE WEALTH IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS THE WORKING CLASS. WITHOUT THE WORKING CLASS AND THE FARMERS, NOTHING COULD HAPPEN BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO GOODS AND SERVICES PROVIDED IN ORDER FOR PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO LIVE. THEREFORE, THE ULTIMATE POWER IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS HELD BY THE WORKING CLASS, AND NOT THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE WHO MANAGES THE AFFAIRS OF THE BOURGEOISIE BY GIVING ORDERS AND "PUSHING PAPER" ALL DAY.

(42)

OUR MOVEMENT MUST FOCUS ON THE BLACK WORKING CLASS SINCE THIS IS THE GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE MOST POWER IN OUR COMMUNITY. WE OFTEN THINK OF THE POLITICIAN AND THE MINISTER AS THE ONES WITH POWER BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACCESS TO RULING CLASS LEADERSHIP OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, THIS IS OPPOSITE OF THE TRUTH. CLOSER TO THE TRUTH IS THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON WHICH WAS A GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENT STARTED BY WORK-

ING MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT BLACK COMMUNITIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THIS REPRESENTED SO MUCH POWER, AND THEREFORE SUCH A THREAT, THAT THE "ELITE" LEADERSHIP OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT JOINED WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN COOPTING THE MASS MOTION AND STAGING WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE AN ORDERLY DEMONSTRATION. WHAT THEY DID WAS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE POWER IS ALWAYS WITH THE PEOPLE, WORKING PEOPLE. OUR TASK IS TO MOBILIZE THIS POWER, ORGANIZE IT INTO THE CENTER FORCE OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND KEEP IT THERE SO THAT WE CAN CHANGE THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THIS COUNTRY.

(43)

OF COURSE, WE ARE NOT SO NAIVE AS TO THINK THAT THIS CAN HAPPEN OVERNIGHT. OUR CONCERN IS FIRST THAT WE CONSOLIDATE ALSC AND UNIFY AROUND A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES THAT PUTS THE BLACK WORKING CLASS AT THE CENTER OF OUR MOVEMENT. THEN, ON THIS BASIS WE CAN PROJECT PROGRAMS THAT WILL LINK UP OUR CURRENT PARTICIPANTS WITH WORKERS ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE INSIDE OF THE VERY CORPORATIONS THAT ARE OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA. RECENT EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE OF MOTION INCLUDE THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS IN THE AUTO PLANTS OF DETROIT, POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S ASSOCIATION, AND OIL, CHEMICAL, AND ATOMIC WORKERS.

(44)

WE ARE CONCERNED WITH WHO CAN MAKE THE REVOLUTION, WHO WILL NOT WAVER AND VACILLATE, WHO WILL CARRY THE ACTION THROUGH TIL THE END. THE WORKING CLASS IS THE ONLY CLASS CAPABLE OF DOING THIS. BLACK WORKERS ARE THE BACKBONE OF

OUR COMMUNITY, THEY ARE THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS WHOSE LABOR POWER IS CONSUMED BY THE CAPITALISTS TO FILL THE CORPORATE BANKS FULL OF PROFITS. AND THEY ARE THE ONES WHO CAN BE ORGANIZED TO SYSTEMATICALLY CHALLENGE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM--IMPERIALISM AT ITS VERY CENTER. STUDENTS CAN'T DO IT. THE LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT CAN'T DO IT. IT CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE CONSISTENT REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, AROUND WHICH ALL THE OTHERS MUST JOIN FORCES.

(45) IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IN NO WAY IS AN EXCLUSIVE VIEW OF PUTTING THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE OTHER CLASS ELEMENTS. RATHER, WHAT WE ARE DISCUSSING IS HOW DO WE ORGANIZE A CENTER FOR OUR UNITED FRONT. ALL OF THE CLASS FORMATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY ARE NEEDED TO UNITE IN A PRINCIPLED MANNER IN ORDER THAT OUR UNITED FRONT CAN BE AS STRONG AS POSSIBLE. ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL WE BE SUCCESSFUL.

(46) 5. WHAT DOES ALSC STAND FOR: "ANTI" LEAVES ROOM FOR OTHER PEOPLE TO DEFINE FOR US WHAT WE ARE FOR.

(47) 6. THERE IS AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF A UNITED FRONT.

(48) BOTH OF THESE QUESTIONS SPEAK TO THE SAME ISSUE OF THE BASIS OF OUR UNITY. SIMPLY PUT, THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS WE FACE DEFINE THE CONTEXT OF OUR STRUGGLE, IF IT WERE OTHERWISE WE WOULD BE HOPELESS IDEALISTS CREATING MOVEMENTS IN THE SKY AND NOT CONCRETE HISTORICAL MOTION WITHIN THE WORLD OF CONCRETE REALITIES. THEREFORE, EVERYONE IN THE USA, CANADA, THE

CARIBBEAN, AND ALL PARTS OF AFRICA MUST TAKE A POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM. THIS IS THE STARTING POINT OF OUR ANALYSIS.

- (49) THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES DETAILS WHY WE ARE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-RACIST BASED UPON THE CONCRETE ISSUES THAT PEOPLE FACE AND ARE STRUGGLING OVER. IT IS CLEAR THAT BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THIS COUNTRY CAN UNITE OVER COMMON ENEMIES. THIS IS TRUE IN AFRICA AS WELL. THE FIGHT AGAINST SEGREGATION UNITED THE BLACK MASSES. THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING UNITED THE BLACK MASSES. THE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION UNITED THE AFRICAN MASSES ESPECIALLY SINCE WORLD WAR II. WE HAVE BEEN KEPT UNITED IN OUR CONDITION OF OPPRESSION, AND WE HAVE CONTINUED THIS UNITY IN STRUGGLING AGAINST IT AS WELL. THIS SAME POSITION WAS ARTICULATED BY AMILCAR CABRAL FOR PAIGC:

"Imperialism is one, therefore the struggle against it is one, and our people are aware of this, even the children.

We do not speak only of the common struggle of the peoples of Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, but all of Africa in general against imperialism, that of the Latin American patriots, of the people of Viet Nam, of the other peoples of Indochina, of all African peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism, of the exploited classes and foremost, those of Portugal, all are part of our own struggle.

We want all the world to be aware of this, so that all fronts of the struggle become stronger every day and so we all work together for the active unity of the anti-imperialist forces, since the imperialist enemy knows how to maintain his unity in confronting all those who want to free themselves." (Black Scholar, July-August, 1973)

(50)

BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS, "WHY CAN'T WE BE UNITED AROUND WHAT WE ARE FOR?" THIS MUST NOT BE APPROACHED AS AN ABSTRACT QUESTION. IF WE COULD APPROACH IT THAT WAY THEN WE WOULD ALL AGREE, THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS MIGHT BE FOR ALL THE MASSES TO HAVE THE SAME IDEA OF WHAT KIND OF WORLD WE SHOULD BUILD. HOWEVER, WE MUST EXAMINE THE DIVERSE VIEWS THAT INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS ACTUALLY HOLD IN ORDER TO GET A FIRM GRASP ON WHY WE CANNOT AT THIS TIME BE UNITED AROUND POSITIVE PROGRAMS CONCERNING THE SOCIETY WE AIM TO BUILD. THERE ARE MANY POSITIONS WITHIN OUR BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT:

(51)

A. THE BLACK NATION THESIS HOLDS THAT WE SHOULD STRUGGLE TO ORGANIZE A MIGRATION TO FIVE SOUTHERN STATES WITH A LONG HISTORY OF A DENSE CONCENTRATION OF BLACK PEOPLE. BLACK PEOPLE WOULD CONSTITUTE A NATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES AND STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

(52)

B. THE INTEGRATION-ASSIMILATION THESIS IS BASED ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROPOSITION THAT ASSOCIATION LEADS TO BOTH ACCULTURATION AND AMALGAMATION. THUS TO INTEGRATE THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOCIETY IS TO SET IN MOTION THE PROCESS LEADING TO ASSIMILATION, AND THE END OF OUR "RACE PROBLEM."

(53)

C. THE BACK-TO-AFRICA POSITION HOLDS THAT WHETHER THE MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE STAY HERE IN THE USA OR NOT, OUR REAL CONCERN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE BACK ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE THESIS IS

THAT ONLY IF BLACK PEOPLE HAVE A CONSOLIDATED LAND BASE WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, AND AN ARMY TO DEFEND THEM WILL BLACK PEOPLE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF FREEDOM.

(54)

D. THE BLACK CITIES LINE HOLDS THAT THE CITY IS THE BLACK MAN'S LAND, EVEN IF WE HAVE TO CREATE BLACK CITIES FROM THE GROUND UP (E.G., SOUL CITY IS BEING BUILT WITH \$14 MILLION IN FEDERAL FUNDS ON A FORMER PLANTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA). THIS THESIS IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT THE GREAT MIGRATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN BLACK PEOPLE BEING AN URBAN PEOPLE, IN MANY CASES CLOSE TO A MAJORITY IN THE URBAN INDUSTRIAL NORTH. POLITICAL POWER USED TO ELECT BLACK MAYORS AND CITY OFFICIALS WILL ENABLE BLACK PEOPLE TO ESTABLISH BETTER CONDITIONS FOR LIFE AND BEGIN TO BUILD THIS COUNTRY OVER AGAIN.

(55)

E. BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS A POSITION THAT THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE MUST BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MASS MOVEMENT FOR A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WITHIN THIS COUNTRY. THE BASIC THESIS IS THAT BLACK AND OTHER OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF COLOR (NATIONALITIES) ARE THE CUTTING EDGE FOR THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MASSES AND MUST THEREFORE GIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE MILITANT STRUGGLE THAT WILL BE NECESSARY.

(56)

THESE DIVERSE POSITIONS REPRESENT THE CURRENT COMPLEXITY OF THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE. IT APPEARS OBVIOUS, THEREFORE, THAT IF WE WILL BE UNITED IT WILL BE AROUND THOSE COM-

MON ENEMIES EVERYONE CAN AGREE UPON. THE CRITICAL QUESTION IS: IF YOU AREN'T AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITALISM THEN WHAT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIP TO IT? THE KEY ISSUE IS THE FIGHT AGAINST OUR COMMON ENEMIES, TO LINK UP WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES AND FIGHT COMMON ENEMIES.

(57)

THIS IS IN FACT THE ESSENCE OF A UNITED FRONT. THE BLACK UNITED FRONT WILL BE THE UNITY OF MANY DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS UNITED AROUND THREE FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS:

1. THAT OUR COMMON EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION REQUIRES THAT WE UNITE IN AN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT;
2. THAT OUR FRONT MUST HAVE AT ITS CENTER, THE BLACK WORKING CLASS ON WHOSE CONCRETE CONDITION THE IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION IS BASED AND FROM WHOM LEADERSHIP IS DEVELOPED; AND
3. THAT OUR FRONT BE UNIFIED ACCORDING TO BINDING PRINCIPLES THAT UNITE ALL OF OUR DIVERSE FORCES INTO A CONTEXT FOR DIRECT IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN ORDER TO UNIFY AND REPUDIATE THE COWARDLY PRACTICES OF GOSSIP, PASSING RUMORS, AND MAKING CHARACTER ASSASSINATIONS.

(58)

OF COURSE THE UNITED FRONT TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL FORM IS SUBJECT TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE STAGE OF STRUGGLE. IT IS CONTINGENT UPON AN ANALYSIS OF THE TIME, PLACE AND CONDITION IN QUESTION. THIS IS THE RIPE TIME FOR A UNITED FRONT BECAUSE THE CONTRADICTIONS OF IMPERIALISM ARE GROWING SHARPER,

AND THE MASSES WILL RESPOND TO A BROAD-BASED LEADERSHIP GUIDING THE MOTION AGAINST RACISM AND IMPERIALISM. THIS IS THE LESSON WE HAVE ALREADY LEARNED FROM ALD-1972 AND 1973.

- (59) THESE RESPONSES ARE BEING SUBMITTED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE ISSUES OF CONCERN RAISED AT THE 2ND SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL RESULT IN CONSIDERABLE DEBATE AND DISCUSSION. THIS WILL BE A GOOD DEVELOPMENT. IN THE END, WE ARE WORKING FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF ALSC AROUND AN ANALYSIS, A PROGRAM, AND A SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT ALLOWS DIVERSE GROUPS TO WORK TOGETHER IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND TOLERANCE AS WE WORK IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE.

IV.

(60) THIS PAPER IS AN INITIAL STATEMENT ON THESE QUESTIONS AND SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR CONTINUING STUDY AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. THE IMPORTANT PROCESS IS UNITY-STRUGGLE-UNITY. THEREFORE, THIS PAPER AIMS TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A NEW UNITY SEVEN MONTHS REMOVED FROM OUR HISTORIC FROGMORE CONFERENCE.

(61) THE ABOVE SIX CONCERNS REFLECT FOUR BASIC QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE THE FOCUS OF OUR ONGOING DISCUSSIONS:

- A. WHY ARE WE HERE IN THE USA, CANADA, AND CARIBBEAN?
- B. WHO ARE WE?
- C. WHAT ARE WE STRUGGLING FOR? (IN AFRICA?) (IN THE WEST?)
- D. HOW SHOULD WE STRUGGLE?

THESE ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS THAT A SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY MUST ANSWER IF IT IS TO LEAD BLACK PEOPLE IN A SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND IMPERIALISM. THEREFORE, IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR US TO SPELL OUT THE WORLD VIEW WITHIN WHICH THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WAS DEVELOPED SO THAT ALSC PARTICIPANTS CAN ALSO DISCUSS THE VITAL THEORETICAL ISSUES OF OUR POSITION.

(62) A. WHY ARE WE HERE IN THE USA, CANADA, AND CARIBBEAN?

THIS QUESTION REQUIRES US TO FORMULATE A BASIC CONCEPT OF HISTORY THAT CORRECTLY SUMS UP THE INTERPLAY OF HISTORICAL FORCES. WE MUST ANALYZE THE CONDITIONS OF OUR PAST AND DEVELOP A POSITION THAT ACCOUNTS FOR ALL OF THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE AND NOT ONLY THOSE FACTS THAT "FIT" OUR PRECONCEIVED THEORIES. LAST, THIS HISTORICAL ANALYSIS MUST BE APPLICABLE TO THE ENTIRE WORLD AT ALL TIMES, AND NOT BE LIMITED TO ONLY

ONE PARTICULAR CASE OF ONE PEOPLE AT ONE HISTORICAL TIME.

- (63) OUR CONCEPT OF HISTORY IS DEPENDENT UPON OUR GRASP OF THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE. AS MARX SAID,

"It is not men's consciousness that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."

THIS MEANS THAT HISTORICAL ANALYSIS MUST FOCUS ON MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND EXPOUND ON THE REAL PROCESS OF PRODUCTION,

"that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as has hitherto been the case."

- (64) SO IN THIS WAY, HISTORY REFLECTS THE SUM TOTAL OF DIFFERENT MODES OF PRODUCTION, POLITICAL STRUCTURES, PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND STYLES OF CULTURAL BEHAVIOR. THESE COMPONENTS OF HUMAN SOCIETY DEVELOP IN HISTORICAL STAGES, AND THESE STAGES ARE BASED ON HOW SOCIETY IS ORGANIZED TO PRODUCE THE MATERIAL GOODS NECESSARY FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL. THE ETERNAL STRUGGLE OF MAN AND HIS NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IS PARALLELED BY MAN'S STRUGGLE WITH MAN. IT IS THE RELATIONSHIP OF THESE TWO STRUGGLES THAT CONSTITUTES THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY. HISTORY, THEREFORE, IS THE SUM TOTAL OF HUMAN EXPERIENCES AS DEVELOPED IN STAGES BASED ON MAN'S MATERIAL RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE AND HIS FELLOW MAN.

(65) HUMANITY MUST HAVE A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE TO SURVIVE. SO, SIGNIFICANTLY, HUMANS INVENT TOOLS (TECHNOLOGY) TO ASSIST IN MAKING THIS POSSIBLE. TECHNOLOGY REPRESENTS THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIETY. IT IS MAN'S QUALITATIVE CONTROL OVER NATURE, AND ALL QUANTITATIVE ACCUMULATION OF GOODS USEFUL FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL IS BASED ON IT. IT IS THE BASIS FOR ARTISTIC CREATION (BENIN BRONZES REFLECT A HIGH STAGE OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIAN HISTORY, WHILE THE BEAD WORK OF PRESENT DAY SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTANS REFLECTS A LOW LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.) IT IS THE BASIS FOR SOCIAL REPRODUCTION BECAUSE IT HELPS TO DETERMINE INFANT MORTALITY RATES AND LIFE SPANS (SCHOOLS, HOUSING, FOOD, HEALTH CARE, AND CLOTHING ARE ALL DEPENDENT ON THE AVAILABLE TECHNOLOGY IN A SOCIETY.

(66) TECHNOLOGY, ALONG WITH THE AVAILABLE NATURAL RESOURCES, REPRESENTS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IS THE KEY TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

(67) AS OUR FALLEN LEADER AMILCAR CABRAL WROTE:

(68) "We are not reluctant to admit that this factor in the history of each human group is the method of production (the level of productive forces and the regime of ownership) which characterizes that group. Besides, as we have seen, the definition of class and class struggle are themselves a result of the development of the productive forces combined with the regime of ownership of the means of production. It therefore seems to us correct to conclude that the level of productive forces, the essential determinant of the character and form of the class struggle, is the real and permanent moving force of history."

(69) ALSO, MAN LIVES IN INTERDEPENDENT SOCIETIES IN WHICH EVERYONE IS PART OF A COLLECTIVE RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF

PRODUCTION. SOME PEOPLE OWN THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE SOCIETY, WHILE THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WORK FOR THOSE WHO OWN THE MATERIAL RESOURCES. THESE COLLECTIVES ARE CLASSES, BECAUSE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION DETERMINES WHO IS THE RULING CLASS, AND EVERYONE FORCED TO SELL THEIR LABOR TO THIS RULING CLASS IS THEREFORE, THE WORKING CLASS. THIS HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE, BUT IT IS NOW ALMOST EVERYWHERE ON THE PLANET. THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESS OF HISTORY CONSISTS OF A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES, A STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER LIFE IN WHICH THE FRUIT OF A MAN'S LABOR IS NOT SERVED UP TO SATISFY THE APPETITE OF THE RULING CLASS BUT SERVES THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL MEN. MOREOVER, CLASS DOMINATION LEADS TO CONTROL OF THE STATE (GOVERNMENT) AND IDEOLOGICAL HEGEMONY OVER THE SOCIETY AT LARGE (SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, MASS MEDIA, ETC.) THIS COMPOUNDS THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BECAUSE THESE INSTITUTIONS CARRY OUT POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL OPPRESSION.

(70) THE STAGES OF BLACK PEOPLE'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES CONSISTS OF AN INTENSE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CLASSES AND HISTORICAL FORCES.

(71) 1. THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE WAS A RESULT OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF EUROPE (ESPECIALLY ENGLAND) BEING EXPLOITED BY THE EMERGING CAPITALIST CLASS IN ORDER TO BUILD UP THE ECONOMIC SURPLUS THAT FINANCED THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. ERIC WILLIAMS IN CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY MAKES IT PLAIN:

(72) "In this triangular trade England--France and Colonial America equally--supplied the exports and

the ships, Africa the human merchandise; the plantations the colonial raw materials. The slave ship sailed from the home country with a cargo of manufactured goods. These were exchanged at a profit on the coast of Africa for Negroes; who were traded on the plantations, at another profit, in exchange for a cargo of colonial produce to be taken back to the home country. As the volume of trade increased, the triangular trade was supplemented, but never supplanted, by a direct trade between home country and the West Indies, exchanging home manufactures directly for colonial produce.

(73)

The triangular trade thereby gave a triple stimulus to British manufacturers; transported to the plantations, they produced sugar, cotton, indigo, molasses and other tropical products, the processing of which created new industries in England; while the maintenance of the Negroes and their owners on the plantations provided another market for British industry, New England agriculture and the Newfoundland fisheries. By 1760 there was hardly a trading or manufacturing town in England which was not in some way connected with the triangular or direct colonial trade. The profits obtained provided one of the main streams of that accumulation of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution."

(74)

2. CHATTEL SLAVERY IN THE ANTI-BELLUM SOUTH WAS GREATLY INCREASED AND INTENSIFIED BY THE BOURBON ARISTOCRACY UTILIZING THE COTTON GIN TO FEED THE GROWING TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, IN BLACK BOURGEOISIE, POINTS THIS OUT:

(75)

"During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the importation of Negroes gradually increased to meet the growing need for laborers in the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo. But with the invention of the cotton gin, which enabled American producers to supply the increased demands of English manufacturers, the importation of Negro slaves was accelerated. As a result, the agitation against slavery, which had found expression along with the idealism respecting liberty during the American Revolution, died down when the declining productivity of slave labor on tobacco plantations was followed by a period of unprecedented profits in cotton production." (pp. 15-16)

(76)

3. THE MIGRATION OF BLACK RURAL WORKERS (SHARECROPPERS) TO THE NORTHERN CITIES SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL RULING CLASS BY PROVIDING A SURPLUS LABOR RESERVE FOR THEIR FACTORIES DURING THE TWO WORLD WARS. AGAIN, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER SUMMARIZES THIS HISTORICAL PROCESS IN HIS MAJOR WORK, THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES:

(77)

"In fact, the growth and distribution of the Negro population during the first half of the twentieth century have been determined by the economic and social forces which have shaped the growth of the nation. The Negro population has been concentrated, on the whole, in those areas where there was a demand for the type of labor which the Negro could provide. Negroes were first concentrated in the South because a commercial system of agriculture without machinery required a large supply of cheap, unskilled labor. Even after Emancipation and during the turbulent days of Reconstruction and the years of violence which followed, the majority of Negroes remained in the plantation South because there they could find a means of subsistence. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, they began to migrate to the cities and towns of the South, the urbanization of the Negro closely paralleled that of the whites. Then, when during and following World War I there was a demand for unskilled labor in the heavy industries of the North, masses of southern Negroes migrated to northern industrial centers from the cotton plantations ravaged by the boll weevil. The migration of Negroes from the rural South was again accelerated during World War II. Because of the presence of defense industries on the West coast, a large proportion of the Negro migration from the South took a westward direction for the first time. It is estimated that 250,000 Negroes migrated to the cities on the Pacific coast where defense industries were located. As the result of the westerly migration, large communities have grown in the West as well as in the North." (p. 196)

(78)

IT IS IN THIS WAY THAT WE CAN CLEARLY SEE THE ROLE PLAYED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE THREE HISTORICAL STAGES OF

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT: (1) INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, (2) RISE OF MONOPOLY, AND (3) IMPERIALISM AND WARS OF PLUNDER. WE HAVE BEEN THE BEASTS OF BURDEN FROM WHOSE LABOR THE WEALTH OF THE WEST WAS ACCUMULATED, AND FROM WHOSE WOMBS THE SERVANTS FOR THE RULING CLASS WERE RAISED, (INCLUDING DIPLOMATS, MAIDS, SOLDIERS, AND STOOL-PIGEONS). IN SUM, WE ARE HERE IN THE WEST BECAUSE WITHOUT US WESTERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WOULD NOT BE IN EXISTENCE AS IT IS TODAY.

(79) B. WHO ARE WE?

THIS QUESTION REQUIRES THAT WE GRASP WHAT MAKES UP THE HISTORICAL IDENTITY OF A PEOPLE, AND ARE ABLE TO ISOLATE AND FOCUS IN ON ITS MAJOR COMPONENT PARTS. THIS APPROACH ASSUMES THAT IN ORDER TO STUDY A PEOPLES HISTORICAL IDENTITY AND DEVELOP A PROGRAMMATIC STRATEGY, IT IS NECESSARY TO ANALYZE ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. OUR METHOD IS TO ESTABLISH THE CONTENT OF OUR IDENTITY AND TO GRASP ITS DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORICAL STAGES. ONLY BY BEING SELF CONSCIOUS (AND HAVING AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF OUR PEOPLE) CAN WE MOVE IN THE REAL MATERIAL INTERESTS OF ALL OF OUR PEOPLE AND NOT BE MISLEAD TO SERVE A PRIVILEGED FEW.

(80) THE FORMATION OF OUR IDENTITY IS THE RESULT OF TWO CONTRADICTIONS, BOTH ANTAGONISTIC, BUT TO A GREAT EXTENT INVOLVING THE SAME CAST OF CHARACTERS:

1. EUROPEAN RACIST (NATIONAL) OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND THEIR DECENDANTS; AND

2. CLASS CONTRADICTION; THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORK- ING CLASS.

IN THE LONG RUN, THESE TWO CONTRADICTIONS MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS TWO SEPARATE THOUGH INTERDEPENDENT HISTORICAL FORCES, WHILE IN THIS PERIOD THEY OFTEN APPEAR AS IF THEY WERE THE SAME PHENOMENON.

(81) THE PRINCIPLE CONTRADICTION OF THE USA, CANADA, AND THE CARIBBEAN IS THE CLASS CONTRADICTION. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT EVERYONE IN THE SOCIETY THAT IS STRUGGLING WITH A PROBLEM IS IN FACT STRUGGLING AGAINST THE OBJECTIVE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS. THIS IS TRUE ON THE ISSUE OF "THE ENERGY CRISIS," FOOD PRICES, INADEQUATE HOUSING, POLICE REPRESSION, THE IMPORTATION OF RHODESIAN CHROME, WATERGATE AND NIXON, US SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE WARS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FASCIST REGIMES OF CHILE, URUGUAY, AND BRAZIL, AND THE CUT-BACKS IN SOCIAL SERVICES AND UNEMPLOYMENT. THE RULING CLASS IS THE ENEMY OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE, DOUBLY SO FOR BLACK AND OTHER OPPRESSED THIRD WORLD PEOPLE (EXCLUDING JAPAN BUT INCLUDING OKINAWA, FOR EXAMPLE).

(82) IN 1926, MAO WROTE:

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies . . . to distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.

What is the condition of each of the classes in Chinese society?" (Mao Tse-Tung, Selected Works, Vol. I)

(83) WE MUST ASK OURSELVES WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF EACH CLASS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

(84) THE HISTORICAL STAGES OF BLACK PEOPLES IDENTITY HAVE BEEN BASED ON WHAT KIND OF WORK WE HAVE DONE, THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THIS IS THE KEY FACTOR BECAUSE IT INCLUDES OUR RELATIONSHIP TO TECHNOLOGY AND THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF THE SOCIETY, AND REFLECTS THE MATERIAL INTEREST THE RULING CLASS HAS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THERE ARE FOUR CLASS FORMATIONS THAT MAKE UP THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE, THE BLACK PETTY BOURGEOISIE, THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, AND THE BLACK LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT.

(85) 1. BLACK BOURGEOISIE: THIS IS A CLASS COMING INTO BEING, BASED ON THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL, THE FORMATION OF BUSINESSES THAT GROW IN SIZE SO THAT A RELATIVELY LARGE NUMBER OF WORKERS ARE EXPLOITED IN THE PROCESS OF SELLING THEIR LABOR POWER AT A PRICE (WAGES) MUCH LESS THAN WHAT THEY CREATE DURING THEIR WORKING DAY (VALUE). THIS BLACK BOURGEOISIE HAS LONG BEEN IN THE MAKING, WITH THE PERIOD OF THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY, EARLY 1900'S AND THAT OF THE 1960'S BEING HIGH POINTS. HOWEVER, THE THIRTIES AND THE APPARENT TREND OF THE 1970'S HAS HAD A DEPRESSING EFFECT ON THIS PROCESS. THIS IS INDICATED BY THE RISE AND FALL OF BLACK BANKING ENTERPRISES. FROM 1888 TO 1934 THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE OPENED 134 BANKS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. AFTER FORMING

THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE IN 1900, IN 1910,
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON WAS ABLE TO SAY,

"Before the starting of the Negro Business League there was not a single Negro bank in the State of Mississippi. At the present time, Mississippi has eleven Negro banks. When this Business League was organized in Boston 10 years ago there were only four Negro banks in the United States; at the present time there are fifty-six Negro banks."

HOWEVER, BY 1934, AFTER THE STOCK CRASH AND THE WORLD DEPRESSION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM THERE WERE ONLY 12 BANKS IN EXISTENCE. SINCE 1960 25 BANKS (OR 67%) WERE CREATED OUT OF THE 37 THAT EXIST TODAY.

(86)

THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 112,500 (1969) BUSINESSES OWNED AND RUN BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA TODAY (CONSTITUTING 2.25% OF OVER 5 MILLION BUSINESSES IN THE USA). THIS REFLECTS THE BOOM IN BLACK BUSINESS RESULTING FROM THE BLACK ADVANCE DURING THE 1960'S AND THE PAY-OFF ATTEMPTED BRIBE PLAN OF NIXON'S BLACK CAPITALIST PROGRAM. THIS CLASS FORMATION HAS TWO QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT AND DISTINCT SECTORS, ONE IS BASED UPON THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND MAKES UP THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THAT IS NATIONAL IN CHARACTER; THE OTHER IS BASED UPON CAPITAL INVESTMENT FROM MAJOR (WHITE) CORPORATIONS AND MAKES UP THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THAT IS COMPRADOR IN CHARACTER.

(87)

OF THE LARGEST 100 BLACK BUSINESSES ONLY 30% HAVE A COMPRADOR CHARACTER INDICATING THAT EVEN FOR THE LARGEST LEVEL MOST OF THE BUSINESSES HAVE A NATIONAL CHAR-

ACTER, WHILE THE MAJORITY OF OTHERS MOST CERTAINLY DO (I.E., THE CORNER GROCERY STORES, BEAUTY PARLORS, ETC.). BUT THE HISTORICAL TREND IS TURNING INTO ITS OPPOSITE WITH THE LARGEST BLACK BUSINESSES MORE AND MORE REFLECTING THE PENETRATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY BY CAPITAL FROM THE LARGE (WHITE) CORPORATIONS. THE FOLLOWING TABLE INDICATES THIS:

DATE FOUNDED	% OF LARGEST BLACK BUSINESSES WITH A COMPRADOR CHARACTER
UP TO 1959	17.4
1960's	26.5
1970's	46.4

(88) MOST BLACK BUSINESSES ARE IN SERVICES (1969):

INDUSTRY	% OF TOTAL OWNED BY BLACKS
PERSONAL SERVICES	8.4
OTHER SERVICES	1.4
CONSTRUCTION	2.6
MANUFACTURING	1.2
RETAIL TRADE	1.9
OTHER INDUSTRIES	1.4
TOTAL	22.5

(89) AND MOST ARE SMALL. IN 1969, OVER 95% OF ALL BLACK BUSINESSES EMPLOYED LESS THAN 10 PEOPLE. AND 64% HAD GROSS RECEIPTS LESS THAN \$50,000.

(90) HOWEVER, AMONG THE TOP ONE HUNDRED BLACK BUSINESSES WE HAVE THIS PATTERN:

TYPE OF BUSINESS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	AVERAGE ANNUAL SALES (MILLIONS)
COMPRADOR	48.20	5.20
NATIONAL	111.72	4.59
TOTAL	92.67	4.78

(91)

SO ON THIS LEVEL THE AVERAGE IS CLOSE TO 100 EMPLOYEES WITH ANNUAL SALES OF \$5 MILLION. THE NATIONAL BUSINESS IS LARGER BUT THE COMPRADOR BUSINESS HAS GREATER SALES. MOST OF THE COMPRADOR BUSINESSES ARE AUTOMOBILE DEALERSHIPS (16), LIQUOR DISTRIBUTORS (4), AND SERVICES (6).

(92)

2. BLACK PETTY BOURGEOISIE: THIS CLASS FORMATION IS A MIDDLE STRATA SPLIT BETWEEN THOSE LOYAL TO THE RULING CLASS VERSUS THOSE WHO LEAN MORE TO THE PROLETARIAT. IT CONSISTS OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT HOURLY WAGE WORKERS (BLUE COLLAR OR CLERICAL WHITE COLLAR), AND WHO ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO EXPLOIT THE LABOR OF OTHERS. SO THE 31% OF BLACK BUSINESSES WHO DO NOT HAVE PAID EMPLOYEES ACTUALLY FIT INTO THIS CLASS RATHER THAN THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE. WE HAVE DISCERNED 4 MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THIS MIDDLE STRATA:

A. THE TWO FACES OF THE BLACK PROFESSIONAL: APPROXIMATELY 9.1% OF ALL EMPLOYED BLACK PEOPLE HAVE PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, OR KINDRED OCCUPATIONS. OF THESE OVER ONE-THIRD OF ALL MALES ARE EITHER TEACHERS OR MINISTERS, AND FOR FEMALES OVER 50% ARE TEACHERS. THE KEY DISTINCTION HERE IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY OPERATE WITH THEIR JOB SECURITY BEING TIED TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WOULD BE A GENERAL PRACTITIONER THAT SEES PATIENTS IN HIS OWN OFFICE IN THE COMMUNITY, AS OPPOSED TO A PHYSICIAN WHO IS RETAINED BY A COMPANY

TO SEE ITS WORKERS WHEN THEY ARE INJURED. THE MAJORITY OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS ARE EITHER BEING FORCED INTO A SEMI-WORKING CLASS CONDITION WHERE THEIR REMUNERATION IS OFTEN INSECURE AND THEY MUST UNIONIZE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES (PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS).

- (93) B. THE COMPRADOR ELITE: THERE ARE FOUR MAJOR GROUPS OF PETTY BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS THAT HAVE A DEFINITE COMPRADOR CHARACTER AND REFLECT THE PECULIAR FORM OF NEO-COLONIAL TYPE OF ORGANIZATION THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE USA HAS HAD TO ENDURE.

- (94) 1. BLACKS ON CORPORATE BOARDS: WHILE TEN YEARS AGO THERE WERE NO BLACKS ON THE BOARDS OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY, A RECENT SURVEY FOUND 72 ON THE BOARDS OF APPROXIMATELY 100 COMPANIES.

- (95) "Although four of the top ten among the Fortune 500 industrial corporations have black directors, black representation is strongest on the boards of banks, life insurance firms, and utilities, possibly because their boards are generally larger than in industry. Six of the ten leading banks have at least one black director, while Chase Manhattan, the second-largest bank in the nation, and Metropolitan Life, the largest insurer, have two black directors each. Chase's 24-member board includes Patricia Roberts Harris, attorney and prominent officeholder of the Democratic party, and Thomas A. Wood, president of TAW International Leasing in New York. Among Metropolitan's 30 directors are George E. Johnson, president of Johnson Products, the Chicago-based cosmetics company, and Robert C. Weaver, formerly Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop-

ment and now a professor at Hunter College in New York City." (Black Enterprise, September, 1972, pp. 24-26).

(96)

THESE 72 PEOPLE ARE IN DIRECT COMMUNITATION WITH THE RULING CLASS AND SERVE THE INTERESTS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THIS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE THEIR SUBJECTIVE INTENTION, THE OBJECTIVE POSITION THAT THEY OCCUPY PLACES THEM WITH THE ROCKEFELLERS, MORGANS, MELLONS, DUPONTS, RATHER THAN ON THE SIDE OF BLACK PEOPLE.

(97)

2. BLACK OFFICERS IN THE USA MILITARY: IT HAS ONLY BEEN SINCE EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981 ISSUED BY HARRY TRUMAN IN 1948 THAT THE USA ARMED SERVICES HAVE BEEN "DESEGREGATED" ALTHOUGH THE RECENT INCIDENTS ON THE KITTY HAWK, IN THE BASES IN WEST GERMANY, AND IN THE "NAM" HAVE PROVED THIS PROCLAMATION TO BE BOMBASTIC BULLSHIT. HOWEVER, TODAY THERE ARE NINE BLACK ARMY GENERALS, TWO BLACK AIR FORCE GENERALS, AND ONE BLACK NAVY ADMIRAL. THE BLACK PERCENTAGE OF ALL OFFICERS IN EACH BRANCH OF THE SERVICE INCLUDES FOR THE ARMY 3.9% (15.1% BLACK IN THE TOTAL ARMY), THE AIR FORCE 1.7% (10.8% BLACK OF THE TOTAL AIR FORCE), MARINES 1.5% (12.5% BLACK OF THE TOTAL MARINES), AND THE NAVY 0.9% (5.7% BLACK OF THE TOTAL NAVY). THESE MEN ARE THE TOP RANKING MERCENARIES WHO OFTEN WILLFULLY

SERVE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS IN WARS OF PLUNDER LIKE IN VIETNAM, OR IN MILITARY OCCUPATION OF BLACK WORKING CLASS AREAS DURING PERIODS OF MILITANT STRUGGLE LIKE DETROIT, NEWARK, AND WATTS. AND AFRICA MIGHT BE NEXT!

(98)

3. BLACK POLITICIANS: THIS CLASS ELEMENT FALLS INTO TWO GROUPS:

(99)

A. PRESIDENTIALLY APPOINTED BLACK GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRATS: THERE HAS BEEN A RAPID INCREASE IN THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK APPOINTEES AT THE TOP LEVEL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

THE PRECEDENT FOR THIS PERIOD IS THE FDR "BLACK CABINET" ADVISORY COMMITTEE LED BY SUCH DEMOCRATIC STALWARTS AS MARY MCCLEOD BETHUNE AND ROBERT WEAVER. THERE HAS BEEN ONE BLACK APPOINTEE TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CABINET, ONE BLACK SUPREME COURT JUSTICE, (THURGOOD MARSHALL WAS APPOINTED IN 1967), ONE GOVERNOR OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AND CURRENTLY THERE ARE 194 BLACKS AT THE TOP CIVIL SERVICE LEVEL OF GS-16 AND OVER. THIS INCLUDES THE ABOVE MENTIONED GENERALS, AND 4 AMBASSADORS. MOST BLACKS AT THIS LEVEL ARE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF TRANSPORTATION, HEW, HUD, AND STATE. INDEED, THESE BLACKS SERVE ON THE STAFF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THAT MANAGES THE AFFAIRS OF THE ENTIRE

RULING CLASS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS IN THIS COUNTRY.

(100)

B. BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS: THE LEADING ELEMENT HERE IS THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS WITH ITS 13 MEMBERS (ONE IN THE SENATE AND 12 IN THE HOUSE). ALSO, THERE ARE 2,264 ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING MAYORS, 212 IN STATE LEGISLATURES, AND OVER 40% OF THE TOTAL IN THE SOUTH.

(101)

C. THE INTELLECTUALS: THIS CLASS FORMATION IS CONCERNED WITH THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, AND LEADS IN SHAPING THE OPINIONS OF THE MASSES. HERE ARE FOUND STUDENTS, JOURNALISTS, SOME TEACHERS, AND WRITERS. THERE ARE NEARLY 500,000 BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE USA, A GROUP WHICH HAS A SPECIAL ROLE BASED UPON THE SINGULAR IMPORTANCE GIVEN IT BY THE RULING CLASS IN ORDER TO HAVE A CONSTANT SUPPLY OF RECRUITS WILLING TO SERVE CAPITALISM FOR PERSONAL GAIN TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE BLACK MASSES. THIS CLASS FORMATION HAS WITHIN IT A CONSTANT STRUGGLE TO SERVE THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE OR TO SERVE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS.

(102)

D. FARMERS: WE USED TO BE ON THE LAND, BUT THE DICTATES OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM CHANGED THIS DRAS-
TICALLY.

"In 1940, over three-fourths of all blacks lived in the South, close to two-thirds lived in rural areas there, and just under half were still engaged in agriculture. By 1969, almost as many blacks lived outside the South as still resided in that region, and only 4% of the Black laborers remained in agriculture, as they had left the farms at a much more rapid rate than whites. Today, only about a fifth of the total Black population live in the rural areas and small towns of the South. (The Demand For Black Labor, Harold Baron, Radical America, p. 32)

ONE OF THE BASIC REASONS FOR THIS IS THE INCREASED MECHANIZATION OF COMMERCIAL FARMING: E.G., IN 1940 THERE WERE 9,000 TRACTORS IN GEORGIA, AND BY 1950 THERE WERE 60,000.

(103)

THE SAME PATTERN HOLDS FOR BLACK FARMERS. THE PERCENTAGES OF BLACKS OF ALL FARMERS HAS BEEN 30% IN 1940 AND 10% IN 1964. IN 1969 THERE WERE LESS THAN ONE MILLION. IN THE SOUTH THERE ARE ABOUT 185,000 BLACK FARMERS, OVER HALF OWNER-RUN SINCE THE SHARECROPPERS HAVE BEEN DRIVEN INTO THE CITIES.

(104)

3. THE WORKING CLASS: BLACK PEOPLE WERE BROUGHT TO THIS COUNTRY IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE LABOR POWER FOR DEVELOPING A NEW SOCIETY. WE WERE BROUGHT HERE AS SLAVES, AND WERE FULLY EMPLOYED BECAUSE SLAVE LABOR HAS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPLOITATION OF ALL FORMS OF LABOR. THE BLACK WORKER HAS BEEN AT THE VERY KEY POINT OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS, ESPECIALLY WHERE THE WORK IS THE HARDEST, MOST DANGEROUS AND WHERE THE GREATEST VALUE IS

CREATED BY TRANSFORMING NATURAL RESOURCES INTO USEFUL COMMODITIES. WE HAVE BEEN THE BEASTS OF BURDEN FOR THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY, AS THEY HAVE REAPED SUPER-PROFITS FROM OUR LABOR POWER.

(105)

BLACK LABOR REFLECTS OUR PRECARIOUS POSITION AS THE RESERVE ARMY FOR THE CAPITALISTS. THIS MEANS THAT WHILE WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE THE LAST HIRED AND FIRST FIRED THE CAPITALISTS KEEP US IN RESERVE TO FIGHT ALL OTHER WORKERS WITH THE THREAT THAT "IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE TERMS (IN WAGES, CONDITIONS OR BENEFITS) THEN WE CAN ALWAYS HIRE THE 'NIGGERS' AND THEY WILL JUMP AT THE CHANCE."

THE CATEGORIES ARE (A) THE EMPLOYED WORKERS, (B) THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS AND (C) THE DISPLACED WORKERS.

(106)

A. THE EMPLOYED BLACK WORKERS BLACK WORKERS ARE CONCENTRATED IN SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS. OVER 75% OF BLACK MALES HAVE JOBS CLASSIFIED BY THE U.S. CENSUS AS CRAFTS, OPERATIVES, UNSKILLED LABOR, AND SERVICE. ON THE OTHER HAND, OVER 82% OF BLACK FEMALES ARE IN JOBS CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL, OPERATIVE, SERVICE, AND DOMESTIC. THE LARGEST CATEGORY OF MALES IS OPERATIVES, FOR FEMALES ITS SERVICE.

(107)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: 1970

OCCUPATIONS	MALE	FEMALE
WHITE COLLAR	18.9	29.9
PROFESSIONAL	6.0	9.0
MANAGERIAL	3.5	1.5
SALES	1.9	2.0
CLERICAL	7.5	17.4
SKILLED LABOR	47.4	18.4
CRAFTS	16.6	1.8
OPERATIVES	30.8	16.6
LABOR, FARM, SERVICE	33.7	51.6
LABORERS	14.7	1.6
FARMERS	1.0	0.2
FARM LABORERS	3.2	1.1
SERVICE	14.4	28.8
PRIVATE, DOMESTIC	0.3	19.9

(108)

IT SHOULD BE NOTED HOWEVER, THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS IS UNEVENLY DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY (A BY-PRODUCT OF THE ANARCHY OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION). THE FOLLOWING TABLE INDICATES THE TWO AREAS OF WORK THAT VARY MOST: MANUFACTURING OF DURABLE (LIKE AUTO-

MOBILES) AND NON-DURABLE (LIKE FOOD) GOODS, COMPARED WITH PERSONAL (LIKE HAIR WORK), PROFESSIONAL (LIKE LAWYER) AND RELATED SERVICE.

(109)

COMPOSITION OF BLACK LABOR IN SELECTED AREAS WITH ALSC LOCALS

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS	MANUFACTURING	SERVICES	%BLACK
NORTH DETROIT NEWARK	39.2 34.9	26.4 16.7	43.7 54.2
CAPITAL WASHINGTON	5.3	31.5	71.1
SOUTH ATLANTA NEW ORLEANS	18.2 13.2	34.4 36.6	51.3 45.0

(110)

THIS COMPOSITION IS EVEN FURTHER CLARIFIED BY THESE NATIONAL FIGURES:

"The latest figures from the building trades show that Black workers compose: 23.8 per cent of all furnacemen, smelters and mixers; 25 per cent of metal moulders; 12.3 per cent of the masons, tile setters, and stove cutters; and 22.8 per cent of the plasterers, lathers, and cement finishers. Notwithstanding the fact that whites make up the bulk of the foremen and skilled craftsmen, there would be no building trade without the jobs that large numbers of Blacks perform." (Black World, October, 1973, p. 44)

(111)

FURTHER,

"In cities like Chicago, Detroit, New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, Blacks

make up the majority of the mass transit operators. They form a significant minority in mining (15-20%), longshoring (25%), steel (13%) and auto (20% : in some Chrysler factories in Detroit Black workers are the majority, 70%).

(112) SPECIFIC TO EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES OF BLACK CONCENTRATION ARE PARTICULAR JOBS THAT BLACKS HOLD.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE LISTS 25 OCCUPATIONS MADE UP OF AT LEAST 10% BLACK.

(113)

OCCUPATION	BLACK MEN AS A % OF ALL MEN
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	44.7
JANITORS AND PORTERS	37.2
LONGSHOREMEN AND STEVEDORES	34.5
LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING OPERATIVES	33.3
LUMBERMEN, RAFTSMEN AND WOODCHOPPERS	30.8
LABORERS, CHEMICALS AND ALLIED PRODUCTS	30.2
" TRANSPORTATION, EQUIPMENT MFG.	27.9
" RAILROADS, RAILWAY EXPRESS	27.8
" PRIMARY METAL MFG.	26.4
" CONSTRUCTION	25.9
FURNACEMEN, SMELTERMEN AND POURERS	22.8
LABORERS, TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTS & APPAREL MFG.	22.7
MOLDERS, METAL	22.3
PLASTERERS AND CEMENT FINISHERS	21.7
COOKS, EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	21.5
ELEVATOR OPERATORS	21.4
LABORERS, STONE, CLAY, & GLASS PRODUCTS	19.7
OPERATIVES, SAW & PLANING MILLS, MISC. WOOD PROD.	18.8
TAXICAB DRIVERS AND CHAUFFEURS	18.3
OPERATIVES, PRIMARY METAL MFG.	15.0
" FOOD & KINDRED PRODUCTS MFG.	14.7
" MISC. NONMFG. INDUSTRIES	14.7
" MOTOR VEHICLES AND MOTOR VEHICLES EQUIP. MFG.	14.0
SHOEMAKERS AND REPAIRMEN, EXC. FACTORY	12.1
MAIL CARRIERS	10.4
BUS DRIVERS	10.1

(The American Negro Reference Book, 1966, p. 211)

(114)

THE BLACK LABOR FORCE (EXCLUDING PROFESSIONALS AND INTELLECTUALS) IS MADE UP OF 43% INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, (MINING, CONSTRUCTION, AND UTILITIES). THESE WORKERS ARE THE HEARTBEAT AND BACKBONE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

(115)

B. UNEMPLOYED BLACK WORKERS: THIS CLASS FORMATION FLUCTUATES AS WE ARE PUSHED OUT AND PULLED INTO PLANTS AND OFFICES BY THE CAPITALISTS. THE RATE OF BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT HAS BEEN TWICE THAT OF WHITES SINCE THE KOREAN WAR.

(116)

DATE	% BLACK WORKERS UNEMPLOYED
1950	9.0
1955	8.7
1960	10.2
1965	8.1
1970	8.2
1973	9.4

(117)

AGAIN, BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT EVENLY DISTRIBUTED. BLACK URBAN YOUTH ARE HARDEST HIT WITH OVER 35% OF THOSE AGED 16 TO 19 UNEMPLOYED IN 1970.

BLACK WOMEN ARE USUALLY 2-3% POINTS MORE UNEMPLOYED THAN MEN. AND UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN URBAN PHENOMENON.

(118)

C. DISPLACED WORKERS: THERE ARE MANY BLACK WORKING CLASS PEOPLE REMOVED FROM THE PRODUCTION PROCESS. THESE ARE PRIMARILY WELFARE RECIPIENTS AND A CERTAIN SEGMENT OF PRISON INMATES. THE WELFARE ROLLS HAVE INCREASED DRAMATICALLY. THE MONOPOLISTS

HAVE SOUGHT GREATER SURPLUS BY INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY PER HOUR AND CUTTING DOWN THE SIZE OF THE WORK FORCE. THE OVERALL WELFARE ROLLS HAVE INCREASED AS FOLLOWS (IN MILLIONS):

(119)

1950	2.9
1960	4.7
1970	10.8

AND BLACKS MAKE UP OVER 40% OF THESE FIGURES (4 TIMES OUR PERCENTAGE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION):

BLACKS RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 1969

TOTAL POPULATION	25.1 MILLION
RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	4.3 MILLION
PERCENT ON WELFARE	17%

THERE IS A GENERATIONAL EFFECT HERE, SO WE NOW HAVE 2ND AND 3RD GENERATIONS ON WELFARE WHICH BEGINS TO PUSH FOLKS INTO THE LUMPEN ELEMENT WHOLLY DIVORCED FROM THE OBJECTIVE POTENTIAL AND SUBJECTIVE DESIRE FOR GAINFUL PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

(120)

PRISONS ARE CAGES TO PUT WHOEVER THREATENS PRIVATE PROPERTY; THE STATE ACTIVELY SERVES THE RULING CLASS BY OPERATING PRISONS. THE AVERAGE DAILY NUMBER OF ACTUAL INMATES INSIDE OF SO-CALLED CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IS 500,000. THE 1960 DATA FOR LONG TERM INMATES BY AGE IS:

1960 BLACK PRISON POPULATION

AGE	NUMBER
UNDER 15	324
15-19	11,197
20-24	24,019
25-39	67,469
TOTAL	133,249

THE PRISON BREEDS A WARRIOR'S CURSE INSIDE A MAN,
A CURSE WHEN GUIDED BY A CORRECT POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
CAN BE A CONTRIBUTION TO REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUG-
GLE.

(121)

4. THE BLACK LUMPEN PROLETARIAT: THIS IS A CLASS FOR-
MATION THAT HAS BEEN GREATLY MISUNDERSTOOD BY UNSCIENTI-
FIC APPROACHES TO THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COM-
MUNITY. THE MASS APPROACH LUMPS TOGETHER PEOPLE IN SUCH
CATEGORIES LIKE "STREET PEOPLE," "THE COMMUNITY," "THE
GRASS ROOTS," ETC. ALL OF THESE ARE MASSES OF PEOPLE
WHO REPRESENT DIFFERENT CLASS FORMATIONS.

(122)

WHAT DOES SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM SAY ABOUT THE LUMPEN
PROLETARIAT:

"In bourgeois society there exists yet another stratum, the declassed elements--the lumpen proletarians--the "dregs" of capitalist society, consisting of bandits, thieves, beggars, prostitutes, and so on. This stratum is constantly being reinforced by individuals from various classes who have been thrown into the "dregs" by the conditions of capitalism."

(123)

IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WE HAVE ALL THESE PEOPLE--AND WE
HAVE DRUG PUSHERS, GAMBLERS, AND CONFIDENCE MEN. WE HAVE
LEARNED THAT THIS IS A VULTURISTIC UNPREDICTABLE GROUP
OF PEOPLE WITH PLENTY OF LARCENY IN THEIR HEARTS--THEY
HAVE BEEN VICTIMIZED BY CAPITALISM. AND

THE VENOM OF CAPITALISM HAS CREATED
MORE BLOOD SUCKERS, MORE VAMPIRES IN OUR OWN COMMUNITY.
WE MUST KEEP THESE WORDS IN MIND:

"The dangerous class, the social scum, that
passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest

layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."

THERE IS NO SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE THAT THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT HAS EVER MADE A SUSTAINED CONTRIBUTION TO THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS PLENTY OF EVIDENCE THAT IT CAN BE BRIBED BY THE POLICE AND USED AGAINST THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE. THIS IS A LESSON FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

(124) IN SUM, WE ARE A WORKING PEOPLE, 96% OF US ARE WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES IN WHAT KIND OF WORK WE DO, WHAT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE WITH THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

(125) ALSO, THERE IS A NATIONAL (RACIAL) CHARACTER TO OUR OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION IN THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE MOST HEINOUS SYSTEM ANY PEOPLE UNDER CAPITALISM HAVE HAD TO ENDURE. WE ARE THE BEASTS OF BURDEN THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY HAVE FED TO MACHINE-FILLED FACTORIES AND THE EXPANSIVE FIELDS OF THE SOUTH AND WEST. WE ARE THE BASIC RESOURCE THAT HAS MADE THIS COUNTRY GREAT. WE ARE THE BACKBONE OF THE USA.

(126) ONE OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS THAT WE FACE IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY IS THE RELATIONSHIP OF NATIONAL (RACIAL) OPPRESSION TO CLASS EXPLOITATION. OUR POSITION MUST BE BASED ON A SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY AND HISTORICAL CHANGE, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE DIAGRAM BELOW:

(127)

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

CONDITION OF BLACK PEOPLE
IN USASOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF
SOCIETY

RACISM

1. IDEAS, BELIEFS
2. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

1. PREJUDICE
2. DISCRIMINATION

MATERIAL BASIS OF
SOCIETY

CLASS EXPLOITATION

(128)

THERE ARE TWO FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT LEVELS OF THE STRUCTURE OF A SOCIETY. THE MATERIAL BASIS OF A SOCIETY INCLUDES THE MEANS OF PRODUCING GOODS AND SERVICES, AND THE ORGANIZATION OF PEOPLE INTO CLASSES. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH, ALL GOODS, EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR SOCIAL LIFE.

"Classes are large groups of people which differ in their positions in the historical system of social production, in their relation to the means of production, in their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently in the size of the share of social wealth they obtain and in their way of getting it."

(129)

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY BRINGS IDEOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS INTO PLAY. AND FOR BLACK PEOPLE THIS MEANS RACISM, NATIONAL OPPRESSION AS PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION WHICH TOGETHER MAKES UP OUR "SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP." BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA CONSTITUTE AN OPPRESSED NATIONALITY.

"A nation is historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

THIS DOES NOT DESCRIBE BLACKS IN THE USA. HOWEVER, WE DEFINITELY HAVE A DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ENTIRE SOCIETY, AND ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY SEPARATE AND SIMILAR ON EACH OF THE FIVE POINTS.

- (130) 1. WE ARE AN HISTORICALLY CONSTITUTED, STABLE COMMUNITY PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF OUR COMMON CONDITION AS EXPLOITED WORKERS AND PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF BLACK INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS;
- (131) 2. WE SHARE A COMMON LANGUAGE WITH EVERYBODY ELSE (EXCEPT THE REGIONALLY BASED ASIAN LANGUAGES AND SPANISH), ALTHOUGH SLANG (AS ELUSIVE AND EXPRESSIVE COLLOQUILISMS) AND GULLA HAVE REGIONAL VARIATIONS;
- (132) 3. WE SHARE A COMMON TERRITORY OF THE USA, BUT IT IS NOT FUNCTIONALLY CONTIGUOUS WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS OR EVEN FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES--IT IS AS IF WE WERE ON A SERIES OF URBAN AND RURAL GHETTOS (RESERVATIONS LIKE THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTANS);
- (133) 4. WE SHARE A COMMON ECONOMIC LIFE ALTHOUGH IT HAS MORE TO DO WITH OUR EXPLOITATION AS WAGE-SALARY WORKERS RATHER THAN A NATIONAL MARKET ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE;
- (134) 5. WE HAVE A PSYCHOLOGICAL MAKE-UP MANIFESTED IN A COMMON CULTURE, BASED ON OUR CREATIVE RESPONSE TO OUR CONDITION BUT MOSTLY ORGANIZED, CONTROLLED, AND DEFINED BY OUR OPPRESSORS (E.G., BLACK RADIO STATIONS).

(135) BLACK PEOPLE AS A NATIONALITY ARE UNITED BY NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MOULDED BY A COMMON HISTORY OF SLAVERY, SHARE-CROPPING, GREAT MIGRATIONS TO THE CITY AND WAGE SLAVERY IN THE PLANTS. HOWEVER, THE DOMINANT CHARACTER OF RACISM IS HOW WE ARE SOCIALLY OPPRESSED. THERE IS ALMOST NO ASPECT OF SOCIAL LIFE THAT DOES NOT CLEARLY SHOW THE DEBILITATING IMPACT OF RACISM--NATIONAL OPPRESSION. BLACK PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BRUTALIZED BEYOND THE LIMITS OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY, AND REPRESENT THE CLEAREST EXAMPLE OF THE DEMONIC ABUSE GERMANE TO THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS IMPERIALIST STAGE.

(136) THE DIFFERENCES (AS REPORTED BY THE BUREAU OF CENSUS, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES) IN THE CONDITION OF BLACKS AND WHITES IS APPARENT IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE:

(137) SOCIAL INDICATORS	BLACK	WHITE
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME (1969)	5,999	9,794
% PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LINE (1969)	32	16
% MOTHERS OF INFANTS IN LABOR FORCE (1969)	45	28
% ENROLLED IN SCHOOL FOR AGES 20-24 (1968)	12	22
% OF 25-34 YEARS OLD WHO HAVE COMPLETED COLLEGE (1969)	6.6	16.2
% IN BAD HOUSING (1968) (LACK OF PLUMBING AND/OR DILAPIDATED)	24	6
INFANT MORTALITY RATES (1967) (1 MONTH - 1 YEAR)	12.1 (per 1000)	4.7 (per 1000)
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (1973)	9.4	4.8

(138) ALL OF THESE SOCIAL INDICATIONS OF OUR NATIONAL OPPRESSION HAVE A CLASS CONTENT. THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE DOES NOT LEAD THE PRECARIOUS LIFE THAT WORKERS LEAD. THERE IS NO COMPARISON OF FOOD, HEALTH CARE, HOUSING, AND EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE LIVING IN BALDWIN HILLS COMPARED TO WATTS (LOS ANGELES), HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMPARED TO LAWDALE (CHICAGO), MOUNT AIRY COMPARED TO SOUTH PHILLY (PHILADELPHIA), SILVERTON COMPARED TO WESTEND (CINCINNATI), AND CASCADE COMPARED TO BUTTERMILK BOTTOM (ATLANTA).

(139) IT IS ONLY BY UNDERSTANDING THIS DUAL CHARACTER OF OUR IDENTITY THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CORRECTLY PLAN A STRATEGIC PROGRAM FOR LIBERATION.

(140) C. WHAT ARE WE STRUGGLING FOR? (IN AFRICA?) (IN THE WEST?)

THIS IS THE AGE OF IMPERIALIST PLUNDER, AND THEREFORE OUR MOVEMENT MUST BE ANTI-IMPERIALIST IN CHARACTER. ALSO, THE RULING CLASS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS FEEDS ON THE SUPER-EXPLOITATION OF BLACK (AND THIRD WORLD PEOPLES OF COLOR) AND THEREFORE OUR MOVEMENT MUST BE ANTI-RACIST. THIS DEFINES OUR RESPONSE TO AN HISTORICAL ERA IN WHICH THERE IS THE HIGHEST CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND POWER UNDER CAPITALISM, AND THIS UNITES THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO SHARE THIS COMMON CONDITION.

(141) HOWEVER, IT IS BY REVEALING THE ESSENCE OF THESE TWO POSITIONS THAT THE GREATEST CLARITY, AND THEREFORE UNITY, CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE HAVE ANALYZED THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF

THE VULTURISTIC IMPERIALISM AND SATANIC RACISM. NOW WE MUST
 DEFINE THE GOALS OF OUR STRUGGLE:

(142)

A. THE ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLE IS A STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF USA HISTORY HAS THREE MAJOR HIGH POINTS: THE COLONIAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR, THE CIVIL WAR--RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE HIGH TIDE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MASS MOVEMENT IN THE 1960's. THESE PERIODS REPRESENT STRUGGLE FOR THE SORT OF EQUALITARIAN RIGHTS EXPRESSED IN THE CONSTITUTIONS OF ALL OF THE BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (ESPECIALLY ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE USA). SUCH THINGS AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, THE RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL AND BEING JUDGED BY A JURY OF ONE'S PEERS, AND UNINHIBITED ACCESS TO ALL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ARE THE SORT OF THING THAT BLACK PEOPLE HAVE SOUGHT FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, AND WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN FULLY AVAILABLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA. ALMOST ALL OF THE GREAT MOVEMENTS OF STRUGGLE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BY THE IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY OF GREAT DEMOCRATS. THIS INCLUDED FREDERICK DOUGLASS, W.E.B. DUBOIS, AND MARTIN LUTHER KING. THIS IS THE TRADITION THAT HAS ACTUALLY LED OUR PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE, PITCHED BATTLE TO BE FREE. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE MASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF BLACK PEOPLE, AND MUST BE KEPT AS THE RALLYING CRY OF OUR MOVEMENT IF WE ARE TO BE THE CENTER OF BLACK PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE. TYPICAL STRUG-

GLS TODAY ARE THE MOVEMENTS FOR A CITIZENS REVIEW BOARD TO DEMOCRATIZE THE POLICE (E.G. ATLANTA, CHICAGO, NASHVILLE, AND NEWARK); TO STOP CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (NORTH CAROLINA); TO FIGHT THE NIXON CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS (WELFARE, VETERANS BENEFITS, EDUCATIONAL FUNDS, ETC.); AND THE RIGHT TO WORK AND ORGANIZE. THESE ARE THE STRUGGLES WE MUST LEAD IF WE ARE TO LEAD THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

(143)

B. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE IS A STRUGGLE FOR DEVELOPMENT. THIS IS A STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE, A STRUGGLE TO ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL PRODUCTION RELATIONSHIPS IN THIS SOCIETY SO THAT THE FRUIT OF A MAN'S LABOR WILL BE SHARED BETWEEN HIM AND THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE SOCIETY. THIS IS A STRUGGLE THAT BLACKS HAVE ENGAGED IN SINCE THE DAYS OF SLAVERY, (DuBOIS DISCUSSES THE ROLE OF A GENERAL STRIKE BY SLAVES DURING THE CIVIL WAR), AND REACHED A HIGH POINT IN MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLES IN THE 20TH CENTURY. IN THIS CURRENT PERIOD, THERE IS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE RACE THEORY AND THE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE. THE RACE THEORY CONTENDS THAT WE MUST DEVELOP THE BLACK COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, LIKE A COLONIAL COUNTRY. THIS PROGRAM CONCEALS THE FACT THAT IT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE, BECAUSE IT ATTEMPTS TO SET UP A MARKET FOR A FEW LARGE BLACK BUSINESSES TO MONOPOLIZE (NOTE THE HISTORY OF BLACK INSURANCE COMPANIES, MORTICIANS, AND REALTORS). THE CLASS ANALYSIS OF THE

BLACK COMMUNITY DEVELOPED ABOVE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES THAT A PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY THAT IS WORTHY OF OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE FOCUSED ON WORKING CLASS FORMATIONS. IT IS BLACK WORKERS THAT PRODUCE THE NECESSARY GOODS AND SERVICES FOR THIS SOCIETY, AND IT IS THE BLACK WORKER WHO IS MOST EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED. SO DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK PEOPLE REQUIRES CHANGING THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, CHANGING THE CORPORATIONS THAT WE WORK FOR. IT REQUIRES THAT WE TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR OWN HANDS AND DRIVE THE WRONG DOERS INTO THE SEA.

(144)

IN SUM, ONLY A PROGRAM OF CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY BASED UPON MILITANT STRUGGLE WILL PREVENT THE DECADENT WOUNDED PAPER-TIGER OF USA IMPERIALISM FROM DEVELOPING INTO ITS FASCIST FORM. CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY MEANS THAT WE MUST FIGHT NEGATIVE THINKING (BLACK PEOPLE AIN'T SHIT, OR IF WE MARCH THE PIGS WILL SHOOT US DOWN), INVOLVE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, AND FIGHT COURAGEOUSLY TO ADVANCE THE CORRECT IDEOLOGY. IN THIS WAY, THE FOCUS OF OUR STRUGGLE WILL BE LIKE A LASER BEAM TO CUT THROUGH THE ARMOUR OF OPPRESSION. OUR DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM MUST FURTHER OUR PEOPLES ANALYSIS AND HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS.

(145)

D. HOW SHOULD WE STRUGGLE?

OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE WAGED IN A MILITANT MANNER, ORGANIZED IN AS DISCIPLINED A PROCESS AS POSSIBLE. THE KEY PROBLEM OF OUR STRUGGLE IS THE NECESSITY TO CLARIFY THE DIFFER-

ENCES BETWEEN THE RACE APPROACH AND A CLASS ANALYSIS, AND EMBRACE THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF BLACK WORKERS AS OUR BASE AMONG THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE.

(146) THE RACE APPROACH, WHILE HOLDING THAT IT IS DEVISIVE FOR ALSO TO MAKE AN ANALYSIS OF CLASS FORMATIONS BASED ON RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, IS IN FACT BASED IN THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE, WITH LEADERSHIP AND THE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT GROUNDED IN THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT. THE RACE APPROACH IS A REFORMIST TREND THAT CAN ONLY RETARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR STRUGGLE. THERE IS NO SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IMPERIALISM IS AND HOW TO CHANGE IT.

(147) A CLASS ANALYSIS IS THE TOOL WE HAVE THAT IDENTIFIES THE HEROIC ROLE THE WORKING CLASS MUST PLAY IF WE ARE TO DESTROY CAPITALISM AND BUILD A BETTER SOCIETY BASED ON THE WORKING CLASS OWNING AND CONTROLLING THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

(148) WE SAY BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD.

1. THIS IS THE RESULT OF OUR CLASS ANALYSIS THAT ONLY THE WORKING CLASS IS IN AN OBJECTIVE POSITION TO FUNDAMENTALLY DESTROY CAPITALIST RELATIONS, DEFEAT RACISM, AND BUILD A DIFFERENT SOCIETY;

(149) 2. THIS IS THE NECESSARY SLOGAN TO DEFEAT THE INCORRECT VIEW THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS FORMATION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS EITHER THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT, STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS, THE LITERATI OR THE ELECTED POLITICIANS;

(150) 3. THIS SLOGAN GUIDES OUR CURRENT STRUGGLE THAT MUST DEVELOP IN STAGES SUCH AS:

- A. STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE OUR ALSC IDEOLOGICAL POSITION AND ACHIEVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF UNITY;
- B. STRUGGLE TO DIRECT OUR PROGRAM TO THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SHOPS AND COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY WORK AND LIVE, AND RAISING THEIR LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS TO SEE THEIR UNITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
- C. STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP CONCRETE WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP FOR ALSC SO THAT THE MOST INTENSE STRUGGLES WILL GO ON IN THE PLANTS, IN THE COMMUNITIES, IN THE SCHOOL, PRISONS, AND BASES.

(151)

THIS HISTORIC MEETING IN GREENSBORO MUST MAKE A SIGNIFICANT LEAP TOWARDS THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY REQUIRED FOR ALSC TO CONTINUE GIVING CRITICAL LEADERSHIP TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

(152)

WE WERE CHARGED IN WASHINGTON TO RESPOND TO THE CRITICISM OF OUR GREAT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT FROGMORE, S.C. THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY WE ACCEPTED WITH JOY BECAUSE IT PROVIDED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CLEARLY DEFINE AND DEFEND THE CORRECT LINE OF ALSC.

(153)

THIS DOCUMENT IS SUBMITTED AS A WORKING PAPER FOR ALSC MILITANTS TO FURTHER THEIR ANALYSIS. IT IS SUBMITTED TO DEFEAT THE REFORMIST LINE OF THE RACE APPROACH, THAT ARGUES IN FAVOR OF NO CLASSES, OR AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS. WE MUST DEFEAT THIS TENDENCY WITHIN ALSC, SO THAT THERE CAN BE A UNITED FRONT OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES, UNITED IN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE.

(153) WAGE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO UNIFY ON A HIGHER LEVEL!
DEFEND THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES!
DEFEAT THE RACE APPROACH! FORGE A CLASS ANALYSIS!
BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!
BUILD ALSC!

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 14093, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77021



STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

of

African Liberation Support Committee

WORLD VIEW

"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress....."

Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces - racism and imperialism. The world imperialist system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form. Wherever it appears, its cornerstone is the white ruling class of the United States of America.

Imperialism is neither invincible nor invulnerable. As the blows against it increase, the crisis of imperialism heightens and leads to new levels of exploitation of Black People in the Western Hemisphere, Africa and the rest of the world.

AFRICA

In Africa, the remains of classical European colonialism is held together by Portugal (in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique). The United States government has been a constant supporter and ally of Portuguese oppression through direct aid (such as the \$430 million Azores agreement) and gifts of planes, arms, and military training (at Fort Bragg, North Carolina) through NATO. White settler rule is based in police state South Africa, and extends to Namibia (South-West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as well. There is hardly a single major U.S. or multinational corporation, or bank that does not have investments in Southern Africa. Chase Manhattan Bank, Firestone Rubber and tires, Gulf Oil, Holiday Inn, General Motors and some 300 other firms have investments totalling over 1 billion dollars. Several major problems face the people of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau as a result of the present crisis:

1. Resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers as new colonists in Africa; They will be expected to fight against liberation forces. An example is the Cabora Bassa Dam project in the Tete province of Mozambique, where over 1,000,000 European workers are expected to settle.
2. Increased levels of exploitation caused by the relocation of factories from advanced capitalist countries - "run'away shops." The conditions that generally accompany this new investment are no-strike laws, forced labor, slave-wages, no right-to-organize laws, and neo-fascist policies of political repression against all dissent.
3. Militaristic and aggressive expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to recolonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multinational corporations based in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE (U.S., Canada and the Caribbean)

Black people in the Western Hemisphere equally caught in the racist imperialist net, also face major problems in the present state of our struggle:

1. Problems on the job-unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, racism by management and union leadership discrimination in hiring and promotions (especially in skilled crafts), and super-exploitation in the shops (speed-up, compulsory overtime, etc.)
2. Continued neglect, and indeed cutbacks in the area of social services; public welfare, transportation, housing sanitation, health facilities, and education, etc.
3. Political-police-military repression with fascist-type hit squads (like the STRESS squad was in Detroit), increased use of electronic surveillance and informers, a rising rate of Black Youth in prisons, and systematic introduction of heroin (or heroin substitutes) into the Black Communities.
4. Continued onslaughts on efforts to preserve and develop revolutionary culture among Black people, including the use of distorted fragments of Black history and the accomplishments of "distinguished Black Americans." These onslaughts are in fact cultural aggression. Cultural aggression, like all other forms of racism, seeks to impose the way of life, values and institutions of one culture on another culture. Culture here defined as a way of life, values, and those institutions set up to maintain and develop that way of life and its values.

FINALLY GOT THE NEWS

Black people throughout the world have finally got the news — the news that racism and imperialism the two headed monster — are our enemies. The major historical trends of the moment in Southern Africa can be summed up as:

1. The heightened struggle and increasing success of the liberation movements, which win new victories every day. Their struggle has been aided by the support of the Socialist countries, and by other anti-imperialist forces, especially the increasing support of progressive Black people in the United States.
2. The increasing support for the liberation movements by independent African countries, even conservative ones, through the OAU Liberation Committee and by direct aid.
3. The rising desperation of the Portuguese governments in the face of liberation groups marching towards total victories in the "colonies". This desperation is reflected by the cowardly assassination of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, on the streets of Conakry by Portuguese agents.
4. Increased co-operation between colonial and imperialist governments especially Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal, Israel, and the United States in these areas: first, collective military arrangements; second, the wooing of governments of certain African countries in an attempt to seduce them into "dialogue" with South Africa or otherwise breach the anti-colonial unity of Africa; third, the development of schemes to hand the Portuguese colonies over the phoney "independent" Black governments — in reality puppets for the Portuguese.
5. The increasing awareness of Black workers in Southern Africa who are mounting demonstrations and strikes to prove that the system of internal oppression under which they suffer can be overthrown.

The major historical trends at the present time in the United States may be

summed up as follows:

1. The international crisis of capitalism has produced effects — rising market price of gold, falling value of the dollar — that have put the U.S. economy on very shaky ground; unemployment, high food prices, run away shops are a few indications of the instability of the domestic market.
2. The increasing manifestations of frustrations and anger of people in the U.S. especially Black people-battered back and forth by forces which they do not understand.
3. The exposure of corruption in government from Nixon and Halderman to Mayors Daly and Addonizio, down to the cop on the corner. People increasingly realize that this corruption is linked to control of government by large corporations and the rich in their own interests.
4. The increasing attempts by the white ruling class of the USA and their apologists, to blame many social problems on Black People: (high taxes, welfare, unemployment for white workers; inflation)

We can clearly see that the imperialist monster has two heads — in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere in the world. We here have the same duty as all progressive Black people — to fight imperialism in all its manifestations. To do this we must build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front among Black people.

TOWARDS A UNITED FRONT

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each others throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes....."

Kwame Nkrumah

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle to put together a movement with the theoretical and organizational tools and the practical experience necessary to defeat enemies and build a new world.

Theory

We must learn from the experience of other movements and other struggles experience which teaches that "there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." We have learned rich lessons from struggles with no theory at all. Those lessons teach us two important things about unity and theory:

1. We cannot be dogmatic. Once we have rooted ourselves in certain principles, we must direct our struggle according to the concrete, changing conditions around us.
2. Real unity will come about not by ignoring differences but by airing those differences and struggling to resolve them. It is through the interplay of ideas and the testing of those ideas in practice that a correct position will be hammered out.

Organization

We must struggle to improve our organization work. Building unity means finding ways of utilizing the abilities and skills of everyone who is serious about struggling.

Practice

The real test of our united front work is, of course, in practice. We must engage in principled work both inside and outside of the anti-imperialist front; in addition we must develop our ability to carry the fight against racism and imperialism to different groups of people around different issues, yet maintain our course.

The principle task of our movement at this time has two aspects. We must merge the Black liberation struggles in the U.S. with the National liberation struggles in Africa, because a victory anywhere in the fight against U.S. imperialism is a victory everywhere. We must coordinate the Black Liberation struggles in the Western Hemisphere with the overall struggle of People of Color to change the fundamental nature of this society, because we have a responsibility to the world to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold.

The time is ripe to develop a United Black people's struggle, a struggle to merge the Black liberation movement with the process of World Revolution.
The question is: HOW?

OPERATIONAL UNITY

"The whole argument about whether unity is achieved through a step by step process, or through a political decision is in fact a futile one. Ultimately a political decision is necessary, without it unity cannot be achieved. But in the meantime, do we merely wait and hope for a miracle, leaving our development and independence forever in jeopardy, or do we make what progress we can?"

Julius K. Nyerere

The struggle we are engaged in must be a broad one - it must be capable of encompassing a diversity of ideological positions, class formations, and social groups. And it must be operational; it cannot be so broad that it cannot function.

But unity cannot be ordered or willed into being, it must be built as the conditions develop. We do not expect Black nationalists, elected Black public officials, Black socialists, Black ministers, and Black union leaders to unite around a common program merely by their attendance at a meeting, no matter how spectacular. In fact, we feel that this is an incorrect approach at the present time. "Great" men and women do not make history - the people make history. There are some who say that all of "the leaders" should come together so that Black people can come together. We believe that, to the contrary, it is the struggles of everyday Black people - it is their emerging unity that will make the "leaders" come together, and not the other way around. Those who are serious about struggle against racism and imperialism must involve themselves in the struggle of Black people; only such a cause will bring about the unity we all desire so much.

The development of a lasting Black anti-imperialist united front requires a struggle for unity on two levels: internal and external.

Internal

"Dust will accumulate in a room if not cleared regularly"

Mao Tse Tung

In order for the Black Liberation Struggle to advance there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop correct views. This unity in struggle will develop militants with experience, committed to correct views and unified with other individuals and organizations proven in the fight against imperialism. Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of ensuring that Brothers and Sisters within the ALSC build strong organizational unity. Non-antagonistic contradictions within the committee can only be resolved through active ideological and political struggle based on principle. The basis of such struggle will ensure us a higher unity. Such a unity based on unity-struggle, unity, will cement organizational unity and correct our political direction. If errors are left by themselves, organizational unity, strength and direction will not be achieved.

External

Our unity with other political tendencies in the Black Community must be based on a commitment to eliminate racism and defeat monopoly capitalism in the Western Hemisphere and imperialism throughout the rest of the world. For example, our view is that African people must control Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and the only way to really do this is by armed revolutionary struggle. Recognizing the present condition, we also support the struggles for democratic rights; for instance the right of Black workers to organize in Durham, N.C., South Africa or Detroit, Michigan. In this way we must begin to involve people of various ideological positions - ministers, elected officials, civil rights groups, etc., around the program of ALSC, not on their terms but on commonly agreed terms - on terms of the front which we can all support. This process will not happen immediately, it will have to be done step by step. Part of its success or failure will be in our ability to scientifically identify different classes and social groupings in the Black Community so that we can deal with them all effectively. The success of "unite the many to oppose the few" in any society involves knowing exactly who composes "the many" and determining what they can be united around.

Focus for Mobilization

Our anti-racist, anti-imperialist, Black united front must attempt to unite all social groups and class formations within the Black community in a common struggle. Thus our struggle must mobilize the masses but this can only be done when the specific character of this exploitation is clearly understood.

Most Black adults work in production or service jobs. It is this sector of the Black community that has the most to gain by the victory of our struggles and yet they have been the most ignored by the movement. We also consider unemployed workers, most brothers and sisters incarcerated in prisons and welfare recipients as displaced workers. We must give the highest priority to mobilizing Black workers because they have demonstrated the power to do many things, such as stopping illegal chrome shipments from Rhodesia, expose repressive use of Polaroid identification systems and stop production of cars, not only in solidarity with the liberation movements, but also as a part of the fight against their own oppression. Therefore we encourage Black workers to

4. Participate in and aid Black community and Black workers in the struggles against oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.....

5. Engage in efforts to influence and transform U.S. policy as regards to it's imperialist role in the world.

6. Engage in mass actions against governments, products, and companies that are involved in or are supportive of racist, illegitimate regimes in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

7. Support and spearhead annual ALD demonstrations in conjunction with the International African Solidarity Day.

take the lead. It is in this area that the ALSC - the anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front, must meet the challenge of showing the interrelationship of the oppression of the people of Southern Africa and the exploitation of the Black people in the Western Hemisphere.

The post World War II rise of Blacks in clerical and professional jobs provided the basis for leadership, organizational skills, and ideology during the Civil Rights Era. In turn, this struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the Black middle strata will be cut back. This is especially true of those jobs created by the poverty program and similar agencies in the past nine years. In addition to the radicalization of these people, occupants of traditional middle strata "professional" jobs are increasingly feeling the squeeze of monopoly capital. Teachers, social workers, and government workers, to name a few can and must be shown the true nature of the society of the Western Hemisphere. Their struggle will ultimately not be that of saving their professional status, but rather in joining with the masses of people to defeat racism and imperialism decisively and finally.

Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the Black community being young. Youth is also a time of struggle. We must gather together Black Youth from the plants, from the campuses, the streets, penal institutions, military reservations, and wherever else they are, to create a mass mobilization of these youth in the anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Summation

In summary we have presented three major points:

1. The new unity of the Black Liberation struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in character.
2. The struggle to unify Black anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement.
3. Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that Black workers take the lead.

Basic Program for African Liberation Support Committee

1. Raise money for liberation groups in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau through the United African Appeal.
2. Conduct educational seminars and programs on racism, feudalism, imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.
3. Develop and distribute literature, films, and other educational materials on racism, feudalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

THE ALSC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

Gene Locke, Houston, Texas

Brenda Paris, Montreal, Canada

John Warfield, Austin, Texas

Abdul Alkalimat, Nashville, Tenn.

Nelson Johnson, Greensboro, NC

Kwadwo Akpan, Detroit, Mich.

Owusu Sadaukai, Greensboro, NC

Imamu Baraka, New Ark, NJ

Don Lee, Chicago, Ill.

Several additional persons will be added to the executive committee in the near future.

UNITY

STRUGGLE

UNITY

ALSC HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #3

WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICAN PEOPLES
STRUGGLING AGAINST WHITE SETTLER GOVERNMENTS:

AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

NAMIBIA (SOUTHWEST AFRICA)

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

MARCH 21 - 28

ALSC INTERNATIONAL OFFICE: P.O. BOX 14093

HOUSTON, TEXAS 77021 USA

ALSC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: P.O. BOX 5747

NASHVILLE, TN. 37208 USA

1. PLAN OF ACTION

- A. THE ALSC INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MADE THE DECISION TO HAVE A WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF AZANIA, NAMIBIA, AND ZIMBABWE AT OUR LAST MEETING IN GREENSBORO. THIS DECISION IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT ENABLES US TO ROUND OUT OUR FOCUS ON THE COLONIAL STRUGGLES. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CURRENT STRUCTURE OF THE SETTLER COLONIES IS DIFFERENT FROM THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES (GUINEA-BISSAU, ANGOLA, AND MOZAMBIQUE). MOREOVER, THERE IS GREATER OVERALL PARTICIPATION IN THESE AREAS BY USA CORPORATIONS AND BANKS.
- B. OUR WEEK OF SOLIDARITY BEGINS ON MARCH 21ST. THIS DATE IS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE IT SIGNED THE END OF NON-VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA STRUGGLE. ON MARCH 21, 1960, THE RACIST FASCIST POLICE KILLED 69 PEOPLE AND WOUNDED 180 AT SHARPEVILLE, SOUTH AFRICA. FROM THAT TIME ON PEOPLE HAVE BEEN COMMITTED TO A WAR OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE.
- C. WE ARE PLANING TO HAVE EACH LOCAL AREA ENGAGE IN THREE ACTIVITIES:
1. EDUCATIONAL FORUM: ORGANIZE A PANEL WITH ONE OR MORE ALSC MEMBERS, AND OTHER ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLACK SPEAKERS ON THE THEME OF THE WEEK. THE PURPOSE OF THE FORUM IS TO INFORM THE PEOPLE OF THE CURRENT AND HISTORICAL SITUATION, TO MOTIVATE THEM TO SOME FORM OF ACTION, AND TO RECRUIT FOLKS TO JOIN ALSC. EACH LOCAL ALSC CHAPTER SHOULD PRINT UP A LEAFLET TO ADVERTISE THE FORUM AT LEAST ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE. ALSO, EACH ALSC PARTICIPANT SHOULD MAKE AT LEAST 10 PHONE CALLS TO GET PEOPLE TO COME.

A PRESS RELEASE EXPLAINING WHAT, WHO, WHERE, WHEN AND WHY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE BLACK ~~XXXXXXXX~~ RADIO STATION, AND ALL THE NEWSPAPERS.

2. FUND RAISING: THIS WILL BE THE THIRD WEEK OF OUR 3 MONTH FUNDRAISING EFFORT TO RAISE \$75,000 FOR THE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS. WE MUST USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SOLICIT FUNDS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PEOPLE TO GET A THOROUGH POLITICAL EXPLANATION OF WHY FUNDS ARE BEING RAISED.

3. PROTEST: EVERY LOCAL SHOULD ENGAGE IN SOME FORM OF PROTEST DURING THIS WEEK.

SUGGESTIONS:

- A. VISIT CONGRESSMEN TO GET A VOTE TO REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT - IT WILL COME UP FOR A VOTE IN APRIL.
- B. PICKET A FIRM WITH INVESTMENTS IN ONE OF THE COUNTRIES (SEE ATTACHED LIST).
- C. DURING A MEETING HAVE EVERYONE WRITE A LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF ALL LOCAL NEWSPAPERS PROTESTING ~~IN~~ THE ROLE OF THE US IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. SLOGANS

- A. LET THE MAJORITY DECIDE!

THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THESE COUNTRIES ARE AFRICAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS BUT THE GOVERNMENT IS IN THE HANDS OF THE EUROPEAN CORPORATIONS WHO EXPLOIT THE WEALTH.

IF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE WERE IN CONTROL THEY WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.

AFRICANS ARE RELEGATED TO AN AREA UNFIT FOR THE TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE TO THEM; THEREFORE THEY ARE KEPT AT A TOTALLY DEPENDENT STATE. THE ONLY POLITICAL CONTROL IS OVER-CROWDED GHETTOES IN THE DESERT AREAS CALLED "BANTUSTANS"! AFRICAN PEOPLE MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION. THE MAJORITY MUST RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA!

B. AFRICAN WORKERS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND STRIKE!

DURING THE LAST 2 YEARS THOUSANDS OF MINERS IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES HAVE DEFIED THE ANTI-STRIKE LAWS TO PROTEST THE OUTRAGEOUS LEVEL OF EXPLOITATION THEY SUFFER. WE DEMAND THAT AFRICAN WORKERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND STRIKE TO GET BETTER WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS. HOWEVER, WE EXPECT THIS WILL ONLY BE POSSIBLE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY SEIZURE OF STATE POWER BY THE TOILING AFRICAN MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

C. NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

(SEE ALSC HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #1)

D. BUILD ALSC!

REMEMBER THAT THE INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE DECIDED THAT BY MAY 25TH EACH COMMITTEE SHOULD DOUBLE ITS NUMBER. WE MUST MAKE THAT DECISION CONCRETE IN OUR ACTION TO ROOT ALSC DEEPER IN THE MASSES.

E. REALIZE OUR FUND DRIVE GOAL OF \$75,000!

LAST YEAR WE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN RAISING OUR GOAL OF \$40,000. NOW WE MUST NEARLY DOUBLE THIS FIGURE AND GIVE EVEN MORE CONCRETE AID AS THE STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES, AS VICTORY GROWS CLOSER.

3. BACKGROUND

A. AZANIA - SOUTH AFRICA

	AFRICANS	COLOREDS	ASIAN	WHITE
1968 POPULATION	13,042,000	1,912,000	57,000	3,639,000
1968 POPULATION %	68.08	9.98	2.99	18.99
% OF LAND 1960	13			87
JOHANNESBURG	56.5	5.2	2.5	35.8
% RURAL	68	32	17	16
% DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS				
IN MANUFACTURING	52.7	16.3	5.8	25.2
IN MINING	86.5	0.9	0.1	12.5
1960 AVERAGE INCOME	\$121.8	\$149.6	\$205.8	\$1,332.8
1970 AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOMES				
IN MANUFACTURING	\$84.0			\$493
IN MINING	\$29			\$505

FOUR MAJOR TRIBES (XHOSA, ZULU, SOTHOS, AND TWANA) MAKE UP 85% OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION. 60% OF THE WHITE POPULATION IS AFRIKANER, DESCENDANTS FROM THE DUTCH; THE REST ARE MOSTLY ENGLISH.

LESS THAN 25% OF ALLWHITE FARMERS CONTROL 77% OF ALL FARM LAND. AND IT WAS REVEALED IN 1958 THAT FOREIGN CAPITAL CONTROLLED THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY; BANKING 88%, INSURANCE 71%, GOLD MINING 60%, AND SECONDARY INDUSTRY 40-50%. IN 1960, 93% OF THIS CAPITAL WAS OWNED BY MEMBERS OF NATO.

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS:

INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY, MOTOR VEHICLES, CHEMICALS AND PETROLEUM.

ARMED FORCES:

THE ARMS BUDGET ROSE FROM 1960 (\$70 MILLION) TO 1970 (\$400 MILLION). THE 1970 STANDING STRENGTH IS BETWEEN 40,000 AND 45,000:

ARMY 30,000; AIR FORCE 8,000; AND NAVY 4,000. THIS FORCE IS BACKED BY 55,000 PARAMILITARY COMMANDOS, 60,000 TRAINED CITIZEN FORCE, 34,000 POLICE REGULARS, AND 19,000 TRAINED RESERVISTS. MILITARY SERVICE IS LIMITED TO WHITES AND A SMALL NUMBER OF UNARMED, NON COMBATANT COLOURED. IN 1970 SOUTH AFRICA WAS SELF SUFFICIENT IN MANUFACTURING RIFLES, HAND GUNS, MACHINE GUNS, MORTARS, AMMUNITION, ROCKETS, GRENADES, SMOKE BOMBS, AND ITS OWN BRAND OF NAPALM. PRODUCTION OF AIRPLANES WAS SCHEDULED FOR EARLY 1970'S.

B. SOUTH WEST AFRICA - NAMIBIA

LAND, LABOR, CAPITAL

	AFRICANS	COLOURED	WHITES
1971 POPULATION	578,118	77,552	90,658
% OF 1971 POPULATION			
% OF 1962 LANDS	35.4		64.56
WINOHOEK		NON EUROPEAN 26,200	20,894
% RURAL	74	36	27
% WITHIN EACH GROUP OF WORKERS			
AGRICULTURE	65	33	24
MINING	6	2	6.2
AVERAGE INCOME	\$250		\$4,250

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: THE AFRICAN POPULATION IS MADE UP OF OVAMBO (44.4% OF TOTAL POPULATION), BERG-DAMA, EAST CAPRIVIANS, HERERO, KOOKOVELDERS, OKAVANGO, TWANA, BUSHMAN, AND HOTTENTOTS. IN 1960, WHITES CONSISTED OF 67% AFRIKAANS (DUTCH), 23% GERMAN, AND 10% ENGLISH.

ECONOMIC CONTROL: THE THREE BIGGEST INDUSTRIES ARE CONTROLLED BY SOUTH AFRICAN, GERMAN, ENGLISH AND USA CAPITAL. OUT OF NAMIBIA

COMES DIAMONDS, PERSIAN LAMB PELTS, AND SARDINES. ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IS THE CONSOLIDATED DIAMOND MINES OF HARRY OPPENHEIMER, TSUMEB MINING, AND ANGLO AMERICAN COMPANY.

EXPORTS:

DIAMONDS ARE 60%. ALSO, COPPER, LEAD, GERMANIUM (LARGEST IN THE WORLD), CATTLE, AND OTHER PRECIOUS AND RARE METALS.

IMPORTS: DUE TO THE COLONIAL DEPENDENCY ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE LACK OF AN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY, AND MOST OF THE FARMING BEING SUBSISTANCE CULTIVATION, THE IMPORTS REFLECT SOUTH AFRICA.

ARMED FORCES: BEING ADMINISTERED BY SOUTH AFRICA, THERE IS NO SEPARATE FORCE. THERE ARE 2,000 WHITES FROM NAMIBIA AND 27,700 FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

C. RHODESIA - ZIMBABWE

BACKGROUND: LAND, LABOR, AND CAPITAL

	AFRICANS	ASIANS COLOURED	WHITE
1968 POPULATION	4,410,000	22,000	237,000
% OF 1968 POPULATION	94	1	5
1968 % OF LAND	46		54
SALISBURY			
% OF RURAL 1966	80		17.6
% OF RACIAL GROUP EMPLOYED		NON AFRICAN	
IN AGRICULTURE	44.9	5.3	
MINING	6.4	3.0	
MANUFACTURING	10.9	18.1	
	AFRICANS EMPLOYED	AFRICANS ON LAND	
1960 % POPULATION	35	57	8
1960 % OF INCOME	28	12	60

ZIMBABWE (CONT)

	AFRICANS	ASIAN COLOURED	WHITE
1967 AGRICULTURAL INCOME PER CAPITA	\$ 40.00		\$1,446.50
1967 AVERAGE EARNINGS IN MINING	431.20		\$4,886.00

EXPORTS:

SINCE 1966 THERE HAS BEEN AN EMBARGO AGAINST TRADE SPONSORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. BUT SOUTH AFRICA AND THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES HAVE PROVIDED AN OUTLET FOR ASBESTOS, COPPER, CHROME, IRON ORE, SUGAR, GOLD AND TOBACCO. 90% OF THE MINERAL OUTPUT IS EXPORTED, 54% OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

IMPORTS:

MANUFACTURED GOODS, MACHINERY, AND TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT.

ARMED FORCES: THE 1970 ARMED FORCES BUDGET WAS \$42 MILLION. THIS MAINTAINED THE FOLLOWING TROOP STRENGTH: ARMY REGULARS 3,400; AIR FORCE 1,200 WITH 80 COMBAT AIRCRAFT; RESERVES 4,000; PARAMILITARY ACTIVES 6,400; AND PARAMILITARY RESERVISTS 28,500.

4. DOCUMENTATION

WE ARE MOVING TO INCREASE OUR DOCUMENTATION OF ALL ALSC ACTIVITIES. SO ALL LOCALS ARE BEING INSTRUCTED TO:

- A. HAVE A PHOTOGRAPHER AT ALL AFFAIRS, FORUMS, AND DEMONSTRATIONS;
- B. TAPE RECORD ALL MEETINGS AND SEND TO OUR OFFICE IN HOUSTON;
- C. SEND A FULL REPORT OF ALL ACTIVITIES TO OUR OFFICE IN HOUSTON;
- D. SEND A COPY OF THE REPORT WITH PICTURES TO THE AFRICAN WORLD NEWSPAPER.

5. SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

- A. AFRICAN WORLD NEWSPAPER
P.O. BOX 20826
GREENSBORO, N.C. 27420
- B. BLACK WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, DETROIT TO DURBAN:
BLACK WORKERS COMMON STRUGGLE:
- C. ALSC HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #1.

A

ANC - SOUTH AFRICA (AZANIA)

LEADER, ACTING PRESIDENT - OLIVER R. TAMBO

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED, DECEMBER 16, 1961

NUMBER OF ARMED TROOPS IN TARGET TERRITORY, NO INFORMATION

PRINCIPAL HEADQUARTERS, MOROGORO (TANZANIA)

PRINCIPAL SANCTUARY, ZAMBIA

PRINCIPAL TRAINING GROUNDS, TANZANIA

MAILING ADDRESS P.O. BOX 2239 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

PUBLICATION - SECHABA

B

PAC - SOUTH AFRICA (AZANIA)

LEADER, ACTING PRESIDENT - ROBERT SOBUKWE

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED, NO INFORMATION

NUMBER OF ARMED TROOPS IN TARGET TERRITORY, NO INFORMATION

PRINCIPAL HEADQUARTERS, DAR ES SALAAM

PRINCIPAL SANCTUARY, ZAMBIA

PRINCIPAL TRAINING GROUNDS, TANZANIA

MAILING ADDRESS P.O. BOX 2412 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

PUBLICATION - AZANIA NEWS

C

SWAPO - SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA) SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLES ORGANIZATION

LEADER, SAMUEL NUJOMA

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED, AUGUST 26, 1966

NUMBER OF ARMED TROOPS IN TARGET TERRITORY, 100-150

PRINCIPAL HEADQUARTERS, DAR ES SALAAM

PRINCIPAL SANCTUARY, ZAMBIA

PRINCIPAL TRAINING GROUND, TANZANIA

MAILING ADDRESS P.O. Box 2603 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

D. SWANU

E. ZAPU RHODESIA - ZIMBABWE

LEADER, JOSHUA NKOMO (IMPRISONED)

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED, AUGUST 13, 1967

NUMBER OF ARMED TROOPS IN TARGET TERRITORY, 250-500

PRINCIPAL HEADQUARTERS, LUSAKA

PRINCIPAL SANCTUARY, ZAMBIA

PRINCIPAL TRAINING GROUNDS, TANZANIA

MAILING ADDRESS P.O. BOX 20128 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

PUBLICATION - ZIMBABWE REVIEW

F. ZANU

LEADER, REV. NDABANINGI SITHOLE (IMPRISONED)

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED, APRIL 29, 1966

NUMBER OF ARMED TROOPS IN TARGET TERRITORY, 200-300

PRINCIPAL HEADQUARTERS, LUSAKA

PRINCIPAL SANCTUARY, ZAMBIA

PRINCIPAL TRAINING GROUNDS, INTERNAL

MAILING ADDRESS P.O. Box 20762 DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

PUBLICATION

7. Complete List of All Corporations with Southern African Operations

A. AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

Abbott Laboratories	Audco Rockwell (Rockwell Mfg. Co.)
Abelman Agencies Ltd.	Ault and Wiborg (Inmont Corp.)
Addressograph-Multigraph Corp.	Automated Building Components
AFAMAL-Quadrant (The Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.)	Avco
AFIA (American Foreign Insurance Association, Aetna)	Avis-Rent-A-Car
Alcan Aluminum	Ayerst Laboratories (American Ethicals, Ltd.)
Allied Chemical Corp.	Azolplate Corp.
Allis Chalmers	Badger Co., Inc.
Amalgamated Packaging Industries, Ltd. (National Amalgamated Packaging, Ltd.)	Balkind Agencies, Ltd.
American Abrasives, Inc.	Bankers Trust Co.
American Bank Note	Barlow Oshkosh (Oshkosh Motor Truck Co.)
American Bureau of Shipping	Baxter Laboratories
American Celanese Co.	Bechtel Corp.
American Chicle	Beckman Instruments, Inc.
American Cyanamid Co.	Bedaux, Charles and Associates
American Express Co.	Beech-Nut Life Savers, Inc.
American Home Products	Bellows, W. S. Construction Co.
American Insurance Co.	Berkshire International Corp. (Berkshire Knitting Mills)
American International Under- writers	Bethlehem Steel
American Metal Climax Inc. (AMAX)	Bethlehem Steel Export Corp.
American Motors Corp.	Big Dutchman, Inc. (United States Industries)
American Pacific	Black Clawson Co.
American South Africa Investment	Black and Decker Manufacturing Co.
American Steel Foundries	Boeing Corp.
Ampex Corp.	Borden Inc.
Amrho International	Borg-Warner Corp.
Amrho International Underwriters	Born Africa (Born Engineering)
Arthur Andersen and Co.	Boyles Drilling Co.
Anderson, Clayton and Co.	Braun Transworld Co. (C. F. Braun and Co.)
Anikem (Nalco Chemical Co.)	Bristol-Myers Co.
Applied Power Industries	Buckner Industries, Inc.
ARCO (Atlantic Richfield Co.)	Bucyrus-Erie
Argus Africa Ltd.	Budd
Argus Oil	Bundy
Arreco Steel Corp.	Burlington Industries
Armour-Africa, Ltd. (International Packers, Ltd.)	Burroughs Machines Ltd. (Burroughs Corp.)
Armstrong Cork Co.	Butterick Publishing Co., Ltd. (Butterick Co., Inc.)
Artnell International (Artnell Exploration Co. & Mono Containers)	Calabrian Co., Inc. of New York
Ashland Oil and Refining Co. (Valvoline Oil Co., Ltd.)	California Packing Corp.
	Caltex (Standard Oil of California & Texaco, Inc.)
	Canada Dry International Inc.

Carbone Corp.
 Carborundum Co.
 Carlane Corp.
 Carnation Co.
 Carrier Corp. (Airco Engineering Ltd.)
 Carrier International
 Carter Products Division
 J. I. Case Co.
 Caterpillar Tractor Co.
 Celanese Corp. (Buffalo Paints Ltd.)
 Champion Spark Plug Co.
 Charter Consolidated
 Chase Manhattan Bank
 Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.
 Chemical Construction Corp.
 Chesebrough-Pond's Inc.
 Chicago Bridge & Iron Co.
 Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.
 Christrani & Nielsen Corp.
 Chrysler Corp.
 Cities Service
 Clark Equipment
 Coca-Cola Export Corp.
 Colgate-Palmolive International, Inc.
 P. F. Collier Inc.
 Collier-Macmillan, Ltd. (The Macmillan Co.)
 Collins Radio Co.
 Colloids, Inc.
 Columbia Broadcasting System
 Columbus McKinnon Corp.
 (McKinnon Chain, Ltd.)
 Combustion Engineering
 Computer Science (Computer Services Corp.)
 Connell Bros. Co. Ltd.
 Consolidated Equipment & Mfg. Co.
 (Clipper Mfg. Co.)
 Consultant Systemation
 Continental Grain Co.
 Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust
 Continental Insurance Co.
 Control Data Corp.
 Corn Products Co. (Robertsons Ltd.)
 Crane-Glenfield, Ltd. (Crane Co.)
 Crown Cork & Seal Co., Inc.
 Cutler Hammer International
 Cyanamid International
 Dana
 Dean Export International Ltd.
 Deere & Co. (John Deere & Co.)
 De Leuw, Cather & Co. International Investments
 Del Monte Corp. (South Africa Preserving Co. Ltd.)
 Denver Equipment Co. (Joy Mfg. Co. Inc.)
 Derby & Co. Ltd. (Engelhard Minerals & Chemical Corp.)
 Diamond H. Switches Ltd. (Oak Electronics Corp.)
 Diner's Club International, Ltd.
 Dodge & Seymour Ltd.
 Dolein Corp.
 Donaldson Co., Inc.
 Doughboy Industries, Inc.
 Dow Chemical Co.
 DuBois-Dearborn-Vestol Chemical Co.
 Dunn & Bradstreet Co.
 Dunlop
 Du Pont Chemical Co.
 Duroplastic Penta Industries (Engelhard Hanovia Inc.)
 E. C. DeWitt & Co.
 East Newark Industrial Center
 Eastern Stainless Steel Corp.
 Eastman Kodak Co.
 Eimco Corp.
 Electric Storage Battery
 Electro-Nite Co.
 Eltra Co.
 Emery Air Freight Corp.
 Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.
 Engelhard Hanovia
 Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corp.
 Endo Drug Corp.
 Ernst & Ernst (Whitney, Ernst & Ernst)
 ESB Incorporated
 Essex Corp. of America
 ESSO Standard Ltd. (Standard Oil of New Jersey)
 Eutectic Welding Alloys Corp.
 Ewing, McDonald & Co.
 Max Factor & Co.
 Fairbanks, Morse & Co.
 Farrell Lines Inc.
 Ferro Enamels Ltd.
 Fiberglass, Ltd. (Owens Corning Fiberglass Corp.)
 Firder Inc.
 Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.
 First Consolidated Leasing Corp. Ltd.
 (First National City Overseas Investment Corp.)

Mahon International Inc.
 Manhattan Shirt Co.
 Manufacturers Hanover Trust
 Maremount Corp.
 Masonite Corp.
 Master Mechanics Co.
 McGraw-Hill Inc.
 Mechanite Metal Corp.
 Merck, Sharp & Dohme International
 Merkan Enterprises
 Merrell National Laboratories
 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
 International Inc.
 Meyer Mfg. Co. (George J.
 Meyer Co.)
 Midlands Oil
 Millburg Industrial Painters
 Mine Safety Appliances Co.
 Minerals & Chemicals Phillipp
 Corp.
 Minnesota Mining & Mfg. Co.
 Mobil Oil Corp. (Socony, Ltd.)
 Monarch Cinnabar
 Mono Containers (J. C. Allen)
 Monsanto Co.
 Moore-McCormack Lines, Inc.
 Morgan Guarantee & Trust
 Morrison-Knudson
 Motorola Inc.
 MSD (Merck & Co., Inc.)
 Muller & Phipps International
 Corp.
 National Cash Register Co.
 National Standard Co.
 National Trust & Savings
 Association
 Navarro Exploration Co.
 Newmont Mining Corp. (O'Okiep
 Copper Co. Ltd.)
 New Wellington
 A. C. Nielsen Co.
 Nordberg Mfg. Co.
 North American Rockwell
 Norton Co.
 Nuclear Corp. of America
 Ocean Science & Engineering Inc.
 Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.
 Otis Elevator Co.
 Owens Corning
 Owens-Illinois
 P. E. Consulting Group (Kurt
 Salmon Assoc. Inc.)
 Robert Page & Assoc.

Palabora Mining Co. Ltd. (Newmont
 Mining Corp.)
 J. J. Palmer & Co.
 Pan American World Airways Inc.
 Paragon Keylite Chemicals (Keylite
 Chemicals)
 Parke, Davis & Co.
 Parker Pen Co.
 Pegasus International Corp.
 Pepsi Cola International
 Permatex Co. Inc.
 Perth Products
 Charles Pfizer & Co. Inc.
 Phillips Petroleum Co.
 Pillsbury Co.
 Pipe Line Technologists Inc.
 Placid Oil
 Playtex Corp.
 Plough Inc.
 P. M. Products
 Polaroid Corp.
 Potter & Moore (DeWitt Drug & Beauty
 Products, Inc.)
 Precision Spring
 Preload International Corp.
 Premix Asphalt Co.
 Prentice-Hall Publishers Inc.
 Prestolite International
 Proctor & Gamble Co.
 Publicker International Inc.
 Radio Corp. of America (R.C.A.) (owns
 Hertz)
 Ramsey Engineering Co.
 Reader's Digest
 Reichhold Chemicals, Inc.
 Reliance-Toledo
 Remington Rand
 Revlon, Inc.
 Rexall Drug & Chemical Co.
 Rheem International Co.
 Rheem Mfg.
 Richelieu Corp. Inc.
 Riker Laboratories
 Ritepoint Corp.
 Ritter Pfandler Corp.
 River Brand Rice Mills Inc.
 R. M. B. Alloys
 H. H. Robertson Co.
 Rockwell International
 Rockwell Standard
 Rohm & Haas Co.
 Royal Baking Powder Ltd. (Internat'l
 Standard Brands)

First National Bank of Boston
 First National Bank of Chicago
 Flintkole Co.
 Fluor Co.
 FMC Corp.
 FNCB Services Corp. (First National
 City Bank of New York)
 Ford Motor Co.
 Fordom Factoring Ltd. (Walter
 E. Heller International Corp.)
 Forsyth Udwin Ltd.
 Fram Filters Corp.
 Fruehauf
 George A. Fuller Co.
 Gabriel International Inc. Ltd.
 Galion
 Gamlen Ltd. (Sybron Corp.)
 Gardner-Denver Co.
 Gates Rubber Co.
 General Electric Co.
 General Foods Corp.
 General Motors Corp.
 General Signal Corp.
 General Tire & Rubber Co.
 George Angus Co.
 J. Gerber & Co., Inc.
 A. J. Gerrard & Co.
 Getty Oil Co.
 Gilbarco Ltd. (Gilbert & Barker
 Mfg. Co.)
 Gillette Co.
 Gillsevey Co.
 Glair and Kestler Co.
 Glidden-Durkee
 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.
 W. R. Grace & Co.
 Grant Advertising Inc.
 Graver Tank & Mfg. Co.
 Grolier Inc.
 Gulf Oil Corp.
 Harnischfeger International Corp.
 Harsco
 Haskins & Sells
 Heinemann Electric Co.
 Helena Rubinstein Inc.
 Walter E. Heller International
 Corp.
 Hertz Rent-A-Car Co.
 Hewitt-Robins Inc. (Litton Indus-
 tries)
 Hewlett Packard Ltd.
 Hochmetals Ltd. (South American
 Minerals & Merchandise Corp.)
 Holiday Inns of America
 Home Products International, Ltd.
 Honeywell Inc.

Hoover Co.
 Howe Richardson Scale Co.
 Hyster Co.
 IBM World Trade Corp.
 Industrial Chemical Products (Amchem
 Products, Inc.)
 Infilco Division of Fuller Co.
 Ingersoll-Rand Co.
 Insurance Co. of North America
 Interchemical Corp.
 International Banking Corp.
 International Bank of Reconstruction &
 Development (World Bank)
 International Flavors and Fragrances Inc.
 International Group of Companies
 International Harvester Co.
 International Latex Corp.
 International Nickel
 International Packers, Ltd.
 International Staple & Machine Co.
 International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.
 Irving Chute Co., Inc.
 Jeffrey-Galion Mfg. Co. (The Jeffrey Co.)
 Johns-Manville International Corp.
 Johnson and Johnson
 S. C. Johnson & Son Inc.
 Kellogg Co.
 Kelly-Springfield Tire Co.
 Kendall Co.
 Kennedy Van Saun Mfg. & Engineering
 Corp.
 Kewanee Overseas Oil Corp. (Etosha
 Petroleum Co.)
 Keystone Asbestos Corp.
 Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc.
 Kimberley-Clark Corp.
 Koret of California
 K. R. C. Resources (King Resources)
 Lakeside Laboratories Inc.
 E. J. Lavino & Co. (International
 Minerals & Chemical Corp.)
 Lease Plan International Corp.
 Leo Burnett Co.
 A. R. Lilly & Son
 Eli Lilly International Corp.
 Link-Belt Co.
 Litton Industries
 Litwin Corp.
 Loftus Engineering Co. (Western
 Gear Corp.)
 Lovable Co.
 Lubrizol Corp.
 Lykes Brothers Steamship Co., Inc.
 (Lykes Lines Agency, Inc.)
 Mack Trucks Worldwide

Royal Crown Cola Co.
 A. S. Ruffel Ltd. (Smith,
 Kline & French Laboratories)
 Schering Corp. (Schering Ltd.)
 Schlesinger Organization
 Scholl Mfg. Co.
 W. F. Schrafft & Sons
 Scripto, Inc.
 G. D. Searle & Co.
 Seaway Associates Inc.
 Security Resources
 Servac Laboratories (Miles
 Laboratories Inc.)
 Sheffield Corp.
 Shell Oil Co.
 Simplicity Pattern Co., Inc.
 Singer Sewing Machine Co.
 Skil Corp.
 A. O. Smith Corp.
 Southwire Co. of Georgia
 (Phalaborwa Mining & Union
 Steel Corp.)
 Sperry-Rand Corp. (Vickers-West &
 DuToit Ltd.)
 Squibb Beechnut Corp.
 Standard Oil Co. of California
 (Caltex)
 Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey
 (Exxon)
 Standard Pressed Steel Co. (Gordon
 Webster & Co.)
 C. V. Starr & Co.
 States Marine Lines
 Stauffer Chemical Co.
 Stein, Hall & Co. Inc.
 Steiner Co.
 Sterling Drug Inc. (Sterling
 Products & Winthrop Labs)
 St. Regis Paper Co. (National
 Packaging Co., Ltd.)
 D. A. Stuart Oil Co.
 Symington Wayne Corp. (Vitreous
 Enamelling Corp.)
 Systematics Services Pty.
 Tampax, Inc.
 Tedd-Hill Products
 Tedd McKune Investments
 Tenneco Chemicals Inc.
 (Superior Oil)
 Thermo-Electric Co. Inc.
 Thompson Remco (TRW Inc.)
 J. Walter Thompson Co.
 Thor Power Tool Co.
 3M Corp.

Tidewater Oil Co.
 Time International
 Timken Roller Bearing Co.
 Titan Industrial Corp. (Panthelon
 Industries, Inc.)
 Tokheim Corp.
 Toledo Scale Corp. of Ohio
 Touche, Ross, Bailey & Smart -
 International
 Transalloys Ltd. (Air Reduction Co.
 Inc.)
 Trans World Airlines, Inc.
 Triton Chemicals Ltd. (Rohm & Haas
 Co.)
 Tuco Ltd. (The Upjohn Co.)
 Tupperware Home Parties
 Twentieth Century Fox Films Corp.
 Underwood (Olivetti-Underwood)
 Unimark International
 Union Carbide Corp. (Chrome Corp., Ltd.)
 Uniroyal Inc.
 United Artists Corp.
 United Cargo Corp.
 United Shoe Machinery Corp.
 United States Steel Corp.
 Universal Mineral Discoveries
 Valenite-Modco Ltd. (The Valeron Corp.)
 Valvoline Oil
 Van Dusen Aircraft Supplies Ltd.
 The Vendo Co.
 Vick Chemical, Inc.
 Vick International (Richardson-
 Merrill Inc.)
 Wallace International (Sam P. Wallace
 Co. Inc.)
 Warner Bros.-Seven Arts Corp.
 Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co.
 J. R. Watkins Products Inc.
 Wayne Pump Co. (Symington Wayne Corp.)
 Western International Hotels
 Western Knapp Engineering Co. (McKee
 of Panama)
 Westinghouse Air Brake Co.
 Westinghouse Electric International
 Corp.
 Weyerhaeuser Co.
 Whitney Co.
 Wilbur-Ellis Co.
 H. B. Wilson Co.
 Worldtronic Inc.
 Worthington Air Conditioning Co.
 Xerox Corp.
 X-Ray International Ltd.
 Arthur Young & Co.
 ZOE

B. AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

Affiliated Exporters, Inc.
 American Foreign Insurance
 Association (AFIA)
 American Metal Climax, Inc.
 Arbor Acres Farms, Inc.
 Bardahl Mfg. Corp.
 Burroughs Corp.
 California Texas Oil Corp.
 Canada Dry International Inc.
 Carbourundum Co.
 Celanese Corporation
 Chesebrough-Pond's Inc.
 Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.
 China American Tobacco Co.
 Christian Science Publishing
 Society
 Chrysler Corp.
 Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of
 N.Y., Inc.
 Continental Ore Corp.
 Dibrell Bros. Inc.
 Dillon Read & Co.
 Eastman Kodak Co.
 Elmco Corp., Division of
 Enviro Tech Corp.
 Electric Storage Battery Co.
 of America(ESB)
 Falls City Tobacco Co. Inc.
 Foote Mineral Company
 Fort Dodge Laboratories
 Gardner-Denver Co.
 Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
 Grant Advertising Intl., Inc.
 Haskins & Sells
 Hoover Company
 IBM World Trade Corp.
 Ingersoll-RAND Co.
 Insurance Company of North America
 International Basic Economy Corp.
 International Chinchilla Headquarters, Inc.
 International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.
 Jeffrey-Galion Mfg. Co.
 Metallurg, Inc.
 Mobil Oil Corporation
 National Cash Register Company
 Pepsi Co. International
 Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc.
 Royal Crown Cola Co.
 Scripto, Inc.
 Sterling Drug Inc.
 St. Regis Paper Co.
 3M Corp. (Minnesota Mining &
 Mfg. Co.)
 Trans World Airlines, Inc.
 Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp.
 Union Carbide Corporation
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Imperialism and BLACK PEOPLE

A Symposium

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▪ AFRICAN
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ASSOCIATION

AND THE

▪ AFRICAN
LIBERATION
SUPPORT
COMMITTEE

Chairperson: ABDUL ALKALIMAT
Executive Committee, ALSC

Speakers: DAWOLU GENE LOCKE
Chairperson, ALSC
JAMES TURNER
President, AHSA

Panelists: OWUSU SADAUKAI
Executive Committee, ALSC
IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA
Executive Committee, ALSC
RON WALTERS
Executive Board, AHSA
LEONARD JEFFERIES
Executive Board, AHSA

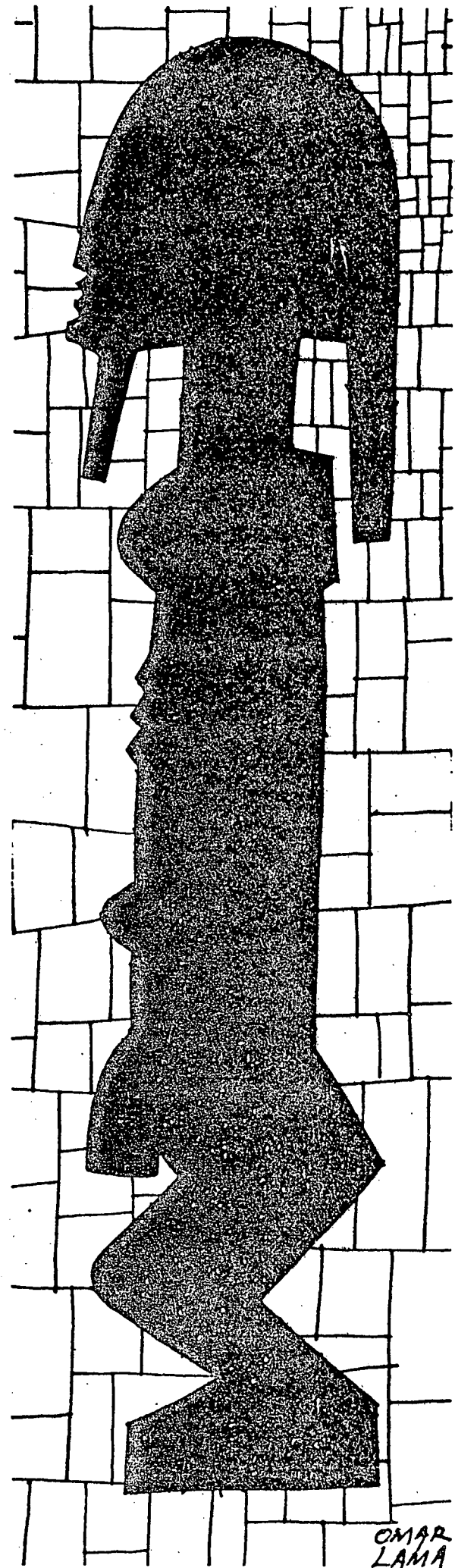
Saturday 9a.m.

April 6, 1974

7th Avenue at 33rd Street

Statler Hilton New York, N.Y.

TOWARD UNITY OF THE INTELLECTUAL WITH THE POLITICAL ACTIVIST!



OMAR
LAMA

BROTHERS AND SISTERS
MILITANTS IN OUR BLACK UNITED FRONT
INTELLECTUALS, STUDENTS, AND FRIENDS:

I HAVE THE DISTINCT HONOR TO GREET YOU AT THIS SYMPOSIUM JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE AFRICAN HERITAGE STUDIES ASSOCIATION AND THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE. THIS IS AN HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT MEETING SINCE IT BRINGS TOGETHER TWO LARGE MASS FORMATIONS WITHIN OUR MOVEMENT: ONE FROM THE STRUGGLE IN THE ACADEMY FIGHTING AGAINST THE IDEOLOGICAL TOOLS OF RACISM AND IMPERIALISM, THE OTHER LINKING THE GUERRILLAS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA BISSAU WITH THE BLACK WORKER, WELFARE RECIPIENT, AND TENANT IN THE U.S.A. IN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST MASS STRUGGLES. THIS SYMPOSIUM SPEAKS TO THE NECESSITY OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE POLITICAL ACTIVIST COMING TOGETHER.

HOWEVER, THIS UNION MUST PROCEED WITH CAUTION. IT IS PRECISELY BLACK INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE OFTEN VACILLATED AND NOT MARCHED FORWARD IN THE INTEREST OF THE OBJECTIVE NEEDS OF BLACK PEOPLE. BLACK INTELLECTUALS HAVE NOT SUBORDINATED THEIR WORK TO THE DICTATES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. ONLY 12 YEARS AGO E. FRANKLIN WROTE:

"ALL AFRICAN INTELLECTUALS BEGIN WITH THE FACT OF THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE OF THE AFRICAN. THEY POSSESS A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE AND ITS OBVIOUS EFFECTS UPON NOT ONLY THEIR TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, BUT OF THE LESS OBVIOUS AND MORE PROFOUND EFFECTS UPON THE CULTURE AND THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO INTELLECTUAL GOES HIS MERRY WAY DISCUSSING SUCH MATTERS AS THE SUPERFICIAL ASPECTS OF THE MATERIAL STANDARD OF LIVING AMONG NEGROES AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY ENJOY

CIVIL RIGHTS. HE NEVER BEGINS WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT OF WHAT SLAVERY HAS DONE TO THE NEGRO OR THE GROUP WHICH IS CALLED NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

YET IT IS AS NECESSARY FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO INTELLECTUAL TO DEAL WITH THESE QUESTIONS AS IT IS FOR THE AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL TO BEGIN WITH THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE."

THE HISTORY OF A.H.S.A. AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE BROAD WIDE-REACHING MOVEMENT FOR BLACK STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY REPRESENTS THE BEGINNING OF A RADICAL REMEDY TO THIS INTELLECTUAL CRISIS. BUT LET US NOT BE SHORTSIGHTED AND FORGET THAT THERE ARE MORE THAN 500,000 BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS, OVER 90 BLACK COLLEGES, 10,000 BLACK COLLEGE TEACHERS, OVER 225,000 OTHER BLACK TEACHERS, AND OVER 8,000 BLACK LIBRARIANS. THE STRUGGLE TO WIN BLACK INTELLECTUALS OVER TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS STILL IN ITS INFANT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MASS MOVEMENT MUST ALSO BE EXAMINED WITH A CRITICAL EYE. AN ESSENTIAL PROBLEM THAT HAS PLAGUED OUR MASS MOVEMENT IS THE UNEVEN BALANCE OF THEORETICAL WORK AND ACTIVE STRUGGLE, BETWEEN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND HOW BLACK PEOPLE ARE EXPLOITED IN IT WITH THE MILITANT SPONTANEITY OF FIGHTING THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS. SELDOM HAVE WE HAD CONSISTENT THEORETICAL WORK THAT DEVELOPS A BROAD ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THIS SOCIETY, SUMS UP THE CHANGES IN THAT STRUCTURE, SUMS UP OUR VICTORIES AND DEFEATS IN FIGHTING TO DESTROY THAT STRUCTURE, AND IN THIS WAY PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR AN INFORMED PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE NECESSARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS OUR STRUGGLE NEEDS.

SO, BOTH ASPECTS BROUGHT TOGETHER IN THIS SYMPOSIUM HAVE A COMMON INTEREST, BOTH FACE A CONTRADICTION THAT CAN BEGIN TO BE RESOLVED HERE.

IN THIS LIGHT, THE RELEVANCE OF OUR TOPIC BECOMES CLEAR. WE ARE HERE TO DISCUSS THE TOPIC "IMPERIALISM AND BLACK PEOPLE." THIS POINTS TO THE TASK OF CLARIFYING WHAT THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF U.S. SOCIETY IS AND HOW BLACK PEOPLE ARE EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED WITHIN IT. MOREOVER, WE ARE INTERESTED IN HOW THE A.H.S.A. AND A.L.S.C. ARE MOVING TO DEAL WITH THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS.

NOW LET ME BRIEF YOU ON THE GROUND RULES:

1. EACH MAIN SPEAKER WILL SPEAK FOR 20 MINUTES
2. EACH PANELIST WILL SPEAK FOR NO MORE THAN 5 MINUTES
3. DURING THIS TIME QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR SHOULD BE WRITTEN OUT AND SENT TO THE CHAIRPERSON
4. QUESTIONS WILL BE ENTERTAINED FOR THE TIME REMAINING AFTER THE PRESENTATIONS.

I WILL HAVE TO BE ^ASTRICT TIME-KEEPER AND IF NECESSARY CUT A SPEAKER OFF SO THAT ALL WILL HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE TO PRESENT VIEWS. IF I HAVE TO CUT SOMEONE OFF, THEIR POINTS CAN BE PICKED BACK UP DURING THE DISCUSSION PERIOD.

OUR FIRST SPEAKER IS BROTHER JAMES TURNER, CURRENT PRESIDENT OF A.H.S.A., FROM CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

X X X X X

OUR SECOND SPEAKER IS BROTHER DAWOLU GENE LOCKE, INTERNATIONAL CHAIRPERSON OF A.L.S.C.

X X X X X

1ST PANELIST	RON WALTERS
2ND PANELIST	IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA
3RD PANELIST	LEN JEFFRIES
4TH PANELIST	OWUSU SADAUKAI

QUESTIONS

BLACK LIBERATION AND THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM:
SOME LESSONS FOR OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT OF THE
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Peoples College

(A paper presented to the Annual Conference of the African
Heritage Studies Association held at Wayne State University,
Detroit, Michigan, April 22, 1977)

Peoples College
P. O. Box 7696
Chicago, Illinois 60680
U. S. A.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

COMRADES IN STRUGGLE

We welcome the opportunity to participate in this forum today and put forward our views on the fight against imperialism and all forms of national oppression, and the tasks of the American people in relation to the liberation struggles in Africa. In other words, we are here to talk about how we can contribute to the defeat of US imperialism.

The AHSA has its origin and history rooted in this struggle. It was created as an organized act of resistance to the imperialist-dominated African Studies Association (ASA). The disruption of the Montreal ASA meeting in 1969 and the first AHSA conference at Howard University in 1970 consolidated a significant sector of Black intellectuals and students in a united effort to deepen their study of the problems facing Black people, and to increase their support for the African liberation struggles. But this has only been a beginning. We have a long road to travel, a road that must be widened to include every major sector of the American people except that small vampire class of imperialists. Our future is bright, but the road ahead is torturous!

The purpose of this talk is to sum up some of the major lessons from our struggles over the last five years, to draw out from this guidelines for action in the context of strategic and tactical aspects of the United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI). In continuing our struggle, we specifically pledge our support to the May 28th, 1977 ALD March on the White House organized around

the two slogans: 1) US Imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off! and 2) Oppose Imperialism and all Forms of National Oppression from USA (United States of America) to USA (Union of South Africa)!

The broad context for this discussion is the turbulent and complex international situation. While the Post World War II revolutionary struggles throughout the world continue (class struggles within the imperialist countries, and national democratic revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America), the more recent development that threatens the entire world is the ominous danger of World War III. The threat of war is based on the contention of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In particular terms, this view is based on the following points:

1. The world hegemony of US imperialism that was consolidated after WW II came to an end with its defeats in Korea (1953), then in Vietnam (1973-75). Internally, serious blows were struck by the militant Black liberation movement and the mass anti-war movement; also, the internal crisis of advanced capitalism in which over production, in a wild search for profits, resulted in stagnation (layoffs and unemployment) occurring simultaneously with inflation. And political scandals like Nixon's Watergate have weakened the US even further. US imperialism is indeed a paper tiger.

2. The Soviet Union, the first experiment in socialism where the proletariat held control for almost 40 years, has degenerated with the restoration of capitalism in the form called social-imperialism (socialist in form, imperialist in essence). Now the Soviet Union is based on the economic laws that govern all imperialist countries and therefore has the same inflation, crisis, unemployment, general social decay, and drive for imperialist expansion. While it hides behind the label of socialism and the memory of Lenin it is the source of confusion and counter revolution. The Soviet Union is a wolf dressed in sheep's clothing at the back door of every Third World country or movement.
3. The African continent has been the scene of intensification of struggle. The general thrust of the national democratic revolutions, being led by the anti-colonial wars of liberation in the south, have been made more complex with the intervention directly and indirectly of the superpowers and their lackeys. Many of us romantically long for the old days when the situation was clearer-- African people fighting European colonial aggression. Now things are more complicated. US imperialism is in blackface with the "shuffle diplomacy" of Andy Young, while the Soviet Social imperialists loom large as a Trojan horse concealing a new slavery for Africa.

Given this broad context, we can more clearly understand the necessary importance of learning lessons from our recent struggles. Moreover, these lessons should be spread widely among the masses so that we can better create a new history of struggle and not repeat endlessly a history of defeat by falling for old or new forms of deception, and counter revolution. In this context, I'm going to draw some lessons from African Liberation Support Committee, or ALSC. This will allow us to think together about the joint tasks of our current demands:

1. US imperialism out of Southern Africa, Superpowers
Hands Off !!!
2. Oppose imperialism and all forms of national oppression
from USA to USA !!!

The ALSC developed as a progressive leap, bursting forth from within the Pan Africanist movement. Pan Africanism had been characterized by the rebirth of the emigrationist back-to-Africa movements of Marcus Garvey, Bishop Henry Turner, Chief Sam, and Captain Paul Cuffee, and on the other hand, cultist attempts to create forms of traditional African culture under the conditions of an advanced capitalist society. This Pan Africanist movement was a reflection of a petty bourgeois class, mainly composed of a strata of youth, newly-arrived professionals--the products of government grants and agency work--and small traders and manufacturers of cultural handicrafts.

The Pan Africanist movement reflects the instability of this petty bourgeois class and its fear of the ruling class, trembling at the possibility of a fascist turn toward genocide. The goal was to get the hell out of here and get back to Africa, (either mentally or physically and there were countless schemes to do this, basically coming down to selective migration or mass exodus), or to pull together and re-create Africa on these shores (the schemes ranged from the imitative recreation of a traditional Yoruba village in South Carolina, to the ritualistic observance of some traditional African customs and the speaking of African languages).

While mass involvement was based on a positive rejection of oppression and exploitation, the concrete political solutions provided by the Pan Africanist movement have all proved to be dead ends!

The masses were spontaneously grasping for the anti-imperialist Pan Africanism of DuBois, though the major Pan Africanist ideologues raised most of their voices in the tradition of Marcus Garvey and because they did not focus the fight on imperialism, these leaders of the more recent Pan-Africanist movements have not led nor can they lead to the liberation of the masses of Black people. Indeed, today's Pan-Africanist movement is a repeat of what has happened before and we need to learn this lesson well, because we don't have the time to see it repeated again in the future.

Young people attracted to Pan Africanism were ready to fight for freedom, to fight for a better life, to fight against the system that was holding them down and holding people down in Africa as well. It was this determination to fight that enabled

the Pan Africanist thrust to be the staging ground for a groundswell of struggle and militant protests against US imperialism. From 1972 until recently ALSC has been the major national context for the unfolding of the various forces that have come forward in the Black liberation movement. Many of us here today have been involved in ALSC. In fact, at the height of the ideological struggle during 1974 ALSC sponsored a joint plenary with AHSA at the New York AHSA annual meeting in order to deepen the debate through the joint efforts of scholars and activists. When a spark of struggle burns bright, the light can lead the way forward for us all. As Mao Tse Tung taught us, "A single spark can start a prairie fire." And as Fannie Lou Hamer was so fond of singing, "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine, let it shine, let it shine, let it shine!"

In general, the first major action around ALSC involved a very large and politically broad spectrum of forces. So in 1972, in Washington, DC, San Francisco, Toronto, Canada, and the Caribbean, over 25 thousand people united in mass demonstrations to protest US imperialism in Africa and to support the liberation struggles. This was a very positive development. But after the May 1972 demonstration, the broad coalition was disbanded and ALSC was formed around a network of nationalists and panafricanists who began to openly put forward their political views. At times these views not only avoided the question of mass struggle in this country, but openly advocated policies against the struggles

that the masses of people were waging. This is the source of two major lessons by negative example:

1. the masses are the makers of history, and
2. the correct strategy for all mass struggle is to unite all who can be united in the fight against imperialism.

We consider these lessons to be of great importance for the further development of revolutionary mass struggle in the USA. Any position that liquidates mass struggle in this country is providing assistance to imperialism. A good example of this is when some people in ALSC right here in Detroit seemed to be quite interested in fighting the policies of the major US auto companies in South Africa, but were not involved in nor did they acknowledge the necessity of fighting against these same imperialist corporations right here in Detroit. This is the kind of escapism that Pan-Africanism can lead to.

The line of these Pan Africanists was reactionary "to the bone" because it failed to subordinate their petty bourgeois class interests to the great history of auto workers fighting against these corporations. Nowhere in the USA can you find a better example of militancy and struggle in which Black workers have been in the heart of the struggle. To cast this history aside is to lean over and kiss Henry Ford on his ass!

Even the liberation organizations themselves told the founders of ALSC that the main way that progressive people in the USA can

help in the fight against imperialism is to develop a movement like the movement against US aggression in Vietnam.

In sum, the Pan Africanist position is wrong for three reasons:

1. it regards imperialism as a policy of foreign affairs rather than the monopoly stage of finance capital which follows definite laws of development independent of any given decision-making process;
2. it liquidates the main responsibility of people in this country which is to fight right here. In this way, we define the only good patriots of this country as anti-imperialist fighters, who by fighting here in the US meet our internationalist duty because US imperialism is a danger to everyone in the world;
3. it mechanically separates theory from practice, the objective motion of the masses from the subjective force of revolutionary consciousness. We must not place ourselves above the masses and lecture them on being correct, but immerse ourselves with the masses in struggle, and use concrete experience as the source and verification of what is true and false.

The other aspect of this erroneous line was to argue that only Black people should fight against national oppression, only Black people should fight to support the African liberation struggles. This is a self-serving fatalism because it attacks

"friends" as if they were "enemies," and is used to buttress the leadership of this petty bourgeois Pan Africanist elite.

Leadership in anti-imperialist struggle must be based on putting forward the correct line for fighting imperialism and having the respect and confidence of the masses based upon one's role in the concrete struggles.

This backward line tried to maintain racial purity as if being Black automatically made you anti-imperialist, and being white made you pro-imperialist. When white people came to join a protest march they wanted to turn them away. Our position is that for everyone the criteria is the same--agreement with the political line, and active struggle against imperialism. We need only to look at national liberation struggles and what shape they would be in if they applied a skin criteria to their friends and enemies to see how bankrupt this line is!

The history of ALSC is rich with lessons to be learned from these errors. In rejection of these errors, many forces within ALSC moved to join with the struggles being waged in their communities. This included struggles against police repression, against cutbacks in social programs, against attacks on the democratic right to quality education by phasing out Black colleges and Black studies, and support of local workers' struggles. This was an exciting period in which many young people came forward in the struggle. However, with this rapid increase in experience the lack of theory became a greater and greater source of confusion and lack of direction. So a call for

theory was put forward and people began to study. However, rather than approaching this in a dialectical way, the unity of study and struggle, of knowing and doing, the situation flip-flopped from all struggle and no study, to all study and no struggle. Incorrectly, the main task became one of waging the ideological struggle, of fighting for correct ideas in the abstract realm of theory.

Some of you might remember the height of the ideological struggle that went down in 1974. This was the time when study groups were bursting forth all over the country among people who had been attracted to the work of ALSC. But with this sharp confrontation of views, increasingly people began to worship books and spew forth quotations like Moses with the Ten Commandments rather than deepening their ties with the masses in summing up their experiences.

The result of this was dogmatism and it merely furthered the errors already mentioned. This so-called revolutionary force turned into a hard little sect; this trend which appeared to be "left wing" revealed its "right wing" essence. They abandoned the masses of people. This also provides an important lesson on how to handle different kinds of contradictions. The dogmatists failed to make distinctions between enemies and friends, between incorrect ideological and political lines and the genuine commitment and desire of people to struggle against imperialism. These sham psuedo-Marxist Leninists take two different things

and treat them as if they were the same. The genuine Marxist-Leninist approach is to make a concrete analysis and solve qualitatively different problems with qualitatively different approaches. So we fight the enemy and unite with friends--enemies are the imperialists and their lackeys and the friends are all of the exploited and oppressed masses. But at this stage of our struggle the masses are under the ideological and political hegemony of Bankrupt Bourgeois ideas, influenced by wild utopian Pan African schemes. We must fight and repudiate these poisonous lies and distortions. But at the same time we must unite with the legitimate desire of people to fight back. The key slogan is unity-struggle-unity. If anyone is so dog ass that they refuse to fight imperialism in unity with anti-imperialists of all nationalities, then they are reactionary relics of history.

Now let me toss bourgeois etiquette aside and focus on this forum right here. The forces I represent stand in direct contradiction (fundamental disagreement) with the ideological and political line put forward by the other two panelists--Haki Mahabuti and Stokely Carmichael. But while I'm bold enough to openly state this and I am prepared to systematically defeat their bankrupt ideas right here--we also stand ready to build unity in specific conditions around a militant campaign of struggle. Our commitment to freedom, our desire to destroy imperialism, and our struggle to liberate Black people and the whole society from all

forms of oppression forces us to take this stand. We stand for the unity of the many to defeat the exploitation and oppression by the few. I challenge Haki and Stokely to say the same!

But the record speaks for them. Haki deserted the fight by withdrawing from ALSC and dropping involvement in mass struggle, yeah, on uniting the masses in direct protests and demonstrations against this imperialist system, he opted out. Stokely, on the other hand, actually cut out of the country and has now returned to carry on as a die hard, holding fast to a position of Black separatism, escapism, utopianism, and a reactionary political stand made palatable with the sweet seduction of an emotional rap, a reputation of old war stories, and pleas for racial unity.

This forum is important because you can compare the lines put forward and make a clear determination. I am ready to debate the basic issues facing Black people, the basic problems of all exploited and oppressed people in this country where ever--most especially in the heart of where the masses are being mobilized for the national ALD 1977 demonstration. We want the broadest political unity possible, and so do the masses. I am therefore issuing a public challenge to Stokely to openly debate in Washington DC early in May--then the masses will have a clear choice.

The basic issue is quite clear. US imperialism is our enemy. When we look at smiling Jimmy Carter's teeth more and more of us think of "Jaws," and the role of imperialism's lackey, Andy Young

is more transparent every day. So why can't all of us unite to attack the main enemy, the main source of all exploitation and oppression? Further, where do you stand? We might not agree on all points, but can we unite in struggle, concrete struggle against the imperialists?

We must fight back with our greatest force--the united force of all the exploited and oppressed. Then we are millions strong. Otherwise, we follow false-faced lies and quietly prepare for our graves. We say HELL NO! Stand up! Unite! Fight back!

On May 28th there will be several thousands marching strong in Washington DC aiming their anger and attention at the political symbol of the state power of US imperialism, the White House. Let us join together with sectors of all exploited and oppressed to rally round the two main demands. US imperialism Out Of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off! Oppose Imperialism and All Forms of National Oppression From USA to USA!

In the end, we must pull together in one mighty fist, one strategic united front against imperialism, the core of which are the movements of oppressed nationalities and the working class led by the party of the working class, to smash US imperialism. This march can be a new beginning for many of us, and build a bridge between the workers movement and the Black liberation movement. We stand ready to build that bridge and work for the unity of the class and national forces it will take to be victorious over this

decadent system. Our efforts can't be limited to lecturing in a class room, nor can it be limited to a speech at a forum such as this. The test is what we build in struggle, what we build concretely by uniting forces, by struggling out differences and reaching higher levels of unity, by learning from the experience of striking blows at imperialism.

Now is the time for unity!

Now is the time for militant struggle!

Now is the time to sing out across this land in a mighty chorus, a chorus of voices from all nationalities, in revolutionary harmony!

US imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off!
Oppose Imperialism and all Forms of National Oppression from USA
to USA!

ALSC POSITION OF SOLIDARITY WITH
THE ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF
RANK AND FILE LONGSHOREMEN

ALSC has always taken a strong stand against the forces of racism and imperialism, and demonstrated militant solidarity with the freedom loving peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau in their struggle for independence. Since the first African Liberation Day demonstration in 1972, this solidarity has involved all other forces in the Black community who share an anti-racist anti-imperialist outlook and program. More recently, since 1973 ALSC has been united around a Statement of Principles that has called for Black workers to take the lead in this struggle.

Indeed, Black workers are taking the lead. This is nowhere better demonstrated than in the heroic struggle of the longshoremen who work on the docks unloading ships bringing goods from other countries. The rank and file longshoremen have refused to unload illegally imported chromium ore from Rhodesia showing how to unite in a concrete manner with African freedom fighters. In every major port, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco, and others, the longshoremen - the dockworker - has taken the lead in our fight against imperialism.

Therefore, the ALSC Executive Committee wishes to make a public statement of support for the longshoremen. We extend an open invitation for all of our Brothers and Sisters on the docks to join us in our anti-racist anti-imperialism Black united front. We stand ready to defend your rights as we fight for the

rights of your Brothers and Sisters in Zimbabwe. We are one
in a world wide struggle to defeat Racism & Imperialism.

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM
FOR ZIMBABWE!

SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE

RANK AND FILE LONGSHOREMEN!

BUILD ALSC!

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH: MAY, 1974

MAY 23-24
**National
Conference**
Washington,
D.C.

MAY 18-19
**Local
Demonstrations**

MAY 25 **National
Demonstration**
Washington,
D.C.

1974
**Fund
Raising
Goal
\$75,000**

BLACK
WORKERS
FREEDOM TAKE
THE LEAD

HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #4

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

MAIN SLOGAN: IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO!

SMASH RACISM!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

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APRIL 1974

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HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #4

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

1. INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW
2. PROGRAM FOR THE MONTH (PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS)
 - A. May 1-18 Educational Forums
 - B. May 19 Local Demonstration
3. ISSUES FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974
 - A. Crisis of Imperialism
 - B. Slogans
 - C. Energy and Economic Exploitation
 - D. Police Repression and Political Prisoners
 - E. Impeach Nixon
 - F. Support African Liberation Struggles
4. AFRICAN LIBERATION FUND
5. MAY CALENDAR (local, national international dates)
6. OUTLINE HISTORY OF ALSC

The Research and Development Committee wishes to extend its thanks to all the Brothers and Sisters who contributed material to this HANDBOOK. They are from the following areas:

1. Atlanta
2. Boston
3. Greensboro
4. Houston
5. Nashville

1. INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW

This is the HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE that should guide each local committee's work in preparation for and in carrying out activities around this year's ALD demonstration. This year there will be a full month of action, and therefore each local committee should be much better organized and prepared to carry out all that must be done.

This HANDBOOK is your basic reference guide for how to do things, for the correct line of the front, for the slogans, for reference data on the issues, and information on the African Liberation Fund. Each local committee should feel free to reproduce any or all of this HANDBOOK, and distribute it to all who work within the ALSC united front motion. It is our cookbook for the next two months of struggle.

A supplementary HANDBOOK on the National Conference and National Demonstration is forthcoming. All further information can be obtained from one of the members of the ALSC Executive Committee, or the 1974 Conference/Demonstration Headquarters:

ALSC Conference/Demonstration Headquarters
P.O. Box 2482
Washington, D.C. 20013

REMEMBER: ALSC is unified around the Statement of Principles and therefore everyone should be thoroughly familiar with it. We must struggle to unify! We must unify to struggle!

BUILD ALSC!!

2. PROGRAM FOR THE MONTH: PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

A. May 1 - 18 Educational Forums

The first part of African Liberation Month should be spent on mass ideological propaganda and educational work. There is a great need to heighten the consciousness of the masses of people in order that they can understand the necessity of expressing their dissatisfaction with the system through our activities. The protest actions the last half of the month will only be successful if there is intense involvement in the educational first half of the month.

1. Content For All Educational Forums:

- A. Outline History of ALSC
- B. ALSC Statement of Principles
- C. 1974 African Liberation Month Program of Activities
- D. 1974 African Liberation Month Issues
 - 1. Main Slogan
 - 2. Local Issues
 - a. any ALSC involvement in local issues (like being in a coalition against police repression, etc.)
 - b. highlight involvement of local organizations who are participating in ALSC
 - 3. International Issues
 - a. Racism and Imperialism in Africa
 - b. Racism and Monopoly Capitalism in the USA.

2. Materials for Study to prepare for Educational Forums:
 - A. All official ALSC minutes from Steering Committee, Regional, and Executive Committee meetings, and local committee meetings.
 - B. Outline History of ALSC
 - C. Statement of Principles
 - D. Handbook of Struggle #1: Repeal The Byrd Amendment
 - E. Handbook of Struggle #2: Defeat Portuguese Imperialism
 - F. Handbook of Struggle #3
 - G. Handbook of Struggle #4: African Liberation Month
 - H. ALSC Executive Committee Statement on "Oil and the Crisis of Imperialism"
 - I. ALSC Executive Committee Statement in Support of Rank and File Longshoremen
 - J. ALSC Local Area Research Guide
3. STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL FORUMS
 - A. There should be two types of educationals:
 1. internal political education for the local ALSC committee
 2. a series of mass educational forums
 - B. The internal political education sessions should:
 1. allow everyone to give a short speech on some aspect of the material to be studied to give the person practice in speaking and to build familiarity with the material;
 2. systematically cover all of the material listed above;
 3. include as much information as possible about the local community;
 4. concentrate on three main objectives:
 - a. uniting the committee around the programs for African Liberation Month 1974;
 - b. organizing the committee to carry out its tasks efficiently;
 - c. building the spirit of the committee to aggressively tackle the tasks at hand.

C. The mass educational forums will be one of the following:

1. ALSC Speakers Bureau:

- a. compile a list of leading persons in ALSC for a speakers bureau. These should be people who have been in ALSC for some time and who know the content outlined above;
- b. send a letter to all local organizations requesting time during their organizational meetings or during a special meeting for a speaker from ALSC to present our program to them. Especially important are Black trade unionists, churches, schools and students, social and fraternal, and community groups;
- c. have the speakers bureau call up people on the phone (have a quota like 25 per week) and request this;
- d. a session for the speakers bureau should include groups from as small as 5 people;
- e. the purpose of each session is to get organizations and individuals involved in ALSC. We are recruiting and raising funds for the \$75,000.

2. ALSC Public Programs:

- a. arrange to have a program of not more than two hours, in the evening when working people can attend, and try and have more than one speaker or a speaker and a movie;
- b. try and have the program at a place well known to the people you are trying to attract;
- c. send news releases to all of the newspapers, radio stations, television stations, and call all of the key Black reporters on each one to ask them directly to help you get air time;
- d. try and jointly sponsor programs with well known organizations in the community; a student government association, a church group, a community group or a social group;
- e. use the following report on the organization of local demonstrations to pull this together.

3. Sources for Audio-Visual Resources:

- a. YOBU Film Project
473 Florida Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 337-3556
- b. Tricontinental Film Center
244 West 27th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001
(212) 989-3330
- c. Impact Films
144 Bleeker Street
New York, N.Y. 10012
(212) 674-3375
- d. Newsreel
322 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001
- e. American Documentary Films
336 W. 84th St.
New York, N.Y. 10024

B. LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES---MAY 18-19

DURING AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH, ALSC HAS CALLED FOR MASS RALLIES OR DEMONSTRATIONS IN LOCAL CITIES THROUGHOUT THE USA. THESE ACTIVITIES ARE KEY TO THE OVERALL SUCCESS OF ALM. THIS SECTION OF THE HANDBOOK LAYS OUT WAYS TO INSURE SUCCESSFUL LOCAL ACTIVITIES.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose and goals of having local activities on May 18-19 are many. They include our thrust to do the following:

- A. To provide mass anti-imperialist education in local areas.
- B. To physically involve people in political struggle.
- C. To build ALSC. The process of building ALSC means increasing our membership; increasing our own experience and practice in struggle; and increasing our local and international influence as a leading force in the struggle against racism and imperialism.
- D. To heighten the anti-imperialist struggles of Black people at the local level.
- E. To draw world attention to Black people's support for the liberation movements.
- F. To show mass protest for the main issues: energy crisis, police-political repression, and the impeachment of Nixon.
- G. To influence United States and Canadian foreign policy in relationship to Africa.

Local organizers should keep these objectives in sight as we build at the local level. Good activities in each city can go a long way in pushing our struggle forward. The local activities must not be taken lightly. In many respects, these will be the backbone of our future work.

II. RESEARCH & PLANNING

Once an organization decides to take action surrounding a given issue it becomes very important that meetings are set up to do the proper research and planning. Area research is important because it will help to decide what specific action should be

taken. Your planning sessions become even more important because they will lay out the best and most effective method of carrying through your plan of action. The following are items that should be included in your area planning and research.

A. Assessment of Local Strength

The number of active members in your local committee will definitely have some bearing on your capacity to carry out a particular plan of action. All committees have individual and organizational supporters who have worked with you on some level. There should be an accurate assessment of those supporters and the role they will play in aiding. It is also important to make an evaluation of last year's demonstration. Was it successful? What mistakes were made? Did you have organizational support? How many active members do you have from last year? All of these questions and many more should be answered in an effort to determine local strengths and weaknesses.

B. Compile List of Local Organizations

Keep in mind that ALSC is attempting to involve the broadest spectrum of the Black community in anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggles. In order to make this real each local committee should compile a list of local Black organizations and find out what their position has been on the issues of ALM. This will not only help boost your united front efforts; but will also increase the amount of manpower at the local level. It is also important to find out what local groups are hooked up with a national structure. If there national office endorses ALM, then you will probably have success in approaching them at the local level.

C. Investigate legal aspects of demonstration

Every local committee should know what is legal or illegal about the action it is about to take. If you are planning a march find out if the city government requires a parade permit. If you are planning a rally in a community park, find out if a park permit is needed. In many cities there are ordinances explaining the procedure for marches, pickets, etc., this information should be gathered and passed on to people involved.

D. How the Four Issues (Energy Crisis, Police Repression, Impeach Nixon, and Southern Africa) Relate to Local Area

This research is extremely important to your planning. You should know what issues the masses of people are talking about. How do they feel about Watergate? Have there been cases of police brutality? Are there cases where families' homes are cold because of the energy crisis? Being able to answer these questions will help you decide what issues should receive more attention. Every committee must speak to every issue, but surely the Atlanta and Detroit Black communities will want to hear more about police repression, as well as impeach Nixon, Southern Africa and the Energy Crisis. You might want to do a pool to find out what are the hot-potato discussions in the local Black communities.

E. What Banks and Corporations in your area have investments in Southern Africa

As a build-up for ALM '74, every local committee will be staging political activities. Political activities that show solidarity with the anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggles being waged by the masses of people throughout Southern Africa. Therefore, every local committee is obliged to find out what Banks and Corporations in their area are financing the war of oppression against our people in Southern Africa. This information will tell you what corporations and banks are key and finally, who should be attacked, picketed, etc.

F. Find Out How Local Politicians Voted on Certain Issues. (Byrd, etc.)

This information will determine what politicians should be approached for assistance during your local efforts.

III. UNITED FRONT APPROACH/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Even though African Liberation Month and the local demonstrations are spearheaded by ALSC, it is critically important to involve the broadest possible number of people in the process. In line with our Statement of Principles, local demonstrations must try "to unite all social groups and class formations within the Black community in a common struggle."

The issues of ALM are clearly things that have broad support inside our communities. Therefore, it is our responsibility to mobilize for mass action. Keep in mind the "focus for mobilization" of ALSC.

Every effort should be made to involve groups and individuals in the planning and implementation of local demonstrations. Try to involve groups outside of ALSC to some extent in planning. People are generally more willing to work on something when they see that they are a real part of it. This can be done by inviting groups to planning sessions for the local demonstrations. Seek their ideas and suggestions. Ask for specific help from various organizations on specific parts of work. Try to involve both the organization's leadership and rank and file membership. Pull in groups that ALSC has had established relationship with through worker, community, or student struggles.

While some groups will not be active participants in the planning and work, they may be willing to give an organizational endorsement. These endorsements can be gotten by mailing out information on AIM and ALSC to these groups and following this up with personal contacts. It is usually better to use ALSC members who are also members of other groups to seek endorsements; if this is not possible, try to identify a friendly contact person within the group who will push for the endorsement. On a national level, several groups have endorsed AIM. You should try to contact their local chapter for support and endorsement. In working with other groups, it is always important to be principled, honest and straightforward. Moreover, it is of tremendous importance that ALSC move in an organized manner with an efficient work style. Nothing can turn others away quicker than confusion, disorganization, lack of follow-through and neglect by ALSC. No one wants to be associated with something that is unorganized. Remember that we are trying to develop links of support that will be on-going.

IV. MOBILIZATION

When an organization attempts to organize a political activity designed to involve a massive number of people, such as rallies, marches, etc., there are certain things that must be done to insure mass participation.

A. Have groups participate under organizational banners

As a united front effort as many local organizations as possible should be asked to attend the function.

B. Have groups take active part in the Mobilization Process

Ask local groups to do whatever they can to mobilize their supporters to the functions. If they have an organizational newsletter, urge them to print a schedule of ALSC activities.

C. Hold activities to build interest

1. Forums
2. Films

3. Speaking Engagements
4. Rap Sessions

5. Special Meetings

D. Door to Door Campaign

If manpower is available it will be good to go door to door talking with people about the issues ALSC will be speaking to. This will allow some mass work for ALSC members and volunteers.

E. Contact ministers of Major Black churches and ask them to urge the participation of their congregation.

Some ministers will allow 5-10 minutes for an explanation of functions. Also set up table with literature explaining ALM '74 and ALF.

F. Use ALF to push demonstration.

Whatever fund-raising activities you organize you should always distribute materials concerning your upcoming demonstrations.

G. Focus of mobilization - Black workers

1. Compile a list of labor organizations with high concentrations of Blacks and find out what is their position on issues mentioned (energy crisis, impeach Nixon, etc.)
2. Organize events designed to attract Black workers.
3. Arrange speaking engagements during union meetings.
4. Leave literature in union halls.
5. Put articles concerning ALSC activities and position in union organs (newsletter).
6. Leafleting work places.
 - a. To make sure you are touching base with a sizable number of Black workers, a list should be compiled of work places with high Black concentration.
 - b. Get information on change of shifts and plant lay-out, that is, is there a gate or fence where workers exit? Is there a parking lot for workers, if so is it the best place to do your leafleting? All of these things should be considered.
 - c. Find out legal aspects of leafleting. Can you leaflet on company premises? Can you leaflet on parking lot? Can you leaflet as workers go in and out of the gate?
 - d. Establish contact with workers inside plants who are supportive of ALSC program.

V. COMMUNICATIONS & INFORMATION

The area of communications is one of the most crucial for the success of any activity where mass participation is desired. You not only have to convey the who, what, when, and where; but to do it in a manner that appeals to people's interest and motivates them to become involved. A communications campaign for ALF and AIM should be as carefully planned as any other phase of the mobilization. If feasible the responsibility for communications should be in the hands of a communications co-ordinator who is responsible to the local ALSC and who at all times would keep on top of the flow of information in the local area. If a person can be chosen with some background in dealing with the various media so much the better. If not, the suggestions here should help the work to go more smoothly.

A. Planning & Internal Organization

1. Plan the entire campaign. The communications co-ordinator and his/her committee should plan the entire three month information campaign. The plan should include all available media (radio, tv, newspaper, etc.), and all forms of communications to be used in each. The communications effort, like the overall effort at mobilization, should escalate. Timing is key. The campaign should begin with the ALF news conference in March and steadily build through May 25.
2. Set a timetable for submitting articles, newspaper ads, etc., and for producing and distributing leaflets, posters, bumper stickers, etc. Check with all radio and tv stations, newspapers, community newsletters etc., to find out their deadlines for submitting materials, and scheduling appearances on various programs.
3. Make assignments for the members of the committee and volunteers who will work under the direction of the committee. Set deadlines for the completion and distribution of all materials. These deadlines should follow the overall timetable. Allow time for review by the local ALSC before materials are released.
4. Check work periodically through committee sessions to monitor the effectiveness of the information campaign.
5. Keep a file of all articles, news releases, ads, leaflets, etc., that are produced.

B. Media

1. Radio/Television--The possibilities for utilizing these popular media will vary in local situations, particularly with television. Most of the suggestions below are generally applicable:
 - a. News Conference--All media are invited and a "news release" is prepared. The news conference should be reserved for major events and can be easily overused. Refer to the March memo sent out by the International office on How to Arrange a Successful Press Conference.
 - b. News Items--Any international, national, or local event which relates directly to the mobilization for ALF-ALM can be reported in the local media. This is generally done through the news release (refer to March memo for format). Many radio stations have a "hotline" on which news items can be phoned in. Relate such news items to ALSC work and/or political positions.
 - c. Public Service Announcements--All TV and radio stations are required to provide free time for public service announcements. Fifteen to thirty second (rarely longer) spot announcements can be aired for local activities.
 - d. Interview or Talk Shows--Schedule local supporters and members to talk about the national and local ALF/ALM activities and the overall thrust of ALSC. Try to schedule any out-of-town speakers or guests of the local ALSC who will be in your area as part of the mobilization.
 - e. Ask any disc jockey or program host who is sympathetic to the mobilization effort or with whom you have personal contact to plug the local activities on his/her show.
2. Newspapers, magazines, community, school or organizational newsletters
 - a. News Items--News of local activities or events relating to the issues of ALM can be submitted.
 - b. Feature Stories and Serials--These allow for more comment and opinion than news stories. They can be used as political education tools around the issues of racism and imperialism, and to educate around the specifics of the struggle in Southern Africa. They can also be used to build the united front character of the local effort by featuring interviews with supporters from various segments of the Black community (church, labor, etc.), highlighting their interests and reasons for participation.
 - c. Ads--Particularly Black newspapers, newsletters, might allow space for a small ad for ALF and/or ALM if requested. Pictures or graphics should be used to make these eye-catching.

3. Leaflets and posters--There are two types; those designed to mobilize and those for education or information. One technique involves coupling the two in distribution.

It is important to design leaflets to appeal to specific audiences students, workers, etc., whenever possible, emphasizing the issues which most relate to each group. When this is not possible, plan the content of the leaflet so as not to alienate any sector we need to mobilize.

- a. Mobilization--Such leaflets emphasize the what, when and where; little explanation is given. This category will probably represent the bulk of leaflets and posters for ALF/ALM. Pictures or graphics are essential.
- b. Information--Such leaflets are for political education around the issues, goals and political thrust of ALF/ALM. They are more detailed and explanatory.

*****All leaflets and posters should be carefully done and look as professional as possible considering the resources of the local chapter. To the masses of people they will reflect the organization and character of the local effort.

4. Bumper stickers, Buttons, Banners, etc.--These can be effective with a good system of distribution. If manpower and resources are limited, more emphasis should probably be put on other means of communication.

C. Distribution

Plan a system for distribution each of the promotional and educational materials. This is the backbone of a good mobilization effort. Some suggestions are:

1. Mail outs to past supporters or potentially interested persons can be done; this will be limited because of the expense.
2. Leave leaflets and display posters in places of business and anywhere there is considerable traffic in the Black community.
3. Ask community, social, labor or church organizations to include your leaflet in one of their mail outs, or attach it to their newsletter or bulletin.
4. Leave material on display at union halls, fraternity or sorority houses, the rental office or lobby of an apartment complex, etc. If possible, get someone on the inside to handle the materials.
5. Ask high school or college student organizations or a dependable individual to handle promotional material on his/her campus.
6. Spread literature door-to-door in key areas.

VI. PROGRAM

Whatever the activities during AIM and on May 18-19, they should reflect the anti-racist, anti-imperialist thrust and united front character of ALSC. Programs should be organized to speak to the issues of international AIM.

- A. Build the program to be as educational (politically) and as interesting and moving as possible.
 1. Keep the entire program short enough not to lose people's attention.
 2. Limit the number of speeches and the time allotted each, e.g., 1 keynote speaker (25 min.) and perhaps 2 auxiliary speakers (15 min.); other people may read brief endorsements.
 3. Use political entertainment (drama, song, dance, etc.) to break up a succession of speeches.
 4. Outline the major theme of each speech with the speaker (a) to make sure it is in line with the thrust and purpose of the demonstration, and (b) to avoid repetition among speakers.
 5. Use the issues creatively. Combine historic and current local struggles in your area with the issues of AIM; highlight those issues which are most real to local people and show the interconnection with the struggle against imperialism in Southern Africa.
- B. Check and double check all scheduled performers, speakers and participants on the program. Make sure they are clear on their function and the time slot allowed. It's a good idea to have one or two back-up speakers in case someone doesn't show.
- C. Assign someone to be responsible for any technical or other equipment (microphones, speakers, etc.), chairs, platforms needed for the program. These should be set up before hand and checked to make sure they are in working condition.
- D. Use the program to build toward the national conference and demonstration in D.C., May 23-25; (1) have some one speak to the importance of these two upcoming events, (2) give out literature.
- E. Use the program to build your local ALSC chapter:
 1. urge people to join the on-going struggle against racism and imperialism and to work with ALSC programs;
 2. announce the on-going work of ALSC,
 3. announce the regular meeting place and time, and
 4. have ALSC members circulate mimeographed sign up sheets in the crowd and ask people interested in ALSC work to sign.

VII. SECURITY AND LOGISTICS

In order to prevent a demonstration or rally of any size from turning into an undesirable situation it is necessary to develop some methods of crowd control.

A. Crowd Marshals

The marshal system will enable your committee to have some degree of centralized control over the demonstration. The size and character of the demonstration will determine the number of marshals needed. The crowd marshals should reflect a cross section of the expected participants, and should be selected on the basis of competence and self control, not popularity.

1. Crowd marshals should meet several times before the demonstration or rally.
2. A crowd marshal leader or co-ordinator should be selected. He or she should have some experience in handling large crowds. Make sure the marshal in charge has all information necessary regarding permits, etc.
3. Crowd marshals should handle any disturbance.
4. Flashy show-offism on the part of the marshals only incites the police and annoys the participants; therefore, it should be avoided at all times.
5. Identification and method of communication should be available. Every marshal should wear something which identifies him/her as a marshal. Whatever it is it should be uniform. It is also important that marshals have some method of communications (system of runners, megaphones, bull horns, etc.). Co-ordination between crowd marshals can be very difficult in a large crowd if there is no means of communications.
6. Placement of crowd marshals in key areas is very important to the total successfulness of the event. This will enable marshals to spot disrupters, provocateurs, and fights that may break out.
7. Collection of money should be supervised by marshals and they should be responsible for getting it to a safe place following the event.
8. Marshals should always be as courteous as possible to participants and bystanders.
9. Have a lawyer on hand in case of any emergencies, whenever possible.

B. Logistics

1. Make sure all equipment (microphones, podium, etc.) is secured well in advance. This point cannot be overstressed.
2. Both rally and march sites should be in areas of the Black community. Make sure you know just how long it will take the marchers to cover the distance so that a rally planned for the end of the march will come off on time.

3. The convenience of the participants should be considered. Try to arrange transportation to and from the rally and march sites. Provide refreshments for the participants if the route is extremely long. Medical personnel as well as rest rooms should be available. Someone should always be at a designated phone for people arriving late or from out of town and in the event of an emergency. This central telephone number should be given out to all involved in key roles of leadership.
4. A check list should be made about 10 days before the demonstration. This list should spell out all last minute details and materials needed.
5. Start all activities on time.

VIII. EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

Following your successful local activity the work is not yet complete. In general, the following things should be done by each local ALSC.

- A. Call in a report on your local activity to the Houston Office immediately after it is completed. This report should include the number of people in attendance, guest speakers, type of activity, and general outcome.
- B. Send a written report on ALM and ALF to the Houston office before May 30th. All funds from ALF must be in by this date.
- C. Set up a meeting of local ALSC workers and supporters to evaluate the local events and sum-up the strong points and weaknesses.
- D. Organize your delegation to attend the conference and demonstration in Washington, D.C.
- E. Develop a list of supporters to receive thank you letters for their work and support.
- F. Develop a list of people who worked hard and who may be interested in joining ALSC.

THESE GUIDELINES HAVE BEEN OFFERED TO HELP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS. USE YOUR OWN INITIATIVE AND IMAGINATION IN PLANNING YOUR ACTIVITIES. LOCAL CONDITIONS WILL VARY FROM PLACE TO PLACE AND THESE MUST BE CONSIDERED. THIS YEAR'S LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD BE THE BEST EVER.

3. ISSUES FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

I. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM reflects the fundamental contradictions within the capitalist mode of production at this stage of history. ALSC must have a clear theoretical grasp of this condition if we are to wage a successful struggle.

A. What is imperialism? Lenin, in his classic work of scientific analysis Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, wrote:

"We must now try to sum up, to draw together the threads of what has been said above on the subject of imperialism. Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites, when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves in all spheres. Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the basic feature of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still larger-scale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system.

"If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist associations of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolist possession of the territory of the world, which has been completely divided up.

"But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since we have to deduce from them some especially important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;

(2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy;

(3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance,

(4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and

(5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

B. While we can see very clearly that there is a general crisis of imperialism, it is equally important for us to be clear on the particular forces that contribute to this general crisis. Among the main contradictions presently contributing to the overall decline of the imperialist system, three are crucial:

1. the contradiction among the countries of the imperialist camp;
2. the contradictions between oppressed nations and imperialism;
3. within imperialist countries, the contradictions between the working class and the ruling capitalist class.

1. The contradictions among the countries in the imperialist camp:

A. World War I (1914-1918) represented the first stage in the struggle between advanced capitalist countries for the control of colonies, markets, and spheres of investment for finance capital. World War II (1940-1945) was another stage in the attempts of imperialists to re-divide the world (almost 900 thousand square miles of African territory was taken from Germany and given to Britain and the United Nations after World War II),

B. While "hot" wars are the occasion of the intense competition among capitalist countries to increase their economic strength at the expense of others, their capitalist rivals, the usual method is to dominate a country through investments, trade, etc. U.S. monopoly capital dominates the economic activity of many advanced capitalist countries. 68% of all U.S. investments abroad are in "developed countries." Four-fifths of Canada's foreign

investments are American, and U.S. corporations control over 35% of Canada's industrial property. Among the 70 most important corporations in the world, 55 are U.S. monopolies, dominating such key areas as oil, electronics, transportation, etc. The American giant I.B.M. controls 70% of the world's computer market.

C. Most recently, the energy crisis has heightened the contradictions among imperialist powers as the struggle to get oil from the Arabs by offering bigger and better trade and technical assistance packages. This has led to disagreements over U.S. policy toward Israel and the refusal of many countries (all except Portugal) to cooperate in the U.S. shipment of arms to Israel, etc.

D. The outcome of all of this rivalry among the imperialist powers has been to weaken U.S. imperialism since many countries have successfully increased their strength, particularly Japan. This is reflected in the percentage increases in industrial production from January 1972 to November 1973.

Japan	31%
United States	17
Italy	16
Western Europe	14
France	14
United Kingdom	13

Thus, U.S. imperialism is faced with the increasing competition of other imperialist powers which can only serve to weaken the imperialist camp.

2. The contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism:

A. The recent victory of the heroic forces of Vietnam over U.S. imperialist aggression serves as inspiration to all of us who struggle against imperialism. U.S. imperialist domination is being challenged by the forces of national liberation in all parts of the globe and the result of these successful challenges is to remove vital resources necessary to the maintenance of imperialism from the grasp of greedy capitalists.

B. In Asia, as the Vietnamese people struggle to consolidate their victory, in spite of the U.S.-backed efforts to continue the war, the people of Cambodia are so close to complete victory that four former top officials in the corrupt Phnom Penh government have denounced U.S. puppet Lon Nol and joined the ranks of the liberation government. Armed liberation struggles are being waged in Thailand and the Philippines and in India, food riots, mass uprisings against rising prices, strikes by university teachers, mill workers, doctors and nurses all symbolize the growing protest against imperialist-caused exploitation and oppression.

C. In Latin America, Chile is still a revolutionary inspiration and a lesson as to how far imperialism will go to maintain their control of resources and domination over the lives of people. Since the bloody overthrow of Salvador Allende and the mass murders of thousands of his supporters,

I.T.T., Anaconda Copper, Ennecott Copper, and other U.S. monopoly corporations have again been given control of the country. Venezuela is spearheading the efforts of oil exporting countries to form a united front similar to one which operated in the Middle East. Panama has forced the U.S. to return ownership of the Canal Zone.

D. In the Caribbean, Cuba continues to be the most advanced challenge to U.S. imperialism and the masses of people in the Caribbean more and more see Cuba as a model for ending their own exploitation and oppression (which explains why Cuba has been recognized by several Caribbean governments over the objections of the U.S.). There have been significant upheavals in Grenada and Jamaica, worker and peasant seizure of land in Guyana; armed guerilla groups in Trinidad, and assassinations in Bermuda and the Virgin Islands. Puerto Rico was brought to a standstill by a massive workers strike. These challenges of the people of the Caribbean to imperialism corresponds to the extent of U.S. domination. The Caribbean bauxite industry, based in Jamaica, Guyana, Surinam, and Haiti, furnishes 80% of the basic raw materials for the U.S. aluminum industry, but is owned by four U.S. corporations--Kaiser, Alcoa, Reynolds, and Anaconda. The petroleum industry in Trinidad-Tobago represents 25% of its gross national product and earns 80% of its export income, but is almost totally owned by Texaco.

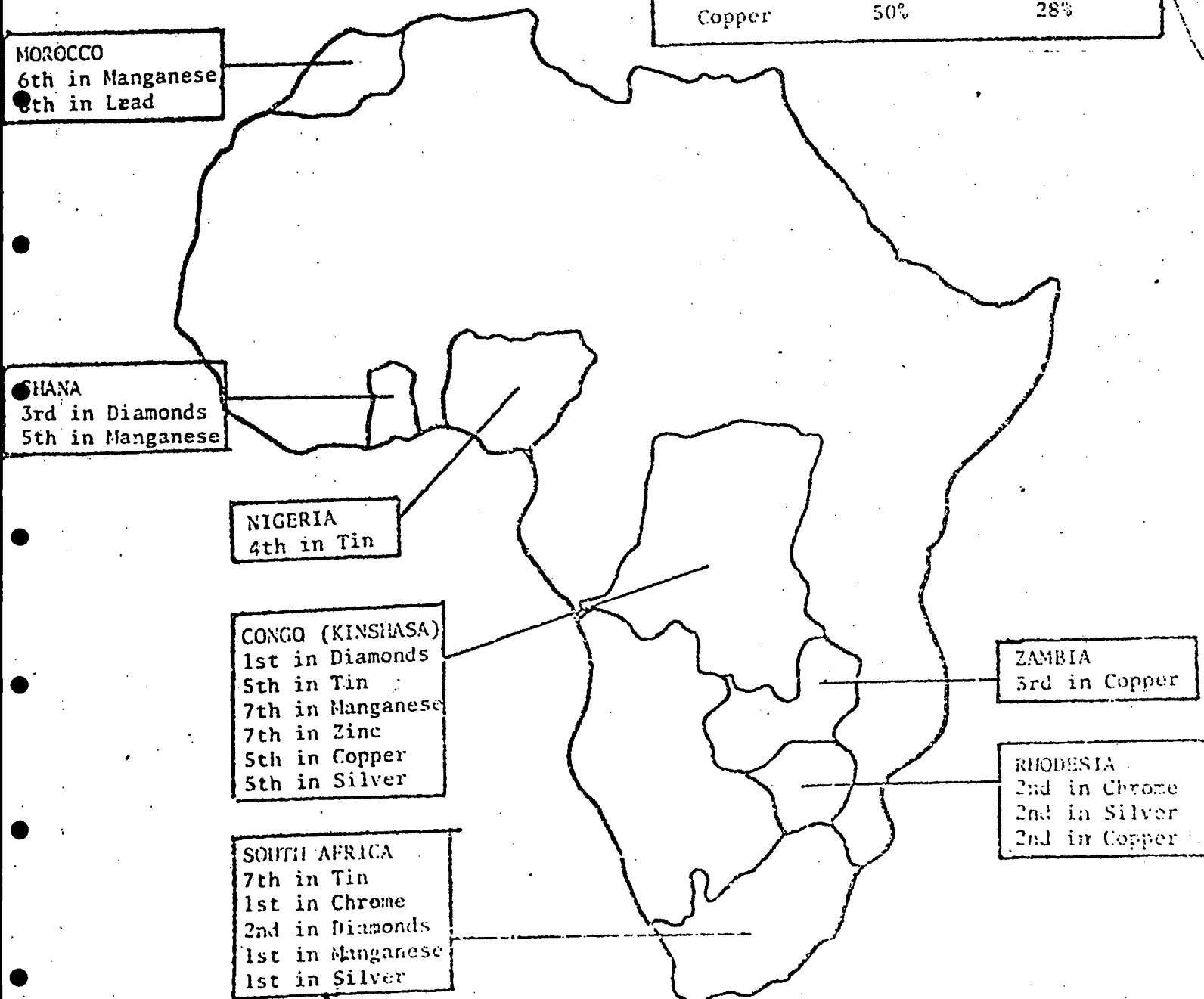
E. Africa is key to these challenges of oppressed nations to imperialism. The declaration of independence by the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau on September 24, 1973, indicated the inevitable success of the national liberation struggles in Africa and around the world. U.S. investments in Africa rose to \$4.1 billion in 1972, (a 28% increase over 1969). Profits reached \$800 million in 1969, (13 times higher than in 1959). We get a much clearer picture of how the success of the liberation struggles in Africa (and the Third World) threaten imperialism if we look at their share of the strategic resources so important to imperialism that they are stockpiled by the U.S. government. The following map and information clearly shows us the extent to which U.S. imperialism depends on the resources of Africa and the Third World (and why the U.S. has more troops outside its borders and spends more on "defense" than any other country in the world).

3. The contradiction between the working class and the ruling class within imperialist countries:

A. The two external contradictions outlined above more sharply focuses the third of the major internal contradictions weakening imperialism--the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class within each particular capitalist country. As imperialism loses out abroad (whether in Guinea-Bissau, Venezuela, or Grenada), the ruling class in each capitalist country is forced to try to recover its losses through the increased exploitation and oppression of the workers inside each country. This general tightening up is felt by all working people in the form of higher prices for basic necessities like food and fuel, increased unemployment and layoffs, speed-ups on the production line, and in other ways. Black workers and the Black community are more heavily burdened by an even higher unemployment rate, cutbacks in vital social programs like welfare and daycare programs, and increased police repression.

STRATEGIC RESOURCES STOCKPILED BY THE UNITED STATES

Mineral	Percentage From Asia, Africa, and Latin Amer.	Percentage from Africa
Tin	97%	15%
Chrome	97%	66%
Tungsten	44%	5%
Diamonds	99%	98%
Manganese	85%	35%
Lead	18%	5%
Zinc	12%	4%
Silver	42%	4%
Copper	50%	28%

African Countries and Their Ranking in
World Production of Strategic Minerals

B. The contradiction between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class is irreconcilably antagonistic. It represents the private appropriation of wealth by a small few (the 500 largest corporations appropriate 75% of all profits of over 1½ million U.S. corporations), in contradiction with the social production of the wealth. The interests of the two classes are never the same. The working class fights the imperialist class on two levels. First, workers struggle to defend themselves against the forms of exploitation - low wages, poor health benefits, no adequate retirement pension plans, poor working conditions, etc. Second, as these struggles intensify the workers realize their common condition and begin to fight as a class against the imperialists as a class. The material basis for these two levels of struggle are contained in the following sketch of wages, prices, and profits:

1. WAGES--The ruling class called on its corrupt tool, Richard Nixon, to install the Cost of Living Council to make sure that the wages of working people do not cut into the profits of fat capitalists. Personal income in December 1973 was less than the annual average. Incomes in highly industrialized areas (where most Black people are concentrated) advanced even more slowly, hardly keeping up with runaway prices.
2. PRICES--Inflation in 1973 was at its highest rate since 1946. The Consumer Price Index (an average price for selected goods) was up 8.8%, the largest in history, with prices highest for essential goods like food, (up 19.5%), housing, transportation, and fuel, (up 33.7%). Black people were hurt even more by runaway prices. Most Black people are low income consumers and a recent Congressional study concluded that the impact of higher prices on low income consumers was 25% greater than on middle and high income consumers. Needless to say, higher prices had very little impact on the Rockefellers, the Mellons (Gulf Oil), the DuPonts, and the ruling capitalist elite that control the monopoly corporations.
3. PROFITS--U.S. corporations made more than \$70 billion in 1973, a full 27% more than the \$55 billion they made in 1972. This was the biggest increase in profits since 1955, when U.S. corporations made record super-profits from supplying arms during the Korean War, (wars are always profitable for imperialists). These record 1973 profits reflect the success of U.S. monopoly capitalists in keeping wages down and prices up. Many of the corporations which provide basic necessities (gasoline, steel, paper) had the highest increases in profits, (see chart below comparing the last three month of 1973 with 1972). We must keep in mind that there was continuing talk of gas shortages, paper shortages, etc. The only real shortages were in wages because profits soared.

Industry		Corporation	
Aerospace	313%	Lockheed	60%
Oil	80	Gulf	153
Metals and Mining	79	Anaconda Copper	155
Steel	60	U.S. Steel	91
Paper	57	Hammermill Paper	245

C. The contradiction between the exploited working masses and the ruling class is the basis for fundamental social change. Many examples of the militant responses to imperialist exploitation by workers across the United States and throughout the world can be cited. Independent truckers almost brought the country to its knees and tied up traffic in Washington and around the country in protest against rising diesel fuel costs. British coal miners forced new elections, unseated the ruling conservative party, and won significant wage increases. Detroit has been the scene of several militant strike actions led by Black workers, and most recently two Black workers closed down an entire assembly line by liberating the power controls to bring attention to their grievances. As the crisis of imperialism deepens and the attempts of the capitalists to wring lost profits from the working class intensifies, we can expect a more militant and organized response from working people who feel the brunt of exploitation. In order to build the African Liberation Support Committee into a strong Black United Front--a vehicle that serves the needs of our people because it is relentlessly moving to defeat imperialism and racism, the cause of our problems, we must have a correct analysis and understanding of these forces which contribute to the general crisis of imperialism.

B. SLOGANS

MAIN SLOGAN: IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO! SMASH RACISM!
BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

MASS SLOGANS: BUILD ALSC!
BUILD THE BLACK UNITED FRONT!
BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!
IMPEACH NIXON NOW! DUMP THE CHUMP!
FIGHT THE OIL MONOPOLIES! ROLLBACK GAS PRICES!
STOP UNEMPLOYMENT! RAISE WAGES! LOWER FOOD PRICES!
NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!
STOP POLICE REPRESSION! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
REMEMBER SHARPSVILLE! REMEMBER ATTICA! RISE UP AND FIGHT!
LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF AMILCAR CABRAL!
SUPPORT THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU!
ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA!
ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE!
ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA!
ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA!
LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!
DEATH TO THE IMPERIALIST MONSTER!
BLACK PEOPLE OF (NAME OF LOCAL AREA) UNITE NOW!

C. ENERGY AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

1. The Oil Monopoly

A. The International Oil Monopoly

THE SEVEN SISTERS - The most important fact about the so-called energy crisis is that it is not just an energy crisis, but a crisis of the entire imperialist system--a system that is dominated by giant corporations that monopolize all five aspects of economic production (exploration, production, transportation, refining, and marketing), and because of their size and power are able to exploit people all over the world to make super-profits. The international oil monopoly is dominated by THE SEVEN SISTERS:

NAME	RANK IN ALL CORPS.	CONTROLLING INTEREST	ASSETS BILLIONS	SALES BILLIONS	PROFIT MILLIONS
1. EXXON (Standard Oil of New Jersey)	1	Rockefeller Empire	20.3	18.7	1,461
2. Royal Dutch/Shell	2	Dutch/British Capital	20.0	14.1	902
3. Texaco	4	Chicago/Texas Interests	10.9	7.5	904
4. Gulf	7	Mellon Family	9.5	5.9	561
5. Mobil (Standard Oil of N.Y.)	8	Rockefeller Empire	8.5	8.2	541
6. British Petroleum	9	British Government	8.2	5.7	362
7. Standard Oil of Calif.	11	Rockefeller Empire	7.5	5.1	511
			84.9	65.2	5,242

As indicated, these seven oil corporations are among the largest 11 corporations in the world. If compared to the 500 largest corporations in the U.S., these seven oil monopolies would total:

19% of the total assets of the 500 largest U.S. corporations
 13% of the total sales " " " " " "
 19% of the total profits " " " " " "
 2.7% of the total workforce " " " " " "

These oil monopolies control every aspect of the international oil industry. In 1970, these seven companies controlled:

- 70% of the world's production of crude oil
- 70% of the world's tanker capacity to ship crude oil
- 55% of the world's refineries used to convert crude oil into gas, fuels, etc.

B. MONOPOLY in general is a key part of the U.S. economic picture. In many industries there are four giant corporations which produce most of the products: plate glass (98%), telephone equipment (94%), cigarettes (81%), motor vehicles (79%), rubber tires (71%), aircraft (67%), and steel (64%). The total sales of the largest 500 corporations was \$502.9 billion in 1971--2.5 times as large as the budget receipts of the U.S. government.

In oil, the 21 largest oil companies all have assets over \$1 billion, totaling \$101.6 or 22.3% of the assets of the largest 500 U.S. corporations. The profits of these 21 corporations total \$6 billion, or 26.1% of the total profits of the largest 500 corporations.

In 1972, the top 20 oil monopolies dominated the U.S. oil industry, controlling at least:

- 70% of crude oil production
- 80% of the transportation
- 80% of all refining capacity
- 72% of all gasoline sold.

Another important factor about the U.S. oil monopoly is that the concentration of power and control over all aspects of the industry is increasing and not decreasing. Between 1956 and 1968, the 20 major oil companies absorbed 20 formerly independent firms engaged in petroleum refining. Five of these mergers involved assets of over \$2 billion. The major oil companies also made 52 mergers in the field of crude oil and natural gas production, an important acquisition in coal and nuclear energy. Thus, the oil monopoly has very rapidly transformed itself into an ENERGY MONOPOLY, controlling oil and other alternative sources of energy.

2. EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

A. Investments - U.S. investments are heavily concentrated in the Third World (Asia, Africa, and Latin America) and especially concentrated in petroleum.

Total U.S. Investments Abroad	\$86 billion
Total U.S. Investments in Third World	23.3 billion
Percent of Investments in Third World	27.1 %
Total U.S. Investments in Petroleum	24.3 billion
Percent of Investments in Petroleum	29.0 %

B. Because of the super-exploitation of the Third World, these countries are also the source of super-profits for the oil monopolies. As the following chart indicates, all of the major oil companies in the U.S. rely on the Third World for their profits.

SOURCES OF PROFITS FOR MAJOR OIL COMPANIES (In percent)

	U.S.	OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES	ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA
EXXON	46	21	35
Texaco	49	14	37
Gulf	70	10	20
Mobil	42	5	53
Standard Oil of California	46	5	49

To be more specific, U.S. corporations earned a total of \$10.2 billion in 1971. Of this total profits, 38.9% came from petroleum (almost \$4 billion). Of this \$4 billion earned in petroleum, \$2.4 billion, or almost 55% came from the exploitation of petroleum in Africa and the Middle East. Also, in 1970, Venezuela in Latin America, provided 10% of all U.S. petroleum earnings.

C. Control of Oil Reserves - The reason for this tremendous investment is to maintain control over important oil concessions in various parts of the world. In 1973, the Middle East and Africa accounted for 69.4% of the world's proved reserves of crude oil. The control of the companies permitted to produce the oil in these most important oil producing countries were the major oil monopolies:

PRODUCING COMPANY	MAJOR OWNERS	PERCENT
Abu Dhabi	British Petroleum	66 2/3%
Marine	CFP (French)	33 1/3%
Kuwait Oil Co.	British Petroleum	50%
	Gulf	50%
Iranian Consortium	British Petroleum	40%
	Shell	14%
	Texaco	7%
	Gulf	7%
	Standard Oil of California	7%
	Mobil	7%
	CFP (French)	6%
Iraq	British Petroleum	41%
	CFP	24%
	Shell	24%
	Mobil	24%
	Exxon (Standard Oil of N.J.)	12%
Aramco (Saudi Arabia)	Exxon	30%
	Texaco	30%
	Mobil	10%
	Standard Oil of California	30%

3. ALSC RECOMMENDATIONS

A. U.S.A.

1. **END TAX KICKBACKS TO OIL MONOPOLIES.** The oil depletion allowance allows the oil monopolies to deduct 22% of its gross income from the amount of income on which it is charged taxes. The result is a direct subsidy to the oil monopolies estimated at \$3.5 to 4.0 billion. These taxes have to be provided by working people. Gulf Oil got away with paying taxes at a rate of 0.43% in 1969 on net income of \$990 million. The average taxpayer making between \$8,000 and \$10,000 must pay more than 25%.

A. The U.S. government provided import quotas for the oil industry restricting the importation of cheaper oil into the U.S. from overseas sources. This would have cost the consumer an estimated \$8.4 billion by 1980. Since this "important quota" was only a disguise to allow U.S. monopolies to make super-profits from cheap foreign oil without expanding oil production in the U.S., the Arab boycott forced the U.S. to abandon this sham and adopt a "get all the oil from wherever you can" policy, completely abandoning the 14-year old import quota system.

B. In addition, the U.S. government has always restricted oil production in the U.S. by rationing how much each state and each oil well in that state could produce. This was fronted off as a conservation measure but was in fact a way to aid the oil monopolies in their greed for super-profits by restricting the quantity of all available and keeping the prices high.

C. The Nixon administration has repeatedly proven that it is clearly nothing more than an executive committee in charge of protecting the interests of the oil monopolies, maintaining low taxes, adjusting important quotas when necessary, releasing exploration and research funds, lowering the standards of ecology legislation, etc. Nixon clearly dances to the tune of the oil monopolies' piper. A recent study released by the U. S. Congress reported that officials and major stockholders of 178 oil companies gave \$5.7 million to the Nixon re-election fund in 1972--over 10% of what he spent. As one congressman put it: "The big oil companies have Mr. Nixon in a double hammerlock. It is now clear why the administration has been so consistently pro-big oil."

D. All of these preactices succeed in what the oil companies want--increasing profits by any means necessary. In November, 1973, all of the major oil corporations reported giant increases in profits over the same period in 1973. These increases included:

	91% (Percent increase in profits)
GULF	80
EXXON	71
Getty Oil	64
Mobil	61
Cities Services	43
Phillips	38
Continental	37
Standard Oil/Indiana	35
Marathon	23
Shell	

2. MORE GAS FOR THE PEOPLE! LESS GAS FOR THE MILITARY!

The U.S. ruling class is making sure that the current shortages of fuels do not affect the U.S. military--the arm that is used to maintain U.S. imperialism all over the world. On November 1, 1973, all U.S. refineries were ordered to supply defense needs regardless of previous contracts to supply consumer uses. The Defense Department also asked that jet fuels for commercial airlines be diverted to the military (not too many working people fly, but airlines are important for the delivery of important goods and services, and as a source of jobs). The importance of military uses of fuels is shown by one estimate that U.S. military operations in Vietnam for one day used as much fuel as all the people on U.S. highways.

As the military takes more and more of the dwindling fuel supplies, the people of the U.S. bear more and more of the brunt of the shortage. As of May 30, 1973, almost 3,000 gas stations have shut down or are threatened with closings. Gulf has announced that it is selling or closing over 3,000 stations in the Midwest and Northwest. While thousands of jobs will be lost and gasoline harder to buy, the shortage of fuel will have much more serious impact on sectors of the economy in which Black people are heavily employed or on other aspects of our lives:

---The auto industry has announced lay-offs of over 250,000, 30% of the entire industry. Before Nixon yelled "fuel crisis" Michigan had an unemployment rate of 8.2%, nearly twice the national average, which can only be explained by the entire crisis of the U.S. imperialist system. Steel industry officials claim that "a 15% reduction in fuel consumption will cost more than 30,000 steelmaking jobs." This will affect many other areas of the economy which use steel in production. A reduction in speed limits to 50 M.P.H. will mean a 20% cut in the income of truck drivers. Airlines have already laid off over 5,000 workers. The unemployment rate in the U.S. is expected to soar to over 6% by spring, making it as high as 12-25% for Black workers.

---Homeowners and public buildings will lower temperatures and create further health hazards--an increase in the number of colds, pneumonia, etc., has already been reported. Several deaths from freezing and suffocation have been reported of people trying to deal with fuel shortages.

---Public utilities have been ordered by Nixon to use coal rather than oil which will add to the already polluted air, especially in urban areas.

---Daylight savings time is sending millions of school children to school in the dark, increasing the safety hazards but not doing very much to reduce fuel consumptions.

In the face of all of this, Nixon and the ruling class he represents continue to jet away for vacations; the ruling class's fleets of gas-guzzling limousines are all shiny and on the go as ever, Rockefeller had the gall to show his family's executive jet and helicopter on a nation-wide T.V. show.

ALSC must seize the hour of this crisis of imperialism to agitate among the masses. Our task is to heighten the consciousness of Black people around these critical issues by combining the projection of our correct analysis, with involvement in their concrete day-to-day struggles by giving courageous militant support.

3. REINSTATE ECOLOGY AND CONSERVATION LEGISLATION

The oil monopolies have always struggled to defeat measures to conserve energy resources and protect the environment. For example, Standard Oil of California paid half of the campaign fund used to defeat the Clean Air amendment on the November 1970 California ballot. The oil monopoly has always cooperated with the auto monopoly in preventing pollution control devices and non-gas powered cars from reaching the market. More recently, other anti-environment (anti-people) measures have been instituted for the oil monopolies by the Nixon Administration:

1. In July, 1973, the Senate approved the \$3.5 billion, Alaska pipeline bill (Agnew even broke a tie vote on an amendment which now prevents court suites against the bill by ecology groups). (Even though U.S. taxes will pay for the pipeline, British Petroleum, EXXON, and Atlantic Richfield own 87.5% of the pipeline, and two-thirds of the Alaskan reserves estimated at 15 billion barrels.)
2. The National Emergency Energy Act, which Congress recently passed, authorized Nixon to suspend the Clean Air Act and allow utilities to use coal and oil which produce more pollution because they contain more sulfur.
3. Strip mining, which destroys the earth's surface, will now be permitted in oil-rich shale areas of Colorado and Wyoming.
4. Not only has the sham Environmental Protection Agency "eased" emission control restrictions several times, they are now considering doing away with them altogether to the detriment of air quality and health standards.
5. Off shore drilling--and the giant oil spills which accompany it--has already been approved for the Pacific Coast (remember Santa Barbara), the Atlantic Coast, and the Gulf of Mexico.

4. PRICE CONTROLS ON ALL GASOLINE

Between the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973, the cost of gas for a family car shot up by 2 to 7 cents a gallon in most parts of the U.S. The government has allowed the oil monopolies to "pass through" the increases in the price of Arab oil once a month rather than force the monopolies to absorb the increase in their already inflated super-profits. On January 3, Amoco raised prices 5.8 cents on a gallon of gas and 6.4 cents on home heating oil. In Atlanta, dealers expected a 3 cent increase above the early January price of 45 cents for a gallon of regular. In Detroit, regular was selling at 54.9 cents a gallon, and in D.C. at 57.9 cents for premium. The real question is how high will prices be allowed to go so that the oil monopoly can continue to increase in profits. Europe provides a possible answer. Estimates by government officials indicate the following can be expected:

PRICE PER GALLON OF GAS

	NOW	EXPECTED SOON
Italy	\$1.30	\$1.60
Japan	1.15	1.35
West Germany	1.21	1.27
France	1.10	1.19
Switzerland	.93	1.05
Britain	.87	.96
Eastern Canada	.54	.64
Western Canada	.58	.58

B. The imperialist powers, fully aware that development is dependent on the availability of energy resources, are moving to harness the rivers of Southern Africa to serve their interests. Hydro-electric power is being harnessed by building dams on the major rivers of Mozambique (Zambesi River) and Angola (Cunene River).

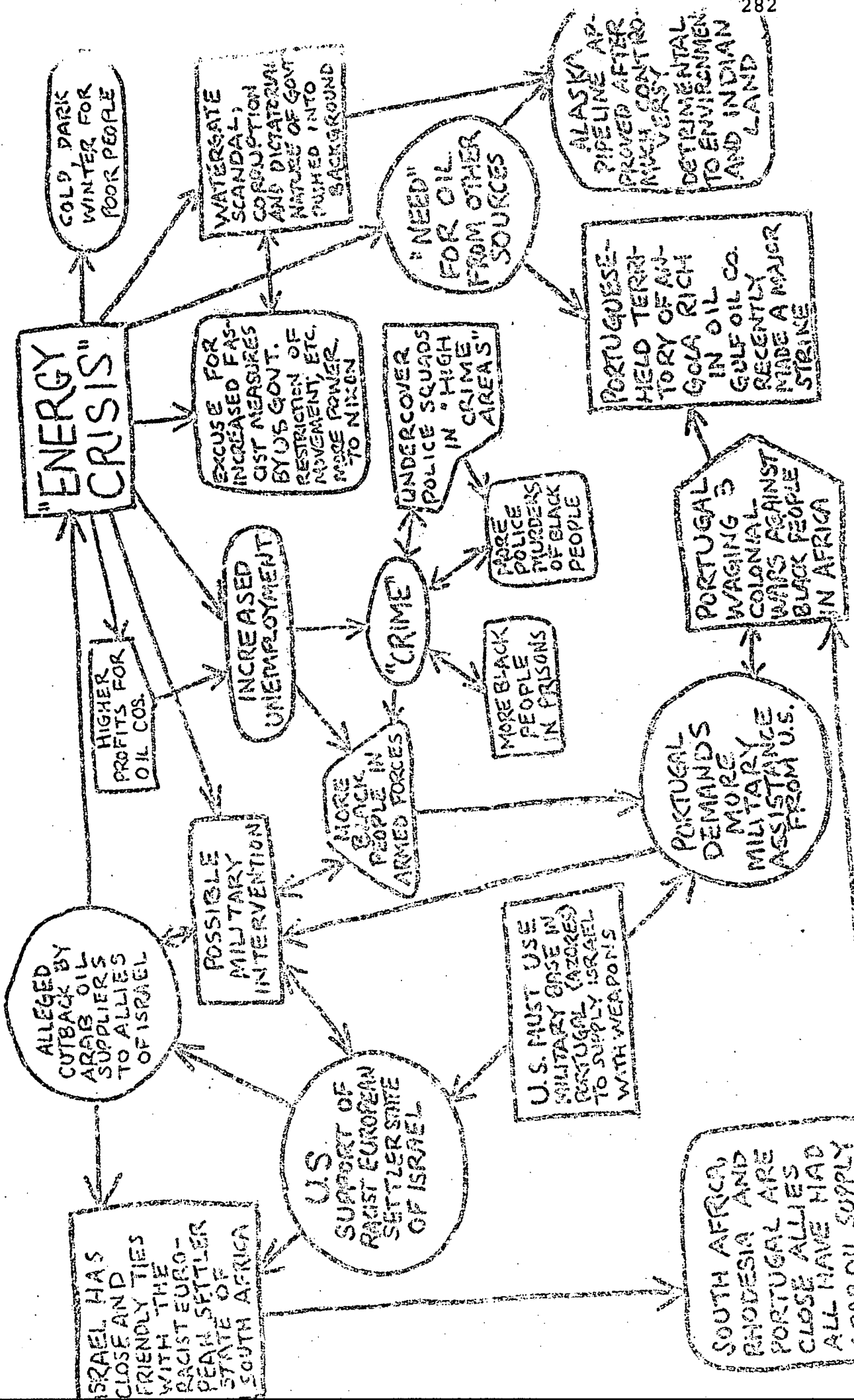
1. The Portuguese government is building the Cabora Bassa Dam in Tete Province in Mozambique. This will be the largest source of hydro-electric power in Africa and the sixth largest in the world. The total cost of the project will be over \$40 million, with over two-thirds of it coming from South Africa. Moreover, most of the electricity will be sent to South Africa. The other will be used to support the development of the irrigated land to be settled by nearly one million colonialists from countries such as Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Rhodesia, and South Africa. It will generate (along with a second dam, over 4 million kilowatts of power and open up 6 million acres of newly irrigated land. FRELIMO clearly stated its position in 1971:

"The construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam is the most eloquent expression of the colonialist and imperialist attitude. Cabora Bassa is a crime. It is a crime not only against the Mozambican people but also the entire people of Southern Africa and Africa as a whole. The complicity of the Western powers in the realization of the construction project of the Cabora Bassa Dam has provoked the indignation of the popular forces of these same Western world, especially envisioning the impediment of the Dam construction. This movement of solidarity comes to support precisely the positions and decisions of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people."

2. Based on the successful beginning of the Cabora Bassa Dam project, the South African government was able to get the Portuguese to agree to the Cunene River Dam Scheme. This is scheduled to have 27 dams costing nearly \$625 million. These dams would result in a new 500 square miles of cultivable land and a new 670 square miles of ranch land. The electricity would be used to develop this land and settle over half million settlers. Both Angola and Mozambique are rich in mineral deposits so the multi-national corporations will vie for the concessions. The dams will also be used in Namibia since the Cunene River separates it from Angola.

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401 THE ENERGY CRISIS CAN AFFECT THE SURVIVAL OF BLACK PEOPLE

C. Gulf Oil was founded in 1922 and is controlled by the Mellon Family interests based in Pittsburg, Pa. Gulf discovered oil off the coast of Angola in 1966, after 12 years of exploration.

1. Gulf is the largest U.S. investor in Africa, with over \$250 million in Angolan Oil. And, Gulf pays from \$30-50 million each year in taxes.

2. Portugal has 12.5% royalty rights in kind (in oil) up to 37.5%. But in case of war (as the Portuguese government decides) they have rights to the total production. The recent Middle East oil boycott has nearly led to this, in cooperation with the U.S. government.

3. Gulf has hired its own force of private police composed of mercenaries from many countries. Moreover, their taxes cover more than 30% of the Angolan military budget.

D. End monopoly control of the oil industry in CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN--

The Statement of Principles of ALSC makes clear that Black people in the U.S.A. must understand the control of U.S. imperialism over most of the resources of the world. It is by understanding this that we can understand the contradictions which develop between imperialist countries (e.g., Canada and the U.S.), and better understand the attempts to increase the exploitation of the Third World (e.g., the Caribbean--to solve these contradictions of imperialism.

1. Canada was the leading source of crude oil imported into the U.S. in 1972, supplying 38.5%. The Arab boycott made the Canadian oil of even greater importance to the U.S. In March, 1973, the Canadians cut oil exports to the U.S. by 4%, concerned that their own refineries might run short of oil. Recently, Canada announced that the export tax on oil coming into the U.S. will increase almost 200% to \$6.40 per barrel, as Canada takes advantage of the increases in oil prices initiated by the Arab countries. An imperialist power like the U.S. has few lasting friends. Since U.S. corporations control 35% of Canada's industrial property, including its oil, Canada will take every chance it gets to strengthen its hand against the U.S. This increases the competition and rivalry among imperialist powers, weakens the imperialist camp, and will quicken its downfall.

2. At the same time, the U.S. will attempt to increase the exploitation of the Third World in an effort to resolve the contradictions it is facing. The Caribbean is a good illustration of this. Between 1970 and 1972, U.S. crude oil imports from Trinidad increased from 265,000 barrels annually to more than 8.6 million barrels--an increase of over 3,000%. The Caribbean is also becoming a source of supply for refined petroleum products. The refining capacity of the British West Indies, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands has increased by 73% between 1970 and 1974, primarily through the increased investment by the U.S. oil monopoly. A more specific example of how this increased exploitation of the Caribbean will work is the Super-port planned for Puerto Rico. The super-port is a massive oil storage and refinery complex being pushed by U.S. oil corporations like Shell and Gulf Western--backed by the U.S. government and the neo-colonial puppet government of Puerto Rico. The facility will increase the capacity of refineries on the island from 400 thousand barrels per day to more than 6 million barrels. The port is necessary if the U.S. is to cope with its energy problem by 1980 and will triple U.S. investments in Puerto Rico. The plan will force the emigration of more than one million Puerto Ricans into the U.S., and destroy the natural environment; and seriously damage the survival of the Puerto Rican people as a nation. ALSC joins Puerto Rican people in their struggle to STOP THE SUPER-PORT and monopoly control of the resources of all the people of the Caribbean.

D. POLICE REPRESSION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

Black people are the victims of excessive police violence in the U.S.A. as well as in Southern Africa and the occupied territory of the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This flows out of the economic crisis of imperialism and its political defeats throughout the world. We must struggle to defend Black people wherever we are brutalized, we must unite against the rising tide of fascism.

On this question we have included the following material:

1. Documents from local struggles:

- A. Nashville

- B. Atlanta

- C. Chicago

2. Fact Sheet on South Africa

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE COALITION CHAIRPERSON AT THE MONDAY MASS RALLY FOR ACTION

December 3, 1973
Nashville, Tn.

The Coalition Against Police Repression is a movement for democracy and justice in a land that has never been democratic and just. The Coalition is a peoples front, a unity movement that unites all class elements and social groups to fight the racist violent tactics of a police state apparatus. This instrument of state power has thrived on the murder of Black people, especially working class Black youth. We must have Justice and we must have it now. We must have a responsive system of police, a police system based in the community it serves, and sensitive to overcoming the horrible torture and terror of the past. We have been slaves in the past, and we continue to be treated as slaves today. We must have Justice and we must have it now.

As Coalition Chairperson, I would like to adress myself to two basic questions:

1. Why is there a problem with the police and the Black community?
2. What is the Coalition and why is it important?

We must approach this question with the kind of scienfific precision that will allow us to probe deeper than the surface, deeper than the lies and half truths that have been stuffed down our throats in the mis-education that most of us have had. We must understand what's been the basis of our problem if we are going to deal with it effectively.

In this society the masses of people are organized into two types of warring rouups, two types of teams, one based on race and one based on class. Black people are the victims of racial hatred, and class exploitation. Black people were ripped and raped from Africa to labor for the rising industrial giants of England and the United States. This was the basis for developing myths of racial superiority, manufacturing a culture based on racial hatred, as well as deep seated fear of the Black man's reaction to be oppressed. We have been slaves, sharecroppers, factory workers, welfare recipients, and even middle class. But never have we escaped the vicious terror of that racist policeman with the license to kill.

But who is it that benefits from this violence? Frantz Fanon, that great Black psychiatrist, demonstrated in his study of the Algerian revolution that the police who engage in torture also end up torture also end up torturing themselves. They have nightmares, beat their wives, and children, worry and end up leading miserable lives. Fanon pointed to the ruling class as the benefactors, the profit seeking greedy capitalists are the ones who benefit. They calmly sit in offices high off the street, live in comfortable villages like Belle Meade (a former slave holding plantation), and only have to deal with police brutality as statistics or when they go to church and discuss the ethical crisis facing the church. The ruling class is guilty of murder and not the poor slob who acts out racist terror. The cop on the block is a victim, just as we are the victims. Our enemy is the ruling class.

Who is the ruling class? We are aware of the fact that in this city there is a very high percentage of millionaires, people who own and control business or represent the large multinational corporations that control the entire United States. These are our

enemies. Who profits most from our misery? The corporate elite, the barons of industry. Who sucks the blood from our babies and sends our youth to die in wars against people who we, the people have no quarrel with? The millionaires, bankers, and factory owners. We must not fight just the representatives of the ruling class, we must identify and confront the ruling class directly. This means we must understand power.

Not only does the ruling class control the police but they also control education. Their control of education is to have a mechanism for developing whatever kind of labor force they need. They used to need Black colleges to provide labor for them, but don't anymore. They used to build a talented tenth, but have found they have had enough of the army of students that have begun to move on the colleges. They want to phase them out under the guise of merging them with their schools which means phasing them out. The ruling class wants to merge TSU and phase it out. The ruling class wants to fire courageous Presidents like Pres. Torrence for allowing us to hold rallies such as this one. I think we should show everyone that we are committed to saving Black colleges. We are committed to defending the interests of Black people. We will fight to keep racist cops from killing our people in the street just as we will fight a racist legislature from killing our schools in the state capitol.

In sum, the problem of the police is the problem of class exploitation and racial oppression. The police are poor working class crackers who are exploited by the ruling class, although they themselves are killing us in the interests of the ruling class. The white working class failed to recognize Black people as their allies during the Reconstruction, during the great depression, and now during the reign of King Richard of Wateggate there is another chance. The ruling class wanted the racist rally the other night to make the issues seem like a Black and white issue--they also what our rally to be based on Black hatred of white people. But we are not going to fall for it. We are not going to allow the fool mad dog cop who murdered our brother Ronald Lee Joyce to misguide us. He is not the enemy, he too is a victim. The real enemy is the business interests, the king makers, the ruling class.

WHAT IS THE COALITION?

The Coalition is a unity movement that has as its purpose advancing the struggle for democracy. When we say a unity coalition, we mean every segment of the Black community, but most of all we mean uniting the elements that have not been united, and mobilizing those that are not in motion. This means uniting the campus and the community, uniting students and workers, labor and professionals, everybody in the struggle for Justice, Peace, and Freedom.

We have two goals:

1. Suspension of the four officers who murdered Ronald Lee Joyce, and having a full investigation by a citizen's committee; and
2. Establishing this citizen's committee to help select the police chief. This committee should have 50% Black membership with the Black members selected by the CAPR.

We must understand that these two goals merely scratch the surface of the many evils perpetuated by the government of Nashville headed up by Beverly Briley. He is the chief staff officer of the ruling class. He is the one who carries out their orders. He is the one who keeps the shoot to kill mentality staring at the citizens of Nashville behind every badge. He is guilty of helping to kill Black youth.

We are moving to unite the entire community for justice. Not for personal gain, not for power or prestige, but for humanity's progress--peace, freedom, and justice. We want Justice for every person - and we want to start with the most oppressed - the toiling Black masses. We want Justice and we want it now! Our program tonight is not one of sorrow but one of joy, we come not to weep but to form a militant unity of forces no corrupt police or state force can stop. WE ARE ON THE MOVE FOR JUSTICE NOW. JUSTICE NOW!

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION
DECEMBER OFFENSIVE
NASHVILLE, TN.

The Coalition Against Police Repression was formed at a mass meeting held at Mount Calvary Baptist Church, on November 26, 1973. There are about thirty organizations in the Coalition, an anti-racist unity movement in the Black community. The Coalition is focusing its attention on building the broadest possible participation from groups throughout the Black community so that we can be as representative as possible. This is a proposal for action, a plan of attack. It is necessary for us to consider what we want, what we're prepared to do to get it, and have a general understanding of how our current motion fits into the total world-wide struggle for justice, peace and freedom.

WHAT ARE OUR DEMANDS? The event that sparked the motion was the brutal murder of our Brother Ronald Lee Joyce. His life was blasted away by an instrument of racist state power. We have to wage a struggle against state power gone mad by advancing a consistent struggle for democracy. The political leadership of Nashville - Mayor Beverly Briley - has been arrogant and insensitive to the needs of Black people, and has tried to shift the responsibility of the police force to the police chief. This is the type of cowardly politics that flows from a corrupt system, a system not reflecting the masses of people, but only certain powerful interests groups. We see this in the Nixon Watergate Scandal, and we see this in the Briley police scandal of Nashville. The political leadership is no longer able to exert the kind of leadership that we need, on the national level and the local level. Therefore, the people must take a more direct role in running the state.

We are demanding two specific things:

1. That the 4 policemen involved in the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce be suspended immediately without pay until there is a full investigation by a citizens committee;
2. That this citizens committee be formed to select the next chief of police and to investigate police brutality in general. The committee should have at least 50% Black membership selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression.

We must not let brutal murders go unpunished. There is great public outrage over this case of obvious overreaction--excess force. and the officers involved must be suspended. What Mayor Briley has done is reassign them to office work. We want them suspended. This is a non-negotiable demand. We must have these murderers off the street, and off the police force until we have the grounds for final dismissal and the evidence is in to initiate criminal charges against them.

We must have more direct participation in the government process by the masses of people. This means that the chief of police must be hired only if there is a review process that establishes beyond any question that the new chief will be an anti-racist defender of justice, and sensitive to the objective interests of the entire community. Black people want crime stopped, and this means police brutality, intimidation, and harassment must stop as well as burglarly, robbery, and rape. Mayor Briley has a choice between the tactics of shoot-to-kill before all else, or a community based police system in which the people play a major creative role in policing themselves for the good of everyone. Briley is behind the corrupt system, so he is and has been the guilty party. Our demand is for Briley to change his ways and begin to support a democratic approach to government and denounce his violent racist tactics.

WHAT ARE OUR PLANS?

The Coalition Against Police Repression must have a step by step plan for mobilizing the greatest quantity of people from all sectors of the Black community, and the entire city of Nashville as well. It will be necessary to engage in increasingly more militant action until there is a positive response to our demands. The police must be made responsive to the needs of the entire community. This must be achieved or they will have to resort to greater political repressive forms of control to contain our movement. This is a struggle for power and we must prepare to wage a courageous fight.

STEP ONE: BLACK WORKERS UNITY RALLY

Wednesday night, December 5th, there will be a mass rally at 7:30 P.M. at the Labor Temple. This rally will have as its focus mobilizing the Black trade union movement, the political organization of the Black working class. All members of the Coalition are scheduled to attend this rally so that our brothers and sisters in the trade union movement will join us in large numbers and build the base of the Coalition.

STEP TWO: STUDENT STRIKE DAY

We must unite the masses where we are the strongest at this time. The students have provided the greatest physical force in the Coalition until now, and are the base of our power. Brother Ronald Lee Joyce was a student attending TSU. We must have a student strike in order to unify the masses of students around this issue.

This action will have one secondary demand, saving Black colleges. Black students must be united around these demands. On Tuesday and Wednesday, the key phrase is STUDENT STRIKE. This phrase must be put on leaflets, posters, sidewalks, walls in bathrooms, on blackboards, over public address systems, and in every conversation that you have. STRIKE FOR JUSTICE! STRIKE FOR DEMOCRACY! STRIKE THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6th!

All striking students will be asked to come together at 10:30 A.M. at the place where Brother Joyce was murdered. This will be for a unity rally and to get assignments to go into the Black community. Our STRIKE from school will be for the purpose of going into the Black community to get support for our movement to make the government process more democratic, and to stop the brutal murder of Black people. We are continuing the petition drive! All students will be asked to talk with people throughout the community so that the community will be united.

STEP THREE: BLACK BUTTON DAY

The next major action will be organizing teams of four people each to work shifts of three hours each from 6:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. on Friday, and all day Saturday, collecting signatures and donations. The major goal is to raise \$1,000 for the Joyce Family legal fund. Half of this amount will come from selling 1500 buttons. Coalition fund raisers will have an official arm band to prevent misrepresentation. We will sell the buttons for 50¢ of which 38¢ will go to the Joyce Family Legal Fund, (the remaining 12¢ for the cost of the button).

On this Button Day we must cover every work place, every major traffic intersection, every major shopping area, every major public housing project, every Black residential area and every school. The purpose of this Button Day is to heighten the consciousness

of the masses of Black people. We must work hard to convince every brother and sister that the movement for freedom and justice is a real movement. We must convince all of us that when racist madmen shoot us and hide behind a corrupt Mayor that all of us move in unity until justice is done. The death of Ronald Lee Joyce must spark us to build a movement that will force the fountains of evil to dry up under the heat of militant unity.

STEP FOUR: BLACK SUNDAY

We appeal to all ministers, and the Black media to rearrange their schedules to focus on the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce and the Unity Movement for Justice, and the Coalition Against Police Repression. We must combine sermons, notices in church bulletins, petition signing before and after services, T.V. and radio talk shows and sending teams of Coalition workers into the community. Our motion must be to let the ministers and the media, representing two powerful institutions in the Black community, unify the movement with a sense of direction and ultimate purpose.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's was born in the church and grew to be one of the greatest mass movements of all time. We must return to the church and seek guidance from the ministers, and allow the institutional leadership to play an important role in this struggle. But we must be mindful that many are called but not all choose to come. So when we look to established leadership to provide a way, the Coalition is on the move. As the old spiritual says, "Which side are you on? Which side are you on?"

THE ATLANTA EXPERIENCE

ATLANTA ANTI-REPRESSION COALITION

In September, 1973, the following conditions faced the Black and working class communities: 13 police killings of unarmed Blacks has occurred - a safe streets act prevented Blacks from congregating on Atlanta's streets - increased surveillance of radical groups - formation of SWAT, Decoy and Stake-out squads - LEAA makes grant of \$20 million of city to try out new fascist techniques - finance capitalists make plans to turn Atlanta into an "International City" - workers struggles in the form of strikes intensify - prices are rising - workers are forced to work overtime - lines are running at break-neck speed - plants are running away to the rural areas to get cheaper labor. This is an accurate picture of the economic and political conditions facing especially Black people in the city of Atlanta. How should we respond to this state of affairs? What was needed to halt the onslaught of repression? How to begin to fuse the mass movement? These were questions confronting those of us who wanted to bring a halt to repression in the form of police killings.

Collectively, a number of forces had come to the conclusion that we needed to take an offensive position in relation to the increased killings of Blacks by policemen. No one organization given the massive job that needed to be done could take such an offensive position against developing repression so then the logic pointed to the development of a coalition of forces and thus was formed the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition. It was instructive to have done research in the following areas:

1. Analysis of repression in the Black and white working class communities;
2. Analysis of anti-repression forces in Atlanta;
3. LEAA;
4. Atlanta Police Department;
5. Strategy for organizing coalition;
6. Economic and political basis for fascism;
7. United Front principles.

Members of the AARC include Peoples Committee to Insure Justice, Black Labor Action Committee, Commission for Racial Justice, African Liberation Support Committee, Black Workers Congress, Committee for Independent Black Politics, Metro Summit Leadership Conference, National Lawyers Guild, Workers Action Movement, Atlanta Center for Black Art, Great Speckled Bird, United Youth Adult Conference, Dixie Hills Progressive Civic Association, October League, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The initial meetings of AARC worked out the structure, general principles of unity, and the main demand of the Coalition. The principles of unity were that organizations must agree to struggle against repression and attacks against the living standards of workers. The main demand of the Coalition was formulated to be: STOP THE MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE!

To date, the AARC has been involved in massive demonstrations in front of the police station, picketing of the Fulton County Courthouse, a picket at one of the local plants (Warren Refrigerator), marches from City Hall to the police station, educational forums, numerous appearances before the old Aldermanic Police Committee and the new Public Safety Committee; appearances on several radio talk shows, involvement in community rallies and workshops, and a petitioning drive to have two cops indicted for murder. Other activities of the AARC have included production and distribution of thousands of leaflets and bumper stickers as well as the production of a monthly newsletter. The first efforts of the Coalition served to cement the core of organizations and individuals together and even though we did not attract the broad masses to our first efforts we learned the valuable lesson that the Coalition had to be a fighting organism whose purpose would be to develop the struggles in the communities where political repression is dominant and connect those to the struggle in the plant where economic repression is dominant and vice versa.

Our earlier lessons learned showed that if we wanted the masses of people to come out to a central demonstration or event then we must have ripened the struggles in specific communities and work places and rely upon the consciousness that we had developed among the masses in those areas to fuel the interest in whatever central activity we were building, letting our work (propaganda and agitation) be the motive force that would propel the masses into the arena of action. We were able to build demonstrations from 75 people to over 300 people in front of the police station which had never attracted more than 10 or 12 people to any demonstration before.

The Coalition was brought into existence to build a movement around the question of anti-repression, an objectively anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, we say that the ideology of the AARC must be anti-imperialist meaning that the AARC has the responsibility to show the relationship of the developing repression to the finance capitalists and state apparatus who actually conceive the plans of police terror and murder. AARC is reaching and educating more people, not only about police repression but about how the police are serving the interests of Atlanta's ruling classes.

Politically, the Coalition is a fighting formation and has gained a reputation as such. However, the base of the AARC must be broadened, it must attract more community organizations, more progressive worker organizations, student organizations, and any other groups or individuals that have sharp contradictions with the monopoly capitalists. One of the main political activities of the AARC is propaganda and agitation and to this end educational leaflets and the monthly newsletter are produced. The AARC has set the following as immediate political tasks; 1) broadening the base of the Coalition; 2) attracting community and labor organizations; and 3) further developing the fighting image of the Coalition.

Organizationally, we say that the AARC is a vehicle for building the unity, consciousness, and struggle of the broadest section of the forces that exist in the city of Atlanta that have sharp contradictions with the rule of monopoly capital.

During the period of the formation of the Coalition, political repression was a killer knife aimed at the heart of the Black community in the form of police terror and murder. Through all of the activities that the Coalition was engaged in such as demonstrations, rallies, petitions marches, picketing, forums, etc., it has been able to mute and mediate the intensity of police murder aimed at the Black community. Were the anti-repression forces to relax their vigilance this murder and terror would crop up again. Of that we're sure.

Now that the police repression has been muted, to keep the AARC active, it is necessary to be able to change focus from political repression to economic repression. Over the coming year AARC will probably become more active on the economic front, fighting attacks on the living standards of workers. Already, the AARC has participated in a strike when the courts issued an injunction against striking workers and against the frame-up arrest of a Warren organizer. The perspective in dealing with workers' struggles is the same as dealing with police brutality, i.e., showing the connection of what workers are going thru to the overall crisis of imperialism.

FACT SHEET ON SOUTH AFRICA PRISONS

A. Average Daily Prison Population in South Africa increased from

1958-59	49,886
1963-64	52,956
1970-71	91,000

B. From 1970-71 a total of 474,065 people were put into prison. This represented 2.3% of the total population and was 85% African and 2% white.

C. 42% of all prisoners serving up to 4 months were arrested for violating the fascist "pass book" law, nearly 2,000 daily.

D. South Africa has the highest rate of executions in the world and the number of executions is increasing. The average number of executions was 25 between 1911 and 1947; 67 between 1948 and 1966. One hundred and eighteen (118) were executed in 1968.

E. In 1969, nearly 5,000 mothers with breast-fed infants were admitted to prison.

F. We should be constantly aware that:

1. The police and prisons are tools of imperialism.
2. One case of police repression is as significant as any other--all are to be fought against.
3. ALSC is committed to the fight against police repression and for the release of political prisoners.

E. IMPEACH NIXON! DUMP THE CHUMP!

We have the removal of Richard Nixon from the presidency as one of our major goals. The following is a model speech on this issue. More information on this issue is available from:

1. Michael Myerson, Watergate: Crime in the Suites, (1973)
2. National Campaign to Impeach Nixon
1404 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 659-1118
3. NACLA Newsletter
Special Issue on Nixon and his criminal activities
(October Issue, 1972)
NACLA
North American Congress on Latin America
P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025

WANTED: RICHARD NIXON, FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE

Two and one-half years ago Richard Nixon was resoundingly re-elected. He interpreted the election, which he bought and stole, as a mandate to continue "four more years" of murder in Indochina and Portuguese colonies in Africa, assaults on programs affecting Black people, freezing of wages, and attempts to destroy radical organizations. But even then the cracks in his patriotic suit of armour were beginning to show.

Now, two and one half years later, Richard Nixon and his gang have what Gil Scott-Heron has called "the H2O-gate blues." Most of his old buddies and fellow criminals are either in jail or on their way in a minute. But Nixon's crimes against Black people did not begin with Watergate.

From the minute that Nixon took office it was clear that his policy toward the Black community was to be one of "benign neglect". Under his administration the Justice Department has pumped millions of dollars into the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); much of that money has gone into the formation of special goon squads like STRESS in Detroit. The Justice Department has also greatly stepped up its infiltration, disruption, and repression of radical Black organizations. Nixon's Black Capitalism program has been successful in creating a new set of parasites in the Black community who are faithfully trotted out every two years to sing the praises of "free enterprise" and the Republican Party. Nixon has frozen wages. He has frozen the construction of low-income housing. About the only things he hasn't frozen are profits, and prices. He has embarked on an effort to change the welfare system into a huge forced-labor pool. He has deliberately kept unemployment (mostly Black, of course) high to "control inflation", which hasn't been controlled. He has ordered the purchase of new super-planes and super-missiles to insure the super-profits of his defense contractor buddies. He has dismantled what little of the poverty program remained. The list is endless. There are some who tell us that we should support the efforts of politicians to impeach Nixon - that when they get this "bad" president out and a "good" one in, things will be allright - again. There are others who tell us that Nixon is irrelevant - that we should ignore the mass anger and disgust that our people have and concern ourselves with other things. We must address each of these views by first examining the role of the government in America (and any capitalist country) and then examining the reasons for a mass movement to DUMP THE CHUMP.

One of the recurring exposures of the Watergate scandal has been the intimate connection between big business and politics.

Almost every week for the last six months new tales of corruption and bribery have been revealed - the Milk fund, grain deal, ITT affair, etc. But the establishment media, while expressing shock and outrage, keep insisting that all this is something new - or at least that Nixon himself is responsible for taking it too far. But these exposures are only confirmation of something that some of us have known for years: that the government of the United States is in the hip pocket of imperialist interests. Over 50 years ago, in his The State and Revolution, Lenin showed that the state (the government) of capitalist countries was nothing but the executive committee for the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie.

What this means is that in a class society like America, the government is not, and cannot be, the "impartial," "neutral," "objective," force which it claims to be. As long as there is a capitalist class, as long as there is a small group which controls

the economic power and wealth in society, it will control a mechanism to repress and/or deceive those whom they exploit. That mechanism is the state. In other words, the state cannot stand above the class struggle in a class society, it must serve one class or another.

THE RULING CLASS'S DIRECT CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT

Who runs for political office in America? Welfare recipients? Small farmers? Unemployed Black workers? Of course not. Most candidates (for important offices) are already rich - lawyers, businessmen, large stockholders. Even most Black politicians are either successful businessmen (funeral directors, etc.) or slicksters picked by businessmen to attract Black votes. So most successful politicians represent the interests of the "business community" first because they are members of that community, whether its Eastland of Mississippi, Kennedy of Massachusetts, or the biggest of them all, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

Who holds appointed office in America? It doesn't take long to figure out that most appointed judges, federal officials, state commissioners, and ambassadors have received their appointments for one of two reasons:

The first kind of appointment is for the large political contributor or faithful political lackey who is getting paid off for funds received or services rendered. Apparently there are a lot of old businessmen who get their kicks out of being an ambassador. So they give Nixon two or three hundred thousand dollars, and he turns around and appointed them, even though they have no diplomatic experience at all! Even though Nixon has gotten caught at it, the practice is nothing new. Likewise, patronage appointments are sold as America itself; when we see Nixon's cronies like Connally, Mitchell, Stans, Chapin, and Rogers go flying in and out of the Justice, State, Treasury, and Commerce departments with no apparent credentials, don't worry - it's all part of the gravy train.

The other kind of appoint is the kind that places corporate executives and other experienced servants of the ruling class in a position to implement their master's wishes. One great example is Henry Kissinger - a long-time Rockefeller international affairs specialist. Another is William Simon.

Before William Simon was the "energy czar," he was a Wall Street czar - a multimillionaire investment banker whose business and political connections with Richard Nixon go way back. He was called in (from a job in the Treasury department) to "lead the Nation out of the energy crisis" - a situation created by the oil companies to increase their profits and power. And how did Simon find people to formulate and implement the government's policies toward the oil companies? He accepted the oil companies' generous offer to "loan" their own executives to the government for this difficult task! After all, who knows more about oil?

Nixon's Secretary of Commerce, Frederick Dent, is a South Carolina textile baron, and past president of the Textile Manufacturers Institute. How impartial is he? Whose interests does he represent? And, boldest of all, every year generals and admirals "retire" into vice-presidencies of Boeing, Lockheed, and other defense contractors. There they will do business with the new generals and admirals, their life-long friends and former subordinates.

How are American election campaigns funded? If anyone didn't know before Watergate, they sure know now. Political campaigns on a federal, state, and local level are financed out of the pockets of rich candidates and their business patrons, and even (illegally) from corporation funds themselves. And the new "campaign reform" measures are no better. Under the new proposal, each taxpayer can "check off" one dollar of his taxes for a contribution to the (Democratic and Republican) election campaign. What does this do? First, it gives the appearance of "independent" campaigns and politicians by using George McGovern's phoney rap about "let's get one dollar from five million people instead of a million dollars from five people." But where did he get his money from? Secondly, the plan will have the effect of transferring some of the financial burden of the campaign to the taxpayers - to us - but of course it won't transfer any of the control of the politicians and the government. In other words, some of our tax money will stop paying for schools and health services (it sure won't come out of the defense budget), and start paying for Ted Kennedy and Ronald Reagan grinning on the T.V.

So we see that the entire government apparatus is directly tied, in a thousand obvious ways, to the interests of the imperialists. But the connection is even more powerful and more subtle than this; the connection lies in the very basis of the American government itself - the law.

THE RULING CLASS' INDIRECT CONTROL OVER GOVERNMENT

It is no news to most Black people that the "impartial" law is not impartial at all when it comes to us. The entire legal system of this country - starting with the Constitution - is designed to protect the "haves" against the "have-nots". The concern of the law is private property - not the kind of property many of us own; cars, clothes, maybe a house; but the kind of property most of us don't own: factories, land, municipal bonds. There's a big difference: someone who owns a car doesn't exploit anyone with it; it's his personal car. But what about someone who owns a car factory? Is that a personal item? No. In order to "use" his factory, the capitalist must exploit his workers (have you ever seen Henry Ford in overalls?). This kind of property ought to be public. The government of the U.S. is, and always has been, committed to the protection of this kind of property and those who own it. It is committed to the maintenance of Imperialism and its interests. This fact is important, because it means that the changing of individual politicians in office cannot fundamentally change the system.

It is true, though, that the removal of Richard Nixon will strike a blow at imperialism, because it will strengthen the confidence of the people and weaken the hypnotic hold of the ruling class' power and "invulnerability." It will show our people that we can change society by our struggle. The Democratic party politicians tell us: "We will get rid of Nixon and all our problems will be over." We say, "We will get rid of Nixon, and our struggle will just have gone one step further." They say: "Let's impeach the president." We say, "DUMP THE CHUMP!"

Richard Nixon has repeatedly said that the exposures of his gang's crimes is proof that "American democracy works." In fact, it is not proof of anything except that the crisis of imperialism is producing severe struggles within the American ruling class.

WHY WE SHOULD ACT!

What about impeachment? A number of politicians have indignantly called for Nixon's removal. Isn't impeachment their issue? Why should we get involved?

Let's look at some of these self-righteous defenders of freedom. Look at Sam Ervin, chairman of the Senate Watergate committee. Where was he during the civil rights movement, when Black people were waging a pitched battle for their freedom in his "beloved North Carolina" and all over the South? He was solidly with the segregationist forces, just as he is today. Ervin has always taken a personal interest in keeping North Carolina a low-wage, non-union state, in order to attract corporate investment to exploit the state's workers. Ervin was the one who first accepted Nixon's offer to let Mississippi's John Stennis review the incriminating tapes; apparently Ervin trusted him. He should - because both he and Stennis share a concern for freedom - the freedom of their fellow fat cats to sip mint juleps in the Southern sun and watch their "darkies" - us - work in the fields and factories.

Look at Edward Kennedy, who has been on the freedom trail to Alabama to join forces with George Wallace - a notorious freedom-lover. Kennedy - a certified liberal, has called for Nixon's removal for his transgressions against democracy and his use of executive power. We wonder if Ted remembers his brother's interest in the Bay of Pigs . . . and the Congo . . . and Israel. We wonder if he remembers his other brother's surveillance of Martin Luther King and other Black leaders. You see, Ted comes from a very liberal family.

Kennedy and the rest are not fighting Nixon because they are opposed to imperialism or to his policies. They are fighting him because they are trying to cash in on the mass sentiment against Nixon and because the financial interests they represent within the ruling class are struggling with the interests Nixon represents over the question of who will "represent" (and repress) the people of this country. It has recently been revealed that Hubert Humphrey was involved in the Milk fund scandal along with Nixon. Is he interested in demanding Nixon's removal on this charge? Daniel Inouye, the fire-breathing Hawaiian Democrat on Ervin's committee, has recently been charged with accepting illegal campaign contributions. How far can he go in punishing Nixon for the same crime?

The fact of the matter is that most, if not all, of the ruling class politicians are guilty of the same "unethical" practices as Nixon. That's how they got in office. Most, if not all, of them would have resorted to Nixon's "plumbers" and "dirty tricks" to defend their besieged class if they had only had the chance. Would these men convict Nixon of the murder of students at Jackson State or of the leaders of the Black Panther Party for which he was ultimately responsible? Would these men convict Nixon of conspiracy in his attempts to infiltrate and disrupt radical organizations? Would they convict him of criminal neglect of welfare mothers, school children, prisoners, and Vietnam veterans? Would they convict him of murder in Vietnam? Murder in Chile? Murder by American weapons in "Portuguese" Africa? Of course not! But we do! These crimes, and more, are our reasons for throwing Richard Nixon out of office.

It must be pointed out that Nixon, if removed, would only be succeeded by another imperialist politician who won't be much different. But that is no ordinary succession, like the one that takes place every four years. The rulers of this country have never been forced to throw its top representative (the president) out of office; this event would hurt their prestige, authority, and power both here and abroad. This is why we must show our anger and determination to get rid of this criminal. Throwing Nixon out is just flexing our muscles for a larger fight - but it brings the masses of the people new confidence in our power. It is one more step in the process which will teach our people the one great truth from which all else flows: Revolution is possible.

RACISM - IMPERIALISM - NO! NIXON MUST GO!

DUMP THE CHUMP!!

F. SUPPORT THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES

For the entire history of ALSC we have given consistent support for the African Liberation Movements fighting wars of national liberation in Southern Africa and the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau. All of the literature used for these years of programs should be reviewed for information concerning the movements involved, the material conditions of the people, and the role of US imperialism

At the present time there is an Investigations Committee of the ALSC International Executive Committee that is charged with the responsibility of providing in depth information on the liberation struggles. So we will not attempt to do this in HANDBOOK #4. Any ALSC committee wanting more information on this right away can write to the Research & Development Committee or to the Investigations Committee and request it.

For immediate purposes, the following books can be read though they do contain incorrect information and must be read with a critical eye. All are easy to find paperbacks.

1. Kenneth Grundy, Guerilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview, (1971)
2. Richard Gibson, African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule, (1972)
3. William Minter, Portuguese Africa and the West, (1974)

4. AFRICAN LIBERATION FUND

I. Introduction

The African Liberation Fund is one of the most important programs of ALSC. It allows us to show our tangible, direct support for liberation movements fighting against racism and imperialism in Southern Africa and in Guinea-Bissau. The main purposes of ALF are:

1. to involve Black people in North America in the struggles for liberation in Southern Africa;
2. to provide an apparatus for on-going monetary support from our people in North America;
3. to build ALSC by demonstrating our leadership in support for liberation movements;
4. to give concrete, material assistance to the struggles in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

The purpose of this section of the HANDBOOK is to offer ways and suggestions for ALSC local committees to reach their quota of \$2,000 toward the overall goal of \$75,000. Our goal is quite realistic; but it will require serious work, and co-operation by each member of ALSC. A good style of work, along with adequate planning and implementation, are essential to the ALF (as well as all phases of ALSC work). By combining the suggestions in this handbook with hard work and your own imagination, each local committee can realize its quota and go above it.

The suggestions put forth in this HANDBOOK are designed primarily to stimulate ideas by your local members on what will work best in your area. It is suggested that these be read and discussed carefully with an eye on using two or three of them as major activities of ALF. Again, use your own initiative and imagination based on your local conditions. However, the general guidelines that relate to creditability of fund-raising and the deadlines must be followed exactly by each local committee.

II. General Guidelines on Fund-Raising

A. Maintaining Your Creditability

Many people are generally suspicious of fund-raising activities. Given the historic rip-offs this is quite understandable. Therefore, ALSC members must make a special effort to maintain the creditability of ALSC and the ALF. The following things are necessary in this regard:

1. open a separate bank account for ALF. Require two (2) or more signatures before funds can be withdrawn. This account should be separate from administrative accounts from your ALSC.
2. keep accurate records of all monies raised through ALF. Whenever possible, give receipts to donors.

3. keep all ALSC fund-raising for administrative needs separate and distinct from ALF. Remember to always stress that all ALF funds go directly to liberation movements;
4. make periodic public announcements through local radio and newspapers about the progress of ALF so that people can see the growth of the local campaign;
5. send letters of thank-you to all major contributors and to all volunteers who helped with ALF;
6. give accurate financial reports on ALF at each ALSC meeting.

B. Necessity for Proper Planning

No fund-raising project will be successful unless it is properly planned. Therefore, it is necessary to start early in your work. You cannot wait until May to begin this task. Generally, the better an activity is planned the better it will come off. In the planning process, it is necessary to examine all factors (manpower, locations, goals, materials needed, etc.), before deciding on a particular project. A small committee can be pulled together to do the initial work, but maximum involvement is needed in the implementation.

C. Proper Use of Promotional Materials

To build an ALF campaign requires real mobilization. Promotional materials are essential to this process. If people know about it they are more likely to give to it.

Whenever soliciting, always have an ample supply of materials on hand. Use the uniform materials developed by the Production and Distribution Committee. This gives a national character to the campaign and insures consistency.

The following are key ways to build the campaign through promotional materials:

1. newspaper ads--use the ALSC copy-ready ad and have it run in local Black newspapers.
2. posters--these should be placed in selected places where there are a lot of people and they should be very visible.
3. selected leafleting--ALF leaflets can be used for special kinds of events and audiences. However, it is not recommended to do just mass leafleting.
4. radio public service announcement--have ALSC members and respected local leaders cut short PSA's to urge people to contribute to ALF.

IV. Suggested Fund-Raising Ideas for African Liberation Fund

A. Container type collection

Uniform containers as well as posters and leaflets should be used.

1. Street corner solicitation--A street corner solicitation is when you put as many people as possible on street corners for the sole purpose of collecting funds.

A small ad-hoc committee should be selected to co-ordinate this effort. The following things are necessary in this regard:

- a. The ad-hoc committee should develop a tentative schedule of sites and when sites will be manned.
- b. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of as many as one hundred (100) people who will volunteer to work as collectors during this effort.
- c. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of organizations, clubs, groups, etc. who will volunteer to work as a group, (ex. AKA's agree to be responsible for one intersection the entire day).
- d. The ad-hoc committee should obtain solicitors permits. One permit for the organization and then agent permits for the solicitors. Depending on city ordinances in your area, each person will need an agent permit or at least one permit per intersection. This should be checked out to avoid unnecessary problems with the police.
- e. The ad-hoc committee should plan for propaganda materials to be reproduced in large volume for that day. A good leaflet (front & back being used) with information about ALF and information about upcoming AIM events in your area. Also articles can be written to run in the paper the same week as the street corner solicitation, who is sponsoring the solicitation, what the monies will be used for and why and then encourage people to give when they see the solicitors on the streets.
- f. A person from the ad-hoc committee should be designated to periodically pick up monies at the different intersections and to be responsible for making sure solicitors don't run out of materials. This person should also co-ordinate breaks.
- g. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with the bank to make a night deposit. It is best for the ad-hoc committee to be responsible for counting and depositing monies. It is also best that the ad-hoc committee not leave monies at one person's house.
- h. The ad-hoc committee should set time and place for all solicitors to meet. At this meeting the following things should be discussed:
 - where to stand on street (on medians)
 - best time to approach cars (when light is red)
 - who will pick up monies and at what time
 - how to approach person(s) in cars
 - co-ordination of car pools to different intersections
 - who will carry solicitor's permit, if not everyone
 - instructions on what to say and do if approached by police.

2. Concert Collection--A concert collection is when you get an many people as possible to help pass collection containers through the audience of a major star's performance for the sole purpose of collecting funds. Because of the limited time it is not a good idea to try to pass out leaflets.

Depending on the frequency of entertainers to your city, this planning might need to be done at least eight weeks before projected date.

A small ad-hoc committee should be selected to co-ordinate this effort. The following things are necessary in this regard:

- a. The ad-hoc committee should try to find someone who has contact with the entertainment circle (stars, promoters, agents, etc.), to help them in the initial contact efforts.
- b. If ad-hoc committee was unable to find contact person, a letter should be written to promoter(s) requesting information on who will be in town and your reasons for asking. Your letter should spell out very precisely what you are requesting and be sure to give background information. Request an appointment to further discuss your request. Your local committee may wish to use a recognized figure in the community to sign your letter so as to add legitimacy to your request.
- c. Follow this letter up with a phone call if you have not heard from the promoter within three days.
- d. If ad-hoc committee was able to find contact person, ask that individual to set up appointment for you with promoter, entertainer, agent, etc. Be sure to explain your request to him/her first. Remember, he/she will have to explain briefly your request to the person you are wanting an audience with. Sell contact person on your request, make sure they see the necessity of your efforts.
- e. Once permission is obtained (from promoter as well as star) the following steps are necessary for the effort:
 1. The ad-hoc committee should develop a tentative list of as many as one hundred (100) people who will volunteer to work as collectors during this effort.
 2. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of organizations, clubs, groups, etc., who will volunteer to work as a group.
 3. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with the bank to make a night deposit. It is best for the ad-hoc committee to count and deposit all monies and never to place the money in someone's home overnight.
 4. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with promoter the time, and method for announcing to audience what is happening. Also the promoter should give time he will let collectors into door and whether they can remain for the rest of the performance.

5. The ad-hoc committee should set time and place for all collectors to meet. At this meeting the following things should be discussed:

- where to stand in auditorium (ad-hoc committee should be familiar with building)
- time to meet (group should go in together wearing uniform identification badges or arm bands)
- where to meet after collection process is over.

3. Stationary Collection--Stationary container collection is when closed containers with open slots are placed in strategic locations throughout the community that will afford frequent, if not daily contributions.

The Houston ALSC has found this method of collection futile for a number of reasons. First, the majority of store owners are 'nt able to watch containers against theft. Secondly, too much time and energy was spent running back to the spot checking on containers and usually store counters aren't large enough for containers with self-explanatory literature or posters. Thirdly, energies spent heavily outweighed monies received. Finally, store owners didn't want containers with money on display.

However, if an ALSC committee should decide to try this method the following steps should be taken:

- a. Have small ad-hoc committee develop a list of sites to places containers.
- b. Uniform containers should be used as well as a uniform poster for each site. If room is available leave leaflets about AIM.
- c. Check daily or every other day location sites to either empty containers or replace materials.
- d. A record of how much was collected from each container.

4. Community Event Solicitation--A community event solicitation is where a group of individuals go to events happening in the community to make a special appeal to the audiences of these events to give to ALF and to pass out materials on AIM.

Even though these collections may be small these small efforts will help push AIM plus build toward ALF goals.

The following steps should be taken in this regard:

- a. A small ad-hoc committee should select events happening in the community to attend. Reading local papers and listening to local radio stations will help give insight into the various events in the city, (ex. community forums, mass public meetings, campus speakers, conventions, etc.).

b. The ad-hoc committee should try to make contact with organization's leadership or whatever person is sponsoring program to see if someone from your local committee can briefly speak about ALF or if one of the speakers or host/hostess will speak on ALF and announce to people that you are in the audience requesting contributions and would be willing to talk in more detail with anyone. (Experience has shown that generally people not really familiar with ALF do a poor job of explaining and convincing people to give). In any case, person or persons should arrive at these events in plenty of time for early arrivals. This will allow you to set up your display, assess the size of the place and assess the people as they come in. Arriving early may give you a chance to talk to some of the people and possibly recruit them as volunteers to work with ALF and/or AIM.

B. Massive Mail-out Appeal--A massive mail-out appeal is when a written appeal is made to people announcing ALF and requesting a contribution from them. This should be done early in the campaign.

One person could possibly handle the co-ordination of this effort. The co-ordinator should compile names and addresses of individuals who members, friends, and supporters feel would be responsive to their cause. This list can be as large or as small as the group wants it to be. The committee would have to take into account the group's ability to acquire paper, stamps, envelopes, etc.

Also, the co-ordinator should do the following in regard to this effort:

1. The co-ordinator should set deadline date for letters to be in the mail.
2. The co-ordinator should get letter written, typed and duplicated to be used in mail-out. The letter should include:
 - a. an explanation of ALF
 - b. announcement of AIM
 - c. request for their participation in ALF and AIM
 - d. explanation of what the money will be used for and how every cent counts
 - e. who to make check out to and where to send money, if self-addressed envelope is not sent with letter.
3. Arrange work sessions for members and volunteers.
4. The co-ordinator should make sure there is enough of the materials needed to get the mail-out done. (Always try to have more than enough stamps, staples and staplers, pens, etc., for work session). Arrange space and work so that everyone that comes to the work session can have work to do and will not have to wait until some one does something else before he or she can get to work.

5. Depending on the size of the mailing and the size of the group who will do the mail-out work the mailing can usually be completed in one major work session with individuals donating one or two hours before then.

6. Example One

a. Members and volunteers can be assigned alphabets to do during their time before the major group work session. Either at ALSC office or if mailing list can be removed from office at their homes.

b. After all the alphabets have been completed (labels done) the co-ordinate should arrange a set time for everyone to work as a group to complete the last stage of the mailing.

7. Example Two

a. Get members and volunteers to agree to come into ALSC office one or two hours before major work session to help do the alphabets (addressing labels).

b. At the first major work session be prepared for people to fold, stuff and stamp envelopes.

c. The second major work session (can be done in b. if the mail-out isn't very large), should be designed to finish letters for the mail. This might mean sorting letters for bulk-rate mail.

C. Group Donations--Group donations are when an appeal is made to groups, organizations, clubs, etc., to give to ALF.

A small ad-hoc committee could handle this effort. The following steps should be taken in regard to this effort:

1. Compile list of labor unions, civic clubs, churches, social and political groups in your area.

2. Try to match up a contact person within each group. Ask other members for contact people in these groups.

3. If there are contact persons within these groups get contact person to make the initial request that someone from your committee be allowed to speak for ALF. If contact person is a supporter or member of ALSC, it would be best if he or she made the request to the body. Remember to take ample materials about ALF and AIM in presenting yourself to the body of another group.

4. If there is not a contact person, each group should be sent a personal letter then a follow up with a visit to the leadership of each group requesting to speak to the group in behalf of ALF. Remember letter should be to the point and explain what you want and who you are.

D. Activities Sponsored by Other Groups--Small scale activities sponsored by groups such as BSU's, youth groups, community organizations, etc.

It is best to use groups that have had some kind of contact with ALSC or members of ALSC who are usually familiar with ALSC and ALF.

One person can usually handle the co-ordination of this effort. The following are some things he or she should do in this regard:

1. Develop a list of groups you would approach to sponsor an activity for ALF.
2. Make contact with group and request an audience with the entire group or program committee of that group to explain your request.
3. If the group agrees to sponsor a benefit (dances, bake sales, dinners, etc.), a member of the committee should be assigned to work with the group. It is best to do this since an outside group will be raising funds under the banner of ALF. Remember, the ALSC member is to make sure that creditability is maintained and that all funds raised for ALF are ear-marked as such.

V. Community Involvement

In keeping with the ALSC policy of struggling to build and work through an anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front, each local should attempt to organize a cross-section of groups and individuals willing to work on the programs as possible.

ALM is sponsored by ALSC but should not be carried out by ALSC alone. In the initial planning, locals may choose to call in outside supporters and volunteers to help in the planning of ALF. A special attempt should be made to make people feel ALF is their campaign as well as ALSC's campaign. Some ways to insure this are:

1. Volunteers should be given as much educational material as possible. They should be clear and understand precisely the reason for ALF. People generally work the hardest when they understand the cause.
2. Instructions should always be precise and clear so that volunteers and supporters are not guessing as to what to do.
3. Deadlines should be set around each area of work. Every attempt should be made to meet these deadlines.
4. Kinds of people to get involved:
 - A. Workers
 - B. Professionals
 - C. Students (high school and college)
 - D. Civic groups
5. It should be made clear to people that to work with ALSC does not commit them to joining the organization.

VI. Rap-Up

The African Liberation Fund is an on-going effort by the African Liberation Support Committee. ALF collections should not be abandoned after the three month intensive campaign but continued on a less intensive level. ALSC should keep apparatus for fund-raising set up at all times.

All ad-hoc committees and co-ordinators of various efforts should do follow-up to their projects. This may mean going to pick up committed donations, addressing letters to organizations, volunteers, supporters, etc.

Local committees should make public total monies raised and thank the community for their help.

All local committees are required to report to the International Office and to their regional office on the following dates:

1. March 31st
2. April 30th
3. May 31st

All monies should be in to the International Office by May 31st. A standard report form is to accompany all reports (this report form will be forwarded by the International Office to all local chapters).

MAY AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

WHAT IS AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH		MAY DAY--International day of Solidarity (International Workers Holiday)		1968-Black auto workers of DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Workers Movement) lead wildcat strike in Detroit		1961-CORE organized first Freedom Rides	
A.L.M. is a mass campaign that will be waged in May against racism and imperialism by Black people throughout North America. It is an extension of the annual African Liberation Day demonstrations which brought together over 150,000 Black people in 1972 and 1973 in support of the struggles for liberation in Africa and against exploitation and oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.		MAY DAY--International day of Solidarity (International Workers Holiday)		1968-Black auto workers of DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Workers Movement) lead wildcat strike in Detroit		1961-CORE organized first Freedom Rides	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
26	27	28	29	30	31		
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	

6. OUTLINE HISTORY OF ALSC

1. During the summer of 1971, Owusu Sadaukai, then director of Malcolm X Liberation University, made a trip into the liberated areas of Mozambique under the auspices of FRELIMO. During the few weeks he spent there the FRELIMO leadership spoke about the need for a world-wide movement for peace and freedom in support of African liberation struggles (like the anti-war movement).
2. A meeting of movement leaders was held in Greensboro on his return. They decided to use May 25th since the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had chosen it as World Solidarity Day with Freedom Struggles in Africa.
3. ALD-1972 was organized as a national demonstration with the major mobilization in Washington, D.C., and others in San Francisco, and Montreal. A total of 50,000 people were mobilized.
4. ALSC met in Detroit on September 30, 1972, and formulated governing principles and objectives, and also adopted a national structure. The first national officers were elected and an ALSC office was opened in Dar es Salaam.
5. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, gave a speech at Lincoln University at which time ALSC gave him a check for \$2,200.00.
6. On February 10, 1973, in Chicago, the plans for ALD-1973 were finalized:
 - A. \$2,000 goal for each committee was set;
 - B. The Goal for mobilizing would be 3% of the Black population of each state;
 - C. The theme would be "There is no peace with honor. African People are at War with Imperialism Both at Home and Abroad."
 - D. "It was agreed upon that local and state committees were to extend invitations to non-white organizations (who would, or have, taken similar stands against imperialism), to participate in the demonstration under the guidelines devised by the support committee."
7. The last meeting before ALD-1973 was in Greensboro on April 28th, 1973. The decision was made to allocate 30% of the funds raised to the liberation organizations and allocate 20% later under recommendations of an investigation committee. Groups chosen were PAIGC, FRELIMO, UNITA, and the joint command of ZAPU-ZANU. It was decided to boycott Gulf Oil, all Portuguese wines, and freeze-dried coffee from Southern Africa.
8. ALD-1973, May 26th, was a great success. Over 100,000 people were mobilized and \$40,000 raised.

9. A national position paper was unanimously adopted at the summer steering committee meeting in Frogmore. Its summary statements are:
 - A. "The new unity of the Black liberation struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character;
 - B. The struggle to unite Black anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement;
 - C. Our unity must involve all social groups and class formations, but we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD."
10. The first action of the new ALSC was to launch a national program to defeat the "Byrd Amendment." The national demonstration was on July 20th, 1973.
11. The next national program was a week of solidarity to "Defeat Portuguese Imperialism" on November 19-23rd.
12. The International Steering Committee convened February 1-3, in Greensboro, N.C. We now have 51 local committees in 27 states and 6 countries, and eleven people on the Executive Committee.
13. African Liberation Month has four basic programs:
 - A. Local Educational Forums
 - B. Local Mass Demonstration
 - C. National Conference on Racism and Imperialism
 - D. National Demonstration
14. The African Liberation Fund for 1974 has a goal of \$75,000. All contributions are greatly needed.

IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO! SMASH RACISM!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!!

BUILD ALSC!

Imperialism No!



NIXON MUST GO!

SMASH RACISM!

BLACK
PEOPLE

Must be FREE

SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH
ACTIVITIES

A.L.S.C. NATIONAL CONFERENCE MAY 23-24, 1974

A CONFERENCE CALL • A.L.S.C. calls all movement activists, workers, students, and community representatives – **EVERYONE INVOLVED IN BLACK LIBERATION** – to come to a new kind of conference, a conference to put before the Black liberation movement alternative theoretical positions in a clear and completely developed form. This is a decisive conference for the theoretical direction of our movement.
COME TO THE CONFERENCE!

Black people are at a stage in struggle that requires us to regroup and develop a new approach. We are in a period of economic crisis, a period of mass discontent and government instability, police repression, and imprisonment of political activists.

To counter this there is a growing militancy in the ranks of workers, tenants, students, prisoners, women, and many others.

THERE IS A NEW STAGE IN OUR MOVEMENT COMING INTO BEING.

A.L.S.C. is an anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front based in nearly 50 cities, 6 countries, and has mobilized over 200,000 people in the last two years to protest for change. A.L.S.C. raised \$40,000 for the armed struggle in Southern Africa in 1973, and has a goal for 1974 of \$75,000. But this development can be slowed down or stopped completely unless we are equipped with a correct revolutionary theory. We must have a clear understanding of the alternative programs for Black Liberation. **A.L.S.C. RECOGNIZES THE HISTORICAL MOMENT AND CALLS A CONFERENCE ON THE THEORETICAL DIRECTION OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.**

COME TO THE CONFERENCE!



THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS IN NEED OF A COHERENT STRATEGIC PROGRAM FOR CHANGE THAT WILL WELD TOGETHER THE MANY SEPERATE FORCES INTO A MIGHTY BLACK FIST THAT CAN BEAT THE PAPER TIGER OF IMPERIALISM AND RACISM TO DEATH. SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH ACTIVITIES!

1974 FUND RAISING GOAL
\$75,000

MAY 1974
AFRICAN LIBERATION
MONTH

- MAY 18-19
LOCAL
DEMONSTRATIONS
- MAY 23-24
NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
Washington, D.C.
- MAY 25
NATIONAL
DEMONSTRATION
Washington, D.C.

RACISM –
IMPERIALISM NO!

NIXON MUST GO!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST
BE FREE!

Headquarters:

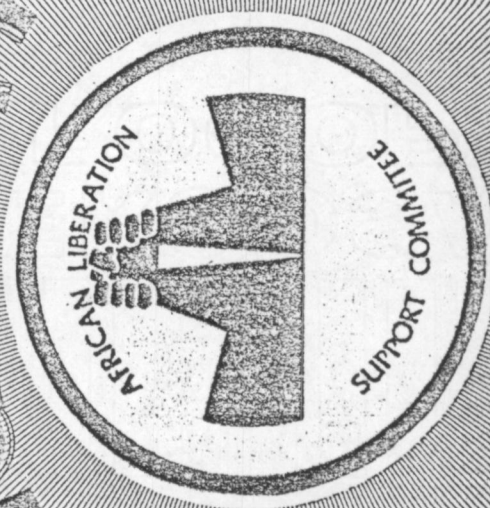
FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:

A.L.S.C. CONFERENCE and
DEMONSTRATION HEADQUARTERS
P.O. Box 2482
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013 USA

A.L.S.C. NATIONAL CONFERENCE

which road against
RACISM - IMPERIALISM for the

Black Liberation Movement



HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C.

May 1974

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM? WHAT IS RACISM? WHAT IS THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM
FACING BLACK PEOPLE AT THIS TIME IN HISTORY?

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CLASS STRUGGLE AND NATIONAL
LIBERATION?

WHAT IS A BLACK UNITED FRONT? WHAT IS THE CORRECT METHOD FOR
BUILDING ONE AT THIS TIME IN HISTORY?

WHAT IS THE CORRECT STRATEGIC PROGRAM FOR BLACK LIBERATION
AT THIS TIME IN HISTORY?

Thursday, May 23rd

MORNING

REPORT BY AISC CHAIRPERSON
DAWOLU GENE LOCKE

PANEL BY REPRESENTATIVES OF
AISC COMMITTEES

AFTERNOON

PANEL ON THE CONFERENCE
THEME BY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
ABDUL ALKALIMA

EVENING

CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF
BLACK LIBERATION

Friday, May 24th

MORNING

WORKSHOPS ON THE BURNING QUESTIONS OF:
LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE UNEMPLOYED
JUSTICE, POLICE, AND PRISONS
WOMEN, YOUTH AND EDUCATION, POLITICS

AFTERNOON

PANEL ON THE CONFERENCE THEME BY

IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA

OWUSU SADAUKA

EVENING

CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF WORLD REVOLUTION

Racism - Imperialism No! Nixon Must Go!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

- PLEASE POST -

A.L.S.C. INTERNATIONAL
P.O. BOX 14093

HOUSTON,
TEXAS

77021
USA



A
Scientific
Approach
To



BLACK
LIBERATION

317

Abdul Aikalimat

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO BLACK LIBERATION:

*Which Road Against Racism and Imperialism
For the Black Liberation Movement?*

ABDUL ALKALIMAT

JUNE 1974

Peoples College
P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tennessee 37208
USA

BROTHERS AND SISTERS, COMRADES IN STRUGGLE,

We are gathered here in a very historical conference, a conference that can make a vital contribution to the ideological clarity and development of our movement. The task is to present our different positions on the conference theme in order that everyone here and throughout the Black liberation movement might reach a correct position. This will be done by studying the political lines presented and testing them in practice. We have as our theme "Which Road Against Racism and Imperialism for the Black Liberation Movement?" Our first test of fire follows immediately—a mass demonstration and protest rally raising high the banner of anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle.¹

Today we stand in a great tradition. There have been many significant conferences in the history of our struggle, and the recent period is no exception. Our recent stages of struggle appear to fit a pattern highlighted by conferences in 1960, 1967, and 1974.

1960

A conference in Raleigh, North Carolina at Shaw University served to sum up the struggle of Black students in the South and resulted in the formation of SNCC, the vanguard organization of the Civil Rights Movement.²

1967

A conference in Newark, New Jersey was the first Black Power Conference, a large conference that summed up the mass motions inspired by national consciousness and directed toward increased struggle against national oppression.³

1974

This conference in D.C. reflects the development of intense ideological struggle within the largest mass motion in

This is the edited text of a speech presented to a conference called by the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC). The purpose of the conference was to engage in intense ideological struggle, and this was accomplished. This speech reflects a dominant tendency in ALSC, and sets the direction for further ideological study. It was delivered on May 24, 1974, at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

the Black liberation movement, ALSC, an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front. Out of this historical development our current conference reflects several advances:

- A. Most of our motion is directly linked to the history of struggle that has developed over the last 14 years and found in almost every community in this country.
- B. This conference results from a higher level of theoretical clarity as reflected in our ALSC Statement of Principles.⁴
- C. Our motion of protest tomorrow grounds this conference solidly in the context of struggle.

So our task is clear: ALSC has set a bold plan for this conference: theoretical struggle. I will put my position forward. I believe it to be correct, as will you when it passes the test of practical application in leading our struggle to victory.

I.

At this critical point of our movement our theory of struggle must clarify four basic questions:

1. What is our problem, its historical development and current structure?
2. Who are our friends and who are our enemies?
3. What are the correct solutions for our problem—the maximum and minimum programs for change?
4. What are the differences and similarities between our struggle in the USA and the struggle in Africa?

As we discuss these four questions we will pay particular attention to demonstrate that our position summarizes the lessons of Black history and world revolution, and we will try to clearly indicate how *what we believe* informs *what we do*. In other words, theory is the summation of historical experience, and theory is to be tested in concrete practice.⁵ Clever rhetoric therefore, is a hollow theatrical stunt unless it is grounded in these principles of science.

The starting point of our analysis must be the description

The starting point of our analysis must be the description of how Black people are exploited and oppressed. One view holds that racial oppression is the principal problem. This position holds that all Black people are the same, and race is the single most important fact of life. Since history is characterized by the struggle of one race to dominate another, the racial factor is the lever that turns history.⁶ Another view holds that class exploitation is the only problem. This line holds that one exploiting class reaping the benefit of another's labor is the only problem faced in capitalist society, and class struggle will automatically result in an end to all other problems. This liquidates the question of national oppression.⁷ *Both of these positions are incorrect.*

The correct scientific view points to the total character of oppression and exploitation, wearing blinders neither to class nor to race.

We need some definitions.

A. "Classes are large groups of people who achieve their primary means of subsistence based upon their role, function, and place in the production process, and who thereby develop common class interests and common class ideas."⁸ There is always one dominant class and one major subordinate class. The capitalist class buys the labor power of workers at a price less than the value created in the production process. Part of the difference is what the capitalist appropriates for private gain, and this is the key way the working class is exploited.⁹ The capitalist class has been characterized by an increased concentration of ownership and control of the means of production and distribution. This concentration represents monopoly capital, the basis of imperialism.¹⁰ The class struggle (meaning workers fighting as a class in their own interests), is strategically against the capitalist system as a whole, but often the leading target is

the super multi-national monopoly corporations initially formed in the wake of the Civil War.

B. Racial groups are based on genetic character as manifested in the physical traits like skin color, hair texture, etc.¹¹ And while these traits can be signs and symbols of racial theories of inferiority and superiority, at a particular time in a particular society it is necessary to understand the historical basis of it, and to understand how racial practices are implemented within the contest of the society. For Black people in the United States, racial practices have been transformed from the general process of one racial group oppressing another (Europeans oppressing Africans) to a new form of national oppression.¹² This is due to the critically important fact that Black people were moulded into a nation during the last part of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century in the Black Belt South. This is based on what a nation has consisted of during the rising capitalist mode of production, "a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."¹³ So all subsequent "racial oppression" can be scientifically referred to as "national oppression" since it has its most immediate origin and meaning in this context of national development. This includes everything from legal codes of segregation to the fascist terror of lynching and the KKK.

Moreover, a scientific method is based on the theory of contradictions.¹⁴ In all things there is a struggle of opposites, there are many contradictions. But always, there is a principal contradiction. Only one, and it has a great influence over the secondary contradictions. When a principal contradiction is resolved, is transformed, then another contradiction becomes the principal one. This change, from one principal contradiction to another is the basis for all living things, developing in stages. Each stage has its own principal contradiction.

Now this theory of contradictions and our scientific definition of class exploitation and national oppression can help us to understand the historical development of our problem. Beginning in Europe, feudalism was transformed by political, economic, and social revolution, giving birth to capitalism.¹⁵ Under feudalism, the principal contradiction was the class conflict between the serf and the lord classes. This was transformed to the proletariat-bourgeois class conflict under capitalism. What happened was the progressive emergence of a new stage of social development, a new order.¹⁶

Science became an active agent in industry making technological change a basic feature of the economy. Capitalism appeared to be a rational system. Of course as capitalism developed from its early competitive stage to its monopoly stage this impact of science on the forces of production turned into its opposite and became the terror of destruction, bringing ecological disaster. And this happened precisely because it served the bourgeois ruling class. One social function in the 18th and 19th centuries and another in the 20th century. This same story can be repeated for all political, social, and economic gains. The hope of bourgeois democracy has turned into a monopolistic horror. As Lenin indicated, "the political super-structure over the new economy, over monopoly capitalism, is a turn from democracy to political reaction. Corresponding to free competition is democracy. Corresponding to monopoly is political reaction."¹⁷

Now where do we fit? While capitalism had developed in its rudimentary forms, the slave trade provided the economic boost for the explosive development of British manufacturing and set the stage for the industrial revolution.¹⁸ We figured in this process as chattel slaves bought and sold like a tool or article of clothing. But not only that, our primary use was to

provide the labor necessary to make the developing countries of the Americas, North and South and the Caribbean, great producers of sugar, rice, tobacco, and of course, cotton. It was the labor of our forefathers that made this region of the world a great source of wealth. Black people became a vital part of this society by playing an indispensable role in the process of producing wealth. And after the "not-so-civil-war" Black people became near serf-like peasants bound to the land in various types of tenant-sharecropper relations with the large land owners and eventually monopoly capital. And here too we produced the agricultural products that fed this country, clothed it, and provided its tobacco. This process was successively disrupted by the great patterns of migration that occurred out of the South along with two world wars, several depressions, and great class struggle. Blacks were recruited to the factories and began to provide the critical labor supply for the industrial expansion that made the USA the undisputed leading world power from 1945 to the 1960's. We are indispensable to the production of steel, automobiles, meatpacking, and a whole new set of service jobs that became almost exclusively ours. And we remain central to the production and distribution of wealth in this country in many production and service jobs.¹⁹

When we look at this history it is obvious that Black peoples' lives have changed a lot. However, while the form of our work has gone through stages we have remained a source of labor power. We fit directly into the analysis presented earlier—in capitalism the principal contradiction is the class contradiction, and Black people essentially fit into the exploited class of workers. So my first point is that our principal problem—the principal contradiction—is class exploitation—masses of Black people are workers exploited by capitalists. And in this contradiction national oppression and class exploitation are joined.

However, there are three secondary contradictions that reflect the dialectical struggle of national oppression and class exploitation.

1. Black people vs. monopoly capital
 2. national contradiction between white and Black workers and
 3. class contradiction within the Black community.
- Mao Tse-Tung has written:

"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions."²⁰

Also:

"Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. This is the method Marx taught us in his study of capitalist society. Likewise Lenin and Stalin taught us this method when they studied imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism and when they studied the Soviet economy. There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand it, and the result is that, lost in a fog, they are unable to get to the heart of a problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve its contradictions.

"As we have said, one must not treat all the contradictions in a process as being equal but must distinguish between the principal and the secondary contradictions, and pay special attention to grasping the principal one. But, in any given contradiction, whether principal or secondary, should the two contradictory aspects be treated as equal? Again, no. In any contradiction the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven. Sometimes they seem to be in equilibrium, which is however only temporary and relative, while unevenness is basic. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is the one playing

the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position."²¹

So we have class war between the capitalist class and the working class. This is the principal contradiction in U.S. society. However, as long as the capitalist class rules, the secondary contradictions will be heightened and often appear to be primary. This is the obvious double strategy of dividing the working class to control it, coupled with developing a lackey servant class to manage the affairs of the Black community in the interests of the capitalist class. On the other hand, when the struggle intensifies, the objective interests of the working class has been a major factor of unity with the objective interests of the Black community in unity with the intensification of the Black liberation movement. Here the motion isolates the ruling minority capitalist class.

A scientific study of class struggle in this country reveals this pattern quite clearly. Two examples of well known history can help here.

A. The Reconstruction²²: After the defeat of the Southern aristocracy the Northern industrial capitalist class promoted or allowed to develop a motion of unity and change among the masses. This took the form of reconstruction governments, and centered on political gains (although there were promises of revolutionary land reform). Included here was open access to the electoral process and the running of government, as well as the Freedman's Bureau, which, coupled with the philanthropical input of New England abolitionists, helped to establish institutions within the Black community allowing the "talented tenth" to develop and provide a professional service class within the Black community. But these two motions of unity were allowed to exist only as long as it served as cover for the penetration of

Northern capital into the region, and then it was removed. The Hayes-Tilden betrayal of Black people brought an end to this and the federal government withdrew its support. The Southern interests rose up and began the process of disenfranchisement. By the 1890's the ruling class was using the old double deal on us. Bourgeois class interests busted up the populist movement in the South with its great promise, as the ruling class was installing Booker T. Washington as the new leader of the Black elite to manage the affairs of the Black community in the interests of the Bourgeoisie.

B. The 1960's²³: The masses of Black people were mobilized into struggle during the last decade in great numbers. Our great motions of unity are symbolized by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. King was moving to form a united poor peoples campaign and focus on defending workers (like the sanitation workers in Memphis). Moreover, he was against the Vietnam War, and despite his pacifism he was moving to a more comprehensive anti-imperialist stand. He had the respect of progressive forces throughout the world. *He was murdered.* Malcolm was building unity within the Black community, building militant consciousness toward struggle, and was boldly presenting anti-capitalist views. Malcolm was received by the heads of State of Africa and had respect as a national liberation leader. *He was murdered.* In their place monopoly capital has tried to project petty bourgeois opportunists who violate the tradition of King and subvert efforts to move the struggle forward, and race theorists who distort Malcolm's motion toward revolution and turn toward cultism. Their spokesmen have reinforced these two lackey tendencies—former governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner (now a felon for fraud and mismanagement of funds), as chairperson of the President's Commission on Civil Disorder, released the study of riots and stated that the major problem was racism, a struggle between white and Black

societies.²⁴ So the race theorists and Kerner are the Black and white puppets of that same approach—while Nixon's Black capitalism is the false-faced gimmick that fits the illusions (or self-centered designs) of the opportunist elements.

These two historical references have made it plain. The principal contradiction is the class contradiction, with the Black liberation struggle closely involved. As Mao Tse-Tung put it, "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."²⁵ The two major secondary contradictions being the conflicts between Black and white workers, and the class conflict within the Black community.

II.

On the basis of that summarization of the problem that we face, identifying friends and enemies should not be a difficult task.²⁶ However, our meaning must be clear. We do not mean who we like and dislike; we do not make history in that manner. We mean who has the same objective material interest to bring about change, for their own reasons which will not necessarily be our exact same reasons.

1. Our enemy list has two categories:

- a. The entire capitalist class whose interests we stand categorically against in an antagonistic fashion. The major element here is the giant monopoly group (suggested by the 500 largest businesses listed in *Fortune Magazine*).²⁷
- b. The high petty bourgeoisie; this class strata includes many who are nearly indistinguishable from the bourgeoisie. They include the main agents of the imperialist system in the government (Nixon, Kissinger, Daley, Alioto, Stennis, etc.); trade union bureaucrats like AFL-CIO Chief George Meany and

Leonard Woodcock of the UAW; police officials like Atty. General Saxbe and FBI Director Kelly; and all agencies that serve the ruling class: Council on Foreign Affairs, Rand Corporation, Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and philanthropic foundations like Ford and Rockefeller.²⁸

2. Friends include three groups:²⁹

- a. Masses of Black people.
- b. Masses of third world peoples (Asians, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans).
- c. White sector of the working class, and many elements of the petty bourgeois class formation and intellectual strata.

Contradictions are sharp and unity is at a low ebb. But things can change. Things are changing! We must make a distinction here between contradictions with the enemy and non-antagonistic contradictions between friends. "Since they are different in nature, the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods."³⁰ The critical question remains: Can we separate the class struggle from the struggle for national liberation? Can we go it alone if necessary?

A scientific analysis always reveals the class contradiction as the essence of all problems within capitalist society. So a national liberation struggle has a class character and must be viewed in that light.³¹ The only revolutionary nationalists today are those that are guided by the science of the working class and simultaneously fighting to destroy the capitalist system. This means that PAIGC has waged a correct struggle, because it began with the struggle to oust foreign Portuguese colonial rule, and then began to build up a socialist society in the liberated areas.³²

However, our case is different. We do not have a situation here for two stages of struggle. The struggle for national liberation cannot be separated from the class struggle, they are necessary aspects of the same process. If there can be no unity at any particular time with a specific segment of the white sector of the working class, then the masses of Black people will continue to wage class struggle in spite of that and will ultimately overcome the disunity of the working class. Also, if there can be no unity around a particular struggle with middle strata in the Black community, then the masses of Black people will continue to fight for Black liberation and win them over by advancing goals in the objective interests of all Black people.

III.

So what then of our solutions.

The only goal that can cure the ills of this society—this center of the capitalist system—is a socialist revolution. I believe our task is to make a socialist revolution right here in the USA. There can be no *solution* under capitalism, although the bourgeois ruling class will make every effort to convince us that it is possible. If that doesn't work they will encourage correct-sounding socialist ideologies that fall short of scientific socialism or consciously revise its basic tenets. All ideologies have a class character—scientific socialism serves the working class—utopian socialism can easily be used by the ruling class.³³ Both of these schemes have been met head on, but not as decisively as we must do in the coming period.

Socialism is a social-economic formation that is designed to overcome the ills of capitalism, and results from the internal development of the laws of capitalist motion. There develops three major aspects of the general crisis of capitalism.

1. Concentration of capital by an increasingly smaller bourgeois class who appropriates wealth privately while

wealth is the social product of larger and larger groups of people. This is the class character of the crisis in the economy. More and more people get less and less of a share in the wealth produced. This leads to a degeneration of all aspects of social life—food, housing, health, education, etc.—all are attacked.³⁴

2. Militarization of the State to rule over the masses and maintain order for the ruling class. This results in foreign wars of aggression like Vietnam, and domestic fascist plots like those of Nixon, Hoover, Haldeman, Erlichman, and their whole gang. Political corruption, surveillance of civilians by the armed forces, police repression, capital punishment, are all indicators of this rule by the State in the interest of the capitalist class.³⁵
3. Intensification of national oppression by which the ruling class asserts its need to separate the Black and white sectors of the working class in order to prevent the development of the unified and class conscious multinational proletariat. This takes the form of Black and white race theorists reasserting the old 19th century arguments, cut-backs in all government services in the Black community, generally more of all the evil that capitalism represents for Black people.³⁶

The solution of scientific socialism speaks directly to these three aspects of the general crisis:

1. *The Abolition of Private Property* by which the production and distribution of wealth would be a public ownership process, centrally planned to systematically provide for the welfare of all of the people.³⁷
2. *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* by which the government apparatus and all agencies, institutions, and organizations would reflect the interests of the working class—the rule of the entire proletariat.³⁸
3. *National liberation and the right of nations to*

self-determination reflects the solution to national oppression only possible under socialism. All forms of national oppression can be stopped as official policy because they serve no material interests as they did under capitalism. A divided proletariat is good for capitalism, a united proletariat is good for socialism. Lenin summed up the only correct policy possible:

"For different nations to live together in peace and freedom, or to separate and form different states (if that is more convenient for them), a full democracy upheld by the working class, is essential. No privileges for any one nation or any one language, not the slightest injustice in respect of a national minority—such are the principles of working class democracy."³⁹

These are the basic aspects of scientific socialism for beginning to correct the ills of capitalism. But make no mistake about the nature of the bourgeois class—they are the greatest murderers in the history of mankind. The struggle for socialism will require a political, social, cultural, intellectual, and an armed phase before and after the seizure of power by the working class. Check out the fascist rule today in South Vietnam, and Chile, in Asia, and Latin America. Of course, we are all familiar with the barbaric rule of capital in South Africa—fascism is limited to no national identity but is always possible with imperialism.⁴⁰

So we must keep the true nature of our problem in focus, and also keep the maximum program of socialist revolution as our banner for decisive struggle. But it would be adventurism for us to expect immediate results in one giant leap. It could be in violation of our basic theoretical principle that historical motion forward goes through stages of development.

So our minimum program for day-to-day struggle is

summed up in the key concepts of *defense, democracy, and development*.⁴¹ We must defend Black workers from the attacks of monopoly capital and by so doing protect the interest of the entire Black community and the working class. We must fight for the democratic participation of rank and file Black workers inside of the trade union movement, and by so doing raise the banner of democracy for all people in the society denied their rights by the ruling class. We must work toward the development of tools of struggle, organizations that mould the Black working class into a fighting class conscious section of the proletariat, organizations that mould Black youth into a vital revolutionary force capable of giving concrete material support to the struggle of Black workers and the struggle for democratic education.

All of this must be focused at the Black working class, whether directly by uniting or indirectly by struggling in the interests of the Black workers. If Black workers' struggle moves to a higher level there will be an intensification of both working class struggle and the Black liberation struggle, because Black workers will fight simultaneously against class exploitation and national oppression.

It might be helpful to give concrete examples of what this minimum program of defense, democracy, and development for the Black working class is all about.

A. On the Job: In the United Steelworkers of America Union with over 4000 locals and 1.2 million members, the bureaucratic leadership under I. W. Abel sold out the interests of the basic steel rank and file by agreeing to a sweetheart contract with a no strike provision. This denies the rank and file of their democratic rights and leaves them virtually defenseless against the onslaught of the corporations. In Nashville, the Aladdin Industries Corporation, producers of plastic products, has Victor Johnson for a

president—he is on the Board of Meharry Medical College (Black) and is a financial stalwart in Nixon's camp. This plant is organized by the Steelworkers, though they are not in basic steel. They have been out on strike 10 weeks, and there is a solidarity committee giving support. They see it not as just a local shop, but as part of the struggle of all workers—Black and white in opposition to corporate interests. While the majority of workers are white, the ruling class organized students and unemployed Blacks to "scab." The Black leadership of the solidarity committee was able to effectively move against this motion and build unity between workers and students.

B. In the Community: Almost every Black community has been the object of police repression or capital punishment, particularly aimed at Black youth. This type of issue has been the active concern of ALSC in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Since this type of issue normally results after a terrorist act of the police the ultimate aim of defending the Black community requires the development of an organization of struggle and a relentless campaign to make the governmental agencies of justice democratic. A good example of this is the Nashville Coalition Against Police Repression. Our line was put forward in a speech by the Coalition chairperson.

"The Coalition Against Police Repression is a movement for democracy and justice in a land that has never been democratic and just. The Coalition is a peoples front, a unity movement that unites all class elements and social groups to fight the racist violent tactics of a police state apparatus. This instrument of state power has thrived on the murder of Black people, especially working class Black youth. We must have Justice and we must have it now. We must have a responsive

system of police, a police system based in the community it serves, and sensitive to overcoming the horrible torture and terror of the past. We have been slaves in the past, and we continue to be treated as slaves today. We must have Justice and we must have it now.

"The Coalition is a unity movement that has as its purpose advancing the struggle for democracy. When we say a unity coalition, we mean every segment of the Black community, but most of all we mean uniting the elements that have not been united, and mobilizing those that are not in motion. This means uniting the campus and the community, uniting students and workers, labor and professionals, everybody in the struggle for Justice, Peace, and Freedom.

"In sum, the problem of the police is the problem of class exploitation and racial oppression. The police are poor working class people who are exploited by the ruling class, although they themselves are killing us in the interest of the ruling class. The white working class failed to recognize Black people as their allies during the Reconstruction, during the great depression, and now during the reign of King Richard of Watergate there is another chance. The ruling class wanted to make the issues seem like Black and white issues—they want our movement to be based on Black hatred of white people. But we are not going to fall for it. We are not going to allow the fool mad dog cop who murdered our brother to misguide us. He is not the enemy, he too is a victim. The real enemy is the business interests, the king makers, the ruling class."

C. On the Campus: The defense of Black students is critical. In Nashville we have just had the struggle of the United Front to Save Tennessee State University in defense of the democratic rights of Black people to a college education. We developed a viable form in the Front—consisting of over 15 different organizations. The major struggle, once again, was between the ruling class making it appear as if it is a racial conflict

rather than a class conflict. Our struggle was to fight against the merger of T.S.U., and *for* a just equitable system. It would be rational and just to preserve T.S.U. Our struggle was an integral part of the National Save and Change Black Schools Project.

How then does all of this relate to the African struggle? What are the similarities and differences between the struggles in Africa and in the USA? Africa is a large continent with great diversity.⁴² However we can find three basic types of countries in Africa today:

1. *Advanced countries* — These are generally the ones that have gotten rid of the colonialists, have some form of public ownership of production and distribution, and have a progressive political policy. These are Guinea, Tanzania, Congo (B), Somalia, Algeria, and of course, the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau.
2. *Colonial countries* — These are either settler colonies like South Africa and Rhodesia or exploitation colonies like Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique. Here are the most obvious forms of imperialist rule with Europeans directly over Africans.
3. *Neo-Colonial countries* — This is the most numerous group of countries including independent countries from Ethiopia to Zaire, from Senegal to Kenya. And it is the most odious form of imperialist rule since it puts an African elite in between the imperialists and the masses of workers and peasants.

The principal contradiction in Africa is a class contradiction.⁴³ This is summed up quite clearly by Kwame Nkrumah in *Class Struggle in Africa*.⁴⁴

"At the core of the problem is the class struggle. For too long, social and political commentators have talked and written as though Africa lies outside the main stream of world historical

development—a separate entity to which the social, economic and political patterns of the world do not apply. Myths such as 'African socialism' and 'pragmatic socialism,' implying the existence of a brand or brands of socialism applicable to Africa alone, have been propagated; and much of our history has been written in terms of socio-anthropological and historical theories as though Africa had no history prior to the colonial period. One of these distortions has been the suggestion that the class structures which exist in other parts of the world do not exist in Africa.

"Nothing is further from the truth. A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa. The evidence is all around us. In essence it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed.

"The African Revolution is an integral part of the world socialist revolution, and just as the class struggle is basic to world revolutionary processes, so also is it fundamental to the struggle of the workers and peasants of Africa."

And this concrete situation is subject to the same scientific program for change. Check out how Nkrumah makes a clear distinction between the different interests of classes in Africa:

"For the African bourgeoisie, the class which thrived under colonialism is the same class which is benefiting under the post-independence, neo-colonial period. Its basic interest lies in preserving capitalist social and economic structures. It is therefore, in alliance with international monopoly finance capital and neo-colonialism, and in direct conflict with the African masses, whose aspirations can only be fulfilled through scientific socialism."⁴⁵

And other studies have recently spoken of "silent" class struggles in the advanced countries apparently indicating that socialism is yet to be firmly advanced on the African

continent.⁴⁶ So class struggle is waged in neo-colonial and advanced types of countries. Class struggle is also waged in the colonial struggles. For example, in the Portuguese colonies the current situation is where the contradiction of the national democratic revolution is peasants and workers versus the Portuguese and Western imperialism. Within Portugal the feudal fascist regime has been overthrown and a new government is being formed with military leadership. But if the current motion of the new military junta in Portugal goes as they plan, neo-colonialism will be instituted and the contradiction will be transformed into one between the peasants and workers versus a native lackey bourgeoisie and their imperialist allies.⁴⁷

So Afro-Americans and Africans are similar when it comes to scientific laws. But get quite different results when applying scientific principles to our own concrete and quite different conditions.

1. The USA is the most developed country in the world, and Africa is one of the most underdeveloped continents. Afro-Americans are mostly within an advanced industrial and clerical working class while Africa has a peasant majority.

2. Afro-Americans are within a state fighting for self-determination even though there have also been demands for secession. Africa is composed of sovereign countries whose relations include *state* relations.

[We have discussed the four major questions set out at the beginning of this presentation.

1. *What is our problem?* The principal contradiction is the class contradiction with the dominant class relationship being the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. The key place of Black workers in the whole proletariat is the basis for the two secondary contradictions between Black and white workers, and

between classes in the Black community. National oppression and class exploitation are linked in dialectical unity, as are class struggle and Black liberation.

2. *Who are our friends? Who are our enemies?* The functions of our answer must serve to "Unite the many to defeat the few." We see the capitalist class and their high petty bourgeois officials and lackeys as our antagonistic enemies. And we see the unity of the objective interests between the Black sector of the working class and the entire proletariat, between Black workers and the Black community. And we must struggle to decisively win over the middle strata to increase the ranks of our movement.

3. *What is the correct program for change?*

- The maximum program for change is a socialist revolution in which one simultaneously engages in the class struggle and the struggle for Black liberation. Neither is possible without the other.
- The minimum program for change is the struggle for defense, democracy, and development in the interest of Black people and the working class. On every issue, in every community to do this will be to both advance the struggle of all workers and fight national oppression in the interests of all Black people.

4. *What are the similarities and differences with Africa?*

- The similarities hinge on the common enemy of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and the fact that every struggle is in essence a class struggle.
- The differences are in the content and form of the class struggle—especially levels of social and economic development, forms of political structure and struggle, and the character of the national oppression.

In any case, Black people in the USA have a special historical link with Africa and should always defend her interests standing with her through all her struggles against oppression and exploitation. Of course, we are the descendants of the children of Africa!

Now after that broad ideological summary of my position the last question is *what do we do?*

1. Always engage in a serious study of the science of revolutionary theory. This must concretely mean studying the classics of scientific socialism as written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, studying the major examples of how they have been applied by Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, Mao in China, and Fidel in Cuba, and finally apply them to our history and current situation in the USA. Study must be a collective process for people who are developing themselves as part of a revolutionary struggle.⁴⁸

2. Build local coalitions of struggle especially to defend the interests of Black workers in the plants, communities, and schools. The key focus is on defense, democracy and development of struggle; we must withstand the threat of fascism and maintain consistent struggle.

3. From the local base of struggle maintain an active link to the anti-imperialist movement. Keep the liberation of Africa a central concern but something more—be thorough going anti-imperialist fighters. Remember Cuba and fight the U.S. Blockade! Remember Chile and fight the terror of U.S. corporations like ITT! Remember Vietnam! Remember that U.S. imperialism is all over the globe.

4. Build a revolutionary party of the working class, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism and

dedicated to fighting sham distortions of these principles in individuals, organizations, or pseudo-revolutionary parties.⁴⁹

This presentation has been all too brief for the task required. Indeed, many of the issues I've raised are not yet formulated in a definitive manner, and I don't have a firm position on all of them. However, of one thing I am convinced without any question: there is one solid foundation from which the truth will surely come—the science of dialectical and historical materialism. This is the only real ideological weapon capable of fighting imperialism to the death! This is the only proven science that can be used to smash capitalism and build socialism according to the laws of social development. So I end my remarks with these slogans:

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF AFRO-AMERICANS, AFRICANS, AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE CREATIVE APPLICATION OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM IN GUIDING REVOLUTIONARIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

BUILD THE ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLACK UNITED FRONT IN WHICH BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!

RACISM-IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO! BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

8. Lenin, in "A Great Beginning" defines classes this way:

Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.

Collected Works, Vol. 29, pp. 421.

9. See Karl Marx, *Wages, Price, and Profit*, (1865), especially Parts VI and XIV.

10. See Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (1916) and Pierre Jallee, *Imperialism in the 1970's*.

11. See M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, (1953), and Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, (1963).

12. This is an initial formulation of the Afro-American national question. During the next immediate period a more thorough analysis will be published. This position is consistent with the view that the Black liberation struggle is a revolutionary national liberation struggle.

See Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (1948).

13. This definition is by Joseph Stalin in "Marxism and the National Question," pp. 65-104, in *Selections from V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin on National and Colonial Question*.

14. See Mao Tse-Tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 311-347; Joseph Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, pp. 6-12.

15. See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, (1848), Part I, "Bourgeois and Proletarians."

16. This basic feature of historical materialism can be found in *German Ideology* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, by Engels.

NOTES

1. The Third Annual African Liberation Day was held May 25, 1974, around the slogan "Racism-Imperialism No! Nixon Must Go! Black People Must Be Free!" There were about 15,000 people who participated in the march and rally in Washington, D.C., while thousands more marched in Toronto, Canada, and St. John's, Antigua.

2. For a discussion of this conference see Ted Dienstfrey, "A Conference on the Sit-Ins," *Commentary* 29 (June 1960), and Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*, (1964).

3. This first Black Power Conference is discussed in *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (1969), pp. 132-144, by Robert Allen.

4. The ALSC International Steering Committee debated the Statement of Principles in a meeting on Feb. 1-3, 1974, in Greensboro, N.C. The major progressive position is a 60-page document: Abdul Alkalimat and Nelson Johnson, *Toward the Ideological Unity of the African Liberation Support Committee: A Response to Criticisms of the A.L.S.C. Statement of Principles*. It can be obtained from Peoples College, P.O. Box 5747, Nashville, TN. 37208.

5. See Mao Tse-Tung, On Practice; *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 295-309.

6. See Abdul Alkalimat and Nelson Johnson, Op. cit., pp. 2-3.

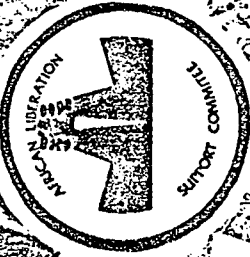
7. This is the mechanical anti-Marxist-Leninist view that liquidates the national question and accompanies white chauvinism in the left. The most recent manifestation of this line was advanced by the Progressive Labor Party. See Carl Davidson, "Which Side Are You On?" *Guardian*, (March 20, 1974).

17. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 28-76.
18. See Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, (1944).
19. See Harold Baron, *The Demand for Black Labor: Notes on the Political Economy of Racism*, (1971).
20. Mao Tse-Tung, *Four Essays on Philosophy*, p. 51.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 53-54.
22. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, (1935) and John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War*, (1961).
23. Anthony Lewis, *Portrait of a Decade*, (1964); and Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (1969).
24. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, (March, 1968).
25. Mao Tse-Tung, "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression," (1968).
26. See Mao Tse-Tung, "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 13-21.

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies . . . to distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.

What is the condition of each of the classes in Chinese society?"
27. Ferdinand Lundberg, *The Rich and The Super Rich* (1968) and William Dornhoff, *Who Rules America?* (1967).
28. Mark Green, James Fallows, David Zwick, *Who Runs Congress? The President, Big Business or You?* (1972), and Waldemar Nielsen, *The Big Foundations*, (1972).
29. This is not a comprehensive discussion. We must begin to more systematically investigate the stages of developing unity of the class and national composition of the United Front against imperialism. The political role of a class is always finally determined by what they do in class struggle.
30. Mao Tse-Tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, (1957).
31. The essence of a Leninist approach to this question is the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations. Mao Tse-Tung has written, "No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 346-347).
32. See the works of Amilcar Cabral, especially *Revolution in Guinea* (1970) and *Return to the Source* (1973).
33. This is the profound struggle waged in defeating any reformist revision of the revolutionary character of Marxism. See Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism" (*Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 46-53).
34. See Baran and Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*, (1966).
35. See Seymour Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*.
36. Read the newspaper *The African World*, (P.O. Box 20826, Greensboro, N.C. 27420) for the most accurate current accounts.
37. See Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, (1875) and Joseph Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* (1952).
38. See Lenin, *State and Revolution* (1916).
39. See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, pp. 91-92.
40. See George Dimitrov, *On United Front Against Fascism*, (1935).
41. This is based on the Leninist policy that "the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all round, consistent, and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (P. 32, Selections on the National Colonial Question.)
42. The African scene can be summed up by referring to Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972); A. W. Hunton, *Decision in Africa* (1957).
43. Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, (1970).

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH: MAY, 1974



MAY 18-19
Local Demonstrations

MAY 23-24
National Conference
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 25
National Demonstration
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1974
Fund Raising Goal
\$75,000

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH

PORTUGAL
LIBERATION

FREEDOM TAKE THE LEAD

A.L.S.C. INTERNATIONAL OFFICE • P.O. BOX 14093 • HOUSTON, TEXAS • 77021 • USA
A.L.S.C. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT • P.O. BOX 5747 • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • 37208 • USA

Photographs: AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, MAY 26, 1973

Upper left: New York
right: Washington, D.C.
Lower left: Nashville, Tn.
right: North Carolina

May 31, 1974

TO: Dawolu Gene Locke

FR: Abdul

RE: A.L.S.C. Archives and History

ALSC must preserve its history. This must first be insured by collecting materials from all involved and placing them where they can be organized and stored. Then, we must have its 2½ year history analysed and written. So I propose:

- A. We find a place to store the material
 - 1. Mooreland Collection at Howard University
 - 2. Special Collection at Fisk
 - 3. Or we set one up outside of this country (Dar es Salaam, etc.)
- B. We must send a letter to everyone who has ever been involved in ALSC to consider sending their material to us.
- C. We must get the material organized and set up to be used.
- D. We must form an editorial committee to write the history, (I suggest 5, with 4 being Gene, Owusu, Mark and Abdul).
- E. The timetable should have the material in by January, organized by May, and a draft finished by August.

This could be on the agenda for our next ALSC International Steering Committee meeting.

Also, Congratulations on a great year of leadership for ALSC, a successful conference and demonstration/rally. We're anxious to get your proposal on ALSC so we can debate how we're going forward with our work.

P.S. You should have "our" material prepared for the conference and the letter from Mwanza. Please send.

REFLECTIONS ON THE AUGUST, 1974 ALSC MEETING IN HOUSTON

The recent meeting of the International Steering Committee of ALSC proved to be a good meeting, a turning point. The administrative report--the statistical description of the meeting and final resolutions--will be coming out of the ALSC national office. This is a reflection on the political content of ALSC's new motion.

BACKGROUND

The year 1973-74 was characterized by a united-front-from-above approach in which different class elements were brought together on the basis of deals made at the top, between leading personalities and heads of organizations. But given the historical motion of the communist movement, the workers movement, and the Black liberation movement, this approach could not hold back the struggle of two lines: ideological struggle was waged between a bourgeois race analysis and a proletarian class analysis.

1. Frogmore 1973: The adoption of the Statement of Principles boldly placed an anti-imperialist line in command, polarized the forces in ALSC, and began to clarify the two lines. This was a "left" move that forced some nationalists out unnecessarily, but also helped to consolidate the left.

2. Greensboro 1974: The document "Toward Ideological Unity of the ALSC" laid heavy death blows on the putrid position of the reactionary "skin" nationalists.

3. Washington D.C. 1974: The six speeches of the ALSC Conference clearly put alternatives before the Black liberation struggle and reflected a new mass acceptance of a left line.

CURRENT SITUATION

The August, 1974 Houston meeting was attended by some "right" nationalists (General Chui from Dayton, Wesley from Oakland, Jukumu-AAPRP from Gary, Bro. Rap-AAFRP from San Antonio, and an IPE brother from Chicago), but the overwhelming character of the meeting was left. The following ^{left} groups were there:

SWP--Minnesota

OL--Boston (Atlanta?)

RU--Debbie (observer)

BWC--Atlanta, New Orleans

Most of the folks were with us in one way or another, or Baraka--CAP.

Our strategy has changed now to a united-front-from-below in which we strive to give ALSC political leadership rather than structural leadership. Our task is to understand what this means in practice:

1. The right nationalists do not have a paper-producing style of waging polemical ideological struggle, while the left groups appear to thrive more and more on this.

2. This style is especially becoming true of BWC who appears to be coming after us.

- a. They are now multi-national and plan to become number "4" of the "biggies" (OL, RU, CL). Their new force will probably be BWC, PRRWO, August 29th Movement, and some ex-RU whites.

- b. Their first document made room for them in the young communist movement (by attacking RU and CL, The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism: Against the Communist

League and the Revolutionary Union) while their second document (due in September) is aimed at ALSC (really at us as sham Marxists in ALSC), to make room in the Black liberation struggle.

3. At present we have no definite organ to use as our communist voice to shout down and defeat false-incorrect criticisms as well as level our own self-criticisms.

STRUGGLE WITH BWC

The issues raised by the Atlanta majority group (as opposed to the minority group led by the nationalist Modibo) and New Orleans gave us a glimpse of what is ahead since BWC cadre led these delegations:

1. Both positions mechanically divorced theory from practice, and reflected a left dogmatic posture. They failed to recognize the difference between Washington and Houston: (a) Washington was for the purpose of clarifying lines contending within ALSC, (b) Houston was for uniting however possible to develop a line for ALSC. They played a left sectarian role in Houston.

- a. New Orleans: "It has been generally accepted that at this point in time the number one priority of the ALSC is ideological struggle around a political line that will guide our practice." But they refused to recognize from where the substance of the struggle will come. They refused to accept our formulation that the ideological struggle must continue to be waged on the basis of the political ideas resulting from the summation of local practice.

b. Atlanta: This position was filled with controversial abstract declarations with no concrete analysis as proof: e.g., "Black people in the United States are an oppressed nation," "the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. is objectively a struggle for socialism," "all those forces who have sharp contradictions with the monopoly capitalist ruling class would objectively be part of the anti-imperialist united front," and "all classes in the Black community are not anti-imperialist and cannot be brought into the struggle." The problem with their formulation was their dogmatic summation that the Black bourgeoisie was categorically lackeys of imperialism, then they changed it to comprador-national with negative emphasis on the comprador, (although an observer from Atlanta said this was not discussed when they prepared the document). We called for their theory to be based on their practice, that they needed a concrete analysis of Atlanta, that our ideological struggle in ALSC must be based on the summation of practice.

BWC does not understand the need to convince people that the "living soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete things." We must convince people that "Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice. Our conclusion is the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing, and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies, whether 'left' or right, which depart from concrete history." (Mao, Four Essays, p. 19).

We must not bow to spontaneity which leads national struggles to Bundism (given the dominance of bourgeois ideas that call for national exceptionalism--privelege), or fall into leftism which leads to sectarianism, and isolate the leading conscious factor (communists) from the masses. Both of these errors tend to liquidate the revolutionary development of the masses engaged in the anti-imperialist motion of ALSC.

2. The Atlanta group confused a united front with a coalition--this confuses form with content. A united front is a class concept that refers to political action uniting different classes, elements within classes, and social strata (their objective and subjective representatives). So communist work in the trade unions is united front work,^{as} all mass work for communists has a united front character--all of it is to be compared with party building work in which there is the highest level of unity achieved. A coalition is a form of organization in which two or more individuals and groups come together for a specific action, or a stage of historical development. The question we must ask is why they confuse these two things.

They state:

"Our view is that the ALSC should do away with the use of the Black United Front in the statement of principles. We feel that the organization can be more appropriately described as a coalition of anti-imperialist and anti-racist organizations and individuals. And because we understand that ALSC is a genuinely anti-imperialist and anti-racist organization, we would also put forward that we are not seeking to build a black united front. As was stated earlier, all classes in the black community are not anti-imperialist and cannot be brought into the struggle."

Apparently they are setting the stage for BWC to come in to lead ALSC, by forming a coalition with the current leadership and

then, because of their "advanced development", representing the line as it sharpens.

This sectarianism reflects^a petty bourgeois approach to organization. In Frogmore a person from Atlanta who drew attention on himself by giggling at the nationalists, appears in Houston running a hard sectarian line. In Frogmore he admitted failing to take the meeting seriously and study the situation in order to sum up the two lines. In Houston he ran the hard line although he admitted that neither sector of the bourgeoisie would probably be in ALSC to the extent of threatening its existence. They just thought it would be a good "idea" to adopt their divisive hard line because it was (abstractly) "correct". Rather than developed, he has flip-flopped from right childishness to left-phrase mongering.

OTHER LEFT GROUPS

- A. SWP is just there, in the form of August Nimtz, a college teacher from Minnesota, and a few others. They are only monitoring ALSC at this point, and do not raise any of their issues like they did at the Washington conference.
- B. RU is in the form of Debbie from New York, to monitor ALSC leadership, to sell RU literature, collect names and addresses of progressive folks, and check out the role of other forces. But she doesn't have a good mass style, and had two white RU folks pick her up in a pick-up truck right in front of most conference delegates--she stayed with them rather than the conference delegates.
- C. OL in the person of Tarik from Boston, agreed with Gene's proposal except they wanted a tighter organizational form. The sister (Ethel Shefton) elected to the National Secretariat from Boston might be OL, or just personally close to Tarik.

THREE MAIN ISSUES

1. Theoretical: After a full day of discussion, Baraka had responsibility of presenting a resolution on this--which he did. However, he presented a list of questions on Black people for the young communist movement, and not necessarily the more limited questions we need to answer for ALSC to continue its development as an anti-imperialist mass motion. The unintended consequence of this could be opening the door for ALSC to communist ideological polemics, such as the upcoming BWC broadside on ALSC. We countered the "theory as politically advanced abstract ideas" with the position of "theory as the summation of practice, positive and negative examples of revolutionary struggle." With the BWC approach ALSC will become the arena for sectarian struggles that will drive many undeveloped forces out and block out many--as Debbie put it "close the door behind us." With our approach the masses of ALSC and the BLM in general will learn "warfare through warfare" and get to know advanced ideas by summing up what they already know--practice. Socialism must be brought to the masses in concrete terms and not in academic volumes with abstract proclamations of truth.
2. Program: We advocated the general theme of "Defeat Portuguese Colonialism! Solidarity with the African Revolution!" While the Atlanta majority group put forward a proposal on boycotting South African Coal. Ours allows for maximum democracy and widespread development of local committees. BWC's (Atlanta) proposal either allows for their advanced practice to seize the objective leadership of the anti-imperialist motion, and have legitimacy in ALSC, potentially setting the stage for an attempt

to seize the leadership of ALSC or it will provide another case of their failure to follow through on a plan of action.

We must monitor the struggle against importation of coal from South Africa as an indicator of BWC strategy.

3. Structure: We put forward political leadership over structural leadership and ended up with a National Secretariat of 8 people being: 5--us or leaning toward us; 2--Baraka-CAP, 1--leaning toward OL (?). We must avoid having monthly meetings and set only quarterly meetings (e.g., September, January, April, July). All other matters can be dealt with between DC and Newark.

Our political leadership is going to be based on 5 documents we have or are producing:

1. Special edition of the African World on ALSC Conference
2. Speech by Abdul at ALSC Conference
3. Book by Owusu, including diary on trip to Mozambique and speeches at ALSC conference and 6th PAC
4. Paper by Gene as a response to 3 critics of ALSC--Mwanza, The East--Black News, & Muhammad Speaks
5. A communist criticism of attacks on ALSC--CP, BWC, right bourgeois nationalists (liquidationist revisionism, leftist opportunism, and bourgeois nationalism).

SUMMARY

In all, we must:

1. Move to consolidate our analysis of and relationship to Baraka;
2. Prepare for struggle with BWC;

3. Continue to monitor OL and RU in ALSC, and in African liberation support work in general;
4. Consolidate left leaning middle strata in liason-study group relationships;
5. Continue our immediate task toward PROLETARIANIZATION--
 - a. Grasp Marxism-Leninism!
 - b. Sink Deep Roots in the Working Class!
 - c. Build a Marxist-Leninist Organization!

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY 1977: SOME STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS FOR BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT
AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Peoples College
for
African Liberation Day Coalition

Delivered at a Political Forum

May 22, 1977

All Souls Church - Washington, D.C.

Brothers and Sisters

Comrades in Struggle

I greet you on behalf of the African Liberation Day Coalition, and I share with you the great expectation we all have for what promises to be a great occasion. We will protest and march here in Washington, D.C. We will not have a festival, and we will not be isolated from the masses, but as one great body, united with all the thousands who could not make it but who are here in spirit, we will march on the White House, the political symbol of Bourgeois state power, the territorial waters of smiling Jimmy "jaws" Carter. Our march is the only demonstration in Washington, D.C. on May the 28th that can give political content and direction to the fight against imperialism, and therefore we must struggle for political unity to better accomplish our task, sum up the general political position of the Coalition, and make clear lines of demarcation between what we are doing and what some others might be doing.

I will take up three major questions that are central to our Africal Liberation Day campaign:

- a. What is going on in the world today, especially in Africa, and with ~~the superpowers~~ particularly the USA.
- b. What are the political trends in the country?

What political stand makes the ALD Coalition correct and different from the others?

C. What can we do? How should we proceed from here?

In other words,

1. What's going on?
2. What's being said about it?
3. What are we gonna do about it?

Africa is a continent burning with the desire for freedom. Nowhere is it more true that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. It has a history of oppression to cast aside. DuBois, that great Afro-American scholar, summed up the situation in 1959 when he identified the capitalist system as the root cause of this oppression, particularly the capitalist class that developed

...in Europe and America,
Worshipping Greed, proclaiming God,
 enchaining His children;
Preaching Freedom, practicing Slavery
Making Africans the niggers of the World.

To be mocked and spit upon.
To be crucified! Dead and buried!
But Africa is not dead; she never died;
 She never will,
She writhes in sleep; this third
century of her degradation
She struggles to awake.

This was in 1959. In 1960 17 African countries achieved independence, and a decisive shift in strategy was achieved in Southern Africa. The racist apartheid

system had signed its death warrant by murdering people in Sharpesville, South Africa, because from that point on armed struggle was taken up as the only road to freedom.

Over the last 17 years this has proven to be of great historical significance, as recently demonstrated in victories over Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, bringing the number of independent countries to 49. It continues to prove itself in the war of liberation going on in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Indeed it will destroy white racist settler rule in Azania.

But there are many complex questions to deal with in Africa today and regarding how we can fight here in the USA and make real contributions to the freedom and liberation of all the various African peoples and countries (particularly in Southern Africa). It is necessary that we have a good grasp of the international situation, the main trends in the world today.

It is clear that in the aftermath of World War II the United States emerged as king of the imperialist camp. Western Europe had been bombed out, its population demoralized, disorganized, and killed, and its factories destroyed. On the other hand, the US had grown in its productive capacity, even more so in its war production

to support Europe during the war and its subsequent investments and loans in Europe after the war.

But the post war temporary peace between imperialist countries is not the entire story. Two additional factors are key.

1. The Soviet Union, then a Socialist country controlled by the working class, had survived an invasion and was the decisive factor in defeating Hitler's fascist forces. Moreover, a Socialist camp existed that was greatly enhanced by the successful victory of Chinese revolution in 1949.
2. World War II, which began as an inter-imperialist war and changed its character once Soviet Socialism was attacked. This led not to peace but more war. This time, however, just wars of national liberation.

Indeed, the main blows for liberation and revolution in the world were being struck by forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. I've mentioned 1960 as Africa year, when 17 countries got independence. Perhaps the high point of this post World War II period of third world revolution came with the heroic victory of the Vietnamese people against imperialism

led by the USA. Everyone in the world was involved, the anti-war movement was significant in the US, and in a real sense, contributed to their victory. They won, we all shared.

But the world is a dynamic place and things change, in fact, these days things are changing rapidly.

The major changes in the last decade or so have resulted in a new world situation.

- a. On the one hand, the capitalist system has plunged deeper into crisis. The dead end future of capitalism is dramatically brought home with attacks against the masses on all fronts, and the Bourgeoisie and its lackeys running to and fro from one scheme to the next.
- b. But the more unexpected and confusing development is the degeneration of the Soviet Union. The proletariat lost power to a new capitalist class that hides behind a socialist front.

This is an issue of grave importance, it requires a fresh approach to understanding world politics today.

In general these changes require an analysis that there are two contending trends in the world.

1. Trend toward revolution. In all capitalist countries working class struggle is on the

rise and revolutionary forces are fighting to give leadership, but the main center of this is in the third world.

2. Trend towards war → it is the recent rise in contention between the superpowers that is the source of war, it is the Soviet Social Imperialism and Imperialist USA that will be the major forces in the war. But as a world war, it will force nearly every country to come down on one side or the other.

Our reason for being here tonight is African Liberation Day, so it is imperative that we examine how these two trends interact on the African scene.

For the US imperialists let's look at Andy Young.

Andy Young is in South Africa today and yesterday to speak to South African businessmen. His main message to them was a lesson he claims he learned from the Civil Rights movement: "Don't get mad, get smart. My argument boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." In other words, he says to the people of Azania, you have got to exchange that mess there for this mess here in the USA.

The key to understanding his visit is to understand his support of US imperialism in South Africa, especially

the role of imperialist corporations. As one newspaper put it recently, he is "being outspoken and very American --above all by defending (in private conversations) the virtues of multinational corporations for developing countries." And Young himself has been quite outspoken in his support of imperialism: "My notion is that if revolution is the transfer of goods and services and opportunities, then capitalism has produced a lot more in the way of revolution than communism." He continues: "Multinationals involve the US in the affairs of other countries. Why not incorporate a sense of political direction with the profit motive?" According to Young, American corporate power is a potential force for good in the world. So it is not hard to see why Andy Young would be welcomed in South Africa.

But how did Andy get to South Africa, given all of the controversy about South Africa's denying him entry? And what does his visit and his role in the UN mean for us as American people in general, and for Black people in particular. Why do we insist that Andy Young must be denounced as an agent of US imperialism, especially by Black people?

The charge is often made that we are attacking personalities when we denounce Andy Young as a servant of imperialism. "Give the brother a chance," many say.

"He's a good symbol of progress for Black people."

Others claim that no change could have possibly been expected from the old reformist shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger. But still they argue that we should pin our hope on the new reformist "shuffle diplomacy" of Andy Young and Jimmy Carter.

We say that we must have a thorough analysis to demonstrate that both of these views end up--whether based on good intentions or not--serving the interest of imperialism against the masses of people. The question is not whether he's a nice guy, the question is who does he serve! We can understand Young's role by understanding the importance of South Africa to US imperialism (that free market system Young talks about). Let us briefly illustrate what we mean by focusing on one notable example--what we call IMPERIALISM AND THE GOLDFINGER CONNECTION.

Gold is essential to US imperialism and to South Africa for two reasons: (1) In general, many capitalists profit directly from its production and trade; (2) Most important, and in particular, it is the pivot of the South African economy and therefore is key to maintaining \$ billions of US investments in South Africa.

Andy Young's pro-imperialist stand can be made crystal clear in this context. First, Young was invited

to South Africa by Henry Oppenheimer, chairman of the largest mining finance complex in South Africa: the Anglo American Corporation. Seven corporations in South Africa organized as the South African Chamber of Mines, which is dominated by Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corporation, producing 99% of the gold, all of the uranium, 80% of the coal, and most of the diamonds in South Africa. Oppenheimer's company alone produced 40% of South African gold (229 tons) or one-third of the world's total. In 1966, 41% of Anglo American's earnings came from gold and 18% from diamonds.

What is the connection of the leading capitalist in South Africa--Andy Young's current host--to imperialism in the United States? The only American on the board of Anglo American for a long time, and a close imperialist partner, was the late Charles W. Engelhard of Newark, N. J., chairman of one of the largest mineral and ore companies in the world--Mineral and Chemicals Corporation. In 1957 he joined with Oppenheimer to take over one of the biggest South African holding companies and in 1958 set up the American South African Investment Corporation. Engelhard interests controlled directly 15% of the South Africa's production of gold, and through interlocking directorates plays a key role in the production of two-thirds of the gold and uranium. Engelhard also

sat on the board of the two organizations set up for the recruitment of migrant labor to work in South Africa.

In Newark, New Jersey--at home in the USA--Engelhard was a top operative in the Democratic Party, advising imperialist economic matters, and sitting presidents on/ on the New Jersey Democratic Committee.

He was also on the Port of NY Authority and the New Jersey Citizens Committee for Higher Education.

Thus Englehard and Oppenheimer are the Goldfingers of the real world in contrast to the one in the James Bond flicks. But there are two class realities involved in this Goldfinger connection: the side of imperialism and its profits and the side of those suffering exploitation and national oppression.

1. Gold is crucial to the South African Economy. It produced about 70% of the world's gold output in 1972 and 75% of South Africa's foreign earnings come from the export of gold. Gold profits rose by 88% during 1973 to \$1.46 billion.

These profits not only make the imperialists wealthier, but they increase the power of their repressive state apparatus: tax revenues paid to the South African government on this increased profit increased by \$398 million in 1973. This meant more dollars to buy IBM computers to monitor the passbook system, and to acquire advanced weapons from the US corporations like Colt Industries

and other imperialists for fascist South African military and police.

2. On the other hand, for the working class, South Africa does not recognize the right of African workers to organize unions, bargain collectively, or strike. This intensifies a brutal form of class exploitation and national oppression. About 662 thousand miners are employed in South Africa, and 90% of these wage workers are Africans. But this 90% earned only 31% of the total salaries and wages. In dollar terms, white miners in 1973 earned an average of \$6804 and Africans earned only \$403. The gap has widened since 1936 from 12 to 1 to 18 to 1 in 1966, and one estimate is that the cash earnings of African miners was lower in 1966 than in 1911.

So, the slogan "fight imperialism and all forms of national oppression from USA--Union of South Africa --to USA--United States of America--did not just fall from the sky. In 1969, about the same time Englehard's companies were consolidating and increasing their exploitation of African workers in South Africa--27% of Black people in Newark were below the poverty line in income. Unemployment in such cities among Blacks ran as high as 44%, when the national rate was below 8%. (Currently the president of Colt Industries, which supplies weapons to South Africa, is leading the drive by imperialists to take over control of New York City in this period of crisis.) Thus, imperialism profited from national oppression both in the USA and

in the USA, and imperialists like Englehard make money on both ends.

Also

Furthermore, the African Liberation Day Coalition's campaign against the South African Gold Coin--the Krugerrand --is symbolic of this Goldfinger connection of imperialism in the USA and the USA. South Africa is benefiting from the general crisis of imperialism since instability in the world currency system, runaway inflation, and the imperialism-caused oil crisis has resulted in speculation in gold and increased gold prices--forcing prices up from \$40 in 1971 to a high \$195 per ounce in 1974 and currently stands over \$140.

To increase its exports, South Africa has increased its production of gold coins from less than one metric ton in 1967 to more than 100 metric tons in 1974, and this Krugerrand coin accounted for one-fifth of all gold sold by South Africa in 1974. Because of the widespread media campaign and the cooperation of major banks and companies like Merrill-Lynch in the US, the South Africans are reaping big profits from this Krugerrand. These profits strengthen imperialism and national oppression in South Africa and makes our struggle against the Krugerrand even more important.

The USA has been pulling plenty of tricks.

- a. A phony appeal for human rights, as an abstract moralistic appeal, while negating the rights

of people to control and run their country in their own interests as they see fit.

- b. A phony Kissinger plan for majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) leaving the key posts of a transition government in the hands of the minority white settler regime.
- c. Putting a Black face in a high place to front for imperialism, attempting to confuse and mislead the masses.

Of course the US is not alone. The Soviet Union is aggressively playing a full hand of cards. In fact it's trying to grab the deck and become the dealer.

At the Mozambique United Nations conference three days ago the Soviet delegate exclaimed: "The Soviet Union does not seek advantage for itself. It is not hunting for concessions. It is not trying to gain political domination. It is not soliciting military bases."

If Moscow is not hunting for concessions, why has Guinea-Bissau been forced to charge the Soviets with creating severe shortages of fish in the country? Why does the Soviet Union buy coffee in Angola at 38% of the world price and sell it at higher prices in Europe? Why does it do the same with cotton textiles from India? Or make a 300 percent rate of profit from purchasing oil in the Middle East and selling it in Europe?

If the Soviet Union is not "seeking advantage for itself in Africa and the rest of the world, especially economic advantage in the third world," why can the Soviet press report that between 1976-80 \$4.5 billion will be transferred to the Soviet Union because of "joint enterprises"--a new cover for social imperialist domination and exploitation?

If Moscow is not after military bases why did a government official in Mozambique publically warn the Soviet Union against attempts to pressure it into granting a military base in Mozambique to exploit its deep water ports?

If Moscow is not seeking to gain political domination why is it aiding and arming to the tune of \$300 million the fascist military junta of Ethiopia and helping/to train thousands of peasants and troops to assault the just struggles of the Eritrean people?

But while we raise these examples as manifestations of Soviet social imperialism and contention between the two superpowers in Africa, we are not naive idealists nor are we dogmatists. There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing. Hence, the unfolding and working out of these many other contradictions in Africa will profoundly shape the future of the continent. While above we mention the warning by the Mozambique

official to Moscow, we recognize that the Soviet Union has just concluded a major long-term military and economic aid agreement with Mozambique. Egypt, after expelling the Soviets earlier this year, only last week suggested that there was a major breakthrough in reestablishing friendly relations with Moscow. We must point to a tendency toward interventionism by the front line states in the activity of the liberation movements, especially after the recent visits by Podgorny and Fidel.

All of these, of course, are manifestations of the class struggles going on within Southern Africa, within the independent front line states, and within the liberation movements in the general context of superpower contention. We must make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using the interests of the masses of people as a guide to action, and closely follow the situation in Southern Africa as it unfolds.

In sum, what I have said can be put into two statements, statements that lead to our slogans for ALD-1977:

- A. Imperialism is a world wide system that oppresses African peoples in all the different countries
 Black people (along with everyone else here)
 of Africa as well as /herein the USA /. We must
 fight it, and particularly see the connection
 we raise in our slogan,

Fight Imperialism and National Oppression
 from USA to USA!

B. Imperialism is a two-headed monster--2 superpowers.

The USA is the main enemy at this time in Southern Africa and, of course, it is our main enemy.

We face this dialectical reality in our slogan,

US Imperialism out of South Africa
Superpowers Hands Off!

The movement to support the forces fighting for freedom and liberation and to defeat imperialism here in this country are debating the question of the international situation, and the role of the Soviet Union. There is unity that the USA is a superpower and a general danger to virtually all of the world's people. However, there is considerable disunity on the role of the Soviet Union. There is one line that says that the Soviet Union is a friend to the liberation forces, and points to Angola as the big example. There is another that says it is the most dangerous enemy of the world's people. Both of these positions look at only one side of the coin, and are mechanical abstractions from the material world, the world that everyone lives in and must understand in a concrete way, piercing through the apparent to the real, from what it appears to be to what the situation actually is.

The fact is that the USA is the most powerful imperialist force in Southern Africa. It is also true.

that the USSR is aggressively moving to challenge this hegemony. It's like the game king of the mountain: the USA is still on top and the USSR is the leading challenger.

Connected to this are two questions:

- A. Which is the main danger, which causes the threat of world war?

and,

Which should be the target for our struggle, the so-called "main blow?"

- B. How is it possible to fight imperialism and nation oppression from USA to USA?

Without much difficulty the first question can be divided into two parts:

- A. World war is not the province of one superpower but will result from and essentially represent the contention of both.
- B. USA is the main enemy (front door) with the Soviets close behind (back door). Moreover, it is our main enemy, one whose back we must break. Therefore it is silly at best but essentially confusion and outright class collaboration to say our main blow should be at the Soviet Union.

But let us take a moment to speak to the second question--how do we fight imperialism and national oppression from USA to USA?

The African Liberation Day Coalition is a concrete manifestation of a united front strategy.

It objectively represents one concrete and historically significant move to unite Black people fighting for full democratic rights, liberation, and the working class fighting to end wage slavery and all that this means. Together we realize our common enemy is imperialism, and further we realize that only when we are united together is there any hope of victory.

Among Black people, while the great masses of people desire unity--on Saturday they want one demonstration --some diehards are holding onto a self defeating nationalism, a go-it-alone sectarian approach. The All African Peoples Revolutionary Party is blind to the masses of Black people calling out for unity, and dumb when it comes to their consistent refusal to speak out against and fight US imperialism in this country and their refusal to make support of the wars of national liberation in Southern Africa the key aspect of our relationship to the many peoples and countries in Africa.

The ideological and political line that leads to these errors and makes them an obstacle to the forward development of our struggle is Pan Africanism. Of course, we make a real distinction between the many people who will be at their demonstration and the many Black

people throughout the USA who are generally attracted to Pan Africanism. For people to get into struggle is a good thing, even when it initially means getting into a Pan Africanist thing. But to fully grasp its line and support it is backward and runs away from Black peoples' problems in this country.

- a. Pan Africanism says our main fight is in Africa, we say it is here in the USA.
- b. Pan Africanism says our fight is about land, all of the African continent. We say our fight is to destroy imperialism and all forms of national oppression from USA to USA, all this based on our struggle right here and support of freedom fighters in Africa.
- c. Pan Africanism says our objective is a liberated African continent under one unified Socialist government. We say that each African country and its people must be free and independent and it is the "right" of the people in each country to chart their own future.

In short, if they want to defeat imperialism and free Africa the way to do this is to destroy US monopoly capitalism and imperialism and free ourselves. This is our main contribution.

But what is the key meeting ground, why do we call for unity? We call for unity because the masses demand it, because only in this context can the legitimate feeling Black people have for the liberation of African countries be linked to the fight against imperialism and national oppression here in the USA, only with tactical unity in cases like this can struggle take place and lead more directly to the strategic unity of the United Front/
Against Imperialism.

Let me just sum up what we think needs to be done regarding Africa:

1. Educate the American people with the truth about Africa, superpower contention and the threat of war, especially the role of US imperialism, and the developments of the forces fighting wars against imperialism, and white settler apartheid rule in Southern Africa.
2. Give material aid to the forces fighting the revolutionary national liberation wars--food, medicine, clothes, etc.

But the most important is,

3. Struggle: the various peoples of Southern Africa are being held on the ground by imperialism with a pointed gun and a knife plunged into African flesh. We can't "just" educate those of the sidelines, nor "just" give supportive aid.

Since we, too, are fighting these daggers and knives we must make our principal point to fight the monster. Our main weapon is to intensify the struggle here, we are in a position to stab this cyclops in the eye, to plunge a stake into the heart of this vampire, to cripple this crippler, maim this maimer, and this our struggle is not only our possibility it is our responsibility--it is our duty not only to ourselves and our future generations but to the peoples of the world.

We stand united. We will march round the White House--it won't come right down, but we will be serving another notice, making another move closer to unity and unity of the masses of people guided by a revolutionary ideology, political line and organization is the road to victory.

Therefore, we say in full recognition of our responsibility to ourselves, to Africa and the entire world,

1. FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM USA TO USA.
2. US IMPERIALISM OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA--SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF
3. VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY 1977:
FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION
FROM USA TO USA!

.Peoples College
for
African Liberation Day Coalition
Washington, D. C.
May 28, 1977

Brothers and Sisters
Comrades in Struggle

Many people said we shouldn't march because there wasn't time to organize.

Many people said that narrow nationalism and "Back to Africa" idealism had a monopoly on ALD.

Many said that ALSC and ALD belonged to a self righteous, self annointed dogmatic sect.

And the cowardly Ku Klux Klan, sneaking in the night, attacked us trying to prevent this militant demonstration.

But look around you.

- a. We are Black people uniting to fight against imperialism and national oppression.
- b. We are youth and progressive anti-imperialist fighters from all nationalities.
- c. We are workers, the vanguard fighters against all oppression.
- d. We are militant, we are united, we are one!

Our main basis of unity, the key slogan of our militant battle and our unity with the heroic struggles being waged by African freedom fighters, is to "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA."

What does this mean? Why are we marching on the White House? Why are we concerned with Africa? What are we gonna do for Black people right here in the USA?

Our fight is for freedom, our fight is for liberation. And, yes, we recognize that our main task is to fight right here in this country; we know that US imperialism is everywhere trying to stir up trouble and we're gonna make part of our fight to force this octopus to pull back its arms--we know we're in unity with the freedom fighters because they're cutting these arms of the US octopus off right in the war zones of their countries.

And yeah, the US is not a lone ranger. ~~There~~^{is} is a dirty, rotten thief with the face of a friend: the Soviet Union is a false-faced imperialist country, hiding behind a mask of socialism and aid, contending with US imperialism, fighting to sneak into control of Africa--it is a dangerous enemy of mankind and in struggling with the US is creating havoc, disruption, and the possibility of World War III. We must expose this trojan horse in the camp of revolutionary Africa, as will all the peoples of the world, including ^{IN} Africa. We must oppose every trick at every turn and expose its image as the imperialist predator that it is.

They have an embassy right over there and they know we know who they are, so we must be consistent in this aspect of our work as well--we say, SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF! We oppose superpower contention and will continue our fight to expose the rotten role of Soviet Social Imperialism!

There has been a lot of confusion here in D.C. and around the country over the three demonstrations going on today. We are the voice of the American people, we are the future for Black liberation, we are the real friends of African freedom fighters. So who are these other people? What do they say?

The All African Peoples Revolutionary Party is two things. On the one hand it has seized the temporary leadership for a lot of Black people. What has happened? An example of **MIS-** leadership is Andy Young. Young is a pitiful lackey sniffing the rear end of US imperialism, spewing words of confusion; and the militant fighting forces for Black liberation have been left without revolutionary anti-imperialist leadership. But Black people know the value of unity, will fight for it, and will fight against all enemies.

The AAPRP is another thing. While it has appealed to a lot of Black people in the short run, it is based on the great man theory of history. It is guided by an escapist theory that the main fight of Black people in the USA is in Africa--they say Black people shouldn't fight here but should fight in Africa. They say the Soviet Union is a friend, they say the freedom fighters have incorrect goals (to fight for their own particular country is incorrect, one should fight for all of Africa

simultaneously) and so on. But after all, a lot of Black people today are misled into temporary support for all sorts of false leaders--Reverend Ike, and Rev. Andy/Young, for example.

But this will not last long. The AAPRP has no future because it has no program for struggle here in the USA. Their speakers have been repudiated in every forum they have held--Santa Barbara, Milwaukee, Kent State, Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Detroit--all over this country. As the struggle develops so will this popular fad of AAPRP and its misleaders fall by the wayside, yapping like 19th century relics of history, screaming loud but producing little.

However, we have attempted to apply the mass line --we have listened to what Black people want--UNITY! Our open letter to the AAPRP proves our position is what we really believe. They refused! They don't want unity! They are having a demonstration that tricks people who want unity of all people against imperialism and national oppression. They are trying to build their own little organization. They are opportunists who are pimping the legitimate, just, and revolutionary aspiration of Black people to unite the many, the masses, to defeat the few imperialists.

Our march has people united, people from all nationalities! Our approach will defeat the enemy! Our will is mighty,

and our political program correct--so we can have revolutionary optimism that the masses of people will be here with us one day soon.

There is another demonstration--an isolated group of self-defined super revolutionaries who are diverting people from the main task of fighting against US imperialism. These dogmatists are more interested in squabbling, they put forward the line that SSI is the main enemy, the object of our "main blow." We think this is silly. Our main enemy is US imperialism. Our main task is to fight it, cast away all illusions about it, unite the mass forces of the American people and have the will to fight it tit for tat until we win.

These two groups represent dead ends. One is a hold over from the Black power period, and says Black people should go it alone fighting in and for Africa, not for the liberation and freedom of Black people in the USA. The other is a pretentious small group of self defined super revolutionaries, fighting in the sky with abstract ideas refusing to see our revolutionary task is to unite with the masses of people and while heightening our awareness of contention between the ^{US imperialism} and Soviet Social imperialism, superpowers, / we must fight our ruling class, our main enemy, US imperialism. That's why we are here at the White House, we hate it and we will defeat it.

Let me speak more concretely about our fight, our fight against imperialism and national oppression from USA to USA.

The barbaric African slave trade ended over 150 years ago, and for hundreds of years Black people were tortured and literally consumed in a society dominated by capitalism as slaves. In fact, up to this time the oppression and exploitation hasn't ended, it has only changed its form.

Check out these giant US corporations: Polaroid, IBM and auto manufacturers: General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors--they rip us off every day; they are the cause of this depression we're in, widespread unemployment, runaway inflation, speed ups and layoffs. They make us live in slave-like slums--Roxbury, Harlem, South side of Chicago, here in D. C., Anacostia and Cordoza. You know what I mean--the Black ghetto. These big banks like Riggs National here in D. C., Chase Manhattan and Bank of America are imperialist partners in this. They use "red lining policies" to deny loans to Black people, push housing costs up, driving Black people and all working people out of their neighborhoods.

In addition to these corporations and banks the government obviously plays a key role in the national

oppression of Black people. Check out the Bakke decision, an attack on Affirmative Action, an attack on the rights of national minorities to their democratic rights to a quality education. It threatens all of us.

We must make this attack on one of us an attack on all of us. We must make a fighter for one a fighter for all. We must fight against this Bakke decision.

In response to this terrible condition we are forced to live with, US imperialism shoves smiling faces in high places expecting us to fall for the con. Their con is best revealed if we ask ourselves what Andy Young is all about, especially the trip to South Africa just last week!

Andy Young says: "My argument boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." He is so bold he says this sloppy mess put forward by his bosses, the captains of US imperialism, is the best for us and people all over the world.

We stand with what Malcolm said--"Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a blood sucker!" We think Andy Young has betrayed the legacy of Black leaders who have spoken out clearly against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The key to seeing this is what we call imperialism and the GOLD FINGER CONNECTION.

Andy Young was invited to South Africa by Henry Oppenheimer, a major monster of capitalist exploitation in Azania (South Africa). Oppenheimer's corporation produced 1/3 of the world's gold. Over 70% of South Africa's sales abroad come from gold. And these blood suckers will stop at nothing to get profits from this gold. In 1973 Black miners in South Africa were paid slave wages. They got only \$403 per year while white miners in South Africa got \$6800.

So we must continue to fight the policies of imperialism and national oppression in South Africa.

We see the campaign against the Krugrand as a major way to do this. The imperialists are pushing the sale of this coin. This coin of death accounts for 20% of the South African sale of gold. We must

Smash the Campaign to Sell the Krugrand in the US!

Kick the Krugrand out of the USA!

We also know Oppenheimer was hooked up with criminal capitalists like a dude named Englehart in Newark, New Jersey, a ranking advisor to presidents, a big official in the Democratic Party.

Andy Young is real tight with these imperialists. When the imperialists want to get advice on how to defeat the freedom fighters he helps them--he tells them "don't get mad, get smart." Imagine him saying

this to the hundreds of US corporations that have billions invested in Southern Africa.

The same corporations I just mentioned are ripping off the people of South Africa.

- Polaroid provides the equipment that produces the vicious pass book.
- G.M., Ford, and Chrysler don't recognize unions and pay workers less, especially Blacks who make less than a \$1 to make the same product made in Detroit.
- IBM helps the racists with their sinister surveillance system.
- Major banks like Riggs, Chase, and Bank of America are selling the Krugrand coin, investing in South Africa and lending hundreds of millions of dollars to the South African government.
- They keep Black people in horrible housing-- in Soweto where over 1 million people live, there are only 100,000 houses!

We see hundreds of US corporations oppressing and exploiting the Black people of South Africa in a wild search for profits.

So we see that when we look at our suffering and exploitation in this country, when we look at the oppression in Southern Africa, when we sum up our problems--we

have the same enemy, we fight the same dangerous dogs of imperialism. That's why we raise up the slogan, Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA!

Further, that's why we march on the White House.

We march on the White House because it is the seat of the US government, a government that betrays its people--Black and white--that serves the fat, greedy, carnivorous corporations!

We march on the White House because US imperialism is a danger to the world's people, and today we especially fight its destructive role in Southern Africa: Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania!

We march on the White House because in it smiling faces tell lies, and smiling Jimmy "jaws" Carter has to answer for the terror and exploitation he represents.

We march on the White House to expose the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger and the shuffle diplomacy of Andy Young.

We march on the White House because it is our duty and responsibility to smash the ass of our own ruling class.

We march on the White House because we're not afraid of our enemies, we're not confused about who they are, and we're not going to spend our time talking about them, but fighting them.

We march on the White House not to dream, not to have a festival, not to shout theories of confusion, but to aim the force of our struggle in a concrete way at our major enemy.

We march on the White House because we see clearly the war preparations being made by US imperialism and Jimmy Carter as they get ready to protect their interests from the challenge of Soviet Social Imperialism. We march to say, Hell No! US Imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers hands off!

Many of us have asked and are asking where do we go from here? What happens after our march?

Let me sum up what we think needs to be done regarding Africa.

1. Educate the American people with the truth about Africa, Superpower contention and the threat it represents to African peoples and the peoples, countries, and nations of the world, especially the role of US imperialism. We need to educate the masses of people about the freedom fighters of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Azania and their just struggles against Apartheid Racist Rule in Southern Africa.
2. We need mass campaigns to provide material aid to the forces fighting in Southern Africa.

We must reach in our pockets, our homes, and the treasuries of our organizations to assist them with food, clothing, blankets, medicine and medical equipment. We must give concrete support to these necessary, just and righteous wars of national liberation.

But our third and most important objective must be to struggle.

3. We must concretely wage campaigns that strike blows against imperialism. We must find ways to wage struggle right here in order that our efforts express the militant solidarity that must develop between the American people and the peoples of Southern Africa. Our work after this march must go out broadly in our communities, in the places where we work and go to school. We must intensify our struggle!

There are some real lessons we can learn from the freedom fighters in Southern Africa. After they tried every means of negotiation, discussion, and moral arguments they failed. But they didn't stop. They took control of the situation and began fighting back. They based their struggles on self reliance and the will of the masses to resist and fight back.

And here we are today---standing up to our enemy US imperialism. Yeah, right up in their faces across from their White House. We have a fighting spirit, we are standing tall. We know it's right to rebel against exploitation and oppression.

The African Liberation Day Coalition was initiated by several local chapters of ALSC, former members of ALSC and revolutionary fighters for liberation and freedom for Africa and the United States. You are among the many who responded to the call for this militant demonstration.

Shortly we will sum up our victory today, examine our strengths and weaknesses, try to learn from you and those throughout the country who could not be here. ALSC does not belong to a little dogmatic sectarian group, it is an expression of the militant anti-imperialist fighting force of Black people in unity with people of all nationalities. We must rebuild our organization, we must build the struggle, we must return to Washington, D.C. in May 1978 and have an ALD demonstration that shakes the very foundation of US imperialism.

We have already made a major step forward. Go home and tell your friends what you did here today. Fire their spirit with the image of our militant unity. Tell them we shamed the Klan, blamed Jimmy Carter,

and aimed our fight at US imperialism and superpower contention.

The ALD Coalition charges you to go out and spread this word. We are a wave coming to the shores of Washington, when the tide comes in again, after we go out and militantly pursue our 3 objectives, we will come back as a tidal wave. Nothing can stop us, united we will be victorious.

Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa!

Down with White Minority Rule!

US out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!

Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA!