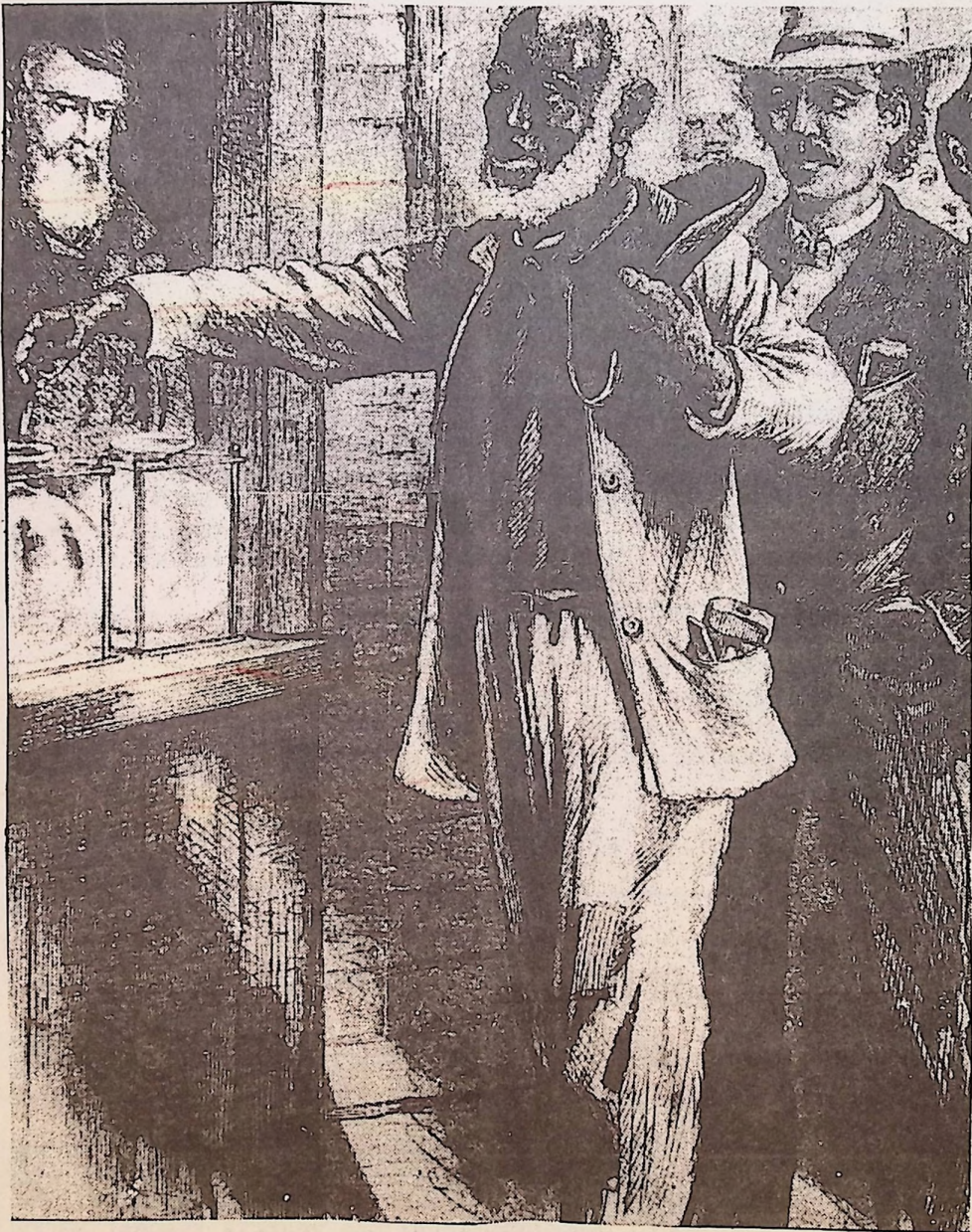


# BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL

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Spring/Summer 1976



"76" Election Issue

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NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF THE  
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Cover page - "The First Vote," from Harper's Weekly, shows a Southern polling place during the state elections of 1867.

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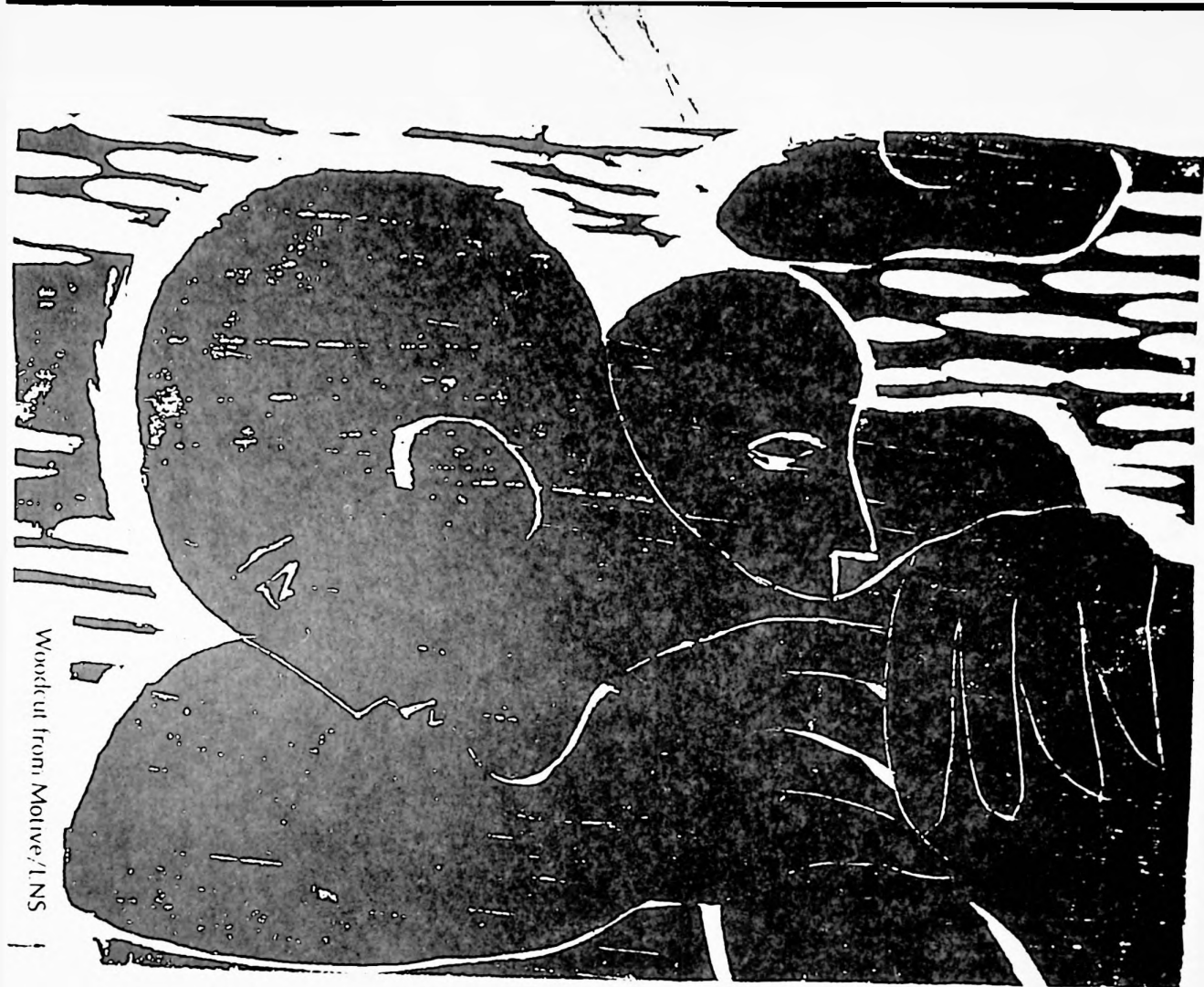
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By Wayne Moore  
Wilmington Ten Defendant  
Moore County Prison  
April, 1976

## Motivation

A devotion unlike any I've ever known -  
A together that makes two thoughts one.  
A desire to be free to love -  
A need that brought us together as one,  
A dream of freedom from oppression and injustice-  
A motivation to struggle.

## A Vote for Hall/Tyner in '76 Elections

The neglect of Black Americans by government at every level can no longer be characterized as "benign." The needs of Black folk are spurned, their appeals and petitions are turned aside with disdain. This is the eve of the presidential election, when Democrat and Republican contestants for the White House customarily overreach themselves with promises and more promises to all. But Black Americans in Election '76 are the recipients of nothing from the candidates of the traditional parties, not even demagogic promises.

## Editorial

The only political party whose program speaks meaningfully to the urgent needs of Black Americans is that of the Communist Party, USA. The national ticket of the Communist Party brings before the electorate two extraordinary political leaders whose origins and development are in the working class and the aspirations and struggles of the oppressed masses.

It is a special matter of pride to note that the Communist Party has chosen a young Black American, Jarvis Tyner, to share the ticket with the Party's outstanding leader and General Secretary, Gus Hall.

The platform on which Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner are running for President and Vice President is a platform that defines programmatic remedies for the urgent problems of Black people.

There is every objective reason for Black Americans to vote in large numbers for the candidates of the Communist Party in the forthcoming national elections. A vote for the ticket of Hall and Tyner is an affirmation that the things spoken for in their platform are precisely the measures that the victorious politicians will be called on to deliver in response to the urgent needs of the 25 million Black people and the great mass of the entire nation. Therefore, the vote with

the most clout is the vote that affirms that which you want and which corresponds to your most urgent needs. A big vote for the Communist ticket will shake up the establishment and make it more amenable to the demands of ordinary folk. You don't waste your vote when you vote Communist. You invest it in a grand design for tomorrow that will draw immediate interest today.

There is every reason for Black folk to vote Communist; whether this will happen depends primarily upon the subjective factor. That factor will be supplied by the Communists and their friends in bringing the word, the awareness, the necessity for this--by working to get signatures to ensure that the Party will be on the ballot, by passing out leaflets and literature on a systematic basis.

If you really want it better, take the big step -- Vote Communist Party -- Vote Hall/Tyner

## Southern Africa: the Imprisoned Society

White-dominated southern Africa comprises three countries: Namibia (formerly South West Africa), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. With a total population of over 30 million people, these countries share the same fate -- they are ruled by the white minorities which established their dominance in the colonial period. There are 4.2 million whites in South Africa, less than 1/4 million in Rhodesia, and fewer still in Namibia. Yet they have a monopoly of political power and economic privilege.

Buttressed by a network of discriminatory laws and practices, the racist white minorities deny the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples. Unwilling to share power or suffer competition, these minorities have sought to

frustrate every attempt of the oppressed Black people to win their freedom and independence. Southern Africa has thus become a veritable prison in which the racist regimes are the warders and the Blacks the prisoners. For the Blacks, restrictions on freedom begin at birth. From then on, the education, employment, residence and movement of every Black individual is regulated by the white authorities. Cheap Black labour is the foundation of white wealth and prosperity and of the profits of overseas investors. A system so unjust that and exploitative can only be maintained by constant repression. Racism has never been so rigid, so brutal, so comprehensive as in southern Africa. At the heart of this prison is the apartheid regime of south Africa, which as recent events have shown, is not only a tyranny to its own subjects, but a threat to the peace and stability of Africa.

Yet, the prisoners have never been content to remain prisoners. Led by their liberation movements, they have for many years sought their emancipation by peaceful means, and in addition, in recent years, through armed struggle.

(International Defence and Aid Fund  
for Southern Africa, London, England.)

## Israeli Aggression Against Uganda

Since the last issue of this Journal, the Israeli, Zionist, imperialist "client" regime launched an attack upon the peoples of Uganda, and in fact upon the peoples of the whole of Africa.

The Israeli aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Uganda, the deliberate killing and injuring of people and the wanton destruction of property were carried off under the cover of fighting "terror" in the world. Yet such acts were unanimously condemned by the African countries making up the Organization of African Unity, by all of the socialist countries and many other states.

On the other hand, all of the racist

and imperialist countries applauded. U.S. newsmen and radio commentators elevated the Israeli crimes to acts comparable to the American Revolution.

Indeed, not only was the Israeli action applauded by the Ford Administration; Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale crawled before the Zionist lobbyists in the U.S. praising the government of Israel.

All the while, Black Africans are being murdered, maimed and terrorized in South Africa, in Southwest Africa (Namibia), Mozambique and Zambia, and Afro-Americans have lived and continue to live under conditions of terror in the United States.

What is behind the banditry and piracy of Israel's action? In the first place, U.S. imperialism and its allies dream of turning the whole of Africa and the Middle East into neo-colonial lands of cheap labor. There is also the objective of finding markets for the "surplus" manufactured goods from their industries. The U.S. imperialists would even try for a Vietnam in Africa. One cannot divorce Israel's action from that government's alliance with the apartheid government of South Africa, to whom Israel is supplying arms to kill Black Africans. Nor can one separate Israel's actions in Uganda from the U.S. imperialists and their monopoly capitalist government which supplies Israel with arms totaling literally billions of dollars--while of course U.S. citizens are unemployed and go hungry.

In short, the action against Uganda and Africa was planned in collaboration with imperialist elements in the U.S.

One cannot but draw the conclusion that Israel's action, with the approval of U.S. and world imperialism, was saying to all the African countries, "We can and will smash your independence as well as your liberation movements."

The imperialists seek to cover their dirty work in Uganda by attacks upon Uganda's President, Idi Amin. In doing so, the attacks upon Amin take on the character of racist, anti-Black attacks in the U.S. and in other parts of the

world. The U.S. press distorts information on the situation in Uganda to pour out lies about Amin and Uganda. In a similar anti-African, anti-Black vein, the imperialist press assaults the government of Angola for dealing summarily with CIA and British intelligence lackeys sent to Angola as paid professional killers.

U.S. and world imperialism try to cloud peoples' vision by saying that they are for "democracy" and against communism. This is the cry of fascists and imperialists all over the world when people, formerly victims of colonialism and imperialism, seek liberation and independence, with control over their wealth.

The message of Uganda, of South Africa, of Angola, of the Middle East is that Black people, labor and democratic forces, in their common self-interest must build at home and on a world scale a powerful anti-imperialist movement. We know that the Democratic and Republican Parties are not going to build this world-wide anti-imperialist movement. Thus, in the context of building a national and world-wide anti-imperialist movement, in the interest of new national or governmental policy, independent political action and movement must grow and mushroom, leading to a new anti-imperialist, anti-racist party for peace, democracy and progress.

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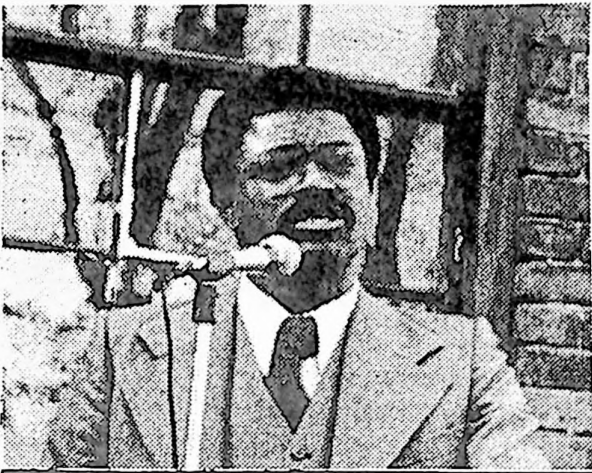
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By Jarvis Tyner

## Crisis of the Cities and the '76 Elections



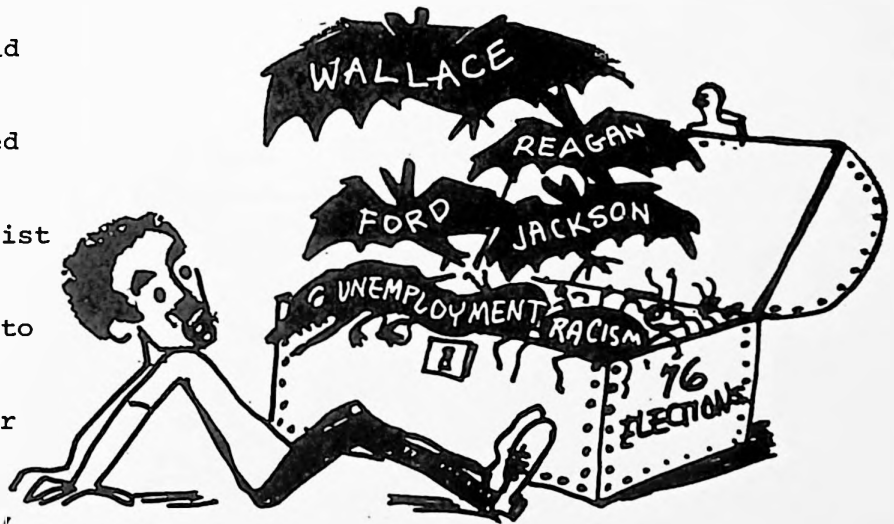
The 30 state primaries to pick the Democratic and Republican nominees for the highest office of the land was an exercise which revealed loudly and clearly that neither the Democratic nor Republican Parties has a program to meet the urgent crisis confronting our nation, and that neither is really interested in developing such a program.

The frontrunners, especially Ford, Reagan and Carter, go out of their way to push racist, big business and ring-wing issues, as if the real issues and the real people don't count. But the polls show that the people's will is in agreement with a program that would begin to cut back profits, corruption and big business domination of our nation.

Neither has a program that would even begin to:

- put the 10 million unemployed back to work
- end the system of brutal racist oppression in our land
- bring massive financial aid to our cities
- guarantee a decent future for our youth
- meet the crisis in education, housing and health care
- end the continued discrimination against women
- guarantee a decent life for senior citizens
- endorse detente, end the arms race, and cut the military budget.

Thus, this 1976 campaign exposes a level of political bankruptcy of the two parties of big business.



Puny Primaries and Sham Democracy

Because such a program was ignored by the two old parties, less than one-third of the eligible electorate turned out. And if one adds the non-registered voters, the real story is that 85 per cent of the voting-age population supported Ford and Carter. Under these circumstances there could not be any genuine winners. They are all among the losers. And that, brothers and sisters, is what the millions of people who stayed away from the polls were saying to the two parties of monopoly.

These were the puny primaries. This was sham democracy at work. The candidates were looking out for monopoly's needs, not speaking to the people's needs. The lack of voter response reflects a new level of mass disgust and rejection of the two parties of big business.

We are at a historic moment, when the challenges and the dangers are great, but a moment when united action can open the way toward a people's party fighting for a people's program -- and put people before profits.

### The Attack on the Cities

The most vicious, criminal attack is being carried out by big business against the well-being of the working class and oppressed national minorities in our land. The attack is first against the workers of all nationalities, men and women, the workers of the mines, mills, factories and farms, the entire trade union movement. The attack is against the small farmers and the other middle strata, both urban and rural. All non-monopoly strata are under monopoly's gun. This is a racist attack which has placed the severest blows against Black masses, against Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indians and Asian American peoples, and particularly against those national minorities who reside within the cities of our nation.

The sharpest attack of the giant banks and corporation monopolies is against the cities. The urban crisis reveals much of the real aims and goals of the capitalists and helps us to understand that U.S. capitalism has no real future. The attack is against all of our cities, but New York City is getting the sharpest edge of the attack.

### Why is New York City in Financial Trouble?

I want to say from the beginning that we must firmly and unequivocally reject the racist, big business lies that we've all had it too good; that the foreign-born, the Black, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic peoples are responsible. These racist stereotypes put the

blame on those who are the most victimized by the crisis. The opposite is true. Rather than "living high," the Black, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic residents of New York are not only willing to work, but have been forced to take the hardest, lowest-paying, back-breaking, dirtiest jobs in the city.

Who are the majority of garment workers? Who are the majority of the transit workers? Who are the postal workers, building superintendents, hospital workers, auto workers and longshoremen? Among these workers, Black, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic workers are numerous, if not in the majority. Their hard work is the basic economic backbone of our city. I don't think there are harder-working, more self-sacrificing people on the face of this earth. If Black, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic New Yorkers are disproportionately in the ranks of the unemployed and welfare recipients, we must ask, "why?" Is it laziness? No. That's racist propaganda. It is because the system of racist oppression that is so all-consuming in our society guarantees that vast numbers of people of color remain the last hired and the first fired, that they will remain on the bottom of the economic ladder.

But this system of racist oppression holds back white workers too. The problem is that there aren't enough jobs in the first place. Now, who is responsible for this? Capitalism. Capitalists do not believe in full employment. And the urban job market has been shrinking faster than any other area. Why is this? Who is responsible? Let's look at the record.

New York is not "in trouble" because millions of its workers have somehow walked away from their jobs to spend a "happy" life on welfare. This is absurd. It is a rare working class person who finds welfare an easy alternative to a decent job. Listening to the official propaganda you would think that it is a crime to want a decent education, health care and decent services. To big business this is a crime because these demands infringe on their profits. For the people these are necessities, and it is our right to have them. The real low-lifers, the real "welfare recipients" are the Lockheed



and Penn Central tycoons who get huge giveaways from the government. A life of luxury at the expense of working people is still the exclusive privilege of the rich.

### Federal Policy Makes the Rich Richer

The federal government allows multinational corporations (who are home-based in cities like New York) to export capital overseas without real taxation. It actually offers tax incentives and subsidies which make it more lucrative for industries, higher-paid wage earners and wealthy people to move out of the cities. This undermines the tax base and turns the cities into areas of low-paid or unemployed workers. For example, in 1971 federal subsidies to suburban homeowners amounted to \$5 billion, 700 million dollars, which was twice the amount allotted for low-income public housing.

### What Happened to Jobs in New York?

Over the past five years, over fifty of the largest corporations have moved their headquarters out of New York City, taking 20,000 jobs in the private economy with them. Wall Street firms have cut back another 35,000 jobs. This flight by finance capital has led to the biggest cutbacks in commercial building in a quarter of a century, with the result that 30,000 private jobs in the construction field have already been destroyed. Various financial groups are refusing to invest any more funds in New York. For example, the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, with \$100 million invested in New York real estate, has decided that in view of the depressed state of the city's commerce it will not make any further investments.

This clear federal policy of gross disregard for working people, particularly low-paid wage earners, has increased the ranks of the unemployed city dwellers to depression levels.

The only reason New York City has not been in even worse shape is that between 1969 and 1975 three-quarters of the

*King Kong returns to New York*



The big banks used to reinvest much of their money within their city. Today most of it is exported to the suburbs and less developed areas, where immediate profits are greater. This export of money by the banks is matched by the export of manufacturing jobs. Over the past ten years over a quarter of a million jobs in manufacturing have been taken out of New York City by private industry. In short, the monopoly capitalists have been systematically pumping out of New York the economic treasure produced by its working people.

new jobs were created by the city government. Thus, the city itself filled part of the vacuum left by big business. But city government can do this no longer and thousands more New Yorkers will be without jobs.

So, we can firmly say that the fault is not in the "corruption" of welfare recipients, but the corruption of the capitalists and their bureaucrats in Albany and City Hall. Their actions are covered up by attacking Blacks, Puerto Ricans and workers, and poor people generally.

## What Else is Responsible?

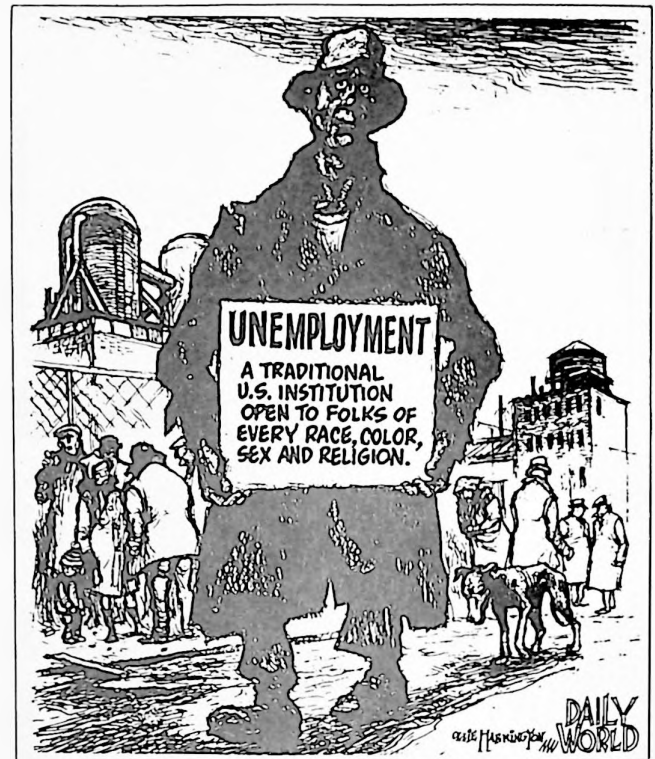
The tax structure, too, is aimed at milking the lower-paid workers and guaranteeing big loopholes and subsidies for corporations and the rich. The rich also make a profit by the purchase of tax-free municipal bonds. The big banks loan the city money and collect a lucrative interest. So while you and I have been paying the highest taxes in the land the bankers and bondholders have been ripping off the city for big interest on loans and bonds. Eighteen per cent of the city budget goes to pay off the interest--that's \$2 billion dollars!

While big real estate interests have been delinquent on their real estate taxes, even with lower-than-average taxes through underassessment, rents have gone up by 57 per cent in the past five years. At the same time landlords have been abandoning housing at a phenomenal rate. In 1973, there were some 9 million abandoned dwelling units in U.S. cities.

Big business concerns in New York and elsewhere are delinquent in turning over the sales taxes that they collect. These taxes are deposited in banks and collect interest, but may never be fully paid out since it is solely up to the merchant to determine how much was collected and what should be paid.

Workers in New York and other cities pay more than their share to the federal government too. The federal government received some \$24 billion from New York City in the last fiscal year, but the city got back only \$3 billion. Where did this money go? Nine billion went to the military budget, a source of huge profits for the armaments producers. Another big part went to "welfare" for corporations like Lockheed and Penn Central, as well as subsidies to the oil monopoly and subsidies that actually encourage abandonment of the cities.

This crisis of our cities is a disgrace typical of U.S. capitalism. The big corporations and banks organized, engineered and created the crisis. We must make them pay for it.



It is a crime of the capitalist system:

- that 50 to 60 thousand New York City workers have been laid off
- that 21,000 jobs have been lost through attrition
- that teachers and educational workers have been fired and schools closed
- that hospitals are being closed, leaving health care in a shambles, and more workers unemployed
- that building projects have been cancelled, causing the loss of thousands of construction jobs and services
- that day care centers have been closed, forcing hundreds out of work and thousands of parents onto the welfare rolls because they can't work without child care
- that more cutbacks are threatened.

# Something is Wrong

*When your only peace of mind comes  
From the songs you write  
And they all turn out to be the blues  
Something is wrong!*

*When nightmares are no longer shocks  
But even present realities  
And love is, A need to be free  
Something is wrong!*

*When the statue of liberty has become  
A hollow mockery  
Cause lady justice has fanned her flame  
Something is wrong!*

*When the land of the free is just an illusion  
Caused by a hallucinogenic drug  
And politicians are the pushers  
Something is wrong!*

*When the wise have been denounced as fools  
And assassination is the most successful  
Mechanism of government  
Something is wrong!*



Cinda McFannin

**By  
Wilmington Ten Defendant  
May, 1976  
Moore County Prison**

# Blacks in the

# '76 elections

by Mark Allen

"Our people are almost desperate," Black mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, said. "We have to find a way to send a message to all the candidates that we will not tolerate their bowing and scraping to the right."

Desperation, as Black people confront the 1976 elections, is a reflection of the deepening economic and political crisis in the Black community and the country. Probably more than in any Presidential contest in recent history, the treatment of Black people in this election proves the total bankruptcy of the two parties of monopoly and the crying need for alternatives.

Ever since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has claimed to represent the interests of Black people in this country. But the consensus is emerging that the Democratic Party, too, has consciously decided to ignore the critical socio-economic plight of the Black community.

Thus, the denunciation of this blatant betrayal is coming from all sections of the Black community, including leaders in the Democratic Party itself. Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan blasted both the Democrats and Republicans for their "Malign neglect and hostile disregard for Black Americans."

Rep. Ronald Dellums of Oakland said in April, "This has not been a (Presidential) race where the candidates have discussed the critical and vital issues of our time."

"Rep. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles, chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, said Blacks were ignoring the primaries as part of the "general disillusionment" of the U.S. people with politics.

But the question not raised by the Black Democratic Party leaders is whether this disillusionment is with "politics," or with the politics of monopoly capitalism.

There are now more registered independents in the United States than Democrats and Republicans, and those who now register to vote are but half of those eligible to do so; of those who do register, only one-half vote.

Thus, the U.S. political system confronts a much more profound crisis than what is commonly called electoral apathy; it is confronting a boycott. The Democratic Party and its failure to deal forthrightly with issues confronting the Black community and to wage a fight against racism is the cause of this growing cynicism.

As early as 1972, the mass dissatisfaction among Black people with the two party system showed itself in a major way. According to a University of Michigan study, the decline in Black Democrats was 16% in 1972. The study pointed out the Black people were becoming independents rather than becoming Republicans.

According to the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), "The Census Bureau reports that 'among the 5.2 million Blacks who were not registered in 1974, nearly one-half reported that they were not interested in or disliked politics.'"

Between 1970 and 1974, Black registration dropped six percentage points, meaning the lowest registration rate of any of the last five general elections. Ang among Black youth between the ages of 18 to 24, only one out of six went to the polls in 1974, and only 34% of Black people registered as a whole. Thus, the main trends would appear to be towards independence from the two parties, and political boycott.

This year's primaries reflected a deepening of that trend. Eddie Williams, President of the JCPS, decried the low Black voter turnout in the primaries, saying, "...the fact is that Presidential candidates

seem to be ignoring Black concerns precisely because we are not speaking loud enough." He called for Black people to be "militant and aggressive at the ballot box."

But, again, he and a number of Black Democratic Party leaders leave unanswered the question "vote for whom and for what?" They turn the problem upside down. While it is true that a mobilized Black electorate can win some concessions in the political arena, the fundamental issue is that to affect such a mobilization there must be candidates and programs that reflect the will and interests of Black people. And the will and interests of masses of Black people, and all of the U.S. people, are not reflected in either of the two parties who represent the interests of big business. To skirt this issue only locks the Black community into a box of either total subservience to the candidates of big business or to boycotting the polls.

Williams, however, does edge toward a key issue when he says, "Nearly every issue in the political arena has a significant impact, often disproportionately adverse impact, on Blacks and other minorities."

But why "nearly every issue" and "often disproportionate"?

Bill Lucy, President of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), charges that a whole generation of Black youth face lives without even the promise of jobs. Lucy also points out the growing understanding that the unemployment crisis is consciously being manipulated by monopoly capitalism's technicians in government. In the search for super-profits and increased productivity, the corporations have told their representatives in government to ensure that unemployment remains at high levels for some time to come.

The \$120 billion military budget for fiscal year 1977 (actually expected to rise to \$159 billion) means at least a \$7 billion decrease in funds for social needs. Some observers say, in reality, taking into account inflation, this amounts to a nearly \$21 billion cut-back in much needed social services, again hitting hardest at the Black and other nationally oppressed communities.

The cities are increasingly the target of the demagogic attacks on federal spending. New York is but one example; the crisis afflicts all of the urban centers from Philadelphia to Oakland.

The failure of any of the Presidential candidates to deal with the burning issues confronting the working people in this country, and indeed all of those who are victims and not beneficiaries of monopoly corporate dominance, has a special racist character.

The issues most ignored, but most critical to the people of the United States, and in particular to Blacks and other oppressed minorities, are the questions of militarism and unemployment.

Every major Black organization in the country has targeted unemployment as the key issue confronting the Black community. With well over 90% of the Black people in the United States being workers, unemployment strikes at the very heart of the Black community. The unemployment crisis in general, coupled with racist hiring, promotion and lay-off practices, has caused joblessness in the Black community of more than 25%, jumping to 40% in urban centers such as Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia. Unemployment among



Black youth, even according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is more than 40%.

According to the 1970 Census, 21% of the central city residents are Black, a figure that continues to rise. That of course does not count Puerto Rican, Chicano, Latin, and Asian populations in the center cities. Three out of every four Black persons in the nation live in urban areas, mostly central cities.

Despite the widespread consensus in the Black community that they are not being represented in the electoral debates of 1976, there remains no consensus on what to do about it. Some Black community leaders and elected representatives have class allegiances against the interests of the Black community. But as a whole, Black elected officials continue to represent the best organized expression of independence in the electoral arena.

However, many seem to have forgotten or chosen to ignore the fact that the substantial rise in Black office-holders was the outgrowth of a broadbased people's movement led by the Black community in the 1960's. This movement not only secured significant gains for the Black community, but aided in the expansion of democracy in all areas of social life. And now, as the crisis of U.S. capitalism deepens, these gains are under violent assault.

All too many Black elected officials who were propelled into office by the momentum of this movement left it on their doorsteps when they took the oath of office. Still others accepted the confines of bourgeois politics and began to fear and actively discourage the development of militant movements against monopoly power and racist inequities.

This phenomenon comes at a time when the economic crisis has placed on the agenda a movement, broader in scope than even the movement of the '60s, to force significant restructuring of federal priorities and the relationship between government and the monopoly corporations to confront the increasingly desperate situation of the masses of people.

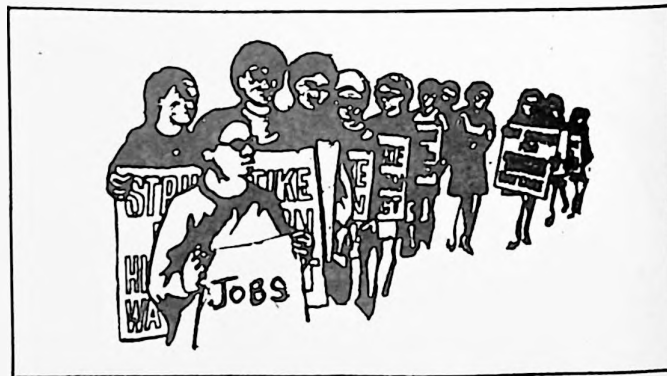
The lack of mass organizations on the local, state and national levels has, in some cases, forced Black officials to carry

the fight for Black people's interests, not into the streets, but into the backrooms where political deals are cut and shuffled. At the same time, Black officials have for the most part failed to play a role in igniting this movement which would broaden their power base, ensure their ability to continue in elected office, and free them to take more independent and militant public positions.

Electoral, significant contradictions exist among Black leaders in the strategy for resolving this crisis.

California State Assemblyman Willie Brown Jr., said in 1974, for example, "The day of the rally leader is over. You've got to become enough a part of the system to be chairman of the (state assembly) Ways and Means Committee and then deliver your views."

In 1973, the Congressional Black Caucus agreed to cease its role as advocates and spokespersons for the national Black community and rely solely on legislative issues. This approach was short-lived, due in part to the growingly desperate condition of their constituency, and the clear need to develop a new consensus and organization on the grassroots level in the Black community nationwide. Thus, at its last annual convention the Caucus adopted a program to increase community-based organization and input to the Caucus, something observers believe commits them, in principle, to the need to revitalize a movement at the local level, based on issues confronting the Black community.

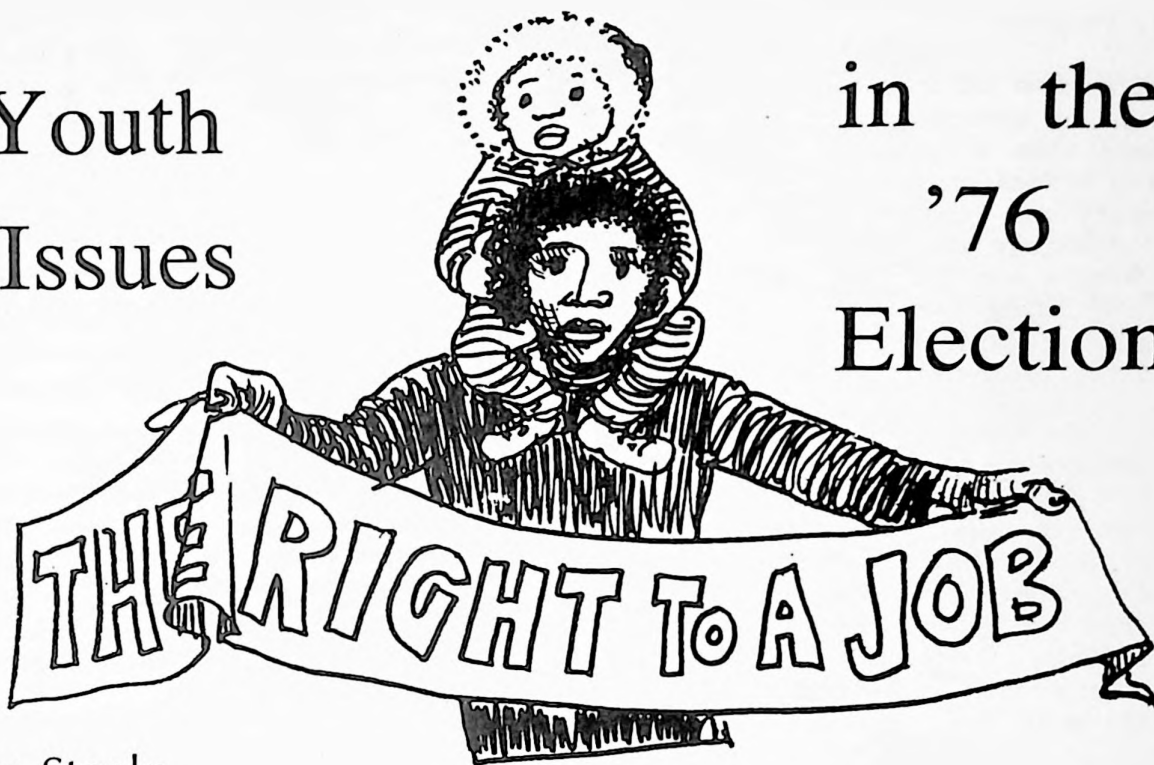


There remain significant differences within the Caucus on the approach to the 1976 elections, the need for independent political formations, and the extent to which monopoly dominance in this country is targeted as the key evil in alleviating the crisis confronting the Black community.

Continued on P. 43

# Youth Issues

# in the '76 Elections



By James Steele

The 1976 Presidential election campaign has pulled all issues, struggles, class and social conflicts into its orbit. Furthermore, all sectors of the population will be decisively affected by the outcome of the November elections, whether they vote or not.

Youth, especially, above all those hardest hit by the economic crisis--Black and other oppressed national minority youth--cannot afford to ignore or fail to participate in the elections at all levels in ways so as to best defend their interests. A review of the Democratic Party platform shows a complete neglect of youth problems. No programs are proposed to end the massive unemployment among youth or enormous cutbacks in education. The Humphrey-Hawkins Bille which the Democrats are parading as a guarantee of full employment will not provide one job. Also, as presently written, the bill does not even acknowledge the 7 1/2 million jobless youth in the country.

Considering President Ford's veto of more than 50 bills relating to job creation, education, food stamps, child care, etc., all of particular importance to working class and nationally oppressed youth, what more needs to be said about the Republican Party's anti-youth stance?

As the conventions of the Democratic and

Republican Parties near, Black youth find themselves and their people under siege of an all-out, ruthless anti-working class racist offensive of the monopolies. In striking parallel to the counterrevolution which overthrew Reconstruction in the '70's of the last century, the present racist drive threatens to wipe out the historic political, economic and legal victories of the Black liberation movement won in the past decade. Ironically, it was the Centennial of the nation's founding when the same two parties betrayed and bartered away the newly-won freedom of the Black masses.

Activists from many quarters--civil rights, labor, etc.--have sounded warnings that the present racist offensive is undermining the series of civil rights gains beginning with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation in 1954. True. But the inner logic of Ford's anti-busing campaign and his scandalous attempt to put the cloak of constitutionality on some segregation practices; of Carter's "ethnic purity" concept; of the Supreme Court's recent wave of decisions attacking equal opportunity in employment and education, affirmative action, redress of historical patterns and practices of discrimination in the past, as well as the reinstatement of capital punishment, threatens to return Black people to the so-called "separate but equal" apartheid-like days of the

Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896.

This offensive takes place within the framework of an economic crisis, the most severe in more than 40 years, that is having a devastating effect on the young generation. The austerity and "too much big government spending" demagoguery which is the common theme of Ford, Reagan and Carter with little variation, is rooted in the monopoly strategy of leaving tens of millions of working and oppressed people permanently frozen in the economic deep-freeze.

This applies to Black youth in a special way. This is the significance of the ever-mounting joblessness among the Black youth which now averages 50-60% in every major city in the country. The assault on Black youth is further exposed by the attempts to undermine their educational and social rights. For example, the so-called literary qualification standard to enter the City University of New York will effectively deny access to the University to nearly 72% of the city's Black high school graduates. The percentage will actually be much higher as a result of the imposition of tuition fees. Nationwide the percentage of Black college and university students has dropped below the 1972 level.

At the same time, "serious" proposals are being put forward as to how young Blacks should accommodate themselves to this bleak reality. The most dangerous are the various sub-minimum wage proposals, including the idea of a youth conservation corps on both a rural and urban basis. Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Party candidate, supports the latter. Monopoly has long been proposing plans to create a massive pool of cheap labor without the protection of minimum wage and health and occupational safety laws. The question before Black youth about any so-called jobs program are: at what wage rate? under whose control? what relation to organized labor? for whose profit?

The past year provided convincing proof of the militant fighting capacity of Black youth, particularly on the jobs and education fronts. The question is how can youth make their interests and demands an important factor in the November elections. How can Black youth and all youth contribute in a decisive way to turning back state monopoly capital's drive of racism, cutbacks and efforts to lower living standards?

The electoral process can be a framework for mobilizing tens of millions of working and oppressed peoples and youth to the anti-monopoly fightback. Yet, as is well known, the overwhelming majority of the eligible electorate does not vote. This is especially true of youth, Black youth in particular. Only 16% of Black youth, 18 to 24 years of age, voted in 1974. (Statistical Abstract, "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S. - 1974.")

In the basic sense, the low young voter turnout shows a profound lack of confidence in and rejection of the policies and candidates of the monopoly controlled two-party system. As Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party and its Presidential candidate, has said: "The non-voting element in the electoral scene has reached a point where it must be considered, basically, as a political boycott of the two parties...a boycott of elections on the level that they are being conducted."

It is estimated that only 7% of the eligible voters participated in the '76 primaries. This means that the U.S. has the lowest voter turnout, with the exception of the fascist dictatorship under which there is no voting, in the capitalist world. Thus, one cannot speak in any sense of the man who will occupy the White House for the next four years as a majority candidate.

The stay-at-home voter is an extremely significant development pointing toward the growing recognition of the need for an independent political alternative reflecting the needs of the people and youth. However, it must also be said that in the practical sense by not voting Black youth make no contribution to the struggle for their right to earn, learn and live.

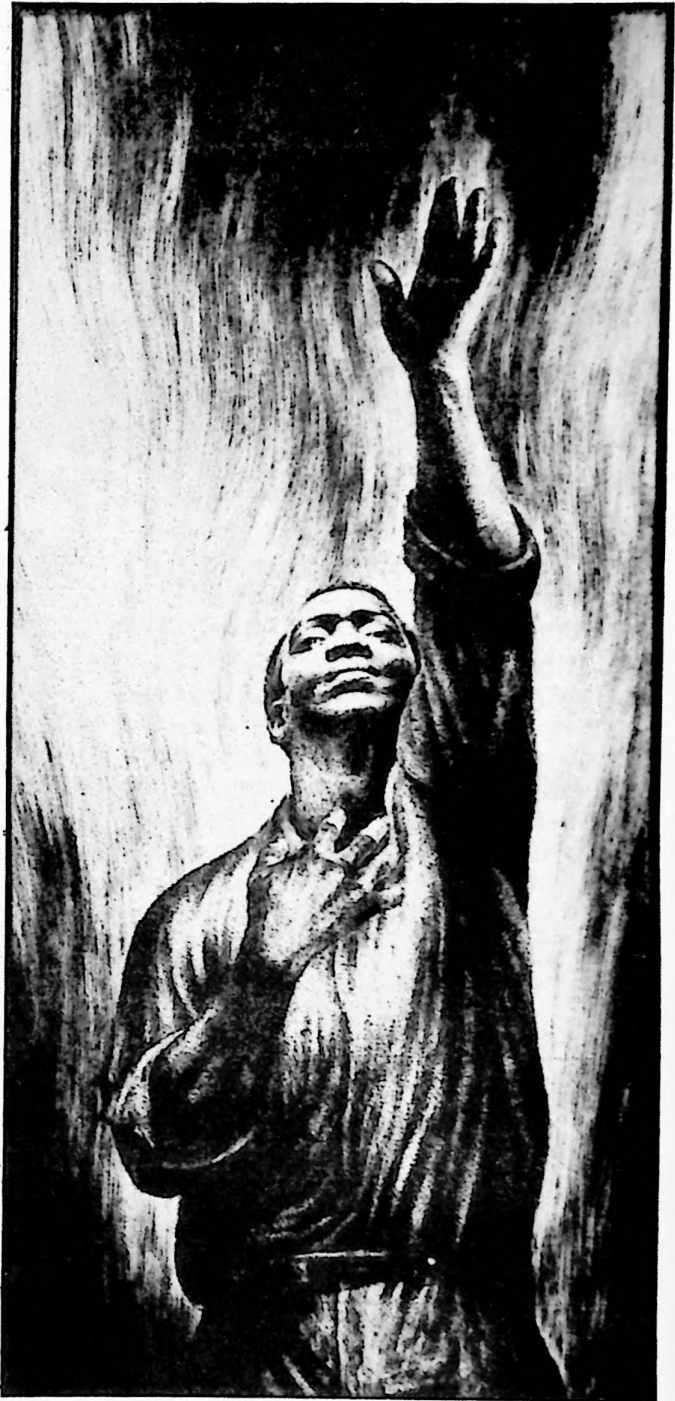




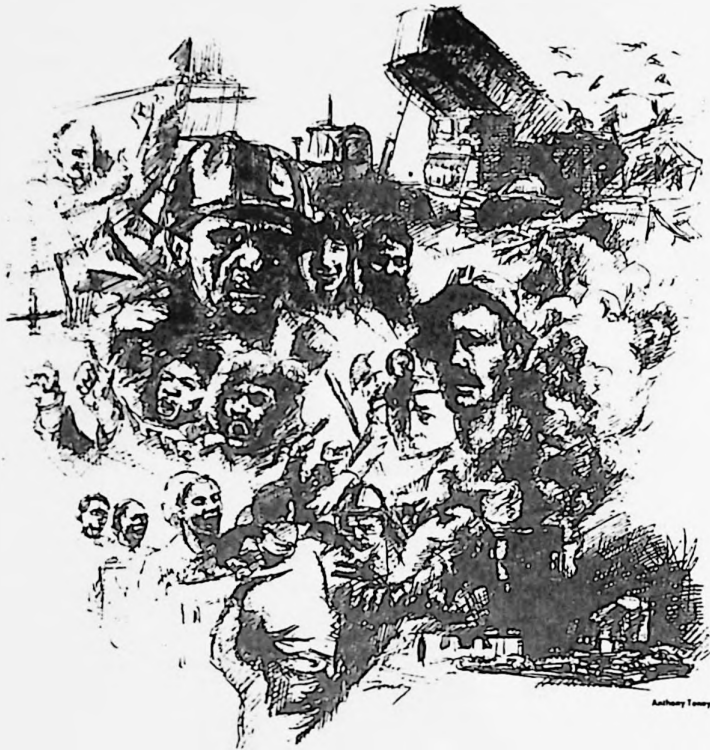
# my desires

by wayne moore  
willmington ten defendant  
moore county prison

*My desires are your desires  
My needs are your needs  
My dreams are your dreams  
My sorrows are your sorrows  
My happiness is your happiness  
Our togetherness is love.  
We are,  
As moths who have entered cocoons  
Only to exit as free and beautiful  
As butterflies.*



Artist: Charles White



Make  
Your  
Vote  
Count



By Gus Hall

## THEORY OF STRUGGLE

How to get the greatest leverage, or how to apply the maximum political pressure, is a key element in any struggle. It is even more crucial at a historic moment when our side is not yet the dominant or majority force. It is a critical question when we are fighting an opponent that never gives up, an opponent that behaves like quicksilver. We press in one place and it comes up in another. It is important against a foe that retreats tactically when under pressure, only to prepare for new assaults.

In the United States, because we operate within a capitalist system, the dominating force is big business. It dominates the economy, the politics, the ideology and the culture. In short, big business rules the overall roost.

There are a number of factors about their rule, their dominant position, however, that opens up the possibilities of victories again against them. There is great truth in the old adage that if you want to defeat your enemy you must know about its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

The first general characteristic about the enemy--big business--is that they do not make any concessions, ever, out of the kindness of

their hearts, or because they are convinced that the concessions they make are for the good of the people or the nation. The human element or patriotism do not enter into the calculations or monopoly capital. Capitalism is a cold-blooded creature. The only thing that circulates in the bloodstream of monopoly capital is corporate profits.

Monopoly capital makes concessions only when it is forced to, only when it has no other way out, no other alternative. It is, in a sense, an iron-clad law that when the pressure is on they make concessions. When the pressure is off they either hold up or take back concessions they were forced to make when the pressure was on.

It is also a law of capitalism that they will always squeeze as much profit as they possibly can.

In any factory, mill or mine the single factor that in any way puts a limit on the hours of work, wage cuts and production schedules, is the resistance of workers. And of course the level of resistance is dependent on the level of organization and leadership. The same is true of landlords and the level of rents, the banks and the interest rates, the supermarkets and the prices of food. That is the basic nature

of the adversary under capitalism. The people have the option of a continuous struggle or to sit back and let the corporate monsters trample on their living standards and democratic rights.

The archives of history are replete with examples of both how to fight and how not to fight, and what happens when the people let up on struggles.

In 1864 there was an interesting criticism and a confession that took place almost simultaneously.

First the confession. President Abraham Lincoln said:

"When early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not think it an indispensable necessity. When still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation I again forbade it.

"When in March and May and July of 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation...and I said arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure, they declined the proposition and I was, in my best judgment, drive to the alternative..."

Later in the same conversation, Lincoln admitted:

"I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me."

That was an interesting historic confession demonstrating how the struggles and movements are the decisive factor in molding history.

During the very same days, when Lincoln was making his confession, Karl Marx wrote:

"President Lincoln never ventures

a step forward before the tide of circumstances and the call of public opinion forbid further delay."  
(Karl Marx, Civil War in France, p. 155.)

The confession shows the hesitation of a President who was elected basically because of his slavery containment stand. But without constant pressure, after his election, the results might have been very different. Without mass pressure Lincoln most likely would have retreated and the issue of slavery would have been postponed for another day.

The Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War was a lesson of the fact that when the pressure is off, reaction counterattacks to take back what they were forced to give when the pressure was on. Again, Karl Marx burst forth when, in 1865, he penned the prophetic warning to the people of the United States:

"Injustice against a fraction of your people having been followed by such dire consequences, put an end to it. Declare your fellow citizens from this day forth free and equal, without any reserve. If you refuse them citizens' rights while you exact from them citizens' duties, you will sooner or later face a new struggle, which will once more drench your country in blood..."

"We therefore admonish you, as brothers in a common cause, to sunder all the chains of freedom and your victory will be complete."  
(Karl Marx, "An Address of the Conference of the International Workmen's Association--to the people of the United States--" September 25, 1865.)

The history of most struggles is a pattern of buildup of the movement to the point of a victory. Then a period of sustained struggle, very often followed by a period of ebb in the struggle. The struggle and the winning of struggles generally follow that same pattern. It is a pattern of waves, of ebbs and flows. This is especially true in areas where there is a constant counter-pressure, where there is a force that tactically retreats only when it

is forced to and counterattacks whenever it can. Capitalism is such a force. Therefore, there is no such thing as winning concessions and keeping them without continuous, sustained and vigilant struggles. It is a law of struggle against capitalism-- let down your guard and the enemy moves in.

Racism is an instrument of capitalist exploitation. Capitalism spawns racism and the spawning never stops. Therefore, under capitalism the fight is never fully won, just as the struggle for a decent wage level, or a higher standard of living is never won because the drive by the corporations for maximum profits and the drive to raise the rate of exploitation never ceases. Hence, the struggle and the resistance must, of necessity, be continuous.

The resistance and the struggle take on many forms. There are times when the capitalist establishment gives concessions as a preventive measure. At times the planning and organization of struggles result in concessions. Also, corporations often make concessions to a specific group of workers in order to use such concessions to split the ranks of the workers. This tactic is very often related to the use of racism. The corporations make concessions especially to skilled, white workers who are often then used to promote racism and to divide the working class.

How to convince white workers that they are being used, and why their actions based on racism are against the best self-interests of the whole working class is one of the key tasks in fighting to burn out the influence of racism.

What has all this to do with the 1976 Presidential elections? The basic question is: should the people, the working class, Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican people, the youth and women's movements follow the tactic of retreat, of easing up on the pressure--a tactic of the ebb? Or should they follow a tactic of maximum pressure? In short, should they follow an offensive or a defensive tactic? If it is the tactic of retreat they choose, then in practice, it means to let the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties set the pace, pick the issues and select the candidates. Even political independence within that context com-

pires to the motions of fish in a net. The motion takes place within a very limited space and that is what the two old parties are all about. They are political nets. Like the fish, the people have the illusion of movement when in fact their movements are controlled. Therefore, the two old parties are not very effective as vehicles of pressure because the nets belong to and are manned by big business. The two nets, the Democratic and Republic Parties, present the phenomenon of one net being less evil than the other. But, as it is to the fish in most cases, this is just an illusion.

In reality, there isn't much difference between someone who is 90% racist and someone who is 75% racist. In the 1976 elections, where is the lesser of evils in "ethnic purity" or "ethnic heritage?" The fact is that all the talk about "ethnic purity" is just another way of saying: "I will work to keep the slums white--the ghettos Black, and the barrios Puerto Rican and Chicano."

Whatever possible benefits there have been in the concept of voting for the lesser of two evils this concept has long since outlived its usefulness. And the concept of a lesser evil in the struggle against racism has more often than not been an illusion. It is not the lesser of evils that has resulted in victories against racism. The victories are the products of struggle.

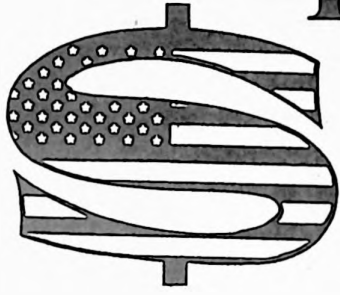
The offensive position, the tactic of maximum pressure in the 1976 elections, calls for real political independence. In fact, even the very first step towards political independence will result in concessions. The only kind of political independence that will bring results is the kind that frightens and presents a viable, winning alternative to the old two parties. The corporations have no fear of lesser evils in politics.

Within the context of the realities of U.S. politics. political independence has to take the form of an alliance of a number of forces. There is an objective basis for such an alliance. The basis for the alli-



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# RUBBER PROFITS: U.S. & AFRICA



By Judy Gallo

Seventy thousand U.S. rubber workers, including a substantial number of Black workers, have struck four of the biggest monopolies in the world. The Big Four rubber companies, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, the B.F. Goodrich Company and Uniroyal. The strike has called attention, not only to the economic plight of rubber workers here--especially Black rubber workers--but to the horrible conditions suffered by African workers who work on huge rubber plantations owned by Firestone and others as well. The common bonds of oppression that link Black workers in the U.S. with African workers are nowhere more apparent than in the case of U.S. Black and African rubber workers, who suffer super-exploitation from the same U.S. monopoly companies.

The strike, which began April 21 of this year, has attracted worldwide attention and support. For the first time, an international boycott has been called against Firestone. The boycott is being supported in sixteen countries by the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions (IFCGWU). Steps are being taken to ban overtime at overseas plants of the Big Four companies. The reason for this is to prevent plants overseas from producing more, and thereby making up for the reduced production within the United States. It is one way to guarantee that the strike here will hurt the Big Four companies economically. Inventories at overseas plants are also being watched carefully to prevent any shipping of goods to customers hit by the loss of products usually made in U.S. plants.

The international Federation of Chemical Workers organization is also carrying out an extensive publicity campaign on the links between cancer, especially leukemia, and benzene, one of the substances used in the production of natural and synthetic rubber. It has been well known for at least 15 years that benzene

is most likely a cause of leukemia. The rate of leukemia and other blood disorders among rubber workers in investigated factories is 250 times the expected rate among the general population! Despite widespread evidence of these links between benzene and cancer, the rubber companies continue to look the other way and ignore the problem. In fact, according to Joseph Carver in the June 3 Daily World, when it was revealed last year that seven workers at Goodyear Tire and Rubber had died of leukemia or other blood disorders after exposure to benzene, the manufacturing vice-president of that company piously said, "If I thought for one moment that there was any risk in the use of benzol (another name for benzene), we would go out of that business." One might well ask where this vice-president has been for the last fifteen years!

The key demands of the United Rubber Workers Union are money demands. The previous contract was signed during the period of wage controls of the Nixon Administration, and the rubber workers were forced to settle for a 6% wage increase with no cost-of-living allowance. As a result they have fallen far behind the increase in the cost of living. They are estimated to be \$1.65 behind workers in the auto industry, for example. One of the key demands of the union is for a wage increase of \$1.65 an hour, and an unlimited cost-of-living clause to protect the workers against future increases in prices. Other issues in the strike include pensions, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), plant closings, health and safety, skilled trades inequities and insurance benefits.

In addition to the above, a key issue among the Black rubber workers in the industry is the long-standing racist practices of the rubber companies in job hiring and assignment, training and promotion policies. As in all U.S. industries, Black workers

have traditionally been forced to accept the least skilled and lowest-paying jobs, jobs that often endanger their health and take years off their lives. One factor contributing to this situation has been the practice of departmental, rather than plant-wide, seniority in the rubber industry. This has meant that Black workers, no matter how long they worked in a plant, could only be promoted to higher paying jobs within their particular department, and were not allowed to bid for openings in other departments. Since departments were often segregated, particularly in the South, with Black workers slotted into the worst, lowest-paying departments, and whites into the better-paying, higher-skilled departments, this meant Black workers were doomed to these least desirable jobs for life. This began to change in the 1950's when plantwide seniority became the practice in at least some of the bigger plants. As a result, there was some movement of Black workers into better paying jobs. But they were still excluded from virtually all white collar and skilled craft jobs.

Another factor contributing to the situation Black workers face in the rubber industry is the fact that it has been in the past one of the relatively higher-paying industries. As such, it could attract a stable work force and therefore had less turnover and fewer openings than other industries. The rubber industry was also in a position to pick and choose among applicants, accepting those with generally higher levels of formal education. Given the fact that Black workers have been denied equal educational opportunities with whites, this became a ready excuse for excluding Black workers from the industry.

Finally, in the last few decades, rubber plants have been built not in the inner cities, but in more remote areas, where fewer Black people tend to live. All of these factors taken together account for why there are relatively fewer Black workers in the rubber industry as a whole than there are in, say, the auto industry.

Take Akron, Ohio, one of the largest rubber manufacturing centers in the nation, for example. The rubber companies are one of the biggest employers in Akron. Over 25,000 people work for three of the biggest rubber companies--Firestone, Goodyear and Goodrich--

out of a total population of 265,000 people in the city; several thousand more work for the fifth largest rubber company, General Tire and Rubber.



Black workers make up 15% of the labor force in Akron. But they are nothing like 15% of the workers in all job categories in the rubber industry. A look at the figures shows that Blacks make up a little over 16% of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, but less than 3% of the skilled workers, a little over 2% of the female workers, and a little less than 1% of the white collar workers. This means that Black workers are concentrated in the hardest, hottest, dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs, many being exposed to benzene and other dangerous substances. The figures and conditions found in Akron are typical for all of the big rubber monopolies. Conditions for Blacks in the smaller rubber plants are even worse.

A look across the world to the African continent reveals that the same racist exploitation the rubber companies practice in cities like Akron is practiced in Africa as well. Liberia, where over 50% of all wage earners of the entire economy are employed in the rubber industry, is a prime example. Firestone has held vast rubber plantations (over 160,000 acres at Harbel on the Farmington River and over 20,000 acres on the Cavalry River) in Liberia since the 1920's, each year draining millions of dollars in profits from the Liberian economy. Firestone hires

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# In Memory of Dr. Hyman Lumer



HYMAN LUMER

Born July 1909

Died July 1976

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Dr. Hyman Lumer, one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of the United States of America, is dead. His death occurred in the People's Republic of Bulgaria where he and his wife were spending their summer vacation.

We call this tragic event to your attention because, though tens of thousands in the Black liberation movement do not know the name of Hyman Lumer, in his death every section of that freedom movement has lost a fearless and ceaseless fighter. The story of his life and struggles are replete with magnificent lessons for the oppressed.

Hyman Lumer was a resolute champion of the unity of Black and white in the fight against racism and religious bigotry. He knew that without that unity the superexploitation of both would not be brought to an end.

But he was more than that. Dr. Lumer was a fighter for the national liberation of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean area.

Tirelessly, he fought for world peace for he saw in peace a weapon of the poor, the exploited and repressed, second to no other. Dr. Lumer was a relentless enemy of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for in them he found the seeds of man's exploitation and oppression of his fellow human being.

Dr. Lumer saw in Zionism a menacing wing of world imperialism. He wrote a book entitled, Zionism: Its Role in World Politics, in which he exposed its nature and its roots. He found its ideology to be rooted in racism of the most virulent type. He revealed its intrigues against African liberation and connivance with the fascist government of South Africa against the African liberation activities. As he outlined the struggle against Zionism, he outlined the nature of the fight against racism.

As we lift our voices in praise of this enemy of war, we bow our heads in sorrow at his loss.

To the family, friends and comrades of Hyman Lumer, we offer our condolences.

REV. BEN CHAVIS

REGINALD EPPS

JERRY JACOBS

JAMES MCKOY

WAYNE MOORE

MARVIN PATRICK

ANN SH

WILMINGTON 10



**“Let us pray, let us organize  
and let us all march on until  
the ultimate victory is won.”**

As one of the countless numbers of victims of U.S. injustice, racism and repression, I urgently make an appeal for massive public support of and participation in the National March for Human Rights and Labor Rights. From my captivity inside a dungeon of the largest state prison system in the United States, the North Carolina Department of Corrections, I make this call on behalf of the Wilmington Ten, the Charlotte Three and all political prisoners.



The Labor Day march is yet another opportunity for all freedom-loving people—Black, white, Native American, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and all others—to publicly and dramatically address these questions, and register our common solidarity in struggle for freedom's sake.

I call upon people of all religious faiths—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Islamic and all others—to support and participate in the march. As a Christian minister I especially call upon all to join in this expression of love and struggle for thy neighbor.

As a former union organizer for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, I urge all trade unions to expend maximum efforts to ensure that thousands of trade unionists participate in this important demonstration for the rights of labor.

We must all come together in unity; for I sincerely believe in my heart that, through the love and power of God, and in struggle, we shall overcome. Let us pray, let us organize, and let us march on until the ultimate victory is won.

—Rev. Ben Chavis

Vice-chairperson / National Alliance  
for the Wilmington 10

As the economic crisis grows, the forces of repression seek to turn the clock to yesteryear. With millions of workers unemployed and costs of food and housing beyond reach of many employed, a profound pessimism grips the country. Those who organize to better their lot are threatened with deprivation and imprisonment. The jails and prisons are overflowing as the government reaches increasingly for the stick in the absence of carrots. New legislation is being prepared to establish a police-state apparatus should the “need” arise to eliminate any democratic rights and liberties.

Nowhere is the repression seen in such bold relief as in North Carolina. Peoples' leaders and activists are given the longest prison sentences. More than 100 men and women are now on death row awaiting a U.S. Supreme Court decision that could snuff out their lives this year in a massive wave of executions. The Rev. Benjamin Chavis and the “Wilmington 10”—are now incarcerated for a total of 282 years. Dr. Jim Grant and the “Charlotte 3”—co-workers in the freedom struggle—continue to serve their 55 years of sentences as the appeals process drags on.

If Southern labor is the poorest in these United States, North Carolina labor is the poorest of the poor. The state with the lowest rate of unionization—7.5 percent—consequently has the lowest wage rates. Meanwhile, North Carolina corporations plunder the people in their drive for higher

## National March for Human Rights and Labor Rights

Raleigh, North Carolina

Labor Day / Monday, Sept. 6, 1976





CHARLOTTE 3



profits. The basic labor rights to organize, to strike and to bargain collectively are suppressed by a legislature controlled by the "special interests" of the banks and corporations, by a massive police apparatus and by the concentrated power of the textile manufacturers and related industries. Thousands of JP Stevens workers are without a contract more than a year after voting for the union at Roanoke Rapids. The repression of North Carolina labor and of the Black liberation movement bodes ill for all of our people. That "It can happen here" is being proven today in the Tarheel state. We must stop it there if all of us are to be free.

There is a direct relationship between the repression of labor and the repression of all workers and poor people. And there is a direct correlation between the struggle for Black-white unity and against racist repression, the struggle for labor unity and against the repression of labor.

We therefore, call for a March for Human Rights and Labor Rights for this Labor Day, September 6, in Raleigh, North Carolina. Only in combination and cooperation with sister and brother workers—Black, white, Brown, Indian and Asian—church-goers and nonbelievers, unemployed and students, can we reverse the march backward in time and go on to make a society in which we are free and secure in our homes, on our jobs and in our liberties. Please join us. We need each other.

## National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

For more information: National Alliance  
Against Racist and Political Repression; 150  
Fifth Ave.; N.Y.C. 10011 • (212) 243-8555

**"... come and register your determination to stop the drive for a police state at its roots—the racist state of North Carolina."**



Make no mistake: If we don't turn the enemy around in North Carolina, the disease will spread all across the country. In fact, we can see some of the effects right now—the hate-filled mobs that demonstrate against busing in Boston and Louisville; vigilante attacks and cross-burnings of Black people's homes in Rosedale, Queens, N.Y., Buffalo, and East Boston, Ma.; brutality and murders of children by police; brutalization by prison guards of those prisoners who dare to resist and seek to change the brutality of their existence; the repressive Senate Bill 1; the death penalty statutes returning to the criminal code books in the majority of the 50 states; the union-busting activities and the cut-backs and layoffs of working people—all signs that the system is breaking down and in an advanced state of decay.

We are going to need every able-bodied man, woman and child to turn back the reactionary advance. The march scheduled for Labor Day will be one step toward hopefully stemming the tide. We need all of you to come and register your determination to stop the drive for a police state at its roots—the racist state of North Carolina. Please come and tell the world that we will not allow facism to overcome decency.

—Dr. Jim Grant  
Executive Board / National Alliance  
for the Charlotte 3

# A Marxist Glossary

A monopoly exists when one or several businesses control enough of the production, supply of, or market for a product to stifle competition, restrict production, or control prices. For example, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler are monopolists in the production of autos in the United States.

When the scale and methods of production become very large, monopolies become more or less permanent and rigid, and smaller capitalists cannot resist them.

The four largest "motor vehicles and car bodies" manufacturers produced 93% of the value of shipments in 1972. The four largest "blast furnaces and steel mills" had 50% of total production and the four largest metal can manufacturers had 78%. Similar percentages can be obtained for most industries. (Statistical Abstract, 1975)

When monopolies dominate production in the most important sectors, the economy has reached the "monopoly stage of capitalism," which Lenin defined as imperialism. Lenin's famous work, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, proved that monopolistic production was more powerful than free competition in the United States, Britain, and other advanced capitalist countries by about 1900.

All through the history of capitalism, capitalist governments have attempted to colonize other nations so as to enable the home countries' largest capitalist enterprises to gain dominant positions and/or legal monopolies, and hence make the largest profits from exploiting the colonies' raw materials and labor.

By about 1900, the process of conquering and colonizing the entire pre-capitalist world had been completed by the increasingly monopoly-dominated powerful capitalist governments.

After the victory of the socialist revolution in the USSR in 1917, the colonial peoples gained an increasingly powerful ally in their struggles to free themselves from imperialist domination. It became possible for them to win independence and to develop

their economies. Through their own tremendous sacrifices and struggles, aid from the USSR and other socialist nations, and support from many workers and progressives in the imperialist nations, by 1976 almost all the colonies of the world have won their formal political independence.

The changing balance of world power against imperialism has now made colonialism almost a relic of the past. The chief remaining colonies include Puerto Rico, South Africa, Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The assistance of the socialist camp alone makes it possible, as Fidel Castro has said, for former colonial peoples to develop their economies and to protect their independence.

The anti-imperialist alliance, led by the socialist nations, forms a bulwark behind which the former colonies can develop their economies along a non-capitalist path. As life is proving, the capitalist road of "development" only continues the old domination by foreign monopolies--and does not lead to genuine social progress.

The imperialist states of the world, and the monopolies which dominate those states, have not given up the idea of realizing super-profits from the labor and the raw materials of the formerly colonial peoples. United States corporations had \$47 billion in long-term investments in the underdeveloped world in 1974 (this includes investments in South Africa and Australia). (Survey of Current Business, 10/75) Total U.S. assets abroad were \$265 billion at the end of 1974.

A Department of Commerce study showed that 298 U.S.-based global firms had more than 25% of their employees outside the U.S. in 1970. In the same year, "foreign income jumped to 44% of domestic income." (The Global Reach, by Barnet and Muller) Thus, the struggle against foreign control--especially that of the U.S.--over the economies of the entire capitalist world, both the advanced and underdeveloped

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# Recent Maneuvers of U.S. Imperialism and the Vorster Regime in Southern Africa

By Harold Rogers

In the last two years events in southern Africa have greatly moved in favor of the national liberation movements and against the policies of imperialism. Imperialism's decisive defeat in Angola dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the white armies of South Africa, and now, the very pillars of imperialist control in southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Rhodesia, are seriously threatened by the forces of national liberation.

The impact of recent change in southern Africa has caused a great deal of concern, particularly for the U.S. government, the U.S. monopolies and the South African regime and has affected their respective policies.

The most immediate reaction of the U.S. imperialists was to increase their aid and investments in the Republic of South Africa. After April 1974, U.S. investments by the multi-national corporations increase from \$1.5 billion to over \$2 billion. The U.S. government escalated by 30% its level of commitment in terms of aid and loans to the RSA government.

The Ford Administration has recently allowed U.S. multi-national corporations to make direct loans to South Africa by the Export-Import Bank. Such loans were banned twelve years ago. The scrapping of the Export-Import loan ban is a part of the im-

perialist countries' interests in South Africa.

The following projects will increase U.S. investments in South Africa by 35% in the next year, accompanied by an overall increase of 25% in foreign investments:

- Seagram & Sons proposes \$10 million investment in Kwa Zulu, one of the South African bantustans, in partnership with South Africa Breweries.
- Kennecott Copper Corp. recently announced participation in a new \$300 million venture in the development of iron and titanium in a titanium smelter complex at Richards Bay, South Africa.
- In December 1973, a major \$47 million contract was signed by the Gulf Power Company, subsidiary of the Southern Company of the U.S., for the export of coal to the U.S.
- In 1975, Coltex announced a \$134 million expansion of its Milnerton refinery outside Capetown. This major unit will include a new crude distillation plant. The new facilities will increase the refinery capacity to 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day, doubling the present capacity.
- The Sishen-Saldanha Bay iron project involves over R600 million (1 South African Rand equals \$1.15). Most of the sum will come from the capitalist countries; the U.S., Japan, West Germany and England. This massive project involves the development of a deep-water harbor at Saldanha Bay as well as the construction of a railway linking the port with the Sishen area. They also plan to construct a semi-manufactured steel plant.
- In the United Nations trusteeship of Namibia, which is illegally ruled by the RSA regime, the Newmont Mining firm is expanding its Kombat copper mine.
- Phelps Dodge is prospecting for minerals in the northwestern Cape Province involving an investment of R100 million.

In the last two years, the RSA has pursued a policy of increasing its contacts with Black independent African states--increasing the steps toward "independence" for the Transkei Bantustan; encouraging investments in the Bantustans; relaxing of certain "petit apartheid" laws, laws that are not necessary for the apartheid system; and taking a compromising stand on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These recent actions by the RSA have been interpreted by some quarters in the West as indications that the RSA is actually changing for the better.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, these seeming changes are nothing more than a new effort to hoodwink the world in light of the military and political changes in southern Africa.

"Independence" for the Transkei and for the other Bantustans means that these areas, like Swaziland, will be economically and militarily tied to the RSA. They will have some quasi-independence with political leaders being hand-picked by the South African regimes.

Foreign investment is now being encouraged in the Bantustans in opposition to previous RSA policy which only allowed the South African capitalists to plunder the "Bantu homelands." The proposed "independence" of the Transkei will allow the U.S. imperialists, along with South Africa and other imperialist countries, to increase their exploitation of the African population with the help of the "Bantustan leaders." Moreover, the RSA has increased its arrests of democratic groups, trade unionists, students, communists and others who are opposing its policies of fascism. The detention period for the violation of the "pass laws" has been extended from 180 days to a year. The detainee has no rights to see a lawyer or his family during detention. This new law reflects a new stage in domestic repression and swells the already overwhelming number of the prison population. Included in this new extension of the pass law is also a broader definition of "political prisoner." The Defense Amendment Bill makes it possible for the RSA defense force to be deployed anywhere in Africa south of the equator. The Bill even applies to "undeclared wars."

In Namibia the RSA is creating a buffer zone between the Angolan border and the northern section of Namibia, placing the peo-

ple it has removed into "protective camps" in an attempt to arrest and stop the activities of SWAPO. Part of this policy in Namibia is to prevent SWAPO from having bases in Angola as was the case with FRELIMO in Tanzania--and carrying out military operations in Namibia from Angola.

Probably the greatest ploy taking place in the RSA is the role Prime Minister Vorster is playing in the situation in Rhodesia. It seems to appear that Vorster is trying to bring pressure on Ian Smith to accept majority rule in Rhodesia and is encouraging talks between the Zimbabwean liberation movements and the Smith government. The RSA has even gone so far as to withdraw some of its troops from Rhodesia as another attempt to encourage "peace." Here again this public stand by Vorster is another fraud designed to prevent any real change in South Africa and in Rhodesia. Vorster's strategy is to divide the liberation movements in Zimbabwe by playing on their internal weaknesses thereby aligning himself with the "trusted African leaders" in Zimbabwe. He hopes these "trusted African leaders" will play a large role in "majority



Sharpeville massacre in 1960. In both events --Sharpeville March 1960 and the Portuguese defeat in Africa in 1974--U.S. imperialism rushed to help strengthen the South African racist government for fear of a possible undermining of that regime by the forces of national liberation. After Sharpeville, U.S. investments took a dramatic increase, averaging 20% or more from mid-1960 to 1965. After the Portuguese army announced its withdrawal in mid-1974, U.S. investments took another increase of 40% or more as compared to the pre-1974 period.

U.S. investments in South Africa have historically been concentrated in the manufacturing sector with over \$1 billion invested. Petroleum and mining, respectively, have been the second and third areas of major investment. Of the 500 U.S. corporations in the RSA, Mobil and Coltex Oil Companies supply 55% of the oil consumed in the RSA. U.S. corporations turn out 65% of the cars made there. These corporations operate on the principle of a broad division of labor in the RSA. South Africa, along with the other developing countries in Africa, have been areas set aside by the capitalists as countries for labor intensive projects and technically simple produced products, while capital consuming and technically developed production is reserved for the industrially developed countries. Thus, in the U.S. and other capitalist countries, labor consuming production is reduced and capital intensive production is increased.

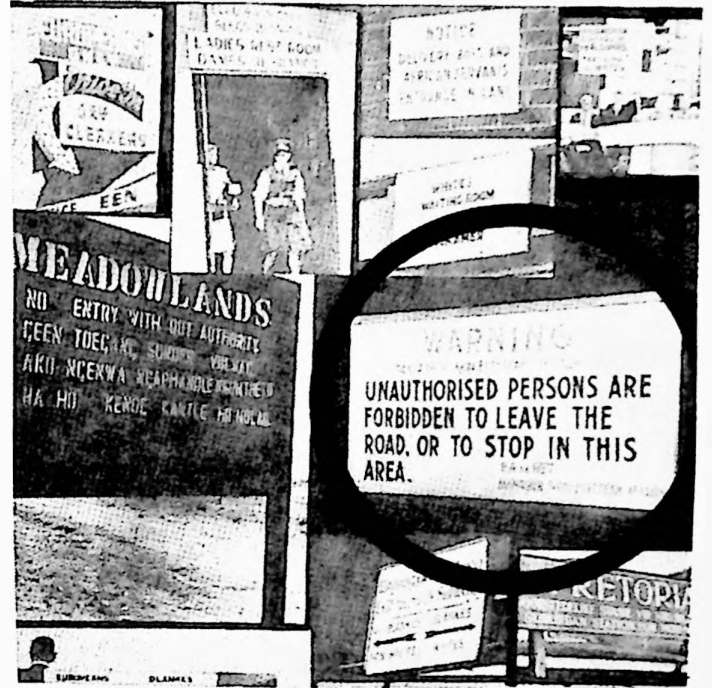
The recent increase of U.S. investments in the RSA has strengthened the unholy alliance between the U.S. and South Africa. The U.S. imperialists have maintained their plans of strengthening the South African regime to exploit the source of cheap labor, the vast natural resources and the high rate of profit return in South Africa, as compared with about 11% returns in the rest of the world.

- Finance capital, through the banks, has also worked to strengthen the RSA. A 28-bank consortium, including Morgan Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Hanover and Citibank, arranged a \$200 million loan earlier this year for the South African Electricity Supply Commission.

This new increase in U.S. investments since April 1974 reflects a similar positionlight of the successes of the national liberation movements and the Angola setback.



## APARTHEID IS BUILT ON TORTURE

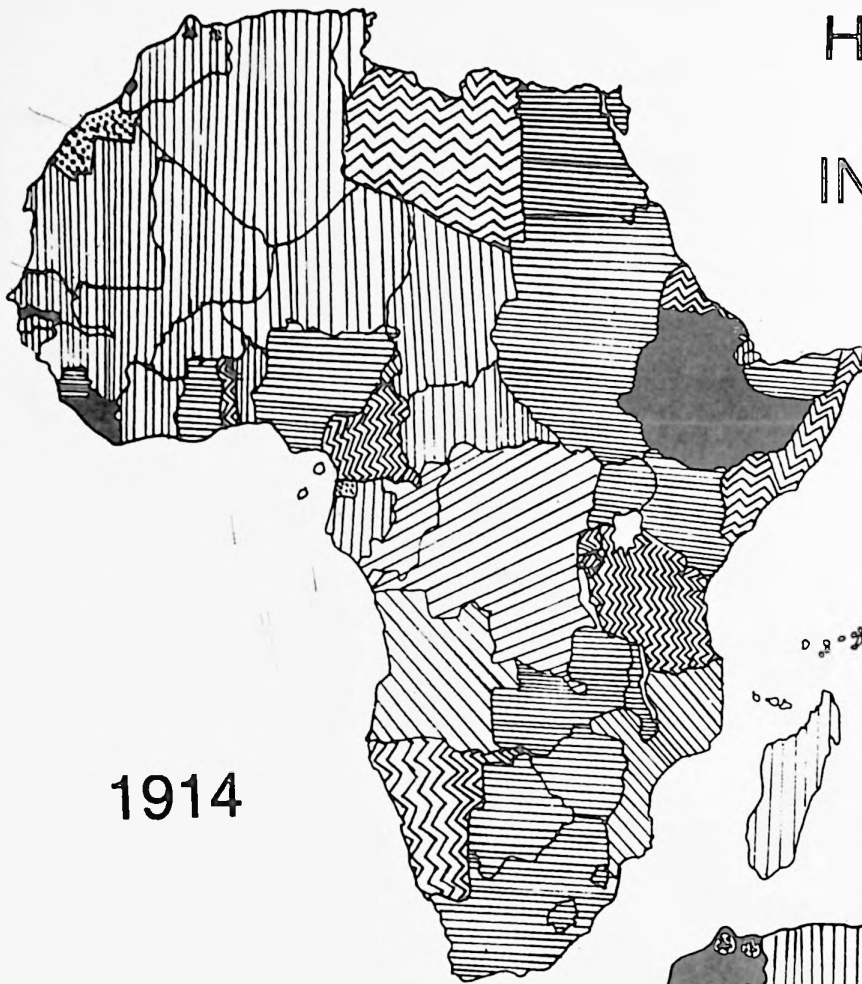


Black African labor is paid less than \$70 per month. The African working class is prohibited by law from forming unions of their choice and apartheid laws maintain the system of forced labor and large profits for the multi-national corporations.

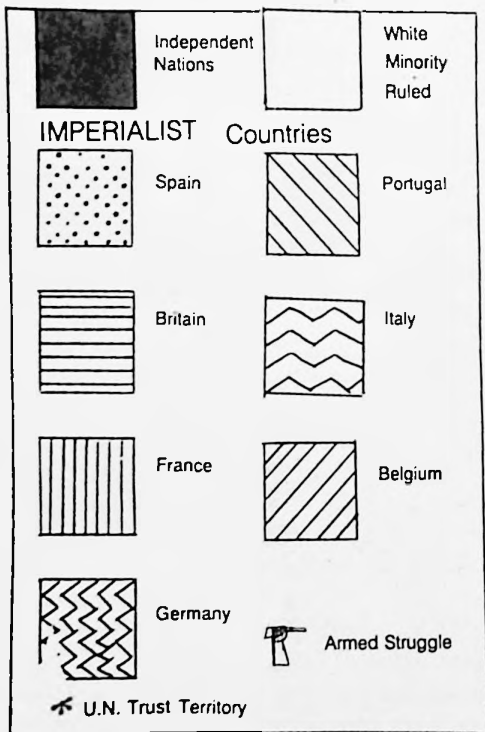
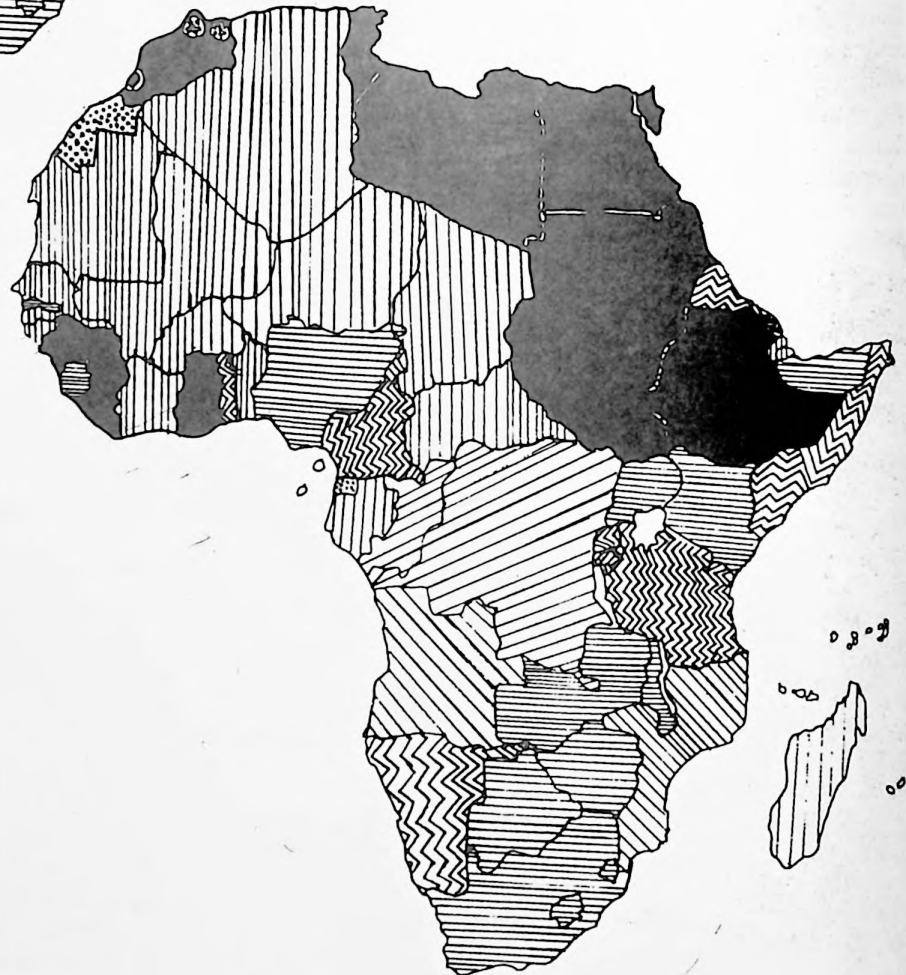
Kissinger's recent policy statement at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi made it clear that change had to come in Rhodesia and implied that it should take the form of preserving white economic control with Black puppet political rule. He further called for the preservation of the status quo in South Africa by mouthing moralistic rhetoric about supporting majority rule in the RSA but giving no timetable. Kissinger advanced the position of investments in Africa, especially in southern Africa. Actually, this position assures the already worried multi-national corporations that the U.S. ruling circle is prepared to back them up against the forces of national liberation in South Africa.

The policy of the South African regime has also undergone some "face lifting" in

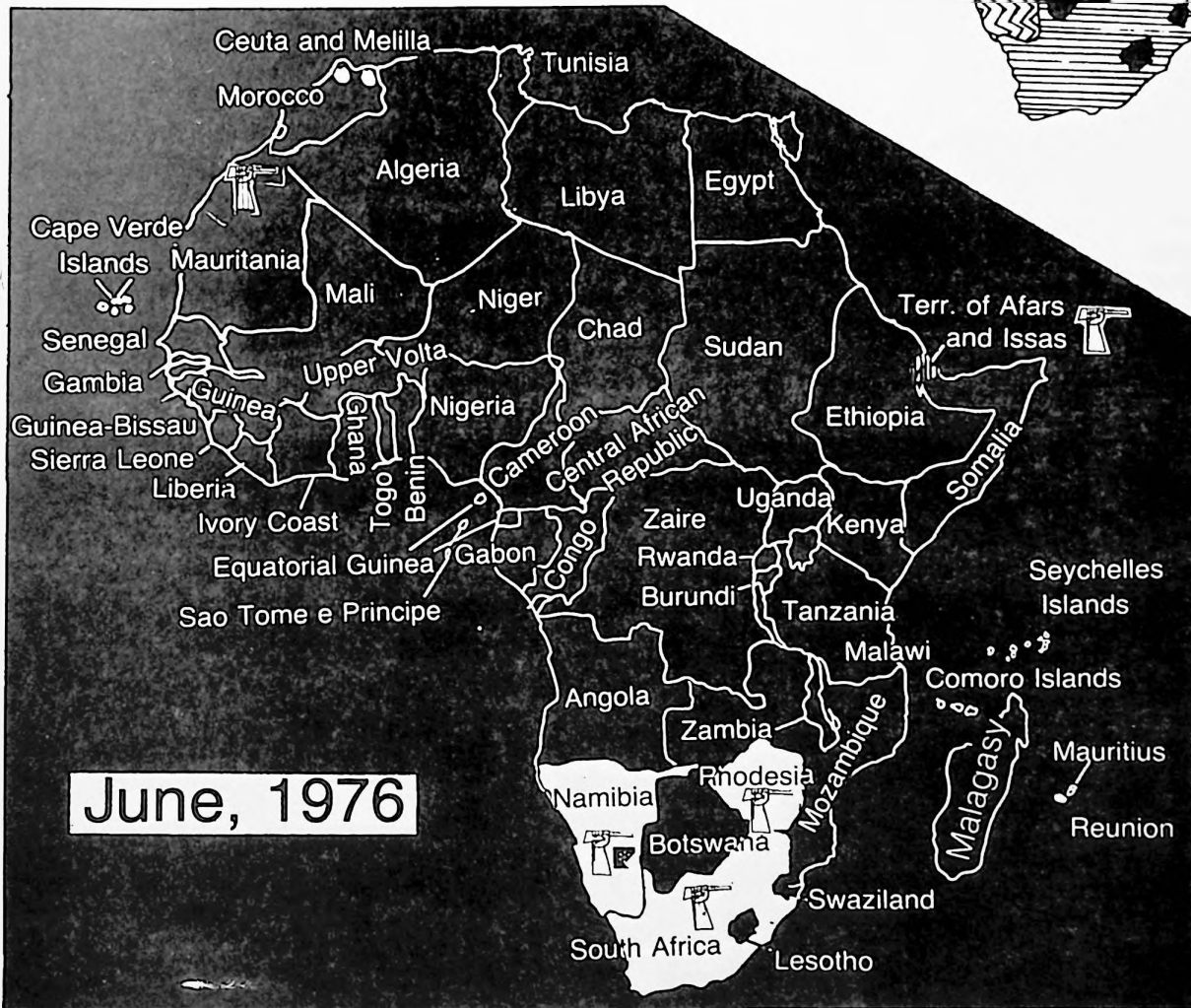
# HISTORICAL MAPS OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA 1914-1976



1959



1966





Continued from P. 29

rule" in Zimbabwe, while the whites maintain economic control. A truly independent Zimbabwe would be a severe blow to the South African economy and imperialist interests. Already 60% of Rhodesia's trade is handled by South Africa. The Rhodesian economy is heavily tied into the Rand market. A truly free Rhodesia would isolate South Africa with almost all the surrounding states being hostile to the RSA. The question in Rhodesia is not true majority rule for the Black population from Vorster's viewpoint, but which Black leaders will be allowed to govern Rhodesia with the RSA and the Rhodesian white community having total control of the economy.

Since the RSA is the main pillar of U.S. expansionist plans in Africa, it is also viewed as the main imperialist base for the subversion of the newly independent African nations, as a bridgehead for the economic and political penetration of Africa. The military importance of the RSA is demonstrated by the fact that the RSA has been semi-officially brought into the capitalist military alliance of NATO as a protector of its

"southern flank" along with Brazil in Latin America.

Militarily, South Africa in southern Africa and Israel in the north, serve the dual purpose of pressuring and acting against the national liberation movements and progressive governments in Africa and the Middle East.

Imperialism in southern Africa is facing its strongest challenge from the national liberation movements. In South Africa and Namibia, this new strong challenge is coming from the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO).

The process of national independence from imperialist domination is a great reality. The maneuvers of the U.S. ruling class are desperate. The revolutionary activity of the South African people, led by the ANC and the SACP, will put a quick end to these desperate moves of the wounded beast.

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## BLACK WOMEN

must become dream-like in the face of the monstrous penetration of racism and apartheid into the most private corners of their lives.



The echoes of victory emanating from Africa are rushing into the Black Liberation Movement in the United States, conferring upon it a new clarity and infusing it with a more profound confidence. What more compelling proof could we want of the historical obsolescence of imperialism than the emergence of the new, independent republics of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and now, of Angola? And is it not true that if imperialism can suffer such irreversible defeats on the continent of Africa, it can also be challenged successfully here at home?

On that continent, the South African regime, supported, of course, by the United States, remains the most unyielding obstacle to liberation. Our concern with South Africa should arise not only from our desire to see our African sisters and brothers retrieve their homeland, but also from the knowledge that our destiny in the U.S. is inextricably linked to the movement of events in South Africa.

Moreover, as a consequence of the similarities between the use of apartheid to brutally accelerate capitalist development in that country and the function of racism in the United States, there are distinct parallels between our situation and the predicament of Black people in South Africa.

In the United States, Black women, victims of oppression three times compounded, must

carry the heaviest load of all the oppressed. Likewise, in South Africa, it is the women who are most deeply ravaged by apartheid. It is not difficult to understand the enormous damage inflicted on the African family by the economic exigencies of apartheid, since a similar assault on the Black family in the U.S. has taken place for the sake of U.S. capitalism. One-third of all Black families in this country are headed by women, many of whom are denied the job opportunities necessary to support their children. In South Africa, there is the astounding fact that only 28.2% of Black women are married--as compared to 45% of white women.

Given the short supply of literature on women in South Africa, we should welcome the publication of Hilda Bernstein's enlightening book, For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears; Women in Apartheid South Africa (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, August, 1975). We learn from this detailed study that the employment situation for Black women in South Africa is even more dismal than it is in the United States. Not only are they excluded from the traditional "male" occupations; they are also kept out of occupations which, in other capitalist countries, are generally reserved for women.

Whereas in this country, Black women have recently entered in great numbers into clerical occupations (at no significant financial advantage, of course), in South Africa, Black

women are systematically banned from such jobs. The vast majority of women who are able to find work at all find themselves chained to domestic and farm work. Thirty-eight percent of Black women workers are servants and 35% are farm laborers. The horrifying picture that emerges from the sterile, undeveloped Bantustans shows a meager 17% rate of female employment, 80% of these women working as farm laborers or domestics in the nearby white areas. (Bernstein, p. 36)

These outrageous circumstances are the



superexploitative, capi- this policy. Black people, because they are supposed to be at home only in the Bantustans, are considered foreigners in the so-called white areas. The paradox of the situation lies in the fact that the South African economy requires Black people to live in the white areas as workers. Apartheid--the policy of separate development--is a farce. It is an impossibility, even according to the terms of the apartheid regime, for the economy is totally dependent on Black labor power.

In order to render this contradiction less glaring, the South African government resorts to the notion of migrant labor. All Africans working in the white areas are classified as migrant workers.

In describing the attitude implied by this policy toward Black people, Bernstein points out:

In the special language of apartheid, blacks are not normal human beings. They are labour units, who are productive or non-productive; who are temporary sojourners in the towns even though they may spend their whole lives working there; or illegal immigrants within the borders of their own country. (13)

She goes on to describe the special status of African women:

(Black men are labour units)...whose wives and children are superfluous

appendages--non-productive, the women being nothing more than adjuncts to the procreative capacity of the black male labour unit. (13)

African women are considered superfluous appendages. This is no exaggeration. A man may be given a permit to live and work within a white area, but if his wife is unable to find a job in that same area, they will not be able to live together. As Bernstein emphasizes, the migrant labor policy makes it practically impossible for enormous numbers of African women to live together with their husbands. At best, they are allowed to spend the two-week yearly vacation with one another.



African women are not only banned from the areas because they presently play no significant role in the industrial economy, but also because they might act as a stabilizing force for the Black community in the cities. As Elizabeth Landis puts it,

The disabilities of African women in the cities arise primarily from the fact that they are viewed as the key to a possible breakdown of geographical separation. Government officials recognize the homemaking role of the women and fear that their presence in the cities will lead to the establishment of a stable black population. ("Apartheid and the Disabilities of African Women in South Africa," Objective: Justice, vol. 7, No. 1, p. 6)

What about those Black women who do manage to find work in the cities? According

to Landis and Bernstein, there are no lawyers among them, no engineers, no architects, chemists or pharmacists. The only professional occupations Black women are allowed to enter in large numbers are, as here in the United States, school-teaching and nursing. Moreover, Black women who work in the Black university colleges and in public service are subject to expulsion from their jobs should they decide to marry.

A large proportion of those women who do have permits to live in the white cities and towns are compelled to reside in hostels. Bernstein includes in her book a description of a hostel complex nine miles outside of Johannesburg, a place which she calls "... the most dramatic prototype of the new life planned for South Africa's blacks..." (32)

It is a new concept: a veritable city composed entirely of mammoth hostels, sex-separated. Eventually it is planned to house more than 60,000 single men and single women in this way, in 24 blocks." (33)

She goes on to describe the police charge office located in each hostel, the punishment cell and the control room from which electronic steel doors and riot gates are operated--doors and gates which can close off every passage in the hostel.

The women's rooms contain four beds while the men's are six- and eight-bedded. None of the rooms are equipped with heating, even though Johannesburg is known for its cold winters. In the bathrooms, every 11 inmates are assigned to one washbasin, every 14 to each lavatory and every 35 to each shower. The kitchens are also communal, with three people assigned to a gas ring.

Not only are men and women--even husbands and wives--prevented from visiting one another in the rooms, children are also not permitted to visit in the rooms:

If the children have to be brought to town for 'unavoidable' reasons (e.g. medical), they are not allowed to stay in the room with either parent, but may stay in the visitors' rooms for 10 cents a night. One woman's four-year old child had to stay in the waiting room, crying bitterly, because her mother was not permitted

to sleep with her own child, nor was the child allowed even to visit the mother's room or the kitchen.

Doomed to lives such as these, it is no wonder that only 28.2% of all African women are married.

We have not even scratched the surface of the wretched lives Black women are compelled to lead in South Africa. Everywhere they turn there is misery and there are obstacles which must appear insurmountable. Even hope must become dream-like in the face of the monstrous penetration of racism and apartheid into the most private corners of their lives.



Yet, despite these obstacles, Black women have fought back. They have organized and sometimes led struggle after struggle. And they have never given up.

In her article, "Women's Role in South Africa's Freedom Fight" (African Communist, no. 63), Naomi Richards points to numerous examples of contributions made by women in the battle against apartheid. Since the founding of the Communist Party in 1921, women have always been in its leadership and when the National Liberation League was established in 1935, it was a woman--Cissie Gool--who was elected its first president. The Treason Trial involved twenty women as defendants and virtually every political

trial since then have had women among the victims. During the 1952 Defiance Against Unjust Laws Campaign, vast numbers of women were arrested for deliberating violating the laws of apartheid.

One has only to mention names like Lilian Ngoyi, Winnie Mandela, Josie Mpama, Albertina Sisulu, Dora Tamana, Kate Molale, Florence Mophosho, Frances Baard, Mary Moodley, Florence Matomela, Rugh Slovo, Asa Dawood, Blanche la Guma--and there are many, many more --to realize the strength women have added to the fight. And don't let us forget Dorothy Nyembe, serving a 15-year prison sentence for assisting freedom fighters. Nor the many women who have taken their place at the side of their menfolk in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe. (75)

As Florence Mophosho has emphasized on numerous occasions, the African National Congress actively encourages women to assume positions of leadership.

The most protracted battle waged by women in South Africa revolved around their refusal to accept passes. This struggle against the pass laws dates back to 1913, when women in one city in the Orange Free State marched to the municipal offices and threw a bag containing their passes at the feet of the mayor. During the same year, 800 women marched from a demonstration site to the Town Hall in the Free State town of Winburg and informed the authorities that they would not carry passes any longer.

Such demonstrations spread throughout South Africa and as a consequence countless numbers of women were jailed. Eventually, as a result of these struggles which spanned the years, passes for women were withdrawn.

In 1955, however, a new law was passed requiring women, as of the beginning of 1956, to carry passes. In October 1955, a demonstration of 2,000 women took place in Pretoria. Several months later, an even vaster demonstration was organized: 20,000 women assembled in Pretoria. Because the government had banned all processions on that day, the women--all 20,000 of them--walked in groups of three to the headquarters of the Prime Minister.

The women slowly converged up (the) avenue and filled the amphitheatre. Their leaders went into the Union Buildings and left hundreds of thousands of signatures on petition forms at the office of the Prime Minister who, of course, was not available to see them. Afterwards they stood in complete silence in the winter sun--even the babies on their backs did not cry--for thirty minutes, then burst into magnificent harmony to sing the anthems, Nkosi sikile'i Afrika and Morena Boloka. The singing, as they dispersed, echoed over the city, and the women began a new freedom song with its refrain, "Wathint' abafazi, way inthint' imbolo--do uzo kufa"--Now you have touched the women you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed. (Bernstein, 47)

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Continued from P. 26

countries, will become increasingly fierce as anti-monopoly struggles develop.

Imperialist expansionary drives to control the economies of other nations so as to maximize profits will never cease--so long as imperialism continues to live. After all, the drive for maximum profits is at the heart of capitalism.



The following is abridged from *New Times*. The book referred to by the writer, *In the Vanguard of the Revolutionary Liberation Struggle in Africa*, by Pyotr Manchkhya, is not available in English.

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By Victor Sidenko

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**D**uring a visit some time ago to Tanzania, I was invited to the home of the Tanzanian journalist Idi Okuda, a member of the staff of the official Daily News.

"I consider myself a socialist," Okuda said. "But I believe that socialist development in Africa will proceed along altogether different lines than in your country or in Europe in general."

"There are too many differences between Europe and Tropical Africa. You live in the North and we on the equator. You are white and we are black. And, most important, you began building socialism in different historical conditions. After all, your country was socially and economically developed even before the revolution. Whereas we are beginning from scratch. Not to speak of differences between historical destinies, customs, and psychology."

"But there are general laws governing the transition to socialism, aren't there?" I objected.

"The most important thing for us are the specific features of Africa," was the reply.

I recalled my talk with Okuda as I was reading the study *In the Vanguard of the Revolutionary Liberation Struggle in Africa* by the Soviet writer on African affairs Pyotr Manchkhya.

The Western propaganda machine has concocted a multitude of fabrications around this issue. However, the realities of Africa testify that the ideas of the October Revolution are fully applicable to that continent as well.

On the eve of the October Revolution, multinational Russia, like Africa today, had the most widely different socio-economic formations—large-scale capitalist industry, feudal survivals in the countryside, a colonial and semi-colonial regime in Central Asia, and practically a primitive society in the Far North. The resolution on the national question adopted by the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), held in March 1921, pointed out that of the 65 million non-Russians inhabiting Soviet Russia, about 30 million had not passed through the capitalist stage and in most cases had retained an economy based on cattle-raising and a patriarchal and tribal mode of life.

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# SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM -INDEPENDENT AFRICA'S CHOICE

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**T**he revolutionary experience of the non-capitalist development of the Soviet Central Asian republics and Far Northern national areas, as well as of Mongolia, has shown that the advance of the African peoples to a thriving economy and culture through the building of socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development, is a tangible possibility. The peoples of these areas were able within the lifetime of a single generation to forge ahead from a patriarchal and medieval society to socialism without experiencing capitalism, to complete the building of socialism and to join actively in the construction of a communist society in the USSR. "Such a transitional stage of non-capitalist development," the author says, "is characteristic at present also of a number of national-democratic countries of Africa (Congo, Guinea, Tanzania and Somalia), which are steering a course towards the eventual building of a socialist society." At the same time, he points out, it would be dogmatism to equate the conditions that existed in the twenties in the Central Asian Soviet republics, among the Northern peoples and in the Mongolian People's Republic, on the one hand, and today's Africa, on the other.

The question of the possibility of the transition of the African countries from backward socio-political and economic structures to socialism by-passing capitalism and drawing on the experience in socialist reconstruction accumulated in the USSR and the other socialist countries, has long passed over from the realm of theoretical discussion to the sphere of practical activity.

Manchkhya's study highlights the positive significance of the practical work done in the socialist-oriented African countries

to strengthen their political sovereignty and to achieve economic independence, to advance culture and to improve the living standards of the population. These countries have contributed much that is new and specific in resolving the political and socio-economic problems facing them. For instance, the experience of the Congo, in Manchkhya's opinion, contains much that is original in the sphere of party organization, of Tanzania in the solution of the agrarian problem, of Somalia in the organization of the armed forces, and of Guinea in the creation of the state sector of the economy. Now a period has set in when the socialist-oriented countries can already render each other assistance and pool experience in the building of a new life.

Owing to the specific historical and socio-political conditions in the African countries, this work has been headed by the revolutionary democratic parties. Lenin's definition of the Russian revolutionary democrats as being "proletarian and petty bourgeois," "as springing from 'the people, i.e., the workers and peasants,'" is fully applicable to these parties, Manchkhya stresses.

Convinced that capitalism is incapable of solving the complex tasks involved in the rapid development of the African countries, the revolutionary democrats draw on the ideological treasure-store of scientific socialism and its practical experience to carry out socio-economic reforms aimed at putting a brake on the spontaneous development of capitalist relationships and to create the conditions for the building of a just social system—socialism.

While noting the successes registered by the African revolutionary democrats, the author analyzes the difficulties they are encountering.

The work of these parties is being seriously hampered by the divisive policy pursued by Peking, its persistent efforts to impose on them adventurist tactics, to subordinate them to its influence and to sow distrust of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the progressive African countries. A graphic instance of the pernicious effect of Maoist policy are the events in the Republic of Mali, whose former leaders allowed themselves to be influenced by the pseudo-Left slogans of Peking propaganda and set out to "create class struggle" to give effect to the "active phase of revolution." As a result the progressive regime was weakened and this led in November 1968 to a military coup.

Of unquestionable interest in the work under review is the analysis of the relations between the revolutionary democrats and the African Communist parties. The Communist movement in Africa came into being long ago, the first Marxist-Leninist

party on the continent—the Communist Party of South Africa — being founded as far back as 1921 under the direct influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. In Tropical Africa the Communist movement began to develop much later. The first Marxist party here was established in September 1957. This was the African Independence Party of Senegal. Manchka points out that the slower pace in Tropical Africa was due to the absence of a broad proletarian movement and to the socio-economic backwardness caused by imperialist domination.

However, recent years have seen the Communist movement in the area south of the Sahara gaining momentum. Africa, Manchka quotes the *African Communist*, organ of the South African Communist Party, needs communist thinking just as parched soil needs rain.

Co-operation between the Communists and the revolutionary democrats in Africa can be traced back to the years of the struggle for liberation from colonial rule. The African Communists are fully aware of the validity to this day of Lenin's counsel that they must be able "to link up, maintain the closest contact, and—if you

wish—merge, in a certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people —primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people."

At the same time, the author points out, the Communists, with their scientific approach to social processes, take a different view than the revolutionary democrats of a number of problems. The ideology of the revolutionary democratic parties continues to allot a notable place to petty bourgeois ideas, and their membership consists mostly of peasants weighed down by backward notions inherited from the epoch of colonial rule. Many revolutionary democrats regard socialism not as an historically inevitable socio-economic formation, but merely as the most effective method of overcoming age-old backwardness and casting off the fetters of dependence on the imperialist powers. The limitations of their ideology are manifest also in an exaggeration of the significance of specific African conditions.

Nevertheless, the advanced section of the revolutionary democrats is undergoing an ideological evolution and discarding erroneous concepts in the process of co-operation with the Communists. If formerly

a number of prominent functionaries of these parties denied the existence of classes and class struggle in the African countries, believed in African social homogeneity, and repudiated the revolutionary role of the working class, today these concepts are undergoing a reappraisal.

A characteristic feature of modern Africa is that, alongside the Communist parties, a growing role is being played in a number of countries by Marxist groups and circles which, as a rule, carry on their activities not in isolation but within the framework of the progressive political parties—the ruling national democratic parties of the countries that have chosen a socialist orientation, the revolutionary democratic parties leading the armed liberation struggle, and democratic opposition parties.

African progressives, Manchka writes, are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that no developing African country can make genuine progress unless it is moving towards socialism. The winning of complete national independence is inevitably linked with the gradual development of the national democratic revolutions into socialist revolutions.

—New Times



by Wayne Moore  
 Willmington Ten Defendant  
 Moore County Prison  
 May, 1976

*Chained because of a color which is natural to me  
 And forced into a state of tyrannical and inhuman  
 captivity,  
 Where pursuit of happiness is only a dream.  
 And I can't even absorb the rays of the sun  
 Cause I've been deprived of all inalienable rights,  
 By strangers to my character,  
 Who are,  
 Ignorant of my capacity, obligious to my history  
 And misinformed to the very principles and ideas  
 Which guide me,  
 Yet they have chained me.*

The imposition of tuition and the destruction of open admissions to CUNY is a racist crime. This destroys a 129-year tradition in New York which made it possible for working class students to get a higher education. The state and federal aid programs are too tiny to prevent thousands of working class students from dropping out of school. The bulk of those who will be forced out of the City College system will be Black and Puerto Rican students. Most of the closed hospitals are in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. The community colleges that are supposed to be closed have a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican enrollment. The cutbacks in New York City have hit all working people, but if we are to defeat this attack we must see its special racist edge.

The people are being attacked by big business at every point in the human life cycle--in childhood, as youth, as adults and as senior citizens.

Trade unions are under the gun, facing stiff resistance to righteous demands for long overdue wage increases. We're headed for an across-the-board wage freeze for the workers of New York City, both public and private, in addition to an in-human increase in speedup.

The attack means big pressure on working class families; people are being forced to move and are losing all of their hard-earned possessions. The attack means the growth of youth unemployment (already 40 per cent for Black and Puerto Rican youth), drug addiction and petty crime. The lack of future prospects for youth can lead to a drastic social dislodging; it can lead to the devastation of individuals, of a whole generation of youth.

The best qualities of a human being do not come forward when one has little to live for. With economic ruin comes social decay and destruction of the human spirit. Therefore, this is a life-and-death struggle.

Monopoly has a whole arsenal of diversions to cause confusion and misdirection. During times of crisis, racism is the number one weapon of confusion. Others are anti-communism and anti-Semitism. These block unity and blind the people to the path of advanced thinking and action.

The government is also preparing to repress dissent against its policies. There is never any financial shortage when it comes to government repression. The FBI and the CIA continue to work to repress movements against monopoly. High on their list is stopping the Communist candidates from getting on the ballot. Watergate lives on. Watergate is a permanent part of capitalist rule. Its aims and methods must be continually fought against.

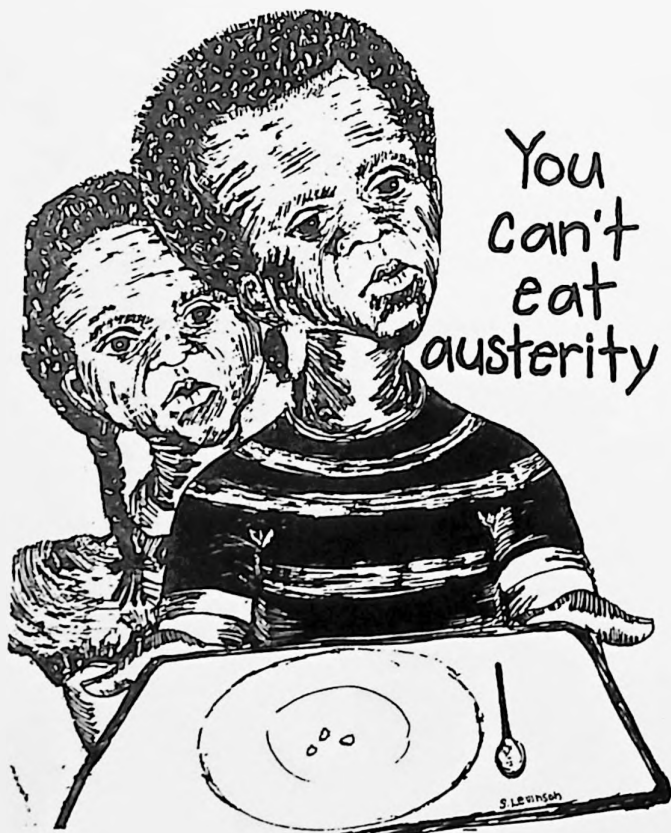
Presently there is a wave of racist violence throughout our land, spurred on by the frontrunners in both parties. Carter is a long-time foe of busing and calls for "ethnic purity." Ford and Reagan call for resistance to school busing and publicly support segregation.

Presently, in North Carolina, there is the case of the Wilmington 10, led by Reverend Ben Chavis, who are victims of one of the most heinous racist frameups in our history. This is a basic fight. They must be freed. The Congress is now considering the most repressive piece of legislation in our history, the infamous Senate Bill 1. This also must be stopped.



The big bankers and monopolists who control the Democratic and Republican Parties have a long-term plan for the plunder of the cities.

The financial rulers aren't satisfied with their indirect rule; they have now set up the Emergency Financial Control Board and the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac). Both are financial control agencies staffed by the biggest bankers and industrialists in town. Through these boards the banks and monopolies have direct rule and veto power over the city budget. Our city is under a financial dictatorship of the richest capitalists in town. They have put the thieves in charge of the city treasury! Says Felix G. Rohatyn, head of Big Mac, "The plan is just beginning... (over the next four years the city will undergo) the most brutal kind of financial and fiscal exercise any community in the country will ever have to face." Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve Board, put it this way (February 11, 1976): "New York City will have to live a life of austerity."



## A Program to Fight Back and Win

The Communist Party's platform is such a program. It will make the creators of the crisis pay for the crisis. It puts people before profits:

1. Cancel the city's debts to the banks,
2. Tax the rich--banks, corporations, real estate firms and millionaires to pay for city services from a special super-profits tax,
3. Exempt all family incomes under \$20,000 from all income tax and private homes assessed under \$40,000 from all real estate taxes,
4. Municipalize the utilities and utilize the income to meet the needs of the cities,
5. A federal law that will prohibit the multi-national corporations and industries from abandoning the cities,
6. Immediate massive federal aid to the cities to guarantee no more cuts and the restoration of all cutbacks,
7. 30-hour work week at 40-hours pay,
8. Outlaw racism--make cases of racism by employers, landlords, etc., subject to criminal penalties--end all discrimination in hiring, promotion, job training and layoffs,
9. Special programs to expand services and create jobs in the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano Asian-American and Native-American Indian communities,
10. Unfreeze wages and roll back prices and rents,
11. Expand trade with socialist countries, (this could create thousands of new jobs),
12. 80 per cent cut in military budget--(this would mean 7.2 billion dollars for New York City).



If all or part of these measures were won it would mean no more cuts; in fact an expansion of services. It would mean that thousands of new jobs would be created. It would mean bringing the city towards a livable level.

This is an anti-monopoly program to meet the current crisis. To achieve these goals is a tall order. But there is enough money in our society to meet the needs of the cities, of all our people. For example, the New York banks' and financial institutions' total wealth is in the neighborhood of \$300 billion. The problem is that while this wealth was created by the majority, it is controlled by a tiny minority at the top.

### How to Win

To win this program will require the united might of the working class, the entire trade union movement allied with Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native-American Indian and Asian-American peoples. It will take unity between the youth and senior citizens, women and men. It will take unity of middle-class victims of monopoly aligned with the working class and oppressed national minorities. This unity can be achieved because we all face a common foe--big business.



The front line must be Black and white unity in order to win. We must learn some lessons from the New York City situation. Let us not underestimate the shrewdness or ruthlessness and the deep racism of these bankers. In launching their offensive against the people of New York City they have been using their time-honored method of "divide and rule." They seek to divide the people of the city into separate groups, disunited and squabbling among themselves. They know that if the target is welfare recipients

and "illegal aliens," big business won't be the target.

These boards of financial dictators do not carry out the cutbacks all at once. First they reduce one service, then another, and still later a third. Afterwards they return to the first target for further cutbacks. They use shock economics to demoralize and frighten the people. They try to get one group fighting the other. Thus, the entire weight of their power is turned against relatively small groups of workers and city residents each time. It is obvious that the only possible way to defeat this strategy is to unite all the victims on a fighting program.

The liberal Democrats and those trade union officials who are unwilling or unable to develop anti-monopoly unity of action will have to be replaced by more progressive and activist-minded leaders who are prepared to do this. When the working people of this city are sufficiently well organized and militant to elect a group of leaders with a program and real fighting spirit, they can win!

Nothing will be won in this fight by relying on the Democratic and Republican Parties. At this stage we all have to recognize that the Democratic and Republican Parties and their presidential candidates are incapable of offering a solution. Both are parties that put big business first. They put monopoly profits before the people's needs. But the moment we show our independence and are able to unite around a fighting mass program, at that moment we will begin to win concessions.

We must begin from a position of political and electoral independence from the two parties of big business. That's the only way to win in either local or national elections, the only way to develop the united organizational and political strength to build a mass people's anti-monopoly party.

The lesser of two evils notion is a drag on the movement for political independence. At this stage in the fight we need candidates who are neither lesser nor evil. We don't need to exchange Ford's racist, anti-busing stand for Carter's "ethnic purity."

Georgia-style austerity isn't any less painful than Michigan-style austerity. The ruling class profits from either. But we don't! We've got to stand firmly against what they stand for. We have to show them that we are serious, that we want a real change.

We must use our vote wisely. You don't go up to an enemy and hand him your weapon. You'll get wasted. That's what a vote for the Republican or Democratic nominee means. And sitting out the election when there is a real choice is like sitting on your weapon in the middle of a major battle. You'll get wasted again.

The wisest, most meaningful, most powerful choice you can make this year is to vote for the Communist Party candidates. Every such vote will be a defeat for the powerful monopolists that run our country because that vote is making a stand; that vote lets them know that you are for a completely new direction for this country. It is a vote they can't ignore. It is a vote powerful enough to begin to change things no matter who gets elected. They'll make big concessions to try to counter the impact of the Communist vote. We say that a big Communist vote in New York City will produce some federal funds for sure.

This attack on New York City will be tried elsewhere if they get away with it. This means economic ruin for

every major urban center in the country. But it won't be confined solely to urban areas. The attack is aimed at working people and youth as a whole. Their long-range plans mean disaster for the vast majority.

But we have a long-range plan too. Our plan means a new society, a new life for all. No more racism and anti-Semitism, full equality for women. It means a society in which our youth can flower and reach their full potential, socially and economically. Such a society can be realized in our country, in our life-time. There's no question about it. The warm sun of socialism will rise in these United States. And big business knows its coming.

They are working overtime now at the FBI and the CIA to keep us off the ballot. They recognize how important our campaign is. In state after state the laws have been changed to make it more and more difficult to get on the ballot.

If they'll spend millions to destroy Unidad Popular in Chile and millions to set back the MPLA in Angola, or save South African apartheid, or stop a Communist election victory in Italy, brothers and sisters, you can imagine how much a big Communist showing here in the United States will shake them up!

That's why a vote for Hall-Tyner is the most meaningful, most powerful vote you can cast.



Continued from P. 14

The equation remains valid: unity between organized labor and the Black community, around which all anti-monopoly elements can be united. A coalition of such forces would substantially aid in the revitalization of the rank and file within the organized labor movement.

The basis for such a coalition would lie in a struggle against corporate power and the military-industrial complex, and the handouts they receive from the bi-partisan Congress.

Coalition, and reliable allies, is a key question in Black strategy for 1976. Indeed, one of the most dramatic moves for independence this year, reflected the need for coalition on a qualitatively new level. In Cincinnati last March the National Black Political Assembly in its fourth annual convention called for the formation of the Independent Freedom Party and the running of an independent Black candidate for President. Despite its many weaknesses, the Assembly charted a new course out of sectarianism and towards coalition. The candidates chosen to carry the banner of the new party indicate this: Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, Rep. Ronald Dellums, Rep. John Conyers of Michigan, Black activist Dick Gregory, and Mayor Richard Hatcher.

While none accepted the nominations, the assembly posed a much needed alternative, electoral independence based "on a broad range of progressive Black, Third World, and white constituencies" that would "challenge the monopoly politics of wealth and power" that have led to "exploitation, racism, and sexism."

For Black politicians to fulfill the tasks they were entrusted with by their constituents, they must build this coalition by immediately directing themselves to revitalizing the people's movement against the crisis engulfing the Black community. Moreover, this would strengthn the base for independent political action.

"You've got to be able to elect the dogcatcher at home before you start electing Presidents," Julian Bond said earlier this year. But what Bond fails to mention is that Black people can elect a dogcatcher, or even a mayor; but they will not be able to change significantly the condition of their constituency without a reordering of federal priorities, and assault on monopoly corporate power, and in the final analysis, a restructuring of the whole socio-economic fabric of this country.

Socialism, the proven answer to unemployment, inflation, and deteriorating social conditions of the people may not be on the agenda in this election. But the recognition of the need to build an anti-monopoly people's party most definitely is. Black people can elect Democratic dogcatchers from now to the year 2000, but failing to confront that immediate task will result only in the continued deterioration of the Black condition, and an increase in the racist repression that holds within it the seeds of fascism.

The development of such a movement, program and party, will give Black people and all oppressed and exploited people in this country a reason to be "militant and aggressive at the ballot box."



Someone, take the blindfold off the lady  
So that she can see,  
What her blindness is doing to me  
The Courts have deceived her, the highest in the land,  
And turned an oasis into a desert of sand.

by Wayne Moore  
Willmington Ten Defendant  
Moore County Prison

Monopoly, its political hacks and stooge political parties, are delighted that tens of millions of young workers who are first hit by the massive layoffs and special targets of speedup, the students who have had the doors of higher education slammed shut in their faces, and especially the militant masses of Black youth who are fighting against being the "jobless generation," don't vote. Monopoly knows that this mass of potential voters, born of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements are overwhelmingly anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist in their outlook and political orientation.

Staying at home on November 2 serves the interests of big business. In fact, it is a vote for their parties; it is a vote for unemployment, racism, austerity, a return to cold war and ever-increasing military budgets, which wage war against the well-being of the U.S. people--Black, brown and white, men and women, young and old. The results are the same: the continuation of the strangle-hold of monopolies on the economic and social life and of their two-party system on nearly all elected offices.

It goes without saying that all youth have nothing to vote for so long as the Democratic and Republican Parties are regarded as the only alternative. However, this is not the only alternative. There is the alternative of independent electoral and political action. Black youth united with other youth and student forces do have the alternative of developing an electoral policy and apparatus based on solving their economic, educational and social needs. And it is clear that these needs cannot be met without a drastic cut in military spending, without programs to create millions of public works and service jobs at decent wages, without making quality public education available to all, without affirmative action to reverse centuries of inequality and discrimination.

Black youth united with other youth and student forces on the basis of a common program of struggle and independent political action, which places the fight against racism and for the special demands of Black youth as central, could be a force which every candidate for public office would have to answer to. Even more, by effective and skilled use of all forms of struggle--in this case the electoral struggle--Black youth can win victories.

There are many approaches which Black youth, indeed all young people, should consider. Progressive legislation, such as the Youth Employment Act of 1976, (also known as the Harrington Bill), can be used as the basis for organizing youth to vote for or against

a candidate depending on whether or not they are seriously fighting for the passage of this bill. Anti-monopoly, independent electoral formations, especially at the local level, can provide an effective alternative to the two parties. In this context, possibilities also exist for youth and student organizations to run candidates.

Massive voter registration and information efforts are urgently necessary to realize the full potential of youth's voting strength.

There is no better illustration than the history of the Black freedom struggle itself that victories can be won, but that winning them is a struggle which takes time. Anti-monopoly, anti-racist victories can be won in the immediate sense, even though a ring-leader of the racist offensive may be elected President. The key thing is what the masses do in the course of the elections. The mobilization of millions on an independent basis, winning masses to active struggle against racism, unemployment, austerity and military spending, can effectively limit the options and maneuverability of whoever is in the White House next January.

That monopoly is aware and afraid of this kind of development needs constant repeating. The highest expression of political independence and a common program to meet the needs of the people and the young generation, Black youth in particular, is the platform and candidacies of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President. The Presidential ticket of the Communist Party is the most effective electoral weapon available to the working class, oppressed peoples and youth in the fight for detente, jobs, equality and democratic progress.

\* \* \*

Continued from P. 20

ance are the areas where the self-interests of the different groups merge or are parallel. There are a number of separate groups moving in the direction of political independence. These are all positive reflections of the growing sentiment for political independence. But most of these attempts have some common weaknesses. Most of them adopt the posture: "Well, here we are. We have set up this independent movement and we now welcome the support of all other sectors."

If we have learned anything from the mass upsurge of the past, it is that a successful movement must start as an alliance of the different forces, an alliance into which all of the forces have an input right from the beginning. It is also clear that an independent political challenge that has a chance of winning must include sections of the working class--Black, Latin and white, both leadership and rank-and-file, if possible; the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities, leadership and rank-and-file, if possible; sections of the women's and youth movements, the peace groups, anti-imperialist organizations and the various other people's organizations.

To be effective, such an alliance must, right from the word go, work to build a grassroots base. This is not a period in history in which leaders can set up national formations and then get spontaneous grassroots support. Without waiting for national formations such coalitions should be organized in legislative and congressional districts.

In their programs such coalitions can and must take a stand against monopoly power, a forthright stand against racism, for basic democratic rights and against all foreign policies of imperialist aggression and the huge military budgets. They must take a stand against the concepts of austerity and wage freezes, for tax cuts, rent and price rollbacks.

On the basis of the latest Supreme Court decision, such a coalition must fight for a massive low-income housing program for workers--Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and white--to be built especially in the areas where the people work. All local ordinances that restrict building of low-income housing for any reason must be declared illegal and unconstitutional.

The struggle against racism is very closely tied to the concept of political independence and the tactic of maximum mass pressure.

The election campaign of the Communist Party is closely related to the tactic of maximum pressure on the enemy. A vote for the Communist candidates is a vote for maximum pressure; first, because we are active in helping to build a coalition of political independence. We are an active anti-imperialist force and we are consistent fighters against racism.

The vote that frightens the ruling class more than any other is a big vote for the candidates of a party they know stands firmly on these basic issues. A vote for a 90% or 75% racist is not going to frighten anyone. The vote that will result in maximum concessions is a big vote for Communist candidates. In the electoral arena, the building of political independence and a vote for Communist candidates is a vote for the maximum pressure on the ruling class.

\* \* \*



over 45,000 workers in Liberia, with unskilled jobs going overwhelmingly to Liberian Blacks and the skilled and executive jobs being reserved for whites. In 1964, the net income of Firestone from its Liberian holdings was \$154 million, of which \$62 million was taken out of the country.

The eagerness of the Ford Administration to extend "economic aid" to nations in Southern Africa is directly related to these super profits made by the monopolies in Africa. The motivation of the Ford Administration is not to genuinely assist African countries in the process of development, but rather to aid the monopolies in their efforts to continue plundering the African natural resources.

The criminal impact of this plunder on the Liberian people is dramatically revealed by the fact that their per capita income in Liberia is only \$101 to \$150 per year. The amount of protein each individual obtains is only 60% or recognized requirements. Doctors number only one per 11,000 people, and life expectancy is only 39 years. Such are the "benefits" of U.S. monopolies' "development" of the African continent! (Figures from article by Winston Berry in August 27, 1970 Daily World.)

Needless to say, the rubber companies are suffering no such hardships. While net income and sales dipped temporarily during the last economic Depression (1974-75), these companies are now bouncing back to reach new record levels. Goodyear's net income for the first quarter of this year, for example, was up 97% over last year, and sales are at record highs. All the Big Four rubber companies--Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal and Goodrich--are among the Fortune 500 top corporations.

The rubber workers strike is the second major national strike this year, following the Teamsters strike by only a few weeks. Predictions are for a long strike. Its outcome can affect all U.S. workers--Black, brown and white, who face contract expirations this year. The appeal for support, especially the boycott of Firestone products, deserves support from the rest of the labor movement as well as from the communities.

So, if you're in the market for a new or used car, insist that if there are Firestone tires on it, they be changed. Or, if you're just out to buy a new tire or two, make sure the label doesn't read "Firestone"! And, if you're a member of a trade union or community organization, try to get your organization to support and publicize the boycott of Firestone products among its members.

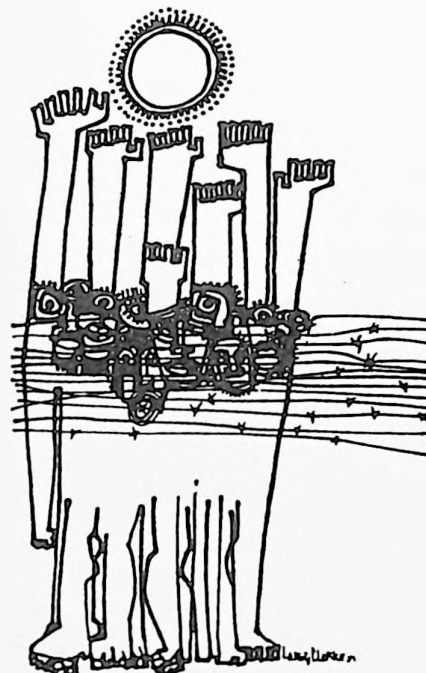
Continued from P. 22

## Until Victory is Won

*Left to die of thirst in the torturing heat  
And drowning in an oasis of illusions  
Withering from injustice like a raisin in the sun  
But determined to struggle until victory is won*

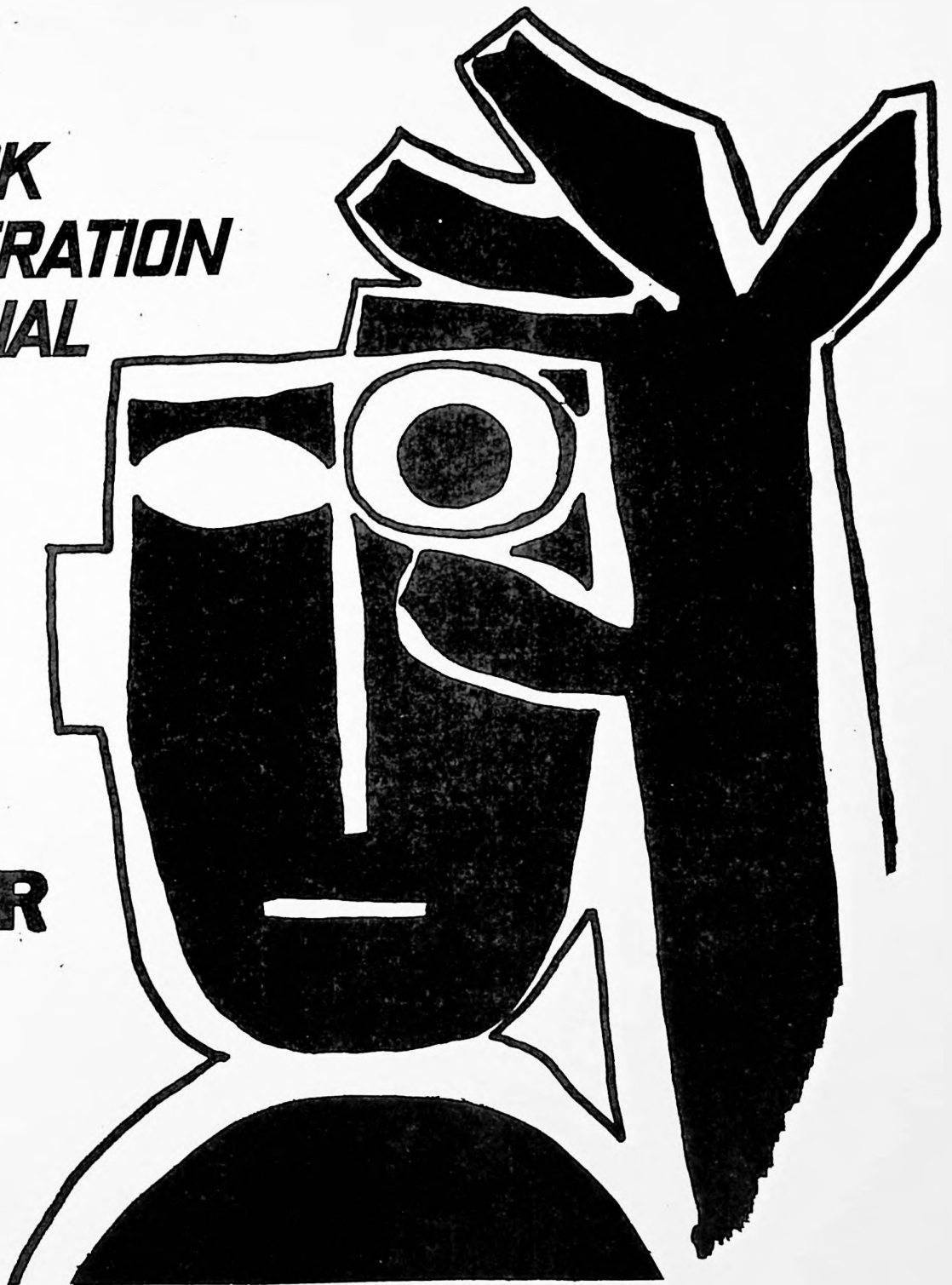
*Condemned to pursue a dream of justice.  
Turned into a nightmare by chains and shackles.  
Relentless persecution at the end of a gun.  
But determined to struggle until victory is won.*

By Wayne Moore  
Willmington Ten Defendant  
Moore County Prison  
May, 1976



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