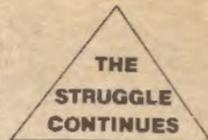




# UNITY STRUGGLE



NATIONALISM \* PAN-AFRIKANISM \* SOCIALISM (UJAMAA)

VOLUME 3 NUMBER 7

JULAI 1974

20 CENTS

## Sixth Pan Afrikan Congress Takes Revolutionary Socialist Direction!

At work on an international stage in Dar es Salaam, June 19-27 recently, were the forces that have recently been very evident, within the ideological struggles in the united states. At the Sixth Pan Afrikan Congress, we saw Neo Colonialism emerge as the major enemy to be destroyed in the anti imperialist, anti racist struggle of Afrikans internationally, even though major colonial wars of national liberation remain. But most of our people are oppressed by neocolonialism, just as we are in NewArk, Detroit, Los Angeles, Atlanta, D.C., etc., and the fact that revolutionary PanAfrikanists from the caribbean were excluded from the congress, including CLR James, an international sponsor who stayed away when he "found out in the newspapers" that neocolonial governments in the west indies had conspired to see that representatives from New Beginnings (Trinidad), NJAC (Trinidad), New Jewel (Grenada), AfroCaribbean Movement (Antigua), and others, revolutionaries like Geddes Granger, Tim Hector, Maurice Bishop, Franklyn Harvey, were blatantly obstructed and prevented from joining caribbean delegations and instead we had government apologists spitting out progressive verbiage like bad breath to mask their continuing domination by international finance capital.

On the positive side however, despite the neo-colonial, OAU like

construction of the 6PAC, progressive governments like Tanzania, Guinea, Somalia, Congo, teamed with Liberation Movements, and the progressive elements of a divided North American delegation, to push through a newly progressive line as definition of "PanAfrikanism," and our focus of struggle world wide.

In future issues we will print some of the crucial documents to emerge out of the 6PAC e.g., the speeches of Ahmed Sekou Toure, Ndugu Mwalimu Nyerere, Owusu Sadaukai, Imamu Baraka, the clarity of the Congolese, the Somalians, ZANU, PAC (S.A.), FRELIMO and others (Guinea-Bissau was not there, and UNITA delegate was called away early on an emergency). But glaringly open, was the running struggle of the north american delegation which pitted the reactionary nationalist "skin analysis" vs analyses that made use of class as well as race. In the world arena it was equally obvious that the skin analysts on the continent are the most blatant neo-colonialists and the skin analysis is to cover up the class struggle that rages in the Afrikan world. So that our american black skin thinkers ended up being teamed with Senegal, Liberia, Sudan, Jamaica, etc., if not Zaire and Grenada. Sudan's great line, for instance was, "There is no class struggle in the Afrikan world except in South Afrika." Senegal

(Continued on page 9)

### AFRIKAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE



Among the Workshop Forum panelists who will be participating in the Afrikan Women's Conference are (from left to right) Maxine Williams, Socialist Worker's Party; Joyce Johnson, Youth Organization for Black Unity; and Doris Innis, Congress of Racial Equality.

The Congress of Afrikan People is sponsoring an historic event—the first Afrikan Women's Conference July 5-7, 1974 in NewArk, New Jersey. The Conference has been called as an important step toward heightening the political awareness and educational development of Afrikan Women in order that we may more effectively strive for the unification of all Afrikan People.

And our conference is more than words well-placed. The Workshop Forums in Education, Social Organization, Politics, Health, Welfare and Employment, Communications, and Institutional Development reflect our seriousness. Workshop Forum participants are Afrikan Women from the Americas, Liberation Movements, West Indies, and Afrikan Nations. As we come together, our working ideology has three components — Nationalism because we, as a people make up a Cultural nation, and to survive, our commitment is to wage a struggle for National Liberation; Pan-Afrikanism because Afrikan People all over the world will be united or remain oppressed; and Socialism ((Ujamaa) because we will return attitudinally to our own traditions while) becoming a technologically oriented modern Afrikan people who will develop cooperative systems and collective institutions for achieving self-determination, self-respect and self-defense, in the struggle for control of the world's wealth by the masses of people in the world.



International 6PAC Delegates applaud call for PanAfrikan Socialist Revolution as part of struggle for Socialist Revolution worldwide.

### Definition of Socialism

Socialism implies:

1. Common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Production is for use, and not for profit.
2. Planned methods of production by the state, based on modern industry and agriculture.
3. Political power in the hands of the people, with the entire body of workers possessing the necessary governmental machinery through which to express their needs and aspirations. It is a concept in keeping with the humanist and egalitarian spirit which characterised traditional Afrikan society, though it must be applied in a modern context. All are workers; and no person exploits another.
4. Application of scientific methods in all spheres of thought and production.

### NEO COLONIALISM IN MOMENTARY TRIUMPH; NEWARK RIGHT WING OF PETIT BOURGEOIS "WIN" ELECTIONS CLASS FORMATIONS SOLIDIFY

The defeat of Dennis Westbrooks, and to a lesser extent Ralph Grant, and also Adhimu Chunga, Jim Nance, and Juliet Grant mark the stunning reversal of the progressive wing of the black community's political aspirations here in NewArk. And temporarily the clear set back of revolutionary forces who were in coalition with this progressive petit bourgeois wing.

What is demonstrated by these defeats, and also the election of Kenneth Gibson, Earl Harris, Sharpe James, plus Donald Tucker and Jesse James Allen (who will rob the poor

and give to the rich), is that Gibson has consolidated his forces, with the overt help of imperialists (Chamber of Commerce, led by Prudential, world's largest life insurance company) and has brought in the extreme right wing of NewArk's emerging petit bourgeois and bureaucratic bourgeois formation to say yes to his sellouts. His recent appointment of George Branch, an ex-boxer and simple gibson yes man in replacement of Adhimu Changa the brilliant young militant member of the board of education, as pay off of a

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## MARTLAND HEALTH CARE NON-EXISTENT UNDER NEO-COLONIALISM

It cannot be overstated that the principle contradiction in America is between this racist and capitalist system and the people. With Black people racism makes that contradiction even more oppressive since we can be singled out to be super-oppressed, because we are Black. In this case it is Martland Hospital and the New Jersey College of Medicine & Dentistry which has a history of racism and capitalism, now augmented by neo-colonialism, which is an agent of oppression against the people. But, as Marx has stated and all revolutionaries in the 20th century have confirmed, dialectical movement, the changing of things into their opposites, must take place. And so we are involved in a struggle to change Martland, with its institutionalized bourgeois and racist attitudes into a progressive center of health care for the people. Right now there are a number of incidents and issues everyday that must be struggled against and which in turn serve to unify the people for further struggle.

Recently we received complaints that a young Black man, Hugh Brown, had fallen out of bed and been killed as a result of that accident. We went to the hospital to investigate and spoke to several of the patients, who confirmed the story. One patient, Hayward Sturdevant, described the patient's condition and the incident,



OUR GROUP HAD 27 PERCENT FEWER SPONGES MISSING. Missing sponges is no joke at Martland, where health care is virtually non-existent under neo-colonial administrators who support suburban capitalist rule.

"I was over here and I noticed his family had been coming around trying to walk him around. He appeared physically he was getting stronger, but mentally I really don't know because I'm not a doctor. And the rails were up on the bed and in order to crawl over those rails you got to hear a noise, you know. And it's supposed to be somebody watching that man or either he's supposed to be tied down. You know what I mean? So when he hit the floor, he had a tract under here (pointing to the neck area where Hugh Brown had had an operation and had a sutured surgical wound) and I understand it was healed or just about all of it healed

and all of it bust open and it was a lot of blood over here." The other patients described how a doctor was called, but did not respond. Milton East told us, "So, well, they tried to do the best they could, (the orderlies and nurses assistants), couldn't get a doctor up here right away for some reason... it was about twenty or thirty minutes before a doctor come." The patients also confirmed the fact that these types of incidents are a daily occurrence at Martland, by pointing out that, "This is not the first time he fell out of bed, he fell out of bed once before."

The poor medical practice and lax procedures taken with patients exemplifies what the nature of crimes the capitalistic mentality, once institutionalized, can be. The masses of people, or workers, do not control the means of production, not even to produce the health care so vital to life. The worse part of the crime is that the masses do not have a choice — the choice of free selection which capitalism claims to offer — i.e. Should I come to Martland or Presbyterian? When the average person falls of a ladder and needs surgery, like what happened to Hugh Brown, a painter by occupation, his social and economic status in America predetermine what he must accept, regardless of need, as Hayward Sturdevant put it, "What happened was really uncalled for if he had been watched. Yes, definitely! If he had been tied down. (A normal procedure for patients who are weak and con-

fused) . . . Well, he's Black and I'm Black and this is what's happening—and first thing these people figure that everybody here is on welfare, 90% of the people and they could care less. Most of these doctors is on a fixed salary and they just don't go out of their way, that's all."

But as one Black worker points out, "The future belongs to the dispossessed!" and so we are involved in the daily heightening of the struggle to establish justice in Martland Hospital, the New Jersey College of Medicine & Dentistry, where the poor, mostly Black and Puerto Rican patients will join with the workers and students to struggle together against the institutionalized exploitation and racist practices of the college suburban faculty and administration and the reactionary antics of the Black neo-colonialists until adequate health care is produced for the people.



Dr. Harold Kaminetzky, Martland's chief medical officer and butcher in charge of the neocolonial and suburbanite run hospital that continues to brutalize our people.

## Neo Colonialism's Momentary Triumph



Neo-Co-Ken

(Continued from page 1)

promise to Shanker's NewArk Teachers' Union is clear enough. Branch knows enough about education to fill a nat's nose. In city council Gibson supported openly only yesman Tucker, (covertly, Villani, Bottone,) and now the PAX GIBSONA will produce a string of superficial reactionary moves that will reweave us into pre 1970 frustrations and the hegemony of the Jesse Allens, Levin Wests, George Branches, and many Addonizio cronies, and with that restoration, a resumption of that

corruption and antiblack practices, no matter the skin color of the agents. (Oily Earl Harris openly supported the murderer, Martinez, in the East Ward!).

At the same time, Gibson made his open alliance with Harry Lerner, Democratic County Plantation Chairman. And with the support of reactionary mayors (black and white) defeated Mayor Richard Hatcher for an important post in the Conference of Mayors, even after a Black Caucus of Mayors voted to support Hatcher. From Prudential, to Democratic party (and their Zionist supporters), the hegemony of Neo-Co Ken is all but complete. His run at the congressional seat in 76 or more staggering Vice Presidency, should be obvious.

But to get there Gibson will have to make more and more obvious deals with monopoly and frankly antipopular interests, and agree openly to serve the forces of reaction and imperialism. And with the nationalist image that began his trek to Mobutuhood, he is well imaged to get the profiteers' job done, which is oppress the masses for the sake of the capitalists.

Meanwhile the progressive forces in this city had better reassess their



Earl Harris, Donald Tucker, Sharpe James, and Jesse James Allen . . . will their only function be to collaborate with our enemies?

prospects and realign themselves for a period of repression and intense struggle. The NewArk Cadre of the Congress of Afrikan People, Advocates of Kawaida, Committee for Unified NewArk, and other progressive forces will be (and already are) hounded by the newly strengthened forces of reaction. But, check it out, what is necessary is the clear awareness of who are our enemies and who are our friends. Dialectical movement is a fact of all life. The principal contradiction in the world now is Imperialism vs the People. In NewArk now, Imperialism is the principal aspect of that contradiction as it moves to dominate through its native agents. But as the Taxi Cab Strike showed the ultimate force and power is the Unified Masses, the People. So will future events. And though the class formations hardened this is an excellent prospect for struggle since it means it grows more and more obvious that

progressive movement in the Black north American community as well must be rooted primarily in the working class, the masses of black people who go to work everyday, or used to, or want to, and that once we have reached a dynamic state of ideological clarity, the force of this 97% of our population cannot be denied!

Socialist Revolution is the answer. Progressives all over the world know this. The masses must control the means of production, distribution and exchange. The dictatorship of the Workers in place of the dictatorship of the exploiters. Our transitional step to socialism, and the eradication of all classes. Our first step in NewArk, reorganize, gain ideological clarity, make the proper alliances and coalitions, struggle with no let up. Watch us build a truly revolutionary movement, and contribute to world socialism!

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# NEW ARK TAXI STRIKE ORGANIZES CAB DRIVERS

On June 4th, 1974, NewArk Cab Drivers began the first citywide strike, against their economic exploitation by "Big Business," known as the Taxi Board of Trade. The cab drivers had also been struggling for months, with the monopoly capitalist Port of New York and New Jersey Authority, which has continuously denied NewArk cab drivers access to Terminal A at the NewArk International Airport. This twin enemy force, the Taxi Board of Trade and the Port Authority, million and billion dollar profiteers respectively, are local representatives of this oppressive system of racism and capitalism, i.e. profit for the few and poverty for the many.

The strike was initiated by the drivers, to bring about a redistribution of the wealth within the taxi industry, where a small elite of Big time capitalists, big owners, pseudo big owners, fleet owners and a few independents, virtually control the entire NewArk taxi industry, carting off millions of dollars in profits, while the drivers and owner-drivers are barely able to bring home enough income to feed their families. These private profiteers, owners of 20th Century Cabs, United Cabs, Hornsby Cabs, Green Cabs, Brown & White Cabs, and National Safety Cabs, have exploited the labor of the drivers, by subjecting them daily to

people are the decisive factor in the making of history."

An analysis of the taxi industry will show that there were six principal strata within the industry; 1) Drivers-who represent the masses of people, are 1600 in number, are 75% Black and 25% White and Puerto Rican, represent the most oppressed grouping in the industry and had the most to benefit from the demands; 2)Owner-Drivers who own their own cabs, drive for their living and are in most cases tied down by five year contracts which force them to work day in and out in order to keep possession of the right to purchase their own medallion, which now costs anywhere from \$18,000 to \$22,000; 3)Independent Owners who are aspiring fleet owners, own 7-10 cabs, represent the petty bourgeoisie, and were the most vacillating grouping in action; 4)Fleet Owners-large subsidiaries of the big cab owners, i.e. fleets of cabs within the cab associations owned by one or two people, who are under the direct control of the big owners; 5)Pseudo Big Owners who represent Petit and Pseudo or national bourgeoisie class formation within the Black community, but who will never have the large controlling interest of the industry because of racial, i.e., National discrimination; and 6) Big Owners-People who are in direct



Taxi drivers are joined by CAP's Chairman, Imam Amiri Baraka and other CAP members in picket line against one of the Big Taxi Owners.

intimidate drivers. Zizza's lies of "Goon Squads" and the police department's acts of provocation and intrigue, demonstrate that the police department is not the servant of the people, but rather servants of the capitalists, who exploit our labor daily and are our very oppressors.

The recent run-off election is a concrete manifestation of NewArk's semi-colonialist nature and fascist and racist direction. Oily Earl Harris, who was recently re-elected in the municipal election was his usual self, dealing left, dealing right, and took the same reactionary line as the racist and capitalist Port Authority and Taxi Board of Trade. Recently elected Central Ward Councilman Jesse Allen was caught leaving 20th Century Cab, during the strike, probably picking up his bag money, literally ramming through the driver's picket line.

The cab drivers voted to end the 17 day strike, after reaching a compromise agreement for a 30 day period. The agreement which will be formally presented by the City Council, included; a roll back of all prices of gas and rental to the April 1st, 1974 prices. This will mean the reduction of present rental costs by one dollar and the lowering of the gas prices to a flat \$.64c per gallon.

The drivers voted unanimously to

end the strike and form an independent citywide taxi organization, so that they can begin to meet their own needs, strike out against acts of capitalist exploitation, and serve the community more efficiently.

The strike also brought about an emergency meeting of the City Council, which passed for its first reading an increase of taxi rates from its present \$.50 initial 1/8 mile meter reading and \$.50 each additional one-eighth mile to a \$.60 initial 1/6

(Continued on page 8)



The support of the revolutionary party, the Congress of Afrikan People, along with the unity of both black and white taxi drivers during the 16 day strike is what achieved their demands.

payments of as much as \$40 per day for cab rentals and up to 70c per gallon for gas. These cab owners monopolize over 90% of NewArk's Taxi industry and continue to rip off the NewArk community as a whole.

The cab drivers, who are the real workers in the industry, viewed their relationship in the taxi business solely as that of drivers, who were meant to be bossed. However, through the strike the cab drivers became conscious of their important role in the industry. They realized that there is no taxi industry without the driver, since no service or wealth can be produced if the driver does not move the cab. As Mao pointed out, "the

control of all the lesser strata by their large financial interests within the industry and political control of the industry.

We found that the hardest fighters within the industry were the drivers, the owner drivers and some owner-drivers!

The reactionary supporters of racism, capitalism and imperialism emerged during the strike in an attempt, to misrepresent and stop, where possible, the workers struggle. Police Captain Zizza who also is the head of the NewArk Tactical Force, used police agents and provocateurs daily, as "cab drivers" and "passengers" to harrass and

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# LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE!!

**QUESTION: Suppose Nixon won't resign and refuses to be impeached?**

**Beverly Anderson:** University of Delaware student: Newark, Delaware: "We should circulate a petition across the nation forcing Congress to impeach him. It is our right to remove from office all corrupt officials."



**Samuel Lee,** A Pharmacist of Camden, N.J.: "If he refuses to do what the House of Representatives says, he should be tried as a citizen for his crimes & the Vice-President should be named President"



**Ronald Williams,** 52 Belmont Ave., Newark, N.J.: "I believe he should already be out. I feel that Nixon has been so hard on the black man that now he has cause the white man to suffer also. And now nobody wants him to remain in office. He must go!"



**Vernon Goodchild** of Bronx, New York: "Impeachment or no impeachment, he's still an imperialist white man. And who ever else comes in office will do the same to black folks. Its time blacks stop depending on white folks for candidates and to form our own party and run our own candidates."



**Bertha Faison,** 176 Howard St., Newark, N.J.: "I think he should resign before it gets to the point that the people have to force him out of office. But we know that the Watergate has caused all this to come out in the open and whatever the people decides, must be done."



**William Gibbs** of Bronx, New York: "I feel this way, if he isn't impeached it'll be worse. Especially for black unemployment and no place to go, it will cause a lot robberies, etc. We have to live some place—even if we'll not working."



ALSC Conference

## TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY

(Continued from page 6)

colonial violence, the liberation movement must mobilize and organize the people, under the direction of a strong and disciplined political organization, in order to resort to violence in the cause of freedom—the armed struggle for the national liberation."

It's components or cutting edges are Nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism, and Socialism. Each of these categories represents a dynamic of our struggle that is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the highest form of social develop-

ment.

The ALSC Conference on Racism & Imperialism and others of this type are a necessity for a Black United Front such as ALSC. Imamu Baraka puts it, "The United Front must be able to raise the key issues of our struggle and discuss them openly and above board in the spirit of unity-criticism-unity, in order to defeat opportunism, which is part of the struggle against imperialism, and a direct aid in building the ultimate revolutionary party."

## Haki Madhubuti and Jitu Weusi . . . INDIVIDUALISM BRINGS TWO CAP RESIGNATIONS, 2 Pt.

Again and again individualism showed itself in dealings with the Congress of Afrikan People Executive Council and organization as a whole. IPE and The East were the foremost important things to be developed and not Congress of Afrikan People. The paper "Unified Consciousness" was written to address itself to these tendencies. This individualism showed itself most clearly on the ideological plane, where confronted by the anti-federalism, anti-ativist, anti-primitive nationalist, anti-elitist, ideological development of the Congress of Afrikan People, these brothers became defensive and made reference to the dubious idea that they were in agreement with Congress of Afrikan People's Revolutionary Nationalism, PanAfrikanism, and Socialism (Ujamma), but that it was their respective councils that disagreed. When in actuality, even if this were true, then open ideological forums should have been arranged whereby these issues could be discussed and clarified.

We are not saying people will not disagree, but that in a vanguard revolutionary party, which the Congress of Afrikan People is trying to build, disagreement is a signal for ideological discussion and unification upon a higher political level, not individualistic withdrawal, to preserve the "sanctity" of one's ideas.

However, not only is it the fact of the withdrawals that is negative but the ideas around which there was disagreement which should also be pointed out, as a basis for indicating what IPE and The East want, and what Congress of Afrikan People wants.

At one point the Chairman of Congress of Afrikan People visited The East to find out more about the programs the Brooklyn cadre was involved in. After touring the small businesses The East has opened, a meeting was arranged with the Congress of Afrikan People Chairman and the East Council, at the request of Jitu and the Council. At the meeting the following points were introduced, and the following answers given: (Some aspects of these questions were answered in "Unified Consciousness" as well as "The Meaning and Development of Revolutionary Kawaida"):

In the interpretation of the doctrine of Kawaida and correct positions on Black Revolutionary Struggle within the United States, must all Congress of Afrikan People organizations submit to views held by the Chairman? Are there any other valid thinkers in the arena of Revolutionary Black Nationalism?

Is it the objective of the Chairman to make all Congress of Afrikan People organizations "carbon copies" of the CFUN organization? Are there any things other Cadre groups can bring to the Congress of Afrikan People and contribute to the national body? (except products)

Are the terms, "Unity without Uniformity" and "Operational Unity", formerly code words for Umoja, used by the Chairman no longer applicable to our struggle?

Does the Chairman see the present state of leadership within the Congress of Afrikan People developing into a personality cult with the Chairman having the only influence on member organizations?



Haki Madhubuti and Jitu Weusi, individualistic chair people, IPE & the EAST.

Why have most of the operational tentacles of the Congress of Afrikan People been relocated within the Newark (Treasury, Delegate Reception, Afrikan Printing Cooperative, United Nations Representation, Newspaper) chapter?

Whatever became of the effort to clarify the concept of the "Extended Family". This point was briefly mentioned at the cadre session of the Congress of Afrikan People but has not been heard from since.

How and under what circumstances has Black News been given the status of a "magazine", when it was adopted at the June meeting of Congress of Afrikan People that Black News carrying the section Fundisha would be the official voice of Congress of Afrikan People.

How can we consider participation in an economic union when at the present time there are absolutely no types of goods/services being exchanged between the National Office (NewArk) and the Brooklyn Chapter (The EAST). Not only aren't there any trade agreements between these two organizations but there appears to be outright aversion. Several people have been assured that "the (Continued from page 11)

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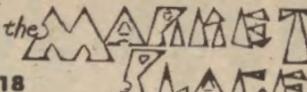
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# CONFRONTATION

(5th of Series)



Shirley Graham Dubois

Few of his allies agreed. Neither they nor the Egyptian generals wanted to stop fighting. A collapse in Middle East Unity threatened! President Sadat faced this crisis with brotherly concern and understanding. He did not dictate; he listened and then asked, "why should we longer send our precious sons against the deadly arsenal of the United States when we now have guarantees of obtaining our objectives? Let us pause, my Brothers and give political diplomacy a chance! Few in this region, however, any longer had faith in words, but Sadat patiently repeated:

"The ceasefire on the lines of October 22 is guaranteed by the two big powers; the second article stipulates implementation immediately of Resolution No. 242. And the first thing stipulated by this resolution is the impermissibility of occupying others' lands by force and calls for Israel's withdrawal from the lands she took by force in 1967."

To those who feared that the Palestinians had been let down by acceptance of the ceasefire, President Sadat emphasized that Resolution 242 stipulates the just settlement of the Palestine Question. And always he returned to the fact that: "The superpowers have given their guarantee and assurances on implementation of Resolution 242".

President Sadat is not naive. This Leader is not only an experienced military man, he is a keen and astute statesman. I do not believe he was putting his trust in "superpowers". He knew that the world's majority peoples were behind him—that dark-skinned majority ingenuously referred to as the Third World. He trusts them to enforce the just peace to which he aspires. Now if the superpowers renege or back away from the guarantees they themselves

have given—if they fail to uphold assurances openly made before the world—their credibility will drain away; stripped of integrity, principle and strength, the dominant white nations will stand naked before the world:

The two weeks following the ceasefire have seen the war continued on diplomatic fronts rather than on battle fields—though there has been some fighting. Mr. Kissinger arrives in Cairo tonight (Nov. 6th). He will have to give tangible proof that the United States is exerting constructive influence on Israel or the continued violations by the Israelis will surely bring an end to the ceasefire. There is not the slightest suggestion of the Arabs backing down on any of their objectives. If the Israelis begin to withdraw—we will all, with the Palestinians, gather round a peace table under the auspices of the United Nations. If not—we shall resume fighting.

Ministers and top officials of the Arab Oil States met in Kuwait November 4th and agreed to increase their cut of oil output to twenty-five percent, with an additional cut of five percent in December. A three-day session of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU) which ended in Tripoli Nov. 4th, decided to boycott all U.S. and Dutch transport and cargo operations in Arab countries. This decision would be applied to any other countries actively supporting Israel. ICATU also called for the nationalization of all assets owned by American or Dutch concerns in Arab countries and on Arab governments to withdraw their deposits from non-Arab banks, particularly from finance houses hostile to the Arab cause. However, the ICATU appealed to Arab states which have increased the price of oil not to allow their actions to affect the economies of developing countries which have demonstrated their solidarity with the Arab people.

## ALSC CONFERENCE...

# TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY

In the last edition of Unity & Struggle, we reported on the recent Afrikan Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) Conference on Racism & Imperialism, the workshops and panel discussions, and the major participants. This article will deal with the prevalent ideological tendencies within the progressive Black United Front that the ALSC is, and which were displayed at the conference.

A Black United Front is defined as an organization consisting of proponents of "all tendencies and



Stokely Carmichael, All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party.

ideologies that can cohere around certain given objectives or goals."

The major positions taken at the conference (and the major positions within the ALSC and our movement as a whole) were the "orthodox Pan-Afrikanist" line, the "orthodox Marxist" line, and the cultural analysis as a framework of nationalism, Pan Afrikanism and Socialism.

The main proponents of the "orthodox PanAfrikanist" position were Stokely Carmichael (All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party) and Kwadwo Akpan (Pan Afrikan Congress, U.S.A.). This position emphasizes mainly (and to some people exclusively) the liberation and unification of the Afrikan continent, "Pan-Afrikanism." The struggle for self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense of Afrikan People here in

North America and the interational struggles for Socialism are downplayed, if not totally ignored.

This line (even though espoused by noted 'Nkrumahist' Stokely Carmichael) seems to contradict Nkrumah's objectives of Nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism, and Socialism. Nkrumah states (in Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare, Page 24), "These objectives are closely inter-related and one cannot be achieved fully without the other. If one of the three components is missing, no territory on our continent can secure genuine freedom or maintain a stable government."

Some "orthodox Pan-Afrikanists" also take a purely racial position which represents Europeans (white boys or devils) as the only enemy of Black people. Proponents of this position fail to understand the nature of the new colonialism. Most Afrikan nations are no longer colonized by Europeans, just as Atlanta, NewArk, Detroit, and Los Angeles now have Black administrators. That in the wake of the civil rights movement, the creation of a miniclass of pseudo, national and petit bourgeois blacks collaborating with imperialism brought about the emergence of neo-colonialism in the black community. And because of this, the principle contradiction is between Imperialism and the People. It is Imperialism (and

(Continued on page 6)



Abdul Alkalimat, ALSC, Research and Development.

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ALSC CONFERENCE . . .

**TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY**

(Continued from page 5)



Owusu Sadaukai, Executive Committee, ALSC.

it's lackeys, no matter what color) that must be struggled with, rather than just Europeans per se (even though it is certainly true that imperialism is essentially a manifestation of Europe and Euro America and Japan).

The main spokesman for the "orthodox Marxist" line at the conference was Abdul Alkalimat of Fisk University and Research & Development Coordinator of ALSC.

Often "orthodox Marxists" are dogmatic in that they attempt to implement the theory of Marx and the theories and practice of Lenin, not recognizing, as put by James Boggs in *The Awesome Responsibilities of Revolutionary Leadership*. "That Lenin was building a party for his time, to change intolerable conditions in his country, based on the analysis of the specific conditions in that country. Lenin is not relevant to us unless we have done the same for this country and for our time. Similarly they do not recognize that Marx was writing at a specific stage in Western

history and that, if he were living today, he would have advanced his theory far beyond what he wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century, for the simple reason that society itself has advanced to another historical stage."

It is for this reason that we not only must make use of analysis of our own culture, eg., social structures, in order to evolve a revolutionary theory for our time, but we must also learn from great anti-imperialists and socialists like Stalin, Mao Tse-Tsung, Ho Chi Minh, Nkrumah, Nyerere, Toure, Cabral, to make use of analyses that came after, sometimes modifying or even disputing, orthodox Marxist-Leninism.

Owusu Sadaukai, a founder and past Chairman of ALSC led a major thrust at the conference (and within ALSC) that calls for the primacy of the struggle of workers in the U.S. and an attempt to utilize relevant aspects of Marxist-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung thought to further clarify the objective realities of the last part of the 20th century—and although it is evident that Owusu's line takes into consideration the concrete struggles of Black People in North America, there is perhaps a tendency to underemphasize (probably as a reaction to petit-bourgeois cultists and atavists who call themselves "cultural nationalists") the role of culture as having any importance in the struggle against imperialism. The large YOBU (Youth Organization for Black Unity) contingent were also proponents of this position.

But as Cabral says in "National Liberation & Culture", "The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated." Cabral continues, "The study of the history of national liberation struggles shows that generally these struggles are preceded by an increase in expression of culture, consolidated progressively into a successful or unsuccessful attempt to affirm the cultural personality of the dominated people, as a means of negating the oppressor culture. Whatever may be the conditions of a people's political and social factors in practicing this domination, it is generally within the culture that we find the seed of opposition, which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement."

The third major position was the one put forth by Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People, Imamu Amiri Baraka. This position utilizes cultural analysis and the formulation of a revolutionary value system as a frame work for ideological & systemic development, based on Nationalism, PanAfrikanism, and Socialism, on measurable reality and current conditions not mythology and idealism and metaphysics.

It features an understanding of world history, Afrikan history, history of Afrikans in North America, current world conditions, current conditions in the Afrikan world, current conditions of Afrikans in North America, and international revolutionary experience.

This line, sometimes called Revolutionary Kawaida, speaks of the need for creation of a revolutionary party, and is influenced not only by the writings of Maulana Karenga, but other great revolutionaries, from Marx and Lenin to Mao, Nyerere, Toure and Cabral. Its approach to culture can be summarized by this



Imamu Baraka, Chairman, Congress of Afrikan People.

quote from Amilcar Cabral's "National Liberation and Culture," "The more one realizes that the chief goal of the liberation movement goes beyond the achievement of political independence to the superior level of complete liberation of the productive forces and the construction of economic, social, and cultural progress of the people, the more evident is the necessity of undertaking a selective analysis of the values of the culture within the framework of the struggle for liberation. The need for such an analysis of cultural values becomes more acute when in order to face

(Continued on page 4)



The need for ideological clarity was discussed in all conference workshops, including this ALSC conference workshop on The Afrikan Woman's role in the Struggle.

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Part 2

## MAULANA RON KARENGA DISCUSSES US/PANTHER CONFLICT AND THE TACKWOOD DISTORTIONS



Maulana Ron Karenga

This question of the role and relevance of cultural revolution and the gun went on campus in early '69 and turned into a terrible tragedy. The UCLA Tragedy was not an assassination, but a shootout, a violent end to a year-old argument about revolutionary priorities, about who was best able and equipped to lead the masses and carry on armed struggle against the oppressor. It was a destructive and divisive group rivalry, a carry-over of the days when many members of both groups belonged to gangs and fought each other regularly. And it was the product of a lack of real revolutionary values, an incorrect handling of contradictions among ourselves and the fact that the gun became the symbol and means of the ultimate solution. It could have happened anywhere, not just on campus, for the stage was set by an aggressive rivalry, a violent lack of values and no community institution or informal means of defusing the tension and calming the turbulence.

We can, if we need, lie to ourselves and tell tales of contracts and conspiracies, but the fact remains that it was a shootout of two rival and hostile groups jockeying for the center stage of revolutionary leadership, unable to establish a unity and exchange which would have benefited them both and the community also. They clashed at a violent and turbulent time, at a time when people in the Movement were saying "if you ain't got a piece you won't have no peace." We must understand the context, the conditions under and in which this tragedy took place. And we must understand this regardless of Tackwood and his fake and paid-for confessions, his prostituting himself for police and unprincipled ultraleftists alike; and regardless of those who, for whatever emotional reason, need to believe otherwise. If we don't understand what happened, it will most likely happen again and what kind of conspiracy and confession would have to be conducted then to relieve us of the awful collective responsibility it will

place on us?

There was no conspiracy or contract. George Stiner-Ali and Larry Stiner-Watani are innocent. They are in captivity as a sacrifice, because they were there that day and the State and the Panthers, unable to round up who they really wanted, asked for someone to satisfy and suffer the need for revenge of a frightened and fragmented community and society. If there were a conspiracy, money, guns and goon squads, there would be records and somebody would have access to them and they would certainly expose those records. And if there is guilt, it is on all our heads—the Panthers and US—for allowing ourselves to get so far apart that we had no way to reach each other and for letting provocateurs turn our attention and attacks toward each other instead of toward the oppressor.

We played in the oppressor's hands, got caught in his trick and trap and got carried away with what the media made of us. We were their spectacle, their evening news and finally, nothing, not even a footnote or a passing reference. They played up our contradictions, rejoiced when Cleaver, Newton and Seale called Karenga names and begged Karenga to respond. And the police shot at US and pretended the Panthers did it and shot at the Panthers and pretended it was US. We could not handle our contradictions correctly. Mistaking brothers and possible comrades for the enemy, we treated them as such. It was Mao, speaking again with years of experience in struggle and building unity, who said that in solving the contradictions among the people, we must not be dogmatic or use coercion, but rather must use democratic discussion, criticism, persuasion and education. And he goes on to argue that struggle and contradiction are universal and absolute, but what differs is the method

## REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST NUTRITION

Part 2

A Nationalist-bohemian type atavistic nutrition has also arisen in the form of "making everything from scratch — raw food" fanatics. The pseudo-scientific principles these "nationalists" use are that (1) We cannot trust the ingredients capitalists put in the processed foods and (2) Raw foods always will give us all the vitamins and minerals intact. First, Revolutionaries should have priorities and as long as we are in the struggle for political and economic power we cannot afford to waste manpower baking bread and canning tomatoes. Realistically, we can read labels and eliminate harmful things — cyclamates, monosodium glutamate, but we cannot become obsessed. The percentage of sodium benzoate or calcium propionate in most foods can be metabolized or eliminated in normal body processes, and it is not true that cooking destroys all nutrients. Vitamin C, ascorbic acid is the only vitamin very vulnerable to heat, but most people eat vitamin C foods raw anyway — oranges, lemons, grapefruit, tomatoes, peppers. The other water soluble vitamin

— B complex - lasts well in cooking vegetables, if we do not use baking soda, and or overcook the food. Also, the Afrikan type one dish shoups and stews tend to use food and liquid so nothing is wasted. Vitamins A, D & E are fat soluble and are very rarely destroyed by the normal cooking temperatures. Proteins and starchy vegetables — fish, potatoes, carrots, beets, turnips — can be used faster and more efficiently by our bodies if they are cooked first. (Cooking helps begin breaking down huge starch and protein molecules so stomach and intestinal juices can work.) We also must keep the schedule of work and study in mind. We all enjoy some fresh fruit or raw vegetable dishes occasionally, but to feed a nationalist cadre daily we must find Afrikan dishes that minimize prolonged chopping, cutting, etc., can fit into one bowl or plate (because often we must take our food where our work is) and help wage the cultural revolution.

Finally, when we are not advocating extremist "pseudo-

(Continued on page 8)



As revolutionaries, we must find meals that allow us to remain healthy, so that we can continue to wage the struggle for National Liberation, PanAfrikanism and World Socialism.

used in struggle against the oppressor cannot be employed against contradictions among our people, otherwise the people become our

enemies also. For we will intensify those contradictions and turn non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones.

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY . . .



"We would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."  
—Amilcar Cabral

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## SPINOLA: ENEMY OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE!!

Spinola is the enemy of Afrikan people, very simply. It was Spinola who ordered the assassination of Cabral. It was Spinola who planned the invasion of Guinea-Conakry. Spinola is one of the arch-fanatic functionaries of Imperialism. He is intelligent, calculating, and brutal. Devions and destructive. Brother Malik Chaka of the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee, in paraphrasing UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) militants, says, "Vigilance is necessary to defeat Afrika's enemies."



Antonio de Spinola

## Revolutionary Nationalist Nutrition

(Continued from page 7)

scientific" principles — we resort to so-called spiritual or esoteric ones. Typical of this are arguments against eating fish and eggs, because they are "living flesh". We can all agree that eating meat is not healthy and that is based on an observable condition of meat. We also know that fish and eggs are not meat, and have not been observed to have the same problems with organisms, worms, spoilage and disease. Furthermore, Afrikans have always said everything is alive — certainly plants are included — so should we just try to live off the sun or air? We should understand scientifically that we need some sure safe sources of protein, particularly for persuading the masses to change their eating patterns — rather than a contradictory, confusing mixture of rationales designed to uphold Nationalists' organized individualism.

It all comes to Revolutionary Nationalist nutrition as opposed to reactionary nutrition, which is counter revolutionary. Complete change must be from the nutrition of slavery/colonialism to nutrition of Self-Determination/National Libera-

tion. Nationalists eating organic food, starvation diets, herb formulas is counter-revolutionary because that institutionalizes a nutrition that is dogmatic, weird or bohemian and Black people do not want to be/do not need to be bohemians — they can go for being stylish, modern and healthy. Revolutionary Nationalists must be about developing a nutritional ethos that increases our ability to endure and wage a strong battle against the enemy and add to the cultural foundation of the Nation Becoming for all Afrikans.

### New Ark Taxi Strike . . .

(Continued from page 3)

mile meter reading and \$.10 each additional one-sixth mile. The drivers also received a flat rate increase from NewArk Airport and promise of a legal suit against the Port Authority concerning the exemption of NewArk drivers from rights at Terminal A of Newark International Airport. All of which were asked for months ago—but would never have happened

## ALBANY, N.Y. POLICE REPRESSION

(N.Y. CAP)

In the face of exposure of the corrupt practices of North American politics headed by Grand Dragon Nixon, Inc., it is becoming easier to see how police repression, cultural aggression, and economic exploitation are the products of racism and capitalism.

In Albany, N.Y. the Black community is being attacked by police, judge, and jury in a struggle with the legal genocide produced by an unworkable court system, which last October resulted in the much contested arrests of 23 brothers and a sister on drug related charges. The repressive police tactics, which chose to single out Black people only, are to be recognized as an example of racist selective enforcement of laws, and yet typical of what corrupt watergate-infested america is about.

The divide and conquer tactics of the oppressive police are a desperate attempt to conceal the real criminals in Albany by indicting the victims of drug abuse rather than the dealers of narcotic traffic.

Why is it that brothers and sisters are put into repressive prisons behind trumped up charges and an unjust judicial system, when the criminal president of amerikkka, who is responsible for death and destruction all over the world in an effort to maintain an international Klu Klux Klan empire in the third world, does not even get challenged because some weak-kneed puppet Congressmen want to avoid a constitutional confrontation.

if the strike were not 100% effective.

The Congress of Afrikan People goes on record supporting this and any other struggle of workers against racist, capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

It's the same corrupt legal system in Albany, and other Black communities that exists in Washington, D.C. There is no difference between an Albany Judge Proskin who protects Mayor Corning, and a House Judiciary Committee Chairman Rodino, who is protecting Nixon from a much deserved eviction from Washington. Both Corning and Nixon use their positions to pacify and control, and both are protected by a system that exploits and oppresses Black people everyday on a National and International level.

In Albany, Black people will not be tricked into believing that we ourselves are the real pushers of dope, the mis-educators of our children, the slumlord owners of bad housing, or the capitalist exploiters of our Black community. We are, however, the victims of these practices and will continue to organize and struggle for the self determination, self respect and self defense of Black people in North America and Black people all over the world.



Plainclothes Albany, N.Y. Policemen now run rampant throughout the Black community.

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# 6 PAC TAKES REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST DIRECTION!



As well as fully supporting the Afrikan struggles against foreign domination, the 6PAC delegates firmly declared themselves against Neo-Colonialism, Imperialism, Capitalism and Racism!!

(Continued from page 1)

talked of Senghor's disreputable "Negritude," and that culture had little to do with politics. While many AfroAmericans could not understand that when the Revolutionary Pan Afrikanist thrust speaks of, "the liberation of all peoples" that Afrikans in north america are included in that!

One economist, who has the makings of a real Black social chauvinist, backed to the wall said, he didn't care if nobody else got their liberation as long as black people did. The impossibility of such distorted idealism was pointed out, again and again. But Mr. Elitist neocapitalist pressed for his actual entry into the imperialist system as an "equal," which is what reactionary nationalism wants.

The atavist-metaphysical aspect of so called "cultural nationalism" was very evident as some delegates brought in dubious non-proof of the existence of racism in prehistoric times, without an economic base due to "the nature" of Europeans, which is absurdity and proof of cultural aggression. What is the reason for

racism except economic exploitation? And to say otherwise is to be reduced to gibberish caused by racial inferiority complexes. Too much of the north american delegation was composed of "conference goers" who neither work nor study, nor are part of any organized political formations. This was an error, and the north american delegation should have been carefully selected by a black united front of recognized political activists, not only to take in ideological diversity and broadness, but the quality and caliber of thought as well.

But finally the Internationalist line burst through in triumph, though some bloods who have never done anything for the Afrikan Liberation struggles but pimp off them could be heard to say that 6PAC had "sold out the Afrikan Revolution," because the tone of the final papers were destroy Imperialism, destroy Capitalism, destroy Colonialism, destroy Racism, destroy Neo Colonialism rather than the sterile Hate Whitey which now shields the Black Capitalists.

## GENERAL DECLARATIONS OF THE SIXTH PAN AFRIKAN CONGRESS

### INTRODUCTION

The Sixth Pan Afrikan Congress was held in Dar-es-Salaam from the 19th to the 27th of June, 1974 and was attended by delegates and observers from Afrikan and Caribbean countries, representatives of people of Afrikan descent from the Americas, Britain and the Pacific as well as Afrikan Liberation movements and the Palestine liberation organization. The Congress analysed at length the historical development of the Pan-Afrikan Movement up to the Fifth Congress of 1945 and the major political and economic developments which have taken place in the world ever since, the strengthening of the struggle for national liberation in Afrika and elsewhere in the Third World against racial discrimination in Afrika, in the Americas and elsewhere and the question of colonialism, zionism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, unity and solidarity.

The conference had the honor of being opened by Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and received a recorded message from Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) and the President of the Republic of Guinea, the speeches of the two Afrikan leaders having been unanimously accepted as basic documents of the deliberations of the Congress. Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, 1st Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania deputised during the sessions for Ndugu Mwalimu Nyerere who had been unanimously elected Chairman of the Congress.

### NEW PERSPECTIVES

Revolutionary Pan Afrikanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

1. To put an end to foreign domination in Afrika by destroying the bases of the last colonial and racist regimes; because for as long as part of the Afrikan continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether or not of Afrikan descent, will be jeopardised.

2. To get rid of neo-colonialism since it hinders the overthrow of the last colonial regimes as well as the achievement of Afrikan unity, and in as much as it represents a concrete instrument of imperialist oppression of our peoples.

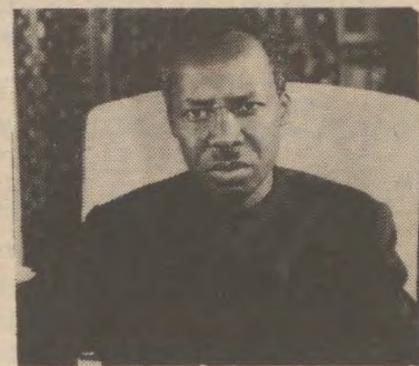
3. To liquidate foreign military bases in Afrikan States as a contribution to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Afrika.

4. To consolidate the unity between the peoples of Afrika and of Afrikan descent and all peoples.

5. To appeal to all the progressive forces in Afrika and in the world to give political and material aid to the liberation movements in Afrika and outside Afrika.

6. The strategy of revolutionary Pan Afrikanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist struggle that it considers to be the means of promoting equality, democracy and developing a new society:

a) The people must form the basis of this generalised struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it.



Ndugu Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere

b) It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the national basis for explaining and finding solutions to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism.

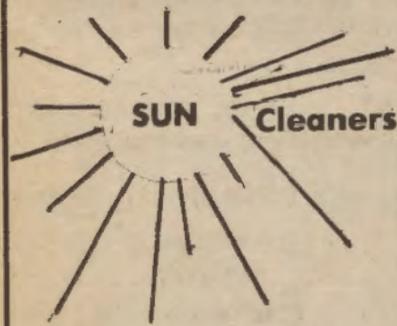
7. Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, Revolutionary Pan Afrikanism takes into account the organizational and tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organization are subordinate to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products.

8. In 1974 Pan Afrikanism aims

(Continued on page 11)

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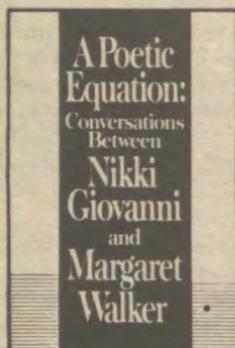
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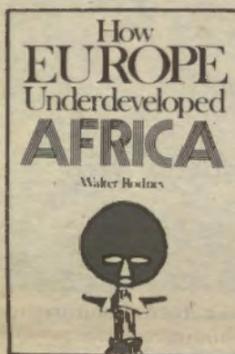
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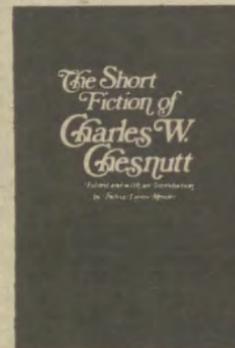
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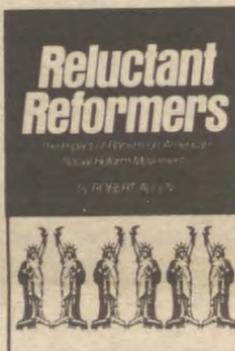
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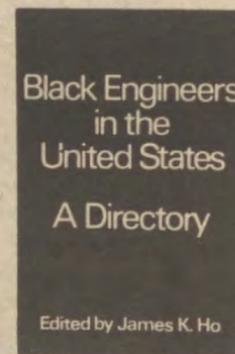
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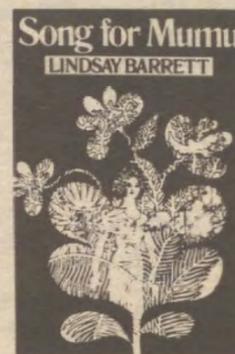
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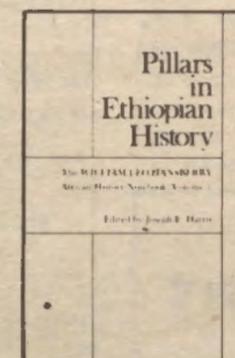
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# AFRIKAN WOMEN UNITE . . . . . . To Struggle!!



## A FLAGRANT EXAMPLE OF EAST OPPORTUNISM

The recent Sisterhood Seminar—"Organizing the Black Family" sponsored by the EAST, Saturday, June 1, 1974 represents another glaring example of EAST opportunism, individualism and bohemian atavistic "nationalism."

Over a year ago the Congress of Afrikan People set in motion the initial planning for the Afrikan Women's Conference, July 5, 6, 7. During that time and until April of 1974, the EAST was a cadre of the Congress of Afrikan People and sat in

on the planning of this historical international conference.

On of the organizing instruments for the Afrikan Women's Conference was seminars throughout the United States to publicize locally the conference and to give some semblance of what the actual conference would concern itself with. One seminar was planned for the EAST. After the EAST's resignation from the Congress of Afrikan People, the National Office contacted the EAST and told them that the seminar was cancelled and that they should send to the National Office the "Afrikan Women Unite" buttons, which were being sold as a source of revenue for the conference. This party directive was disregarded by the EAST, only to find 1 month before the Afrikan Women's Conference, the EAST putting on their vulgar coopted understanding of the Afrikan Women's Conference.

Cited EAST opportunistic ripoffs of Afrikan Women's Conference:

1. Identical workshops — Politics, Social Organization, Education, Health, Welfare & Employment, and Institutional Development.
2. Workshop/forums with 3, 4 or more panelists representing difference ideological tendencies (but in most workshops there was only 1 other panelists other than the EAST).
3. Food served in workshops
4. Call to organize a National Black Women's Organizations.

In this "conference" there were no ideological positions clearly defined, just bits and pieces, smitherings of everything but strongly influenced by the EAST's atavistic, feudalistic social practices. (An example of the EAST ideological unclarity is to have keynote the seminar, Sonia Sanchez, a Muslim). Obscured amongst the workshops, the mindless discussions not dealing with the objective reality of our people, the bohemian dress and dime store prints, sisters taking pictures and running tape recorders trying to act progressive (when in actuality the EAST council is all male???) is the real purpose of the seminar, to organize a National Black Women's Organization before the

Afrikan Women's Conference.

Cultural nationalism in its most reactionary form is what the EAST represents. We must move to expose exploitation of our people, economically, socially, culturally or whatever, wherever and whenever we find it. The EAST is the petty bourgeois opportunistic elitist formation that will have to be completely transformed if it is to have any relevance to the Afrikan liberation struggle.

Imamu Baraka, chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People, in National Liberation & Politics states "CAP aims at being a vanguard party, a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the black masses to the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of both a pre revolutionary and a revolutionary situation and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks on the way to its goal. We must feel what the masses feel but act in a way consistent with our being armed with revolutionary theory."

AFRIKAN WOMEN UNITE . . . To Struggle!!

## AFRIKAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Workshop Forums:

### Communications

Furaha (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Val Gray Ward (Kuumba Workshop)  
Doris Innis (C.O.R.E.)  
Bernice Jones (Black Panther Party)  
Brenda Irons (Cable Television)

### Health, Welfare, Employment

Staarabisha (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Joanne Williams (National Welfare Rights Organization)  
Sunkea (Pan Afrikan Congress, U.S.A.)  
Black Worker's Congress

### Politics

Bibi Amina Baraka (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Brenda Paris (Afrikan Liberation Support Committee)  
Joyce Johnson (Y.O.B.U.)  
All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party  
Maxine Williams (Socialist Worker's Party)

### New Beginnings Movement

(Trinidad)  
Azie Morton (Democratic Party)

### Education

Ibura (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Hisani Mweusi (Afrikan Liberation Support Committee)  
Ehtopian Student  
Mrs. Nathan Hare

### Social Organization

Jaribu (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Jacqueline Dodson (Institute of the Black World)  
Somalian Representative  
Jane Galvin Lewis (National Black Feminist Organization)

### Institutional Development

Anasa (Congress of Afrikan People)  
Inez Reid (Black Women's Community Development Foundation)  
Fulani Obafemi (Republic of New Afrika)  
Pan-Afrikan Students Organization in the Americas

### Speakers for Conference

Imamu Amiri Baraka  
Somalian Representative  
UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)  
ZANU (Zimbabwe Afrikan National Union)

"Long Live the Struggle of Guinea-Bissau!!! (Mozambique, Angola, and oppressed people throughout the world.)"

## 6 PAC GENERAL DECLARATIONS

(Continued from page 9)



Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure

aims at the complete restoration by the Afrikan peoples of their dignity and responsibility the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind and the complete development of man as well as the

### CAP RESIGNATIONS

(Continued from page 4)

EAST is not a Kawaida organization" and that "things taught at the EAST are completely different from what is taught in NewArk". With these views presently held, is economic union possible or desirable?

Why are beginning cadres in the Bronx and Manhattan relating to the NewArk Chapter and not to the local chapter? Would it not be peculiar if chapters in New Jersey started coming to Brooklyn for classes, instructions, directions, etc?

The National Office (CFUN) has a reputation for its cold and distant greeting and treatment of Brother Cadre from the EAST. This has largely remained unexplained to us. The EAST Family has still maintained a role of friendship and brotherhood with Kasisi Nakawa. Is this seen as a defiance of the National Office (CFUN) or the personal wishes of the Chairman?

What is the purpose of the extended bureaucracy that exist at the NewArk Office (National) that serves as a deterrent toward good relationships and effective communications? (Calls often disconnected, people held on for long periods, while they await answers, simple questions are not answered).

Are there real differences or extended criticisms that Chairman has of our

building of socialist societies.

9. Pan Afrikanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or national chauvanism; it embraces the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world.

It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of power, of all powers and power in its entirety.

In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of the present international situation, Pan Afrikanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the people of all the countries in the world advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin color or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of the responsibility and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Afrika and of all people.

### NAT'L LIBERATION & POLITICS

(Continued from page 12)

situation and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks on the way to its goal. We must feel what the masses feel but act in a way consistent with our being armed with revolutionary theory. Projects to be undertaken:

- 1) Opening of New C.A.P. cadres
  - 2) Forming of New or strengthening of Old State Assemblies, National Black Political Assembly
  - 3) Involvement in ALSC, support of its programs
- Imamu Amiri Baraka  
CAP Midwest Regional March 1974

organization/family? Is it possible that the Brooklyn Chapter can be viewed by the Chairman's Office with mutual respect and acceptance or will we be merely "tolerated"? Does the Chairman see the Brooklyn Chapter as an obstacle to the national direction of Congress of Afrikan People now being charted? If this question is answered affirmatively, is it possible for the two organizations to have an alliance outside of the Congress of Afrikan People?

(Continued in Next Edition)

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# National Liberation And Politics Part II

## RAISE!!



IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA

Revolutionary Movement is impossible without the development of a revolutionary ideology. Our understanding of a revolutionary ideology for the black liberation movement is that such an ideology must be based on history & current conditions World revolutionary experience: it must include 1. Revolutionary Nationalism: The belief that our people make up a nation. A nation without power, a cultural nation, i.e., a people with a common past, a common present, and hopefully a common future. Our task is to gain, maintain and use power for National Liberation, the freeing of our people from foreign domination. We do this through the internationalization and practice of a revolutionary value system and the development of alternative institutions, revolutionary systems, the most basic of which is the Revolutionary Afrikan Nationalist Cadre.

2. PanAfrikanism: The global expression of Nationalism. The belief that Black People all over the world are Afrikans, with a common struggle and a common enemy and that we must unify Afrikans all over the world to struggle for the unification and independence of Afrika under socialism, and for the self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense of Afrikans all over the world.

3. Socialism

1. Common ownership of the

means of production, distribution and exchange. Production is for use, and not for profit.

2. Planned methods of production by the state, based on modern industry and agriculture.

3. Political power in the hands of the people, with the entire body of workers possessing the necessary governmental machinery through which to express their needs and aspirations. It is a concept in keeping with the humanist and egalitarian spirit which characterised traditional Afrikan society, though it must be applied in a modern context. All are workers: and no person exploits another.

4. Application of scientific methods in all spheres of thought and production.

The 7 functions of the party according to Maulana Karenga:

1. Voter Registration
2. Mobilize
3. Organize
4. Politicize
5. Run Candidates—meets 5 criteria of Black Politician:
  - a. responsible to black community
  - b. expose system as corrupt and unworkable
  - c. alliances to increase power
  - d. Raise controversial issues
  - e. Support National Liberation Movements
6. Make Alliances
7. Third World Relations

How does electoral politics fit in with a revolutionary party or progressive black united front?

As Maulana Karenga defined the 4 areas of Political Power (1. Public Office, Elected or Appointed 2. Community Organization 3. Alliances and Coalitions 4. Disruption) so a political party must be able to work in all four of those areas in a militant uncompromising manner. We run candidates not just because we might "win," but to constantly propose the revolutionary alternative to the masses of our people.

Opportunist and collaborationist neo-colonial negro politicians must be constantly exposed and isolated from the movement. They must not be allowed to be confused in the minds of the people as some "political vanguard," tho we must work

together with any progressive tendencies even black elected officials where that is possible. But we will not obscure our more revolutionary work.

The National Black Assembly is the prototype for a national political front, in which opportunism is shrinking and the need for strong black liberation organizing is evident. The stars and platform revolutionaries that minced across the stage at Gary in 1972 were not all absent in 1974 in Little Rock, but radically diminished. 1976 is a critical year in America because the government will ostensibly change hands, what it will really do is surge very openly to the right, fronted off by the democrats, complete with negro co-pilots, in abject

collaboration. What will be the state of Black Union?

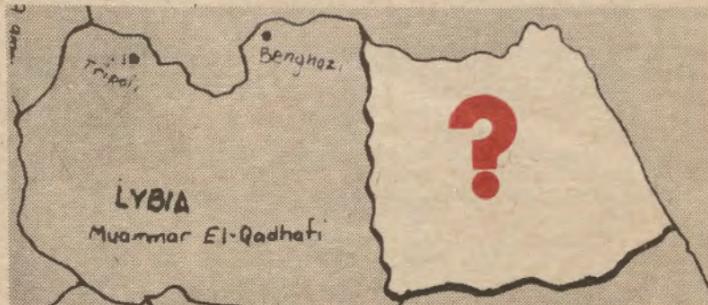
Afrikan Liberation Support Committee is a growing black united front of a more radical nature than the NBPA, therefore it is smaller but more aggressive and militant. The needed mass party will combine the dynamism of the ALSK and the mass scope & proposed organization in all 4 areas of political power of the NBPA.

CAP aims at being a vanguard party, a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the black masses to the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of both a pre revolutionary & a revolutionary

(Continued on page 11)

### AFRIKAN COUNTRY UJIMA QUESTION

QUESTION: What is the name of this Afrikan country, its location, its capital, its president, and its type of government?



ANSWER: The name of this Afrikan nation is Egypt. Located in northeastern Afrika, Egypt is also known as United Arab Republic and its capital is Cairo. President Anwar Sadat presently leads the country, which has been independent since 1953 when it broke away from British Colonialism. President Sadat has been developing the country along a socialist path. Recently, however, with the outbreak of the Middle East war, President Sadat has become close friends with Henry Kissinger through secret negotiations in attempts to get support from the United States, and as a result President Sadat has been sharply criticized for allegedly selling his people out.

### CAP SPREADS ACROSS THE NATION!!



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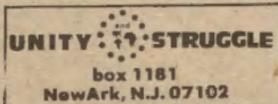
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