

# Black Liberation Journal

Vol. 2, No. 1



\$1.00

**Black Liberation Journal, Inc.  
National Magazine of the  
Communist Party U.S.A.**

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Vol. 2, No. 1. Published by the Black Liberation Journal, Inc., 235 West 23 Street, New York, New York, 10011. Subscriptions: one year (4 issues) \$4.00 in U.S. and Canada, \$5.50 for foreign subscriptions. Single copies \$1.00.

## Dream Variation

To fling my arms wide  
In some place of the sun,  
To whirl and to dance  
Till the white day is done.  
Then rest at cool evening  
Beneath a tall tree  
While night comes on gently,  
    Dark like me  
That is my dream!

To fling my arms wide  
In the face of the sun,  
Dance! Whirl! Whirl!  
Till the quick day is done.  
Rest at pale evening . . .  
A tall, slim tree . . .  
Night coming tenderly  
    Black like me.

by Langston Hughes



# Editorial

The following editorials are samples taken from the *Daily World*, the only daily marxist paper in the country. The editorials speak to current burning issues facing this nation and the world that are of particular interest to Black Americans. They speak for themselves.

The editorials address not only topics which are covered in this issue of the Journal, but as well addresses key aspects of the struggle of Black Americans for their complete liberation. Every day, the *Daily World* provides invaluable up to date articles, essays, analyses, reports and announcements on significant events in the Black liberation and working class struggles here, at home and all over the world.

Moreover, the articles and editorials found in the *Daily World* give both an honest and accurate account of the vital issues and events before us and provide a path, and a direction of struggle for progressive change neither of which can be found in the monopoly controlled bourgeois press.

Currently the paper is engaged in a 100 day campaign for funds and circulation. Since the paper does not and cannot rely on commercial advertizers whose interests are opposed to that of nationally oppressed and working people, it must therefore ask its readers for support. Money is desperately needed. The *Black Liberation Journal* therefore asks its readers to contribute to this campaign and to subscribe to the paper for daily, indispensable information on the struggle for Black Liberation, for the multi-national working class of this country, for socialism. ACT NOW!

Black Liberation Journal  
Editorial Staff.

## Time to Demand Action

President Carter's string of broken promises begins with his shift on providing jobs.

During the campaign, candidate Carter declared that he would see to it that there would be a job for everyone who wants one.

But, as President, he shifted his priority to "economic stimulus." which provides an assortment of economic goodies for business, with only a

small bone for the jobless. It contained no effective relief for the hardest hit, Black and other nationally-oppressed minorities, women and youth. It is not surprising that Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) called Carter's package deal "immoral" and "far worse than even what we were afraid we would get." Even the AFL-CIO officials who had coerced trade unionists into backing Carter had to yelp.

Jobs for the jobless can be restored to priority status, but it will require sustained activity by labor in concert with community forces. The central demand remains a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. Action is also urgently needed on Congressional bills providing jobs on public works, for training and retraining, and especially measures to meet the special crisis of Black and other workers victimized by discrimination.

Members of Congress will begin a six-seven day recess at home beginning Monday. This is the time for delegations, and individuals, to demand governmental action on jobs.

## **Carter at UN**

President Carter pledged his unequivocal support to "universal . . . fundamental human rights" at the United Nations Thursday. He left no area unpromised. He admitted that the U.S. has failed to sign "the UN covenants on economic, social, and cultural rights;" the "covenant on civil and political rights;" as well as the UN "Genocide Convention and the Treaty for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination."

It takes a lot of gall to preach "human rights" to the world under those circumstances. The President pledged, however, to win Congressional support for these measures. Once the many years of White House sabotage of these UN initiatives have been surmounted, however, it will be necessary to implement these compacts in the U.S.

The Carter Administration need not wait until then. The President can act now on the shameful injustice inflicted on the Wilmington 10. But he has not even had the decency to reply to the letter on their behalf which Rev. Ben Chavis sent him March 4, from his jail cell. The President's indecency is in stark contrast to his enthusiastic response to the letter of Andrei Sakharov, and his cordial meeting

with Vladimir Bukovsky in the White House. Both are notorious as enemies of detente, of the Soviet Union, as well as of socialism.

President Carter's inaction on human rights in the U.S. has been expressed also in respect to the ten million unemployed who are denied the basic human right to a job. The White House's main concern has been expressed in its activities to lighten the taxes on monopoly corporation profits.

The advance of human rights will get nowhere in reliance on the Carter Administration. Only united action by the people can advance the cause of human rights in the U.S.—in the case of the Wilmington 10, in the fight for the right to a job, or wherever else.

## **An End to Genocide!**

Genocide is the name for the policy of the white minority ruling class of Rhodesia and South Africa toward the overwhelming majority of the population. Apartheid is a policy of stretched-out, pain-wracked extermination. It is accompanied by police-state policies of arrests and shootings—which are like summary executions—of strikers and other dissenters against colonial slavery.

In Rhodesia, white troops killed 33 Black workers in six days before Dec. 28, a government communique reported this week. Police bullets continue to kill in South Africa. Jails are full, and as of mid-December 433 persons were being held without charges by the South African racists.

World and U.S. popular opinion is shocked and has demanded an end of the atrocities and genocide. The overwhelming majority of UN nations have condemned the South African racist minority regime and sanctions have been invoked. Rhodesia, too, is under UN sanctions.

But U.S. imperialism arrogantly rejects world opinion and human values when profit is to be made and reactionary causes advanced. Although the U.S. voted at the UN for sanctions on Rhodesian chrome, Congress rejected the ban. Giant U.S. exploiters of labor here extract superprofits from their Rhodesian and South African investments. Genocide pays dividends for them. But no to the U.S. people, whom it shames.

As we enter the new year, we must resolve finally to change this situation, demanding that the incoming Carter Administration enforce a boycott of the South African and Rhodesian racists, and work for immediate majority rule in both countries.

## War Danger in Zaire

The Rockefellers and other multinational corporate interests are cooking up a devil's brew in Africa. They are ready to spend more of your tax money—and to gamble with your life too—to help out their man in Zaire, Gen. Mobutu Sese Seko, whose repressive regime is tottering.

They are keeping open the options of military intervention and war. Unless they are stopped, they can engulf southern Africa in war's roaring flames.

They want to preserve untouched their multi-billion dollar empire in Zaire which is based on starvation wages, and semi-slave labor. They want to keep Zaire as a base of operations against African liberation. Just as was true in the Indochina war, charges about "invading Communists" is a crude and lying coverup for U.S. imperialism's own intervention.

In addition to providing Mobutu with half of all U.S. military aid to African countries, the Administration has sent an additional \$2 million of interventionist aid, with more to go. Belgium and France are joining in by sending additional military aid. South Africa and Rhodesia are given an opportunity to step up their military operations. From these sparks a roaring flame may engulf all of southern Africa—fueled from Washington.

Demand that the Carter Administration end intervention in Zaire! Demand an end of CIA intrigues in Africa!

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# The First 90 Days of the Carter's Administration

## Why Join The Party ?

By Gus Hall  
General Secretary of the  
Communist Party U.S.A.

The Carter Administration has moved into the White House and there are already many who voted for Ford or Carter who are having second thoughts. Many of them are saying they should have voted for the Communist candidates after all. The lesser evil fog is dispersing.

We said, as time goes by, the Communist vote would be counted and watched. That is also true. We were correct.

Just recently I received a copy of a letter sent out as a fund appeal by an outfit in Washington, D.C. One of the main paragraphs reads:

“Here in America the Communist Party's Presidential slate and local candidates received a record vote. In many cases three to five times more than in the last election. The colleges and universities that you once attended, which have always played a great part in molding the future leaders of our country are consistently being turned to the left. Increasingly, America's young people are being taught that America is being built on the exploitation of the poor and the rip-off of the consumer.”

The letter ends with a P.S. which says, “Contributions to the Freedom Leadership Foundation are tax deductible. We are also permitted to receive corporate donations.”

The Carter Administration is new in office, but in a sense it is old before it gets started. It has taken the old beaten path. So far there are no surprises as far as we are concerned. Carter has not deviated from the long-standing military-industrial-corpor-



ate script.

We have not been surprised about anything. For instance, we are not surprised that no Communist has been offered a Cabinet post. Therefore we are not disappointed. In fact, we were not even consulted about the Cabinet posts or the policies. Of course in this we are not alone. The only difference is that we didn't expect to be consulted while there are a lot of people who did. Many of those who did are becoming disillusioned.

During the election campaign we said Carter would not cut the military budget. Now he is talking about an increase in the military budget and preparing the country for it. He is backtracking on the

promises he made. Again, we are not surprised. We also said that the Carter Administration would be a big business administration, and it certainly is. The Cabinet posts, especially the big power positions, come directly from big business and the banks. This is very much in keeping with the old script.

It is interesting that Carter's biggest post-election concern is how to win the confidence of the people. To talk about winning the confidence of big business is like having the police department work to win the confidence of the biggest thieves in town, or like promising the thieves police protection.

The rich, big business Cabinet members, put their corporate stocks in phony trust funds. Of course Carter does not have to do that. He simply deposited his with his brother, Billy.

Even the appointment of Attorney General Griffin Bell was not a real surprise. Bell is an "ethnic-pure" neighborhood activist. That is his history. In that sense Carter's "ethnic purity" remark was not a slip of the tongue. It was based on a concept. Bell has a history of racist actions and he is a clever racist. He has expertise on how to bypass the Constitution and the laws against racism, and how to do it cleverly.

Bell withdrew his membership from the racist clubs in Georgia—temporarily that is—for the time he is in Washington. He said, "I'm going back to Georgia," meaning that he'll rejoin those racist clubs, and they will stay that way. Just like Carter, he has put his racist associations into a "trust fund" for the duration of his Washington career.

There is no other question, at this stage of development in the U.S., that more urgently needs affirmative action than the struggle against racism. In other words, philosophical and moral condemnation is just not enough now. Affirmative action against racism must be concrete. Can you see Griffin Bell taking such initiatives as affirmative action against racism? Posing the question itself provides the answer. Can you see Bell proposing laws that would make acts of racism punishable crimes? That would be concrete affirmative action. Would he make specific acts of racism, including those of his club colleagues in Georgia, punishable crimes? Griffin Bell is just the kind of Attorney General big business wants. The racist clubs and the actions of the Plains, Georgia Baptist Church, by themselves, are not critically important. However, they are symbolic of racist attitudes, concepts and policies.

We now have Carter's first economic package which begins to indicate in what direction the administration is moving. This, also, is no surprise package as far as we are concerned. It reads very much according to the script. Big business gets a piece of every concrete proposal that Carter makes, including the idea of training unemployed workers on the job. What he is saying is that the government will pay the industries to hire workers, and the industries will pay nothing or a very small share of the wages, while keeping all the profits.

In addition to these specific acts there is a \$4 billion proposal to give big business an outright gift in the coming two-year period; \$4 billion, not just for two years, but as a continuous gift. For instance, a 5% tax rebate to big business on Social Security payments is a permanent gift. That is not the case with proposals for the jobless and jobs. The jobs program is a minimum one, and the excuse given by Carter and Mondale for not proposing jobs programs is that they take too long to materialize, and therefore their logic is that if they take too long to materialize they propose them either later or not at all.

Of course we know, and said, during the election campaign, that there are two fundamental ways of beginning to provide employment to the 10 million unemployed, and especially those who are permanently unemployed, in the first place the young people in the ghettos and barrios who are hopelessly unemployed. One is cutting the 8-hour day to 6 hours, with no cut in pay. Carter and Mondale say this would take too long. How long? Five minutes!





Pass a law (a six-hour day, no cut in pay) and there would be 10 million new jobs—just like that. This is a simple, direct approach. The other way is through government programs to rebuild the cities. That would provide another 10 million jobs. They all said they were for such programs and the Democrats now run the Congress. How long does it take to pass a law, appropriate the money and begin rebuilding the cities, i.e., mass transportation, housing, schools, hospitals, etc. It is the quickest way, and the only way to begin to cut into the permanently unemployed.

In the area of foreign policy we now have a new phenomenon developing in the U.S. that is dangerous. It is a new chapter of the old “big lie” fraud. Our foreign policy has been based on a complete fraud for fifty years, and this fraud has cost the U.S. taxpayers, so far, two trillion dollars. And its going to cost billions more if this fraud is allowed to continue. However, we now have a new version of the old policy, a new version of the “gaps.” They used to say there was a “bomber gap,” then came the “missile gap” and the “naval gap.” Now there is a campaign to sell us the “strategic superiority gap,” the new version of the same old thing. It is the big lie again. There is a total mobilization of the military to support this new “gap,” from NATO to the Pentagon. There is also a full mobilization of the mass media, (a flood of TV movies) and the CIA (both the A and B departments). The CIA has “two departments” now, but they are both appointed by Ford and Carter. They claim that now they have two departments to assess the same material, but they are both composed of the same kind of right wing cold war elements. So now they are engaging in “debates” on how serious the “strategic superiority gap” really is.

They are very clever with this new “strategic superiority gap” campaign, because when you speak about a “strategic gap” you do not need evidence since they tell us it is not here now, but it is something that is coming in the future. So they are not talking about a present, existing “gap” because the people are not ready to buy such a “gap.” If it is a present “gap” then it has to be proven, but a “strategic gap” in the future doesn’t need any proof now. For fifty years they have been telling us the “Russians are coming.” But the Russians have never come, except in the movie. And the reason they are not coming is because they have a socialist system, and because a socialist society is in-

herently for peace. The very element that produces and motivates aggression under capitalism has been eliminated under socialism—corporate profits.



Monopoly capital says the “Russians are coming” because they want to export revolution. But it is impossible to export or import revolutions. Revolutions can only be made by the people within the country. So the Russians are not even coming for that reason. We are going to have to make our own revolution; they are not going to do it for us. So the new fraud is that they are not coming now, but they are coming five or ten years from now when they have “arms superiority.” Therefore, we have to spend \$120 billion a year for this future protection against the Russians.

A big question is: can the people influence the Carter Administration? Is there anything that the people can do about this big business administration? Our answer is: Yes, indeed. The people can influence this Administration, which is one of those contradictions in life. Even to the question: Do the people have better leverage now than they did in the last four or five years? The answer is yes. They have better leverage for many reasons, and this, again, is one of those contradictions. And there is some evidence that the Carter Administration can be forced to make concessions. They are in a defensive position. Griffin Bell, at the hearings on his appointment was clever, but defensive. When asked about his racist past he made statements like, “times have changed,” “I made a mistake on this,” and “I’m trying to say I’ll go along.” That is an indication of the contradiction and the problem they face, and the leverage the people have and can have.

In this regard, I am sure many people saw the disgraceful, despicable behavior of that so-called liberal Senator Proxmire (Wisconsin) at the Harris hearings. He is a racist snob in addition to being

hairbrained. His false hair is growing inward. Mrs. Harris, with dignity and pride, gave a proper response. And in that moment, again, the contradiction this Administration faces, was obvious.

Another lever the people have is that Carter is already campaigning for reelection. He is not a lame duck president because he can run for another term. That makes him more vulnerable and receptive to the demands and pressures of the people. That is another lever.

In some ways, we are like other political parties. But in many important ways we are different, unique. In a basic sense our uniqueness as a party is a reflection of the uniqueness of the social science, Marxism-Leninism. There is no other science like it.

Like all sciences Marxism-Leninism is a product of historic necessity. It wasn't somebody's bright idea. There were problems faced by people who needed a science that would explain them. When the working class came on the scene some 150 years ago, it rebelled in anger against what seemed to be the immediate enemy. For many, many years workers destroyed machines, tools, factories. There was a historic necessity for a science that would do in the field of economics and social relations what other sciences do in other fields, namely a science to examine and penetrate what seems to be to get to what actually is. The working class needed a science that would explain the objective laws of society's development, what makes capitalism tick, a science that would explain the inner laws to workers so they could take advantage of them in the struggle against their exploiters, the capitalist class. Marxism-Leninism does just that. Marxism-Leninism is a revolutionary science which reflects the realities of today, a science of class struggle, the science of the working class. And because it penetrates through what seems to be to what actually is, Communists are not driven off course. Concerning the Carter Administration we are not driven off course because we do not accept what seems to be, or what Carter says. We look at what actually is. Therefore, we have a different approach to struggles.

Marxism-Leninism gives us the tools, the opportunity, to probe the roots of all developments; what are the causes of developments in politics, economics, etc. We are not taken by surprise by the Carter Administration's actions not because we are smarter than everyone else, but because we are able to analyze the class relationships. Marxism-Leninism is a science which relies on logic, on good common

sense, historical and contemporary experience, and anyone can master it. It is a science for the people.

We are also unique because not only do we see the inner laws of capitalism, but in addition understand the weaknesses of the political structure of capitalism. We can see, for instance, that because most of our people are victims of monopoly capital it is possible to bring together a powerful anti-monopoly movement against the big business policies of the Carter Administration. And, therefore, we understand that while the Carter Administration tends to favor big business, the people can win concessions through struggle.

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Our Party is an indispensable element in the struggle for social progress. If the Communist Party did not exist, it would have to be organized. We do not say this as a boast, or because we are on an "ego trip." Our Party makes a unique contribution to the struggle for social progress in all fields, in all areas of life.

Let me give just a few examples. Those of you who work in shops, or are members of unions know that workers in the trade unions are burdened and weakened by the official policies of the trade union leadership, by their working in collaboration with the corporations, i.e., Meany and Abel. In other words, the top trade union leadership defends the system that exploits and enslaves the workers they are supposed to represent and defend. It is a unique phenomenon in the world. We have the only trade unions in which the leadership defends the capitalist system. Even the most right-wing trade union leaders in Europe do not defend capitalism as a system. They work with it, but they don't defend it. Class collaboration is a dead-end street for the working class. You cannot go far with these kinds of policies. The steel workers won't go very far with Abel's policies of class collaboration. That's why there is the new rank and file challenge.

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### SORRY ABOUT THAT



### The Green Carpet Treatment



The Communist Party is making a contribution toward bringing into the trade union movement the policy of class struggle trade unionism. That is what is growing. We are contributing toward changing the whole trade union policy through a system of rank and file organizations, through which the workers will not only take over and move into leadership positions, but will work to change the policies to class struggle policies. This policy has influenced the struggle in the steel union. The very fear that the idea of class struggle trade unionism has

support influences trade union struggles and contract negotiations. Workers get concessions because the bosses know there is a movement for class struggle trade unionism. Therefore, we are already influencing trade union policies. This is like Kissinger going to Africa and saying the U.S. and the other racists have to make some concessions because if we don't "the Russians are coming." What he is really saying is that socialism will come. The very threat of socialism influences imperialist policies. That is one of the new phenomena in the world. Therefore, our presence, our contributions, improves the trade unions. Our unique contribution to the working class is that we provide the workers with class and socialist consciousness. We project the idea that workers are a class, not just individuals. Therefore, they must act as a class, struggle and unite as a class. This is, indeed, a unique contribution which no other party can make.

We also make a unique contribution in the struggle against racism. We give this struggle a more solid base. We agree with all those who see racism as a moral issue. It is. But we see it also as related to the class struggle, to corporate profits. A key element in the struggle for working class unity, for instance, is the elimination of racism. No one else makes this contribution in the trade union movement. It reflects a principled position of our party. Because we see through what seems to be to what actually is we are for democracy, like most Americans, but we give it a more meaningful base by seeing it as an element in the struggle for social progress and in the class struggle.

We are unique also because we believe that only a united people can change things and make history. People make history, not individuals. Individuals play a role, but it is a united people that force change. Therefore, we work to unite the people. We do not take the position some left groups take that "we will lead the people," "follow us." We don't believe in that. Also, we do not think we have ready-made answers on all questions. We say so honestly. But we do say that in struggle together we will find the answers. We work to unite the working class, by eliminating racism, sexism and discrimination against young people. The working class cannot be united without a principled position in the struggle against all that which divides the workers. We work to build a unity of the working class, the Black people, Puerto Rican people, Indian people, Chicano people, etc; a unity of these groups in the

first place, and then a broader anti-monopoly unity. We believe we cannot go very far in struggle without this kind of unity.

We are unique also because of our advocacy of socialism. Others advocate socialism, but for the CP it is not an abstraction. Our advocacy of socialism is related to the laws of capitalist development. These laws tell us that it can only come at a certain stage of development. We cannot achieve socialism through mere slogans, or just revolutionary rhetoric. That is why the enemy has no objections when small groups get together and make the most radical statements which very often frighten their liberal friends, and even themselves. That does not move anyone; it does not unite people and does not move people into struggle. But big business does worry about the Communist Party.



We see the struggle for reform both as a way of winning concessions and as a process that prepares the soil and the cadre for socialism. We do not see a separation of the struggle for reform to improve the conditions of the people and the advocacy of socialism. We see this as a parallel and overlapping movement, as the only way to fight for socialism. We see socialism as a process that is integrated with the struggles of today, not separated from them. In a sense socialism is a logical, qualitative leap of a number of processes and movements that go on. It is a natural and logical further step in the same struggles for a better life. We see this connection, and in that sense we are also unique.

Because we know the laws of capitalism we also know that capitalism will continue to decay. Capitalism is less and less able to resolve problems. More and more the unsolved problems slowly get

bigger and bigger. This process will force the majority of people to say, "My God, we've got to think of a better way." And we can say, "We've found the better way." History is an ally of socialism. There are no new capitalist countries, only socialist countries and countries moving toward socialism. It is inevitable.

Our Party is the most slandered party in the U.S. and it always has been. The main object of brainwashing has been against communism and Marxism-Leninism and our party. Do not feel badly if you now think maybe you have been brainwashed about the Party. Everybody has been, except us Communists, because there is no ruling class in the world that has spent more money, time and effort, who have more propagandists working against socialism and communism than the U.S. Hitler was never able to launch that kind of effort. Upton Sinclair, the famous writer, was once asked what the difference was between other socialist groups and the CP in the U.S., including the Socialist Party in those days. He said he had a very simple answer. He said, "The Communist Party means it." And that is the basic truth. We are a very serious party. Truth is on our side, on the side of progress, and always has been. It is the defenders of a system that is dying who have to lie about everything they do and say.

We are a working class party, but there are no obstacles to professionals and intellectuals, to cultural workers joining our party.

Very often it is said that the CP is a tightly-knit disciplined party. The truth is that the CP is the most democratic organization in the U.S. We know how democratic the other organizations like the trade unions, the YMCAs, the churches, etc., are. We are the most democratic because not only do we have a structure but also because we work hard at being democratic. It is the basis of our strength. We work to create an atmosphere for democratic expression in our party and an atmosphere in which every member feels comfortable about saying whatever is on his/her mind. It is important to have an atmosphere where even the most bashful and reluctant will feel free to express an idea even if it is a criticism. In that sense we are the most democratic.

Democratic centralism is the most democratic structure possible. The Party is composed of clubs, which are the basic unity of the Party. When convention time arrives the clubs elect delegates to the state conventions, the state convention elects dele-

gates to the national convention and the national convention elects the National Council and the Central Committee, which is the leadership of our Party, until the next national convention.

We work to maintain up and down communication and we are very self-critical when bureaucratic tendencies appear in our Party. And, bureaucratic tendencies do not recognize age; a young person can be as bureaucratic as an older person.

When a person joins our Party he/she joins with certain attitudes about the Party, certain concepts and ideas. These are acquired negatively from the enemy propaganda, but the positive attitudes and understanding a person acquires from the Party itself. A new member is assigned to a club based either on where he/she works or lives and begins attending club meetings regularly. Let's say that after two or three club meetings a new member comes to the point where he/she will say, "It is not what I thought it was going to be." And that is quite possible. Then the new member has a choice; he/she can say, "I'm going to raise the criticisms in the club and express how I think certain things should be." That is every member's right. And someone in the club may say "you are absolutely right, I agree with you," and the next thing you know you may have influenced the whole club, and the club may in turn influence the whole Party. That happens, and it is what we all do. So, let's say a new member raises a criticism in the club and gets nowhere, the club doesn't agree with it. He/she then has the right, come the next convention, during the pre-convention discussion period, to bring the issue out again. During this period all basic questions are discussed and if after this period a new member still feels the need to continue discussion, i.e., he/she isn't satisfied with the outcome in the pre-convention discussion, the issue can be brought to the state convention and the national convention to be considered there.

But let's say after this process a new member still feels dissatisfied. Then he/she can stay and carry out the democratic, majority decision, or can decide to drop out of the Party. However, if a person does drop out, and say after 6 months or so of life experience, he/she decides it was a mistake, this can be remedied by rejoining the Party. People are always returning to the Party, and today more so than ever. There are many people who left the Party years ago, some for personal reasons and some because of political differences, or because of McCar-

thyism. They are coming back into the Party now all across the country.

Joining the CP is indeed a serious and important decision. And we are a serious party. But we are not a dogmatic party.

Concerning Party life—a young steel worker and his wife joined the Party less than a year ago and during New Year's they sent a card to a party leader who recruited them. They wrote, "What began as our worst year is ending as our best. This incredible turn-around is the result, in large measure, of your help and guidance. With love and appreciation . . ." In other words, joining the CP changed their lives. And indeed, it gives life meaning which it doesn't have without being part of a movement like our Party. Once a person joins, and as a result of learning the science, you will begin to understand why things happen. You will watch TV, the news, and be able to see behind what is happening; you will know that because of the science you can probe the essence of things, probe beneath what seems to be. And in our capitalist society's political arena, most things are not what they seem to be. Armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, you become part of the force to change things.

You will become a more effective leader—in your trade union, in your PTA, in politics, in all areas of life. You will do the same thing you are doing now, but more effectively. You will be influencing people and changing things. And life with this kind of meaning, this kind of fulfillment, is enjoyable.

Most likely you have some wrong ideas, misconceptions, about the CP. This comes from false propaganda and everybody is saturated with it. And there's only one way to check this. In three months, within the Party as an active member, you will know more about the Party than you would learn in five years on the outside. And you will never regret the decision, it will be the best one you ever made.

- FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
- AN END TO EXPLOITATION AND RACISM
- FOR SOCIALISM

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# THE FACTORIES

Sunsets splash blood in our broken eyes  
And the moon splinters.  
Dead, we are huge and ugly  
With derelict canyons between.  
Our floors empty as Sunday,  
Abandoned by the Bosses  
And a few abusing us.  
Our skeleton teeth locked on the sky.  
Workers,  
It is not our fault you starve  
Idle without purpose.  
Workers, resurrect us—  
Put life back into our hollow bodies!  
Let us breathe again  
And the word "fired" be a nightmare that  
died with the past  
And for the first time your own jobs!  
The Union to operate us for the  
good of the people  
And the profits divided among you  
To build a city of love!  
Fill us with the bubble of bustle:  
Your tools clicking a chorus of work  
Stitching leather into shoes for the feet of  
the people,  
Laughter splitting the air!  
Human voices warm with intimate  
happiness  
Exciting our veins and arteries and  
cold floors!  
We'll feel we are wanted!  
We'll drink your singing at the  
machines,  
Wait for your coming daily!  
And glow with the jagged electricity  
of seasonal picnics!  
We won't hurt you with accidents!  
No more speed-up torturing the nerves  
and the bottled anger!  
And no Bosses cracking the whip of  
low prices!  
Patch us up and air-condition our lungs!  
Shoes you make will be your own  
And you'll love them like works  
of beauty!  
And the reality of the 5 hour day!  
Invented machines ending drudgery  
And pouring leisure into your laps!

And the wages will buy you your own homes!  
Your example will be a fuse leading to  
coffin cities and ghost towns,  
Igniting the people to possession—  
to free America!  
Think! Believe it!  
You've got nothing to lose but your poverty  
And the creative life that should be yours will  
begin!  
Time rots us and buries you.  
O workers, we are yours for the taking.  
For what are you waiting?

by Vincent Ferrini



LOUIS STETTNER

# THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA IS OUR FIGHT!

by Ronelle Mustin—Education Director—Chicago Chapter, National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation.

The people of Africa have a right to freedom and to progress, a right to develop their rich culture and resources for their own use and enjoyment, and a right to revive centuries of history smothered by lies.

But for some 20 score years, these rights and others were denied to the many nations of Africa. And even today, 17 years after the United Nations designated 1960 as Africa Year in honor of the African peoples' mass struggles for political independence, more than 25 million African men, women, and children live under colonial enslavement as brutal as the world has ever known.

Furthermore, in the independent countries of northern, eastern and Western Africa, hundreds of millions of Africans of many hues, religions and languages are caught in a vise of poverty. They are squeezed dry by foreign investors greedy for cheap labor and resources.

With the collapse of Portugal's Africa empire, a new era has dawned on the whole of Africa. The forces for peace, justice and anti-imperialism are now stronger than the forces of reaction. This reality has forced the United States to openly accept the role of defending the apartheid regime of South Africa and to try and install neo-colonialist regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

History has so shaped events that the so-called "Dark Continent" Africa, has now come once again to be the center of world attention. The struggle for peace and justice in the world as a whole is being shaped by the struggle for peace and justice on the African Continent. We owe the freedom fighters of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, Namibia and Zimbabwe, a great debt. The freedom fighters and the whole organization of African Unity, through their militant struggles have given the world and the

people of the United States in particular, an opportunity to strike the death blow to the triple evils of racism, militarism and economic exploitation. The struggle for national liberation in Africa is of singular importance to the world today.

Romesh Chandra, secretary general of the World Peace Council, placed the question of African liberation correctly as he commented on the recent upsurge in Soweto, South Africa; "It is necessary to look at the entire global context in which the armed uprising in South Africa is taking place, for only then can we understand the full significance of Soweto. Today, no people fights alone, in a vacuum, in isolation. No liberation struggle is simply a battle between the oppressors and the oppressed. We live in a new period in human history, the period of victories for peace and national independence, the period of a decisive shift in the balance of the international arena in favor of the anti-imperialist forces, with imperialism and its allies weakening."

The people of the United States have a major role to play in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Africa. Congressman Charles Diggs was correct when he stated in an article for Ebony Magazine, "Blacks in America have a special interest in economic and political developments in Africa because it is our ancestral land; because we, like Africans, have been subjected to racial oppression—and white domination; because of historical links between our black churches and black colleges and Africans both here and in Africa; because Blacks in America, like Africans, in the family of nations find ourselves at the bottom of the economic ladder; and because the status—respected or maligned—of Africa inexorably affects the image and position of Black Americans in the United







States. The destiny of Afro-Americans in the United States and of Africans in Africa is inextricably linked. This inter-relationship will become more apparent as we enter the last stages of decolonization in Africa; the end of white minority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia) and South Africa itself. Since the United States' position in this coming struggle will be critical, we must assure that this nation's power tips the balance in the right direction."

## **U.S. as Arch Anti-Revolutionary**

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was profound when he stated, "The United States of America which gave so much of the revolutionary spirit to the world, has now become the arch antirevolutionaries in the world today." When we look carefully at things that the United States is doing in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, Dr. King's words ring ever true. We, the people of the United States must now take a very close look at the United States foreign policy. Especially our policy toward Southern Africa.

One of the major positions of our government, multi-national companies, and the news media generally, is that America really didn't have an Africa policy until recently. It is true that we didn't establish an Africa Department in our State Department until 1957. But is it true to say that America

didn't have an African policy until then? The United States had an African policy before 1957. The U.S. policy has always been to support colonialism in Africa, and this became clear after World War II. U.S. African policy was a major part of former President Truman's Marshall Plan. Paul Robeson, the friend of freedom fighters the world over, described U.S. African policy, "The American trusts and their hirelings in government have not been asleep. They have been steadily carrying forward their own plan for Africa, of which Truman's Point Four program is an essential though by no means the only part.

"First, they say, we will spend the tax money of the American people to prop up the shaky empire builders of Europe who own and control most of Africa. And so the Marshall Plan sends billions to France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal.

"Second, they say, as a guarantee that the money is not wasted, we will send them arms under the Atlantic Pact so that they may put down any rising of the African peoples, or any demonstrations of sympathy for colonial freedom on the part of their own working classes.

"Third, say the American Bankers, imperialists, with these guarantees, we will launch Point Four, which opens the door for investment of capital by American big business in African raw material and cheap labor.

"Fourth, as an added guarantee that the investment of American monopoly—already garnered as surplus profits from the labor of speeded up Ameri-

can workers—does not run the 'risk' of any changes in government or 'excessive' demands for living wages by African workers, we will build our own bases in Accra, Dakar and all over the African Continent.

"And fifth, should all these precautions fail, should the African people eventually kick us and the British and the French and the Belgians and the Italians and Portuguese rulers out of their continent, then says the Point Four program, we will compensate the American big business investors for their losses—again out of the public treasury, the people's tax money—Yes, this is the Truman plan for Africa, and the Africans don't like it and are saying so louder every day."

Recent revelations about our Central Intelligence Agency showed that the United States was involved in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1961. The disclosure of Henry Kissinger's National Security Memorandum 39, in 1969, showed clearly that the United States supported white minority rule in southern Africa. The passage of the Byrd Amendment in 1971, which allows the United States to import chrome illegally from Rhodesia, and pumps money into the Ian Smith regime, shows whom the United States supports in southern Africa. The United States has had an African policy for a long time. That policy is still the same today. Support for racism, colonialism, fascism, and white minority rule in Southern Africa.

## Imperialist Propaganda Maneuvers

The United States government and press generally express their concern of trying to avoid a "race war" in Southern Africa. Is this true? Mr. Bernard Magubane, a black South African educator presently teaching at the State University of New York at Binghamton answered the "race war" smoke screen. He stated in Freedomways Magazine, Volume 16, Number 3, 1976,

"We mention these happenings in order to put into perspective the recent hullabaloo about Kissinger trying to avoid 'race war' in southern Africa. He is doing no such thing. The African people have been experiencing racial genocide for the past hundred

years, while the Western imperialist powers were coining their sweat and blood into billions of dollars in profits.

"It is difficult to imagine anything more disgusting than the hypocrisy with which the Anglo-American press is playing on the horror theme of the 'race war.' The African National Congress of South Africa has made it clear in several position papers that they are not fighting white people as a race. They are fighting the system of oppression, racism, fascism, and economic exploitation. The ANC has declared that anyone regardless of race, or color are welcome to help the ANC free South Africa. The ANC has said that when they liberate South Africa, whites who want to stay in South Africa will be welcome to stay, but they will not be able to stay with any of the special privileges that they enjoy now."

Perhaps the most potent argument used for United States presence in southern Africa is to stop the spread of "communism." The United States government and multi-national companies and press generally state this argument as if communism would mean some new horror for the African people.

Julius K. Nyerere, president of Tanzania answered this;

"I don't always understand it. I would have understood it in the early sixties or in the early fifties, but Africa now has been independent for a long time and there isn't a single communist state in Africa, not a single one. So, when the United States appears to be obsessed with stopping communism in Africa, I say they may be confusing communism with freedom."



The great victory of the people of Angola led by its true vanguard, the MPLA, and the upsurge in South Africa itself has forced the United States to change in tactics is an attempt to hold on to the billions of dollars that the United States has invested in southern Africa. We have witnessed the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger and the declaration of America's support for majority rule in southern Africa. President Carter has voiced his support of the general direction of the Kissinger policy. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and UN Ambassador Andrew Young are now trying to carry out the Kissinger policy. We must understand that the Kissinger policy has been totally rejected by the African people.

The Kissinger policy is an attempt to buy time. The United States position now is to try and restabilize South Africa and try to impose neocolonialist regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia with large roles for the white minorities. The key to the United States interest in southern Africa is South Africa. Senator Charles Percy of Illinois reported to the full Senate that U.S. companies have over 5 billion dollars invested in South Africa. South Africa boasts of something like 300 major U.S. corporations. The U.S. economic presence in South Africa is growing. Eighty percent of the South African economy is owned by foreign investors from the "western world." The economic and diplomatic support that the western world gives South Africa is what keeps apartheid alive.

The Kissinger policy seeks to strengthen the apartheid regime of John Vorster. Kissinger has not called for majority rule in South Africa. He said in a speech in Lusaka Zambia, April 27, 1976, "No one—including the leaders of black Africa—challenges the right of white South Africans to live in their country. They are not colonialist; historically, they are an African people." This is an attempt by Kissinger to legitimize white minority rule. Kissinger has sought to portray John Vorster as a statesman, trying to solve the problem of Rhodesia. John Vorster is a nazi-thinking murderer of the South African people. He is responsible for the suppression of the people of Namibia. Vorster is not a statesman. He is trying to save his illegal regime in South Africa.

The Carter administration is continuing to strengthen the illegal minority regime of South Africa, under the phony theme of "morality in foreign policy." The Carter administration is calling

for the repeal of the Byrd Amendment, but they seek to transfer the buying of chrome from Rhodesia to South Africa. This move would further strengthen U.S. ties with South Africa. Andrew Young has said that Rhodesia would have to transfer power to the African majority if South Africa pressured them to. Young's statement ducks the point that South Africa is a place of minority rule also. The statement gives diplomatic support to the illegal minority regime of South Africa.

The African National Congress of South Africa has stated clearly that a policy of strengthening the regime of South Africa is a policy of opposition to the national liberation movement. Now is the time for the whole country to say no to the Carter administration's attempt to buy time for South Africa and the United States multi-national companies.

## Our Fight

The liberation of Africa is our fight. More and more African workers are filing into factories moved from the United States. These factory movings idle American workers. The same economic interests that suppress the African people also suppress the American people. The same political forces that support the suppression of the African people also support the suppression of black, Spanish-speaking, native Americans, Asians, women and all workers as a whole in the United States.

The major banks in New York refuse to make money available to New York City during its financial crisis, but they are making money available to South Africa now, during South Africa's financial crisis. The United States auto industry that moved plants to South Africa for cheap wages, also move factories from the North to the South in the United States for cheap labor. African workers in South Africa make on an average 7 percent of the wages of whites in South Africa. Blacks in the United States make less than 70 percent of the income of whites in the United States. The profits from the wage differentials in South Africa and in the United States go into the pockets of the United States multi-national companies.

The non-whites in South Africa cannot vote or hold public office. In the United States less than 2

continued on page 22

# FRIEND, FATHER, BROTHER, COMRADE

by Kevin Mercadel

Friend, Father, Brother, Comrade  
Borne of struggle  
Struggle has merged our lives  
into the never ending process of life.  
As the links of the chain of time  
we are inseparably bound

Father, Friend, Brother, Comrade  
steel smelted by the flames of the furnace  
tempered by the unremitting blast of fierce,  
persistent, relentless battle  
we grown stronger  
we become one.  
the destiny of humanity courses through our veins  
the enemy is not invincible

Kindness and care you have bestowed upon us  
(with your every action)  
California born you took the nation under your  
wing  
giving us the love denied you as a child  
by the dehumanizing nature of this society

With understanding, compassion; thru struggle  
you shielded your country's children from the  
harshest blows  
of their most callous foe.  
allowing time for growth, maturity.

In Levine's you were introduced to the  
fundamentals of the nature of society  
thus beginning your preparation for great  
struggles  
now you prepare us for the greater struggles that  
we shall wage  
which are as inevitable as the dawn  
as only a father who loves his child could do.

Thank you father Patterson.

A life long struggle  
to end war, racism and exploitation  
showing mass struggle as the only solution  
What greater gift to give

Though your law classes were not concerned with  
justice,  
you were  
and you gave back our country  
whose dignity was bismirshed by a government  
alien to our needs

Teacher, agitator  
organizing, teaching, writing, publishing, speaking  
battering through barriers imposed by social  
conditions  
in Pittsburg, at the Abraham Lincoln, across the  
nation

giving new meaning to the word friendship  
to me, to our people, to working people  
Thank you, Mr. Patterson, Thank you friend

Son of a slave born mother  
with racism a constant companion  
the plight of our people was burned into your  
consciousness  
In the ghetto prison of Harlem, Laurel,  
Martinville, Trenton,  
Scottsboro  
you lead the jailbreak, conveying our lifelong  
agony  
our shining star  
our constant companion

With Brother Paul, our tallest tree  
you stood shoulder to shoulder



Charging GENOCIDE—to government policy  
squeezing out our lifeblood  
lynching us from the tree and in the courtroom  
you placed our struggle in its proper context

looking first to Liberia, you aided us in our  
search for an identity stolen by capital  
Through you we began to see the blood and sweat  
of our people in a world larger than color  
recognizing our roots in Africa, you gave us our  
true identity  
integral to the country, integral to our class  
in a fight HERE to the finish

Thank You, Brother Patterson

Newspaperboy, clerk, elevator operator, seaman,  
longshoreman  
you have labored among the unrequited toilers of  
the nation  
with Mike, Rose, Alfred, Vito and Mother Bloor  
you came to understand your interests with Sacco  
and Vanzetti and all toilers.

In our beacon, known as the USSR with Jim  
you saw how the disease of racism murderously  
infecting our country,  
poisoning the minds and morality of its people  
could be ended once and for all  
When the beastly monster reared its tentacles  
abroad to  
halt your plea for your people  
you knew your British and French comrades  
would guide you through its fangs  
and they did

and while the duties of the moneybags ignorantly  
searched your suitcase and insultingly your  
clothing  
the fools could not find the socialist gold for  
which they so desperately sought  
never capable of understanding that the real  
wealth was in your  
mind, in the socialist idea, in the example of  
socialism

Spokesman for Black and white  
you gave the lie to the myth of white supremacy  
the lie which has blinded our fellow white  
workers to the price they pay in  
dehumanization by subscribing to the moral  
stench spewed by capital  
you have proven our limitless power in unity

Boundlessly dedicated  
you take your heroism as simple fulfillment of  
your duty  
your contribution to our PARTY  
SHALL forever be timeless.  
Thank you, comrade Patterson

percent of all elected officials are non-white. Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, who sponsored the Byrd Amendment to support Rhodesia also fought against all meaningful civil rights legislation for the non-white people of America. The warhawks in the United States government support the illegal, repressive regime of South Africa, they also support the bloated United States military budget, that takes funds from United States domestic needs. George Meany, the head of the AFL-CIO, who has refused to support the black trade union movement in South Africa also refused to fight for affirmative action in the trade union movement in the United States. The same forces that block the path of the African people are the same forces that block the path of the American people.

The developments in southern Africa brings great hope to the world. The heroic peoples of southern Africa have placed at a higher stage, the struggle to end man's inhumanity to man. This is a great contribution to all of mankind. The liberation of Africa is in the best interests of all the people of the world, black, white, Spanish-speaking, Native American, Asian, or any other people.

Indeed, the liberation of Africa is our fight!



## HARLEM HOPSCOTCH

by Maya Angelou

One foot down, then hop! It's hot.  
Good things for the ones that's got.  
Another jump, now to the left.  
Everybody for hisself.

In the air, now both feet down.  
Since you black, don't stick around.  
Food is gone, the rent is due,  
Curse and cry and then jump two.

All the people out of work,  
Hold for three, then twist and jerk.  
Cross the line, they count you out.  
That's what hopping's all about.

Both feet flat, the game is done.  
They think I lost, I think I won.

# Introduction

“We will present to the world the mercenaries we captured in Angola. We will present them in order to condemn once again this breed of people who are only out to kill and destroy other countries.

“We will present them so that world public opinion will know that the mercenaries, the South Africans, the Americans and others will be repelled if they try to enter Angola again.”

Agostinho Neto, Sao Tome, April 3, 1976

“Many myths were destroyed in this struggle—the myth of the myth of puppets of imperialism in Africa, the myth of the white mercenaries, who perpetrated so many crimes in Africa . . . But this time, in Angola, the white mercenaries were destroyed along with their myth, and so was the myth of the invincibility of the South African racists . . .”

Fidel Castro, Conakry, March 15, 1976

## ANGOLA:

### An End to the

### Mercenaries' Myth

by Ronald Stevenson—National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with African Liberation

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola was founded in 1956. Anyone caught active in this movement was liable to imprisonment or deportation. In 1959 there was a wholesale round-up by the Portuguese political police and intelligence apparatus (PIDE). The arrests led to three sets of secret trials in 1960. Dr. Agostinho Neto was picked up, but he was released soon afterward.

PIDE at that time was the real power in Angola. It attacked all known critics of the government, and it infiltrated opposition movements from within. It

could arrest anyone without charge for undefined periods of time. PIDE's attacks were so devastating at the time that opposition had to be organized by exiled Angolans outside Angola for a while.

Later that year, June 8, 1960, Dr. Neto was arrested again, flogged before his family and taken off to jail. This time his arrest triggered protest, at the administrative center in the city of Catete, demanding his release. The District Officer, learning of the forthcoming protest, sent to the Capital city of Luanda for two hundred soldiers with sten guns.

A week after Dr. Neto's arrest, approximately two thousand villagers arrived in Catete to demonstrate peacefully. The troops fired on them killing and injuring more than two hundred. On the following day the soldiers were sent to the villages of Icolo and Bengo where they killed or arrested everyone to be found. The villages were then set on fire.

Nothing of this appeared in the Portuguese newspapers. In November of the same year eight political prisoners were shot without a trial in the yard of the Luanda military jail. A fourteen-year-old African boy heard the shooting and climbed the wall to see what was happening and was shot dead on the wall. His body fell into the street and a passing motorcyclist tried to carry the body away. He was arrested and beaten.

At dawn, February 4, 1961, widespread disturbances broke loose in Luanda. Groups of Africans armed with batons, pistols and guns simultaneously attacked the military detention center, the civil prison and the city police station. The armed struggle had begun.

PIDE prison was the living tomb for generations of revolutionaries and the death house for countless numbers of others. Today, the prisoners are counterrevolutionaries and foreign mercenaries. After more than fifteen years, Neto is now president of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA). It was at the old PIDE prison where the 13 mercenaries responsible for war crimes were held and interrogated after their capture in February 1976, by the military wing of the MPLA.

Once it became evident that the multiracial MPLA had crushed the last depraved efforts of U.S. imperialism in cahoots with South African fascist apartheid to snatch Angola from its people, Anglo-American, Portuguese and Zairian mercenaries, in the pay of the CIA, were recruited to gain time.





By holding off military defeat, the colonialist and imperialist might be able to try something else—like a puppet government. Then the conquered would be intermingled with the conquerors, the traitors with the patriots, the counterrevolutionaries with the revolutionaries. In that way a complete anti-imperialist victory could be prevented. But, the imperialist and racist forces were proven to be inferior.

We shall follow some of the 13 mercenaries from the moment they were approached with the bait (money) they loved so well to the time of their capture. It is a story based on what they had to say.

The case of Daniel Francis Gearhart, otherwise known as “Danny,” is a unique one. He was a member of the U.S. National Guard Reserves, and he was the only one among the 13 mercenaries who did not claim to be apolitical.

“I came here for the same reason everybody else did—to make some money—and, at the same time—no offence meant—to fight communism.”

He was told not to be afraid to tell what he thought communism was like. He asked for a cigarette, lit up and the smoke curled up among the branches of the almond tree in the courtyard of the former PIDE prison. The interview was being conducted in the shade. Danny was weighing his words before answering and considering the consequences of his answers. He spoke after it was made clear to him that he didn’t have to say anything if he didn’t want to.

“It’s puzzling to me, too. I think the way my countrymen think. I can’t express myself clearly on these things. But, if you want me to be sincere, what I see in communism—I don’t mean anybody in particular—is a sort of North Korea.”

Danny thought he had gone too far. He added almost immediately:

“Now look, it isn’t a problem of being against the Asians. I was in Vietnam, and believe me, I don’t hate the Vietnamese. I repeat there’s no offence meant. The North Koreans . . . well, how can I make myself clear? I simply don’t like them, that’s all. And I don’t like communism, either!”

Danny Gearhart, age 34, from Washington, D.C., practices parachute jumping as a sport. He has a rating of “E-4” (expert 4th. class).

“For me, the war in Vietnam was much softer than this one. Being here is not the same as being a bodyguard for the VIPs. I served as bodyguard for the Chief of the U.S. Army, General Westmoreland, and for Defense Secretary McNamara . . . for

all the big shots that visited Ben Cat, where I served in 1965 and a good part of 1966. Sure there were risks, because the Vietnamese are fanatics, but the risks were actually limited.”

Back in the U.S. things didn’t turn out so well for Gearhart. He thought his handshakes, with the “bigshots” and his record “as clean as a baby’s soul” would land him a well paying job. But he was assigned to the National Guard Reserves and the only job he found was that of refrigeration mechanic in a federal government agency. Gearhart was in charge of maintenance work in cafeterias in a number of high schools and a university here and there. The National Institute Help was a quiet place but the administrative personnel received the high pay and he didn’t have the training for it.

“I had a problem, a serious problem. I was making \$492 a month after taxes. That’s \$5904 a year. No more! I don’t know if you have ever lived in my country, but the people in the middle—that’s where you begin to *be* someone—have to have an income of at least \$20,000 a year after taxes.”

Gearhart was hurt, (he lay awake nights thinking about it) when his wife threw away her fashion magazines and his daughter started going out with an older man. He said he didn’t hesitate the day another Vietnam veteran told him men were being recruited for Angola and that the pay was high. His wife had no doubts either. She said she would tell the children something. He didn’t waste any time. He sold a few things and bought a ticket to New York. The ticket they promised him he would cash in later.

When Gearhart registered at the Sky Motel in New York City he received the sum of \$1,000. He became elated when he signed the biggest contract in his life, two thousand a month, tax free!



An Example of Imperialist Intervention in Angola: Mercenaries from the United States recruited by the CIA and from Great Britain on trial in Luanda last June for crimes against the Angolan people.

“With \$24,000 a year you’re in the middle row. It ain’t everything, but the guy ahead of you can’t block your view of the screen . . .” According to Gearhart his dreams went up in smoke as soon as he arrived in Kinshasa (Zaire) via Paris:

“They assured me that I was to enroll in a real army, and there was nothing like it there . . . I have military experience . . .’ His disillusion turned to indignation the moment he set foot in Angola:

“In the first place, they told me a thousand times that the MPLA had neither a regular army nor modern weapons. In the second place they said there were hospitals, helicopters for evacuating the wounded, and all those things you need in a war. . . .” For the first time during the whole interview the two FAPLA officers broke into smiles.

Gearhart put out his cigarette against the trunk of the tree, ran his hand over his hair and humbly asked permission to ask a couple of questions: would he be executed and if sent to prison would he be allowed to get in touch with his wife?

One of the FAPLA officers replied that he would be tried by a court with all the guarantees provided by law and that in Angola prisoners were treated like human beings, something which he must have known by that time.

Gearhart’s testimony is suggestive enough.

However, for a deeper understanding of the real nature of a mercenary, one only has to read the letter of one who was a mercenary for the second—and last—time. The letter which was found in one of the pockets of Peter Stuart McPherson’s camouflage uniform, was written to his former wife.



“Dear Liz:

“As you can see by my address I am fighting with the mercenaries again. You probably know because of television. I’m certain you won’t answer this letter, though I hope you will. If I come out of this alright I’ll come home with lots of money. I hope that maybe you’ll let me see the children.

“We captured several cities, but the battles are terrible. We fought against the Russians (sic) and the Cubans. There are only a few of us left now, so none of us expects too much out of this.

“I’m on a six months contract, maybe more, maybe less, because these Africans haven’t the slightest idea of what being a soldier means. Every time they see a tank they drop their weapons and take to their heels. (sic)

“They’re not ready for combat yet. I work nearly 14 hours a day, trying to train these men, but its a hell of a job because not one of them speaks English and its really difficult to communicate with them. How are you and Don and Angela? I can’t send you any money. Because as I said the last time, I get my money through a Swiss bank.

“If you’ll let me, I’ll do anything for you when I return to England. You still haven’t heard anything from your divorce? Believe it or not I still think of you a lot; maybe its a matter of a guilty conscience, I don’t know.

“It’s beastly hot here. It’s summer in Africa now. I usually write, but I’m very tired, so I’ll stop. Take care of yourself and kiss Don and Angela for me.

“With Love,

“Peter”

When the body of Peter McPherson was found among the brush, many of the inhabitants in the area gathered around it and many of them described at length the crimes and abuses he had committed without ever showing an inkling of the concern he had shown for his family or the weather.

Colin Clifford Evans was another mercenary from England. He spoke in a loud voice, looking the interviewers straight in their eyes, defiantly. He started off by attacking his father. His father had been the first to read the ad in the Sun and set about convincing him that it would be “easy,” because the Blacks didn’t fight and lacked modern weapons. And it was his father who said it was the only way Evans would be able to pay off his debts.

“Who did I owe money to? My father.”

According to Evans it was his father who put the call from Dewsbury, his hometown, to the number



in the ad and practically forced him to take the receiver, giving him an affectionate pat on the back as soon as he was arranging an appointment with the person on the other end of the line. When he finished his father put his arm around him and said, "This is a great day for our family."

The appointment could be for any day in the week, except Sunday, from 12:00 to 5:00 p.m. at Paddington Station, just below the clock on Platform 1. Evans—driven on by his father, as he repeatedly pointed out—was in London below the clock, the next day at 10:00 a.m. "My father told me to get there two hours early just in case."

The stranger he was to meet would be wearing a matching brown suit, brown tie and brown shoes and would be carrying a doctor's bag . . . All this seemed safe to his father and diabolically complicated and dangerous to Evans, who was afraid of breaking the law.

"The old man was right: no problem. At 12:00 on the dot, I saw the man and found out that about 30 other men were also waiting for him. All the men I had seen hanging around had come for the same thing." Evans was astonished when before his very eyes, the man pulled out forms and began to pass them around. The letterhead read "MFG—Mercen-

ary-Forces-Group."

The men were asked to print their name, address, age and body measurements; to indicate if they had any military experience; and to list people who could be asked for references.

There was barely time for all of them to fill out the forms—there in full view of passers-by and amidst great exhilaration. Then the man in the brown suit told them to get into the fleet of taxis that had drawn up. The happy group was taken to the Glovers Hotel in a busy section of London.

Evans was carried away. What a fool he had been! His father had learned a lot in his life time! There was no danger, and there was evidently nothing illegal; there was no dim lights or half hushed conversations. Quite the contrary everything was out in the open. It was as if they were planning a tourist excursion and not a military operation.

In his hotel room Evans found himself with a Scotsman who had served in Kenya against the Mau Mau and who assured him that it would be an easy war, a happy war, more like a safari.

"The Scotsman told me that hunting lions was more dangerous than hunting blacks. Just like that!" Evans swore to the interviewer that he hadn't come to Angola to do anything "bad." He

was telling what he knew, no matter how unpleasant or horrible, in order that they might know how things were prepared.

In the hotel the next morning after breakfast each man was given two uniforms, sized according to the data on the forms they had filled out. They were told to try them on and this depressed Evans. He had spent ten years in the British Army. Now it was the same thing over again and for how long?

“I left the army because I was tired of it,” he complained.

But the Scotsman played the father role. Everything would turn out well. He said. Their passports were made out for them from the right in the hotel. Evans said again that he wasn't holding back anything because only the truth can help out in a situation like his. Their stay at the Glovers hotel only lasted for a day. They went straight to the airport in an air-conditioned bus with darkened windows. Each seat had a man's name on it and in the luggage space above there was a bag for each man. A public and open organization. There was another pleasant surprise when the bus with 40-odd mercenaries started-up: each man was given a thick stack of brand new British notes in an envelope.

“On the envelope we had to write the name and address of the person who was to receive the money each month. The money was to be carefully counted and placed in the envelope for posting. We were told not to worry about money, as the envelopes were collected, because the organization had \$12,500,000 deposited in four different banks.”

Evans felt there was something compulsive about the whole business, the speed at which everything happened and the seriousness of the venture, displayed in every little detail. There was little room for doubt, and especially for trying anything different.

In Kinshasa, they quickly passed through the airport (they were given diplomat's treatment and none of their bags were opened). They were booked into a hotel, but while the booking was still in the process, they were ordered back into the bus. Then they were taken to their real destination, a military base, an hour away.

Evans viewed all this as mental conditioning and this was confirmed by the issuance of the uniforms which they were to wear until victory, capture or death: streaks that ranged from bright green to orange-green, broken by black cross streaks. And soon afterwards completing their transformation

into soldiers, every man was given a heavy Belgian made FAL rifle. The war was near but all was happiness, peace and comradeship. In spite of the language barriers (English, French, Portuguese, German) and the fact that the men had never met each other before, they felt, or tried to feel, an esprit de corps. “All for one and one for all.” But, the “thing” that happened ended all of the false feelings of unity the hired killers had attempted to muster.

As Evans continued he used the word “thing” over and over.

“When the men lined up outside the new camp—formerly a hospital—they were divided into two lines for inspection by a tall man with red hair who introduced himself as the Sargent Major and demanded that the mercenaries call him “sir.” Shortly afterward another man appeared; this man was given a military salute by the sargent major, and the rest automatically followed suit. The sargeant major solemnly introduced Colonel Callan, commander of the troops.

Evans maintained the same tone while he was telling his story.

“The thing began in Angola, we'd scarcely reached Sao Salvador. Then the thing became terrible in Maquelo do Zombo: Callan murdered 14 of our men in front of the troops, without a trial even.”

Evans gave the following version of the collective killing, which was given banner headlines in the press of the world.



“This mercenary business don't pay like it used to.”

"In Maquela do Zombo, Colonel Callan ordered the men to line up in formation as soon as they got off the trucks. In a calm manner, he asked if there was anyone who didn't want to fight. A total of 14 actually indicated that they did not. One of them, a man with an Irish accent, stepped forward and acted as their spokesman. Callan asked him to turn over his weapon, saying it was alright, that he would be sent to train the Blacks. (He was talking about Blacks recruited by Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi both agents of the CIA in Africa.) As soon as he handed over his weapon, Callan pulled his pistol and shot him in the head, screaming:

"Here the law is a bullet!"

Shortly afterward, when surprise and fear had become widespread he ordered that the other 13 be disarmed. They didn't resist and were ordered into a truck that had appeared on the scene after the shot had been fired. Callan ordered the body dumped in the truck. Evans voice began to falter.

"I already told you I didn't come to fight; I signed on as a trainer. But when Callan looked me in the eyes—I was afraid. Fortunately, I didn't make a single gesture, not even an instinctive one. The innocent manner in which this hell of a man, and I thank God for his death, asked his question fooled many. It almost fooled me—. . . Those poor devils were put on a truck and driven a short distance down the road to a spot where a row of Black bodies were lined up on one side of the road. Shortly afterwards we heard the shots. They were all cowardly murdered and their bodies dumped with the dead bodies of the blacks. Thank God Callan is in hell!"

The true nature of the mercenary became more obvious when one of the FAPLA officers said that all this would be confirmed, since there were witnesses to the killings and every last detail would become known; who shot, who stole clothes, boots, watches and rings of the dead, and who laughed with Callan when he joked about the "execution" of the "deserters." When one of the Angolan officers asked Evans whether he would like to comment on the row of black bodies lying along the side of the road, at the time the mercenaries were shot by their leader, the prisoner Evans said not another single word.

(End of Part I)



Art Work—Mozambique  
RITA NA DALINA

# Socialist Ideologies In Equatorial Africa

One of the major characteristics of post-colonial Africa is the widespread profession of "socialist" faith. This phenomenon is so general that one may legitimately speak of a continental infatuation with the socialist label. African leaders who openly advocate free enterprise are the exception. The great majority of politicians, the chiefs of state in the first place, maintain their wholehearted support of one or another variety of "national," "African" socialism.

Faced with the proliferation of socialist doctrines in Africa, it is necessary to determine the essential causes of the infatuation with these philosophical constructs.

Two fundamental reasons, internal and external, explain the popularity of the socialist label in Tropical African.

## I. Internal causes of the unpopularity of capitalism in Equatorial Africa. Factors which lead to the proliferation of "socialist" doctrines.

The basic criticism of the capitalist mode of production, of which the proliferation of socialist ideologies is, more or less, the reflection, is, in great part, the result of its weakness, viz., the lack of a nationally authentic, African capitalism, capable of controlling and leading, by and for itself, politico-economic mechanisms in the newly-independent states.

Despite efforts by states to appoint national statesmen, there has not appeared a truly national bourgeoisie, capable of promoting independent economic development, accelerated and auto-dynamic. The African bourgeoisie does not possess the economic resources to tackle the extraordinary tasks involved in the growth of productive forces: modernizing the agricultural sector in order to create a genuinely national market and solving the dramatic employment problems. Under African conditions national capitalism is structurally and historically condemned to remain marginal. It is confined to commercial, service and speculative sectors.



CHISSANO—MOZAMBIQUE

Consequently, it is understood that, side by side with African patriots searching for a truly socialist solution, often under difficult conditions and, as well, with contradictory social forces lacking maturity, the bourgeoisie will comouflage their politics under socialist slogans. The historic weakness of the African bourgeoisie is so great that they are incapable of weaving an ideology around the benefits of free enterprise which would reverberate with a durable echo among the popular masses, who are condemned to misery by the contemporary logic of the principal capitalisms.

The capitalist in African economies is, to a degree, decisively controlled by Western firms. In general, foreign capital (in industry, commerce, and banking) is in the order of 85 percent.

It is precisely the marginal character of the African bourgeoisie, combined with the forces seeking to end imperialist domination which cause the capitalist mode of production to offend the national feeling of the African masses. It is an essential basis for the unpopularity of capitalism and for the proliferation of "socialist" ideologies.

These determinant circumstances are reinforced by profound social imbalances, provoked by the existence of foreign capitalism in the midst of traditional African societies. Vast peasant communities have been integrated into colonialism's exploitative sphere, with no significant change in traditional modes of production: capitalism has not revolutionized the productive forces. Patriarchal struc-



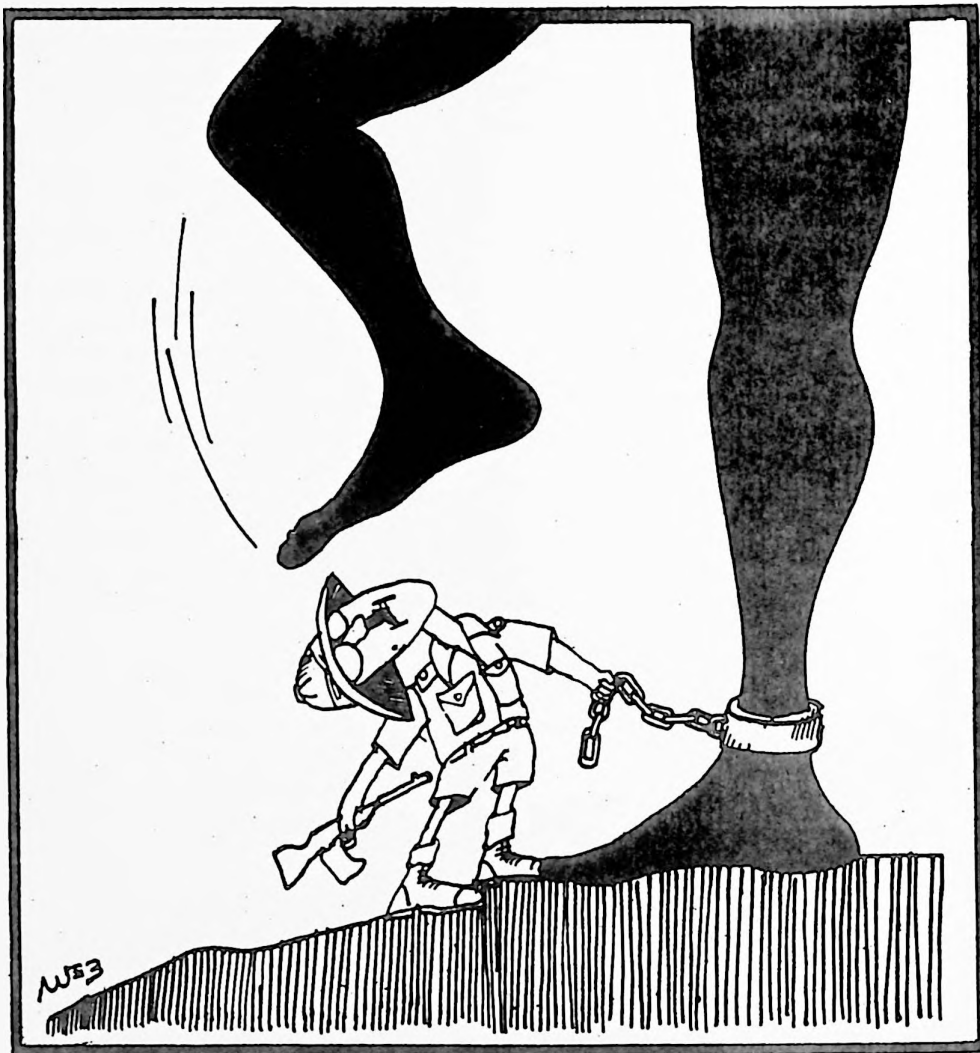
tures were disrupted and corroded, without introducing progressive socio-economic forms capable of assuring an internal balance of the changing social communities. This highly important fact demonstrates the destructive effect of capitalism and its organic incapacity to play a leading progressive role in tropical Africa. It cannot be imagined what the social effects of the forced introduction of these export-trading cultures are, chaining whole peoples to the anonymous mechanisms of the international capitalist market. These, through the constant devaluation of exchange rates between capitalist and under-developed countries, increase popular misery.

It is only natural that elementary anti-capitalism, as a result of the foreign origin of the capitalist mode of production, is reinforced through a stabilization of traditional communities of "patriarchal collectivism." Theoreticians of African socialism have often pointed out these two aspects of the problem.

Thus, for the late Kwame Nkrumah, capitalism "is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the traditional African society:" its maintenance, after independence, "would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa." President Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania, expresses the same idea when he writes: "In rejecting the capitalist mentality which colonialism introduced into Africa, we must equally reject its accompanying structures."

## II. External causes of socialism's popularity. The prestige of the socialist world and the all-embracing influence of the international ideology of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism.

Furthermore, when one speaks of the popularity of the socialist label in tropical Africa, one must bear in mind the constant growth in prestige on the continent of the world ideology of the revolutionary proletariat. The accomplishments of socialism, as seen in the tremendous achievements of the socialist countries (from the socio-economic and cultural points of view, as well as on the level of the construction of a modern, people's state structure), exert an acknowledged attraction upon the great African masses, confronted by neo-colonialism and the limitations of a dependent and under-developed capitalism.



The African masses want to end their wretchedness in the shortest of historical periods. They are conscious that, in the contemporary historical period, it is only the socialist countries who, through their progressive social structures, their popular political leverage, and their scientific ideological incentives, were able to smash imperialism's permanent pressures and subversions. The socialist countries offer major political experiences to the national liberation movement, confronted with the existence of domination and under-development of their countries by the Western powers.

The young African states, as far as their mass social strata are concerned (working class, pro-

gressive intelligentsia, large petit-bourgeois strata, military, patriots), are well aware that the socialist countries' experiences are not as distant as geography would suggest. The socialist camp and the Communist parties were constantly at their side in order to seize political independence, and today they help the African states on different levels—to promote their economies, to lend a content to the exterior attributes of independence, to abolish neo-colonialism, and to impose upon the imperialist powers a new and more just world economic order.

The alliance of progressive African forces with the socialist camp for the solution to all national and international questions is reinforced and enlarged to the degree that the social dimensions of



the national revolution deepen.

It is precisely in this common struggle against imperialism that the influence of the world socialist system gains ever-larger support on the continent. There is no doubt that this tendency will continue to develop as it becomes obvious that socialism is the determinant factor in mankind's evolution, that existing socialism is the mainstay of national and social liberation struggles.

### III. Reflections on the traditional African communities and social changes within the tropical African peasantry. Marxism-Leninism and Utopian Socialists.

The existence of a utopian component at the heart of tropical African socialist doctrines cannot be denied. This manifests itself in an idealization of patriarchal communities as the necessary vehicles on the road to modern socialism. All the conflicting tendencies, right as well as left anti-capitalist wings, have, at one time or another, theorized on this question.

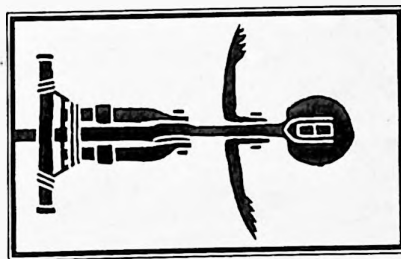
Indeed, in these constructs is a conflict between an optical illusion and the nationalist course of action.

The illusion consists of deducing that social stratifications of the "European" type do not exist; that there is a complete absence of social differences and of exploitative relations within the traditional society. In reality, all the research on these communities has never been able to corroborate the objective importance of such affirmations. On the contrary, there is no doubt about the rigid hierarchic structure of the communities. Family organization, the hierarchical system of all functions (based upon age, sex, birth), the social division of labor formulated on the basis of heredity and castes are among the many factors which destroy the naive or self-seeking mythologies about traditional egalitarianism and democracy in tropical Africa. The existence of patriarchal aristocracies, responsible for the repartitioning of lands from the very beginnings of feudalization, tells of the existence of social structures based upon classes.

The abolition of these structures is indispensable for the installation of true socialism. This is a central element of the general democratic tasks for the liberation of the peasant masses from the exploitation and obscurantism which chain them to the traditional exploitative strata.

It is naive to believe that communities which arose on such structures tend naturally toward socialism, despite the addition or introduction of modern techniques. The confiscation or cessation of agricultural cooperative construction attempts or of mere "modernization" of the countryside based upon traditional small-village structures, are sufficiently numerous to throw into doubt all possibility of success. The smashing of traditional super-structures is a necessary condition for every step toward progress.

The nationalist course, which is the other aspect of the overvaluation of patriarchal communities is, essentially, a nationalist reaction against colonialism's contempt for tropical African cultural values. This strictly nationalist glorification of peasant communities as being stronger than they really were is, to a great extent, and in contrast to the cities which arose under colonization, proof against the most deformed cultural values of Western societies.



However, this does not acknowledge, looking toward the future, the justification of forms of existence which life's experiences reject as more and more backward.

The integration of the African countries into the international capitalist system has created new social formations, which are transitory, dependent, and rigid. This important factor has repercussions not only in the cities, but also in the countryside. It is within these formations, as they are developing and in the sense of the revolutionary possibilities 'born out of the existence of the world socialist system, that the construction of a modern African renaissance begins, freed from the exploitation of man by man.

The appearance of a proletariat and its perspectives for growth, albeit limited, is of prime importance. The future of socialism, now as always, is in the merging of the working-class movement with

the theory of scientific socialism. "Passe" ideas, based upon the patriarchal peasantry and without considering its traditional and modern differentiations, can only profit the anti-peoples' strata and classes.

Present-day peasant structures are more and more affected by the extension of market relations. The patriarchal family and old social relations have suffered set-backs. The contours of a rural petit-bourgeois emerge at a time when great masses of agricultural workers and landless peasants have appeared. The traditional aristocracies transform great portions of communal lands into capital; they are evolving toward typically capitalist forms of accumulation and present themselves as a rural bourgeoisie.



The structural modifications vary as much in their swiftness as in profundity, from one country to another, and from one to another region within the same country. They are more pronounced in the plantation zones (cocoa, coffee, bananas, palmetos) for example than in the less "rich" agricultural zones (peanuts and cereals). But, even in these latter zones, the appearance of exploiting classes must not be under-estimated. Thus, in Senegal, a strong religious apparatus of Muslim clergy has raised a veritable "religious" income from the peasants. Accumulated riches are more and more channelled into capitalist circuits.

The relative weakness of private land ownership, in the European sense of the term, should not be grounds for illusions if one takes into account the new evolutionary tendencies. As Lenin stated, the absence of private land ownership does not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the development of capitalism in the countryside.

"Even without private land ownership, the possession of the land, its occupation by individual exploiters, creates a monopoly."

To state these facts is to deal the final blow to the vain African "socialist" theories, tending to deny the reality of the existence of antagonistic classes in African societies and, in particular, within peasant communities. In certain zones, moreover, demographic pressure poses the problem of drought.

It is said that it is illusory to believe that all the social classes and strata of the countryside, as is the case in the cities, have harmonious and common interests in a progressive and socialist development.

During the past few years, Marxist-Leninist thought on the significance, function, and historic role of the different socialist currents in tropical Africa has been amply developed. On this, as well as other, planes, Marxist-Leninist science plays a vanguard role. It takes into account the basic differences which separate the adherents of these currents and the social forces to which the adherents of socialist theories belong, which cause them to either encourage or combat socialism. Marxist-Leninist science takes into account the facts of the anti-imperialist struggle, of the development of a dependent capitalism, and of the world struggle between the two social systems. These approaches exclude every doctrinaire or worse step of the politics followed by the theoreticians of non-Marxist socialism in tropical Africa.

The existence of a commercial and usurious capitalism in the heart of the countryside guarantees exchange relations between the city and the countryside; that trade being negotiated within the peasant communities, themselves, is not a negligible factor in the new stratifications existing in these subordinate capitalisms. Certainly, the capitalist mode of production is not yet dominant as a socio-economic system. The nature of present African societies springs from their belonging to a transitory socio-economic formation, in which modes of production from different ages co-exist. This is the result of the blood-letting and dependency-inducing development of capitalism.

The founders of scientific socialism gave much attention to utopian socialist doctrines, as they manifested themselves in the former's epochs. Leninist writings on this subject constitute a rigorous methodology to reach a scientific judgement about African socialist ideologies.

For Engels, it is the under-development of productive forces and capitalist relations of production which underlie utopian constructs.

It is precisely because of this that the research for "the solution to social problems, which remained hidden in the embryonic economic relations, must spring from the head."

But, Engels emphasized that it would be a doctrinaire approach were scientific socialism to reduce utopian efforts to ridiculous fantasies. It is necessary to uncover the "ideas of genius which are hidden under wraps of fantasy." It is from this historical viewpoint that Engels judged the 19th-century utopians.

Lenin also stressed that the objective bases for socialist utopians resided in backwardness. He emphasized that "the socialist dreams did not become the socialist struggle of millions of men until the day when Marxian socialism united the reformist tendencies with the struggle of a determined class. Without the class struggle, socialism is a hollow phrase."

The classical Marxist-Leninist formulations constitute a key to the study and understanding of ideological processes surrounding socialist themes in tropical Africa.

Not only is it necessary "to uncover the ideas of genius which are hidden under wraps of fantasy," but also to understand the basic historical reasons which thrust across the national liberation struggle of entire peoples and cause them to rise against capitalism, not just by slogans, but by deeds. These processes are not always operative in a clear and scientific perception of real social relations and of the available means to end dependent capitalism. Clarity requires the assimilation of scientific socialism, and for this an independent proletarian party is required in order to influence every process, political as well as socio-economic.

It is precisely the world socialist system and its international ideology which lends this large movement its revolutionary potential; henceforth, socialism is the movement's material, as well as ideological, preference, in the midst of the deepening fundamental contradictions between international imperialism and the liberation movement.

These facts, which are central to our epoch, find their evermore profound reflection in the policies of the tropical African liberation movement. As Lenin prophesied, the liberation movement is directed not only against imperialism, but also against capital-

ism.

This movement is not a proletarian movement, and the weakness of the working class is demonstrated most tangibly not only in its numerical weakness, but also in its lack of consciousness, both of organization and experience in struggle against capitalism.

Meanwhile, the Marxist-Leninist theses on the non-capitalist path of development, brilliantly illustrated by the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and People's Mongolia, and by Vietnam and Cuba, continue to gain more followers. These important theses of the communist movement form the policies of many countries. These states are attempting to avoid the international capitalist system and its growth-retarding and politically-dominating effects by skipping the capitalist stage and going directly into socialism. It goes without saying that these are formidable tasks, as both the setbacks and successes experienced on this road have shown. Even under the conditions existing in a developed country, the way to socialism cannot occur from a single action. All the more so in a country with backward productive forces, with social classes under foreign domination and whose boundaries are still mobile, with a social consciousness which is often medieval and externally manipulated by imperialism.

The alliance of the national liberation movement of tropical Africa with the socialist camp, and the aid given by the latter to the liberation struggles, is one of the major conditions for the success of the non-capitalist road. To a great extent, this form is today producing the union of "reformist tendencies" of the national liberation movement with "the struggle of a determined class," capable of transforming the "socialist dreams" into scientific socialism.

*End Part #1*





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# The Funeral of Marien Ngouabi

by Danny Rosenberg

(Danny Rosenberg, Central Committee member of the Young Workers Liberation League, was part of the World Federation of Democratic Youth's delegation to the funeral in Brazzaville of Marien Ngouabi on April 2, 1977.)

Brazzaville, People's Republic of Congo, April 6, 1977

The funeral of Marien Ngouabi, slain by assassin's bullets on March 18 in Brazzaville, was held on April 2. As President of the People's Republic of Congo, as founder and President of the Congolese Party of Labor (P.C.T.), Ngouabi was greatly responsible for the advanced and progressive policies pursued by that state. Marxism-Leninism guided his thinking and he projected a socialist course for his country, drawing upon the experiences and internationalist solidarity of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries. Under his leadership the vanguard role of the Party of Labor was enhanced, the position of the trade unions (C.S.C.), the socialist Youth Union (U.J.S.C.) and other mass organizations was strengthened.

The funeral of Ngouabi was a demonstration, therefore, of the people's love and respect for their leader and of their support for the road to socialism charted by the Party of Labor.

The funeral itself was on the second of April, but other important ceremonies preceded this. On March 31 and April 1, thousands and thousands of Congolese men, women, youth and children filed past Ngouabi's coffin to pay their last respects. Joined by hundreds of delegations from other African states, various international bodies, and the socialist and progressive countries, they lined the streets of Brazzaville leading to the People's Palace where the wake was held. They stood in the hot sun, with temperatures over 100°. Approaching the plain in which the Palace stood, one could hear revolutionary Congolese, Cuban and Chilean songs being sung by musicians from the socialist youth. Huge billboards with revolutionary slogans dotted the vicinity of the People's Palace: "Long Live the Unity of the Peoples of the World!", "Long Live the World Revolution!", "Glory to the Immortal Marien Ngouabi."

Entering the People's Palace

The delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth followed that of Upper Volta, and was followed in turn by a team of young Soviet specialist, who are working in the Congo. The imperialist machinations resulting in Ngouabi's death (as well as the assassination of Congolese Cardinal Biayenda) were the latest in a series of provocations, the area of the Palace, like the rest of the Congo, was fully protected by the People's Army. The general atmosphere was one of mobilization, rather than tension. For the funeral itself this general mobilization which was also a symbolic reflection of support for the Party's direction and policies, increased visibly.

On April 2, the people of Brazzaville marched from all quarters into the square in the heart of the city. The citizens of the different city districts took various routes to the square, the site of the funeral ceremony. Those from District 4, for example, came down Lumumba Boulevard; those for Districts 5 & 6 marched down Amilcar Cabral Ave.

By 8 AM the square was packed and the foreign delegations began to arrive. A Soviet delegation, headed by the Vice-President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, headed the line of delegations from the socialist countries. The Soviet delegation, and those from Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, included representatives of their Young Communist Leagues. Representatives came from all over Africa, with high-ranking officials of Congo's brother progressive nations leading the way: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Somalia, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Tanzania and others. The African National Congress of South Africa, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and the South West African People's Organization sent delegates to honor Ngouabi, who was a consistent, time-tested protagonist of African liberation. As each foreign delegation walked through the square to the places reserved for them, it was saluted by a special detachment of the Congolese Young Pioneers.

The Army band played the National Anthem, and Sassou N'Guesso Demis, then President of the P.C.T.'s Military Committee, (and now Vice-President and Minister of Defense), stepped to the microphone to deliver the eulogy. Sassou N'Guesso traced ngouabi's career and development, stressing his modesty and sincerity. Ngouabi, he said, "en-

thused the Congolese youth." As a "clear and lucid Marxist" Ngouabi's analyses had the "exactitude of mathematics." (In December 1976, Ngouabi earned his Ph.D. in mathematics, minoring in solar physics.) Ngouabi, he noted, drew upon the "globality of Marxist thought," and applied "this heritage" to the specifics of Congolese society. In the name of the Party's Military Committee, he urged the people to follow Ngouabi's example. "The greatest heroes of the twentieth century are those who have defended until the supreme sacrifice, the cause of the working people." The funeral closed with the playing of the "international".

The best tribute to Ngouabi is the continuation of his work by the Congolese people, headed by the

Party of Labor. *Etumba*, the organ of the P.C.T., noted in a special memorial issue, that the "P.C.T. lives and is living, whether it be in Makelekele, Bacongo, Pote-Poto, Mougali, Ouenze, Talangai or in the rest of the Congo." The Congolese people, said *Etumba*, will remain faithful to Ngouabi's work and will strive to make Congo a "tomb" for imperialism.

Imperialism will draw but small consolation from its assassination of Marien Ngouabi, it has not been and will not be able to remove the People's Republic of Congo from the ranks of the progressive African states and of the world anti-imperialist movement.

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Marien Ngouabi and Fidel Castro at Jose Marti Airport, Havana, Cuba (1975).