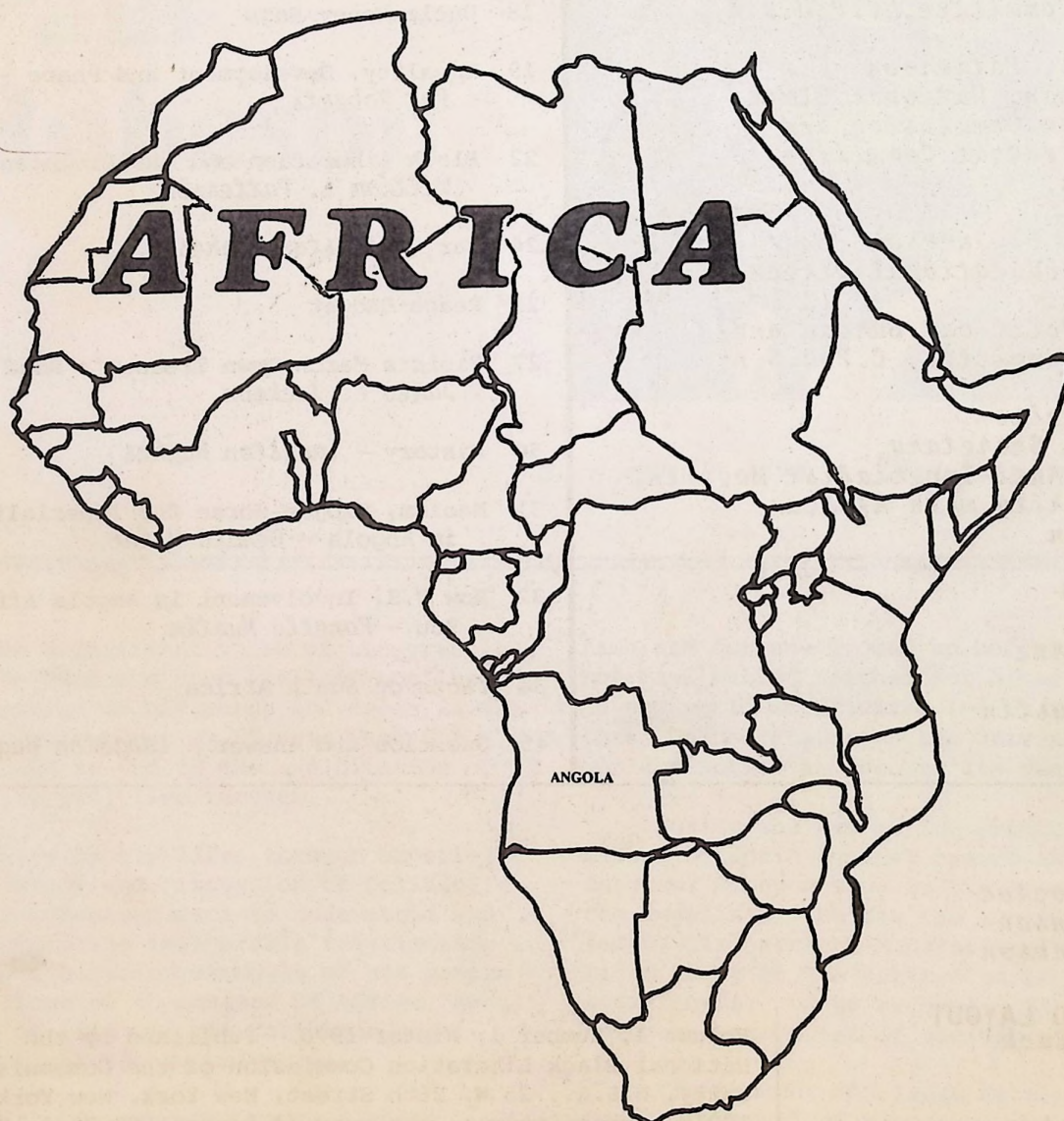


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# **BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL**

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**WINTER 1976**



# BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL

NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

WINTER 1976

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# In Memory of Paul Robeson



*Born April 9, 1898*

*Died January 23, 1976*

The magnificent voice of the great Paul Robeson has been stilled, but the inspiration of his words and deeds in the fight against racism, fascism and for peace and an end to the exploitation of humanity will live forever.

Early in his life, through experience, study and discussion of political affairs, Robeson came to understand and appreciate the inseparable relationship of the liberation struggle of his people with those of the masses of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean area. His outlook became universal.

With his extraordinary talents,

fame and fortune loomed up before Robeson. But Paul wanted neither for himself alone. He saw world imperialism led by that of these United States as the driving force of world reaction and became its deathless foe.

During the war of the progressive masses of Spain against Franco and Hitler fascism, Robeson sang in the trenches of the Loyalists. He saw the socialist world led by its peerless Marxist-Leninist political party as the birthplace of a new social order and he said so. He became an advocate preeminent of social change.

The thought and ideas of Robeson are part and parcel of the armory of those who seek liberation the world over.



# Anti-Imperialists Must Defend Africa

By Paul Robeson

*The following is an abridged version of a speech made by Paul Robeson at a meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on June 6, 1946, nearly thirty years ago. The meeting was sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, an organization that Robeson helped to found and was Chairperson of throughout its existence. This organization played a major role in carrying forth the struggle for African liberation in the United States, through mass meetings, demonstrations, fund raising events for drought victims and strikers, a monthly newsletter on developments in Africa and U.S. policies in Africa, and many other activities.*

*We hope that this will be welcomed by our readers as one of the many justly deserved, yet unjustly withheld, tributes to this titanic fighter for world peace and freedom for all workers and oppressed peoples from all forms of exploitation and oppression. We feel that these remarks are a fitting introduction to this issue of the Black Liberation Journal, for they place in a historical context current developments in Africa, especially with respect to the People's Republic of Angola.*

I have spoken for other causes on other occasions in this great hall. And while they were all important causes about which I was keenly concerned, I think I can say that never before have I faced such an audience as this with the sense of responsibility, of urgency, of intimacy with you that I now feel.

The Negro - and I mean American Negroes as well as West Indians and Africans - has a direct and firsthand understanding, which most other people lack, of what imperialist exploitation and oppression is. With him it is no far-off theoretical problem. In his daily life he experiences the same system of job discrimination, segregation and denial of democratic rights whereby the imperialist overlords keep hundreds of millions of people in colonial subjection throughout the world.

The one basic difference is that here in America the Negro has the law-at least partially, and in some sections of the country-on his side, and he has powerful allies in the ranks of white organized labor directly involved in his daily fight for justice. In Africa, in the West Indies, and in Asia, the colonial peoples wage a desperate struggle for recognition simply as human beings-as human beings to whom human rights are due. And these colonial peoples fight alone in each country-alone except for the help which reaches them from afar, from world-conscious labor in free countries and from other anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces.

And that is why we are gathered here tonight. Because our own rights and liberties-even though limited-are far, far greater than those of our brothers in colonial bondage. Because we must exercise the greater strength which we have to help win freedom for them. And also because in that very process of helping others, we add to our own strength and bring nearer full freedom for ourselves.

Besides people like those of us who are here tonight, there is another category of Americans, quite few in number, but extremely powerful, who are interested in Africa. They are concerned, however, *not* with the people of the continent of Africa, but with the wealth that they can extract from it and from the labor of the people there. These

American financiers and corporation heads have their own ideas about the future of Africa, and they *don't* include the idea of freedom. You can be sure of that. And another thing you can be sure of is that they're not losing any time in putting their ideas into action.

Our government, reports indicate, is getting uranium from the Belgian Congo for atomic bombs. American companies are prospecting for oil in Ethiopia and for minerals in Liberia. Mr. Firestone now has competitors in the latter country. These manifestations of a new and heightened interest in Africa on the part of American Big Business represent a challenge to the rest of us.

The race is on - in Africa as in every other part of the world - the race between the forces of progress and democracy on the one side and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other. And Africa, with its immense undeveloped and unmeasured wealth of resources, is a major prize which the imperialists covet and which we, the anti-imperialists, must defend.

We on the anti-imperialist side are handicapped by lack of money, lack of powerful organization, lack of influence in state and international affairs. But, although the enemy has all the advantage and has a head start in the race, it is yet possible for us to catch up and win. It is possible to win if the majority of the American people can be brought to see and understand in the fullest sense the fact that the struggle in which we are engaged is not a matter of mere humanitarian sentiment, but of life and death. The only alternative to world freedom is world annihilation-another bloody holocaust-which will dwarf the two world wars through which we have passed.

We have been hearing a lot of talk about a coming war. It has been defined by some of the bolder reactionaries in brutally clear terms as a war of the United States and Great Britain against the Soviet Union. This warmongering is the logical consequence of the get-tough-with-Russia policy preached and practiced by those who direct American and British foreign policy.

"Stop Russia!" the brass voices cry in chorus, and the men behind the voices hope that the people will be afraid and will turn against their wartime ally. Their frantic cries mask the program of imperialist aggression which these men themselves are seeking to impose upon the world.

The "Stop Russia" cry really means Stop the advance of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa toward independence; stop the forces of the new democracy developing in Europe; stop the organized workers of America from trying to hold their ground against their profit-greedy employers; stop the Negro people from voting and joining trade-unions in the South. "Stop Russia" means *Stop progress*; maintain the *status quo*. It means let the privileged few continue to rule and thrive at the expense of the masses.

A day or two ago Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, said, and I quote, "If we do not want to have total war, we must have total peace." For once I agree with him. But Mr. Bevin must be totally blind if he cannot see that the absence of peace in the world today is due precisely to the efforts of the British, American and other imperialist powers to retain their control over the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Europe and Africa.

We must indeed win the peace - a total peace - but we can do it only by using methods exactly the opposite of those pursued at present by the British Foreign Office and our own State Department. To win total peace there must be total freedom.

At San Francisco, a year ago, it was the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov, who said, "From the viewpoint of the interests of international security, we must first

of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence." (Speech delivered at the founding of the United Nations at San Francisco, May, 1945.)

But we are still waiting for the first European power in Africa to declare that its African subjects may exercise the right of self-determination and achieve self-government in the next ten years, the next twenty years, or even the next hundred years.

The colonial rulers will tell you that the Africans will not be ready for self-government in any foreseeable future. They lie. They would delude you into believing that the African peoples had no governments, no culture before the European came to Africa. They would delude you into believing that Africans are content to remain under European tutelage, and that this tutelage must continue indefinitely.

You have heard from other speakers tonight what sort of tutelage the rulers of Africa provide. How can they dare pose as so-called guardians of the Africans? How can they dare claim the right to continue in that role? The Soviet Union has demonstrated how it is possible to wipe out colonialism and all that that word connotes within a single generation. No wonder the imperialists cry "Stop Russia!"

That cry must be drowned out by the voice of the American people demanding Big Three unity for colonial freedom:

To arouse all sections of our population to the urgency of that demand has been the purpose of this meeting. But we do not in any sense regard our job as finished with the close of this great rally. On the contrary, my friends, the Council on African Affairs regards this job as having just begun. With your help, with the cooperation of the organizations with which you are associated and with the support of millions of like-minded peoples throughout our country and in other countries, *we shall win the fight* against the forces of imperialism.

Tomorrow is *our* day, the day of the common people. By God's grace and our united strength we *shall* win freedom and peace for ourselves and for all the oppressed peoples of the earth.

(Reprinted from, Philip Foner, ed., The Voice of Black America, Simon & Schuster, 1972.)

# Words Like Freedom

By Langston Hughes



THERE ARE WORDS LIKE FREEDOM  
SWEET AND WONDERFUL TO SAY,  
ON MY HEARTSTRINGS FREEDOM SINGS  
ALL DAY EVERYDAY.

THERE ARE WORDS LIKE LIBERTY  
THAT ALMOST MAKE ME CRY,  
IF YOU HAD KNOWN WHAT I KNOW  
YOU WOULD KNOW WHY.

# Editorial

The theme of this first issue of the Black Liberation Journal is the movements for national liberation in southern Africa, and especially the heroic liberation struggle being waged by the men and women of the People's Republic of Angola.

We must pause, however, to bring your attention to an urgent development and appeal concerning our country.

On Monday, January 19, 1976, with Richard Nixon out of office in disgrace for more than a year, the racist legacy of the Watergate President bore its rotten fruit: The Nixon-majority, U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case of the Reverend Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10 of North Carolina. These 10 young freedom-fighters have been sentenced now to serve 282 years in prison for defending a church in Wilmington's Black community from a four-day armed siege in 1971 by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist fanatics.

As the Central Committee of the Communist Party said, through its Chairman, Henry Winston and its General Secretary, Gus Hall, in response to the Supreme Court's action: "Racism took over the high court. This act upholds the racism of George Wallace and must be protested and reversed. Democracy is at stake. Elementary justice must be restored. The entire country must be shocked into immediate action. This racist, reactionary decision cannot become the new reality."

As the world becomes ever more aware of CIA and FBI crimes and plots around the world and here at home, it is imperative that we understand that one of the prime targets of the repressive COINTELPRO conspiracy was to "behead" the Black liberation movement. While the CIA was assassinating tens of thousands of Vietnamese patriots through the notorious Phoenix program, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Black Panther and NAACP leaders were being assassinated here at home. When Richard Nixon came into the White House in 1968, on the promise of his "Southern Strategy" -- in reality a national strategy appealing to racism, particularly using the explosive issue of



school desegregation, his various agents, provocateurs, wiretappers and other conspirators were doing their dirty work.

North Carolina in the late 1960's was promoted by public relations experts for the state as an example of New South progressivism. In reality, the state had become one of the most repressive in the country. A progressive trade union movement, led by militant Black and white organizers, had been smashed in bloody strike battles. With only 8 percent of the working class in unions, the lowest rate in the nation, the people had and still have one of the worst living standards. A virtually all-segregated school system was among the worst in these United States.

At this point, the Reverend Ben Chavis and another Black freedom-fighter, Dr. James Earl Grant, emerged as key organizers of the Black communities of that state, particularly among its young people.

The repressive state apparatus, in collaboration with the Nixon Administration, set out to "behead" this militant Black leadership. With federal payoffs to known criminals by the now convicted Watergate conspirators John Mitchell and Robert Mardian, perjured testimony was brought in order to send Ben Chavis and James Earl Grant to prison for years. Attempts on their lives--bombings and shootings--failed. But after scores of arrests and indictments on phony charges, all of which were thrown out or beaten in court, the state finally convicted Jim Grant for burning down a barn on a day he was five states away. They sentenced him and two co-workers to a total 55 years in prison. Jim Grant sits in prison today, where he continues to struggle as a prison union organizer.

But Ben Chavis has been organizing around the country since his conviction, while the Wilmington case was on appeal, campaigning for the Attica Brothers, struggling with the Native American Indian peoples at Wounded Knee, fighting to free the San Quentin Six and Joann Little, in his role as Vice-Chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression -- Ben Chavis has become a symbol of courageous struggle against the racist and repressive ruling class. His brilliant work has been recognized by thousands of supporters, including national church leaders, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and others.

Our party, the Communist Party, is second to none in our admiration for these fighters against racism and for Black liberation. We have many years of proven struggle in defending such fighters, from the Scottsboro Boys to Angela Davis. The movement throughout the country and around the world to free Comrade Angela reached the tens of millions. We must exceed even that effort to free Reverend Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10. In every community and every school and every shop and union, in every church and on every campus, the demand must be raised: FREE BEN CHAVIS AND THE WILMINGTON 10.

In the immediate situation, the lives of Reverend Chavis and the 10 are in danger. The notorious prison system of North Carolina, the biggest in the United States, is especially brutal toward proven fighters for freedom.

Letters, resolutions and petitions should pour into the office of Governor James Holshouser at the State Capitol in Raleigh, demanding the safety of Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10. As the appeals process unfolds, these young brothers and sisters should be allowed to be on the streets, in their homes with their families and children. Demands for bail should go to U.S. District Court Judge John Larkins, Jr., in Raleigh.

These are immediate demands. And no action should be without the rallying cry against repression of our times: FREE BEN CHAVIS AND THE WILMINGTON 10!

# A Bold Initiative

By Henry Winston



This first issue of the Black Liberation Journal, making its appearance in the Bicentennial year, is a significant event in the life of our Party. This Journal will throw the searchlight of Marxism-Leninism on the class, national and racial oppression of Black people in the United States. The Journal will not only record this oppression, but will help to find solutions which can further the struggle against racism in the shops, in the unions, in the communities, and help speed the development of class solidarity in struggle.

Such a trend is also basic to the development of the alliance of labor and the Black people, the cornerstone of a growing anti-monopoly movement.

The Journal will expose the viciousness of class collaborationism and reformism as a weapon of monopoly against the working class in general, and Black workers, in particular. That is why the Journal will show that only the policy of class struggle is capable of advancing the interests of the working class and furthering the struggle for economic, political and social equality.

This action by the Communist Party represents yet one more step in the exten-

sion of our theoretical, ideological, political and organizational work--and at a time when the interest in Marxism-Leninism has never been higher among Black people.

In short, the Black Liberation Journal will emphasize in its pages, the total role of the Communist Party.

The election campaign is already unfolding and the significance of it in the anti-monopoly struggle is decisive. That is why this Journal fully comprehends its special role in the anti-monopoly fight to rally the tens of millions in the struggle to achieve economic, political and social equality for the Black people in the United States.

The slogan, "Black and White, Unite and Fight" will become an integral part of the whole fight in the country for democracy, detente, and peaceful coexistence. This approach will help masses to better understand the program of our Party which fights for the establishment of socialism within our land. Through this campaign, all of the policies of the Party will be reflected in general, and especially on the specific front of Black Liberation.

That is why the maximum effort is required to get the Party on the ballot in

34 states in the country, and the messages of its leading candidates must reach the masses in a thousand different forms, in the shops, communities, churches, fraternal, civic, women's, youth and campus organizations.

This Journal will, in addition, expose the bankrupt policies of the twin parties of state-monopoly capitalism and help to stimulate independent movements uniting broad masses on that kind of program serving their interests.

To more effectively increase the quantity and quality of work, the Journal will lay heavy stress on increasing the circulation of the Daily World and the Peoples World, and building the Party itself. This means that this Journal will lay special emphasis on that aspect of our Party's role by which it more and more expresses our scientific analysis of the special needs of society in this period of economic crisis and growing inflation occurring under circumstances of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. It will also formulate, in each particular stage of the class struggle, a realistic program directed against racism and anti-communism, against reaction, militarism and fascism, as the basis for thought and action by the working class and all progressive forces.

Historically, for Black people, the struggle for emancipation was always connected in one form or another with the struggle against the foreign policy of capitalism, and this is especially true today in the fight against imperialism. This is also true today when the Soviet Union and all forces of peace and national liberation are waging a great struggle to find a basis of agreement around the SALT talks, the aim of which is to promote détente and peaceful coexistence to save humanity from a thermonuclear war. This is the basis for the maximum advance of social progress at home and to further the fight for national independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The present situation in Angola is in-  
apparently connected with the struggle  
against military basis in general, NATO  
in particular, and the annual appropri-

tion of more than a hundred billion dollars for the military budget.

The military budget backs the neo-colonial policies of U.S. imperialism in its efforts to dominate the narrowing markets for exploitation in Africa. It also shields attempts to maintain imperialist economic dominance by making forced concessions to the national bourgeoisie in a form which changes the color of the visible oppressor, while real control remains in the hands of the imperialists. This policy is backed by the building of military bases and by support to the fascist regime in South Africa, by Maoism, and by every other reactionary force on the continent.

Intuitively, and in varying degrees, Black people understand the machinations of U.S. imperialism in Africa. The racist and anti-communist role of Moynihan in the United Nations revealed the inner essence of the bestial policies of imperialism. They understood full well the entire meaning of Moynihan's proposal for a caucus in the UN of 28 or 29 "democratic" states, and this is proof positive of the incapacity of the most chauvinistic, warlike and imperialist circles of finance capital to draw any lessons from their historic defeat in Vietnam.

The presentation of 100,000 anti-apartheid signatures to the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and the unprecedented movement against U.S. imperialist policies in Angola by the Black press and churches calling for many-sided support to the just struggle of the Angolan people for national independence are several examples of a movement involving millions in churches, unions, civic and fraternal organizations.

Perhaps typical, was the editorial in the Afro-American (December 16-20, 1975) which is quoted in part:

"Last time the public, press and politicians were so wrought up about an African issue was when they were on the wrong side of the Nigerian Civil War. They were all for Biafra and

sought to hide their sinister motives behind a humanitarian facade...The Afro cannot overlook, nor will most African countries, that throughout the long battle by Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola to free themselves from colonial rule by Portugal, the U.S. supported its NATO ally, the Portuguese.

"As we said before, had it not been for assistance, including weapons, from countries like Russia, Angola and the other recently freed countries still would be colonies of Portugal. Apparently the U.S. didn't mind that situation--in fact, this country helped the condition to prevail as long as it did.

"People in Africa, and Cuba too, appreciate the support they get from Russia in their efforts to liberate themselves from outside control."

In one way or another around the country, many Black newspapers express similar views. But the silence on this issue by such articulate gentlemen as Bayard Rustin and Roy Wilkins speaks volumes.


There should be but one approach to this question: Hands off Angola by U.S. imperialism! Full support to MPLA, the legally established government of Angola! No more millions to the white mercenaries

of South Africa, to FNLA or UNITA! Cease any and all funds to support what President Gerald Ford calls "the faction we support in Angola." Not a cent, not a gun, not a man should be sent from these shores, nor should any support be given to reactionaries in other lands.

More than that, the specific program around which a new push is needed in this country is the struggle to oust from the UN the representatives of Vorster's South Africa and the guidelines must unite millions in support of sanctions against South Africa.

Some specific steps should include:

1. No economic, political or military relations whatsoever with the Vorster regime in the Republic of South Africa.
2. Congress shall tax and the Treasury shall collect taxes on all profits made in South Africa at maximum rates without deductions for local taxes paid.
3. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation shall refuse to insure any new investments in South Africa and cancel all outstanding insurance in investments in the Republic of South Africa.
4. The President shall instruct the Export-Import Bank and all other U.S. credit agencies to refuse all credits for



the  
**communist  
party**  
now more than ever

henry  
winston

15c

business with the Republic of South Africa and instruct U.S. representatives of international lending agencies to oppose all credits to the Republic of South Africa or companies operating therein.

5. The State Department should denounce all existing investment, trade and commercial treaties with the Republic of South Africa and the President shall remove most favored nation treatment from South African goods.

6. The immediate withdrawal of the sugar quota to the Republic of South Africa.

Such efforts will strengthen the fight of all democratic anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces in South Africa, and will extend beyond its borders; for example, the realization for national independence merged with the democratic and anti-fascist struggle in the overthrow of fascism in Portugal. The defense of democracy and national independence requires that this kind of unity is strengthened in every way. And to achieve this is to guarantee the overthrow of classical colonialism in Southern Africa.

Every class strata among Black people instinctively recognizes the relationship between the struggle against colonialism in Africa and the fight for full equality here at home, and are actively, and with determination, rejecting old concepts, ideas and practices which have not put an end to inequality. They have entered onto a new plateau of struggle to which Black workers are giving increasing leadership.

This development is very good, for in motion is an oppressed people in their entirety, seeking fundamental answers to their economic, political and social problems. The widening wage gap between Black and white workers is reflective of monopolist policies of excluding Black workers from the skilled trades and professions. It is because of this discrimination that many Black people assert that "if white masses have a cold leading to the flu, the same cold, for Black people means pneumonia."

The militant struggles of Black people

in the past did succeed in making some advances. How to quicken the pace in this period in the battle for equality and freedom must be understood as being basic to the democratic struggle in general, détente and peaceful coexistence, not alone for Black people, but for all the oppressed people in the United States. That is why this Journal will undertake the task of bringing light into the tunnel and not waiting for that light at the end of the tunnel.

Why is this so? This is to be explained not simply by the oppressive conditions of Black workers and their struggle for social progress, but also by the conscious policy being pursued by the apologists of monopoly to confuse the minds of the masses. For example, Bayard Rustin, writing in The New York Times, is representative of a social democratic direction which does not shed light, and instead of quickening the pace, actually slows it down. Ethel Payne, speaking on "Spectrum," a short interval spot on CBS radio program, correctly criticizes Rustin. But she draws a conclusion which is also wrong in that instead of challenging monopoly capital, she actually calls for "Black capitalism."

But the problem for Marxist-Leninists is not only to show the inadequacies of these propositions, but by analysis, to show that the answer which Black masses seek to find is that pattern which leads away from policies of class collaboration and leads to policies of class struggle.

In this connection, the Black Liberation Journal will help to explain the way out for the Black masses and Black leadership now grappling with the fact that there are three million unemployed Black workers and 681,000 of them have totally exhausted unemployment compensation with no jobs in sight. This latter number will soon extend to include 1.6 million Black people.

This fact has led Vernon E. Jordan, the Executive Secretary of the National Urban League to write in the Amsterdam News (November 5, 1975):

"We're passing through an extended



period of economic instability....It's clear that the old formulas aren't working and the old remedies aren't taking effect. A lot of what was held for so long to be economic truth is turning into yesterday's belief--outdated and overtaken by events."

This is well said. And Mr. Jordan is correct when he argues for a new fresh approach. He projects the concept of "planning" as being the answer. This idea, however, does not flow from any anti-monopoly position. The idea of nationalization of such industries as steel, railroad, electric and electronics, auto, aircraft, etc., is not even suggested by Mr. Jordan. Nevertheless, such an approach is absolutely necessary today. Proper nationalization requires boards which are democratically determined. These boards must include representatives of labor, Black people and other oppressed minorities, with enforcement powers which make possible the implementation of a program which, among other things, will carry the struggle against racism and inequality to new levels.

Neither in the field of construction does he forthrightly propose the elimination of voluntary plans and the establishment of boards also democratically determined with powers to put an end to the scandal now present in this field. All of this presupposes a fight for full employment with guarantee against any form of racial discrimination which can start the wheels of industry going. It is this kind of policy that can lead to narrowing the wage gap between Black and white, which will be a reversal of a trend which results in an entire people becoming social pariahs. That is why the Black Liberation Journal expresses concern at the basis upon which Mr. Jordan develops his ideas of planning.

He puts it this way:

"A national economic plan would help private industries make rational plans of their own for the future and help break the boom and bust cycle that's wasting so many of our human natural resources."

Mr. Jordan is a learned man and must understand sooner or later that such hopes for "private industries" are illusory. This basic question of political economy will be continuously discussed in the pages of this Journal.

Thus the Black Liberation Journal will make a mighty contribution to the Black Liberation movement in particular, but also to the working-class movement and the anti-monopoly struggle in the United States generally.



I have seen workers  
The hands empty and chained  
By the futility of starvation  
Now no longer bowed or stooped  
No longer the humble and the meek  
No longer the downtrodden and disinherited

I see the thunderous-might of peoples  
Erupting from tattered rags of poverty  
Seize the steel-fisted rule of their oppressors  
Drive them into the man-hole of past decadent ages

In these glorious times of ours  
I see surging forward  
The toiling masses as the attacking class!  
Soaring onward towards that bright red flame  
Of new dawns arising  
I see that bright red flame blazing  
The vaulted vastness of the horizon  
THE PARTY OF COMMUNISM

I see this Party as the only guiding light  
And invincible power of the working class  
I see this Party as the steeled muscle  
And backbone of the working class  
I see this Party as the lifeblood  
And brains of the working class

For the Communist Party  
With its Marxist-Leninist science  
Emblazoned the land, the sky, the sea, the air  
With the immortality of brotherhood!

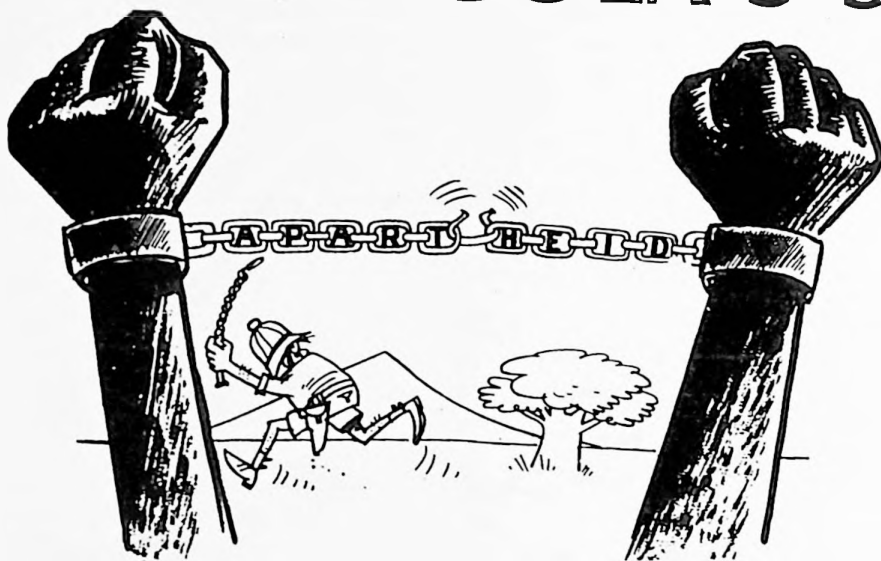
**By Willard Moore**

# These Times Are Ours

(To Harold and David)



# ANGOLA'S STRUGGLE IS AFRICA'S FUTURE



Cartoon by Horst Alisch.

By Tony Monterio

Angola has an important place in the global struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress. The struggle to defend the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola is central to the future of the entire struggle to decolonize southern Africa. This struggle is a clash between the interests of national liberation in southern Africa, and world imperialism headed by the United States. What is now being determined in Angola is not only the future of that nation, but also the circumstances under which the struggle to dismantle the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa will take place.

The present situation is a consequence of the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and of fascism in Portugal itself. The liberation of the former Portuguese colonies has brought the borders of liberated Africa to the borders of the nerve center of imperialism in Africa - the Republic of South Africa. As well, the vanguard of Africa's liberation movement touches base with the base of counterrevolution in Africa. The liberation of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau

and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, which has created a new political moment in southern Africa, and Africa generally, will suffer a severe blow with a setback in Angola. The fight to destroy fascism and colonialism in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), is fed by a generally positive political environment marked by a new level of anti-racist, anti-imperialist unity.

Gus Hall's historic report to the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., puts it thusly:

The events in Indochina, the collapse of the colonial empire of Portugal in Africa and the smashing of the fascist rule in Portugal, bring to light some new relationships reflecting the new phenomenon in the world. These struggles show a new relationship between socialism and national liberation. But there is also a new relationship, and in many cases an overlapping, between the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for

socialism within each country. There is a closer association of the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, and anti-capitalist trends. There is a new cohesiveness between all of the movements fighting for human progress. This trend towards closer kinship is a reflection of changes in the role of classes and ideologies. They come about because of the increasing leadership role of the working class in the world and in all of these movements. In these developments, it is clear, the working class has moved to fulfill its historic leading role. This is an important new element in all of the struggles today. (Gus Hall, The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back (New York: International Publishers, 1975), p. 25.

The people of Angola, while heroically defending their national liberation, make an outstanding contribution to the entire process leading to the defeat of world imperialism. The termination of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and 48 years of fascism in Portugal has enhanced the processes for national liberation and social progress in Africa, and for democracy and peace, for anti-fascist unity in Europe, and toward the establishment of international detente. But because U.S. imperialism is the motor force of the global counterrevolution, the victories in Angola and Portugal are a powerful contribution to the labor, Black liberation and peace movements in our country. These victories were powerful blows against racism and anti-communism and, therefore, in the interests of anti-imperialist unity worldwide, and to Black-white unity in the United States. Solidarity with the peoples of Angola and Portugal, rooted in the masses of the United States, is a primary condition for our own advancement.

The imperialists of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium and South Africa, along with the neo-colonial regimes of Zaire and Zambia

are involved in a criminal invasion of Angola with the support of Angola's own internal reaction, headed by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola led by Holden Roberto and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi. The purpose of the invasion is to destroy the legitimate government of Angola and replace it with a neo-colonial regime partial to the economic, political and military interests of the United States and the NATO countries.

## IMPERIALISM'S STAKE IN ANGOLA

Angola, which has a population of 6 1/2 million people, is twice the size of France and is among the richest nations in Africa. Phineas Malinga, writing in The African Communist (Third Quarter 1975), says: "The road to Angolan freedom has never been a simple nor easy one. Powerful foreign interests have always sought to control Angola's considerable wealth and resources: and the complex maneuvers and sordid conspiracies related to the transition from Portuguese African rule can only be understood in light of this fact."

Angola's mineral wealth includes oil, diamonds, gold, uranium, coffee, nickel, iron ore, phosphates, timber, cotton, manganese and copper. The rate of industrial growth in Angola reached 26% in 1973 and investments in manufacturing increased 200% between 1969 and 1973. Its rivers have a high potential for producing hydro-electrical energy and its harbors at Luanda and Lobito are among the best natural harbors in West Africa. Since the early 1960's, enormous amounts of western capital have flowed into the nation. This capital has plundered the nation, exploited the people and created the material base for neo-colonialism. U.S. capital has shown an exceptionally rapid rate of growth in Angola in recent years and is today the main importer of Angola's commodities and the third largest exporter to Angola.

Therefore, the invasion of Angola is geared to defend the economic interests of western capitalism. For instance, in Angola coffee is the most important export crop, accounting for 27% of total exports in 1973, and valued at about \$280 million. The dominant concerns were Portugal, Belgium and South African. Diamond production was

dominated by Harry Oppenheimer and the De Beers group which is based in South Africa. In the recent period United States and Belgian capital have become involved.

Oil has emerged as the most important export commodity in Angola. Gulf Oil, under the Portuguese colonial administration established its dominance over production in the Cabinda section of Angola. Gulf, before violating its agreement with the Angolan government, as part of the United States policy of economic warfare against the new nation, was extracting 150,000 barrels a day. In 1974, oil exports accounted for \$530 million. The biggest consumers of Angolan oil were the United States (50%), Portugal (25%), Canada (14%) and Japan (6%). South African and Portuguese financial interests along with Texaco, before independence, were exploring for oil off the shores of northern Angola. South Africa sees in the Cabinda and the other potential reserves in Angola a source of petroleum, which it lacks and which the OPEC nations have refused to sell her. The mining of iron ore was in the hands of Krupp of West Germany, Bethlehem Steel and General Electric of the United States, as well as Italian and British concerns. The government headed by the MPLA is a direct threat to these interests in Angola.

### UNITED STATES POLICY IN AFRICA

For 14 years United States foreign policy was based upon strengthening the position of Portuguese colonialism in the war against the Angolan people. In December 1969, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger commissioned the preparation of a special document for the National Security Council (N.S.C. Memorandum #39), which indicated five options for United States policy in southern Africa. Of the five, the second option was adopted. It called for continued aid to the colonial regimes in southern Africa, while appearing to oppose colonialism through public statements. This option included the continued flow of arms through NATO to the Portuguese. In 1971, the United States government paid to the Portuguese government \$431 million under the Azores Agreement for the right to utilize the Azores Islands for military purposes. The bulk of this money, of course, went to support Portugal's wars in Africa. Certainly, Portugal being the poorest nation in Europe (with the conditions of the masses almost as bad as in some colonies) was unable to shoulder alone the burden of wars in three territories in Africa. The NATO nations, therefore, financed these wars while the Portuguese did the fighting. This was so because the wars in Africa were in defense of western interests as a whole. In conjunction with the policy enunciated in the NSC Memorandum #39 went a closer development of all-around ties with South Africa. This included breaking the arms embargo and supporting Britain and France in doing so. In 1974, Vice President Gerald Ford met with top ranking officials of the South African government, where it was agreed to integrate South Africa into the U.S. Strategic Air Command operations in the South Atlantic and to begin integrating South Africa into NATO.

The U.S. Pentagon sees in the Angolan ports of Luanda and Lobito potential naval bases for U.S. and NATO naval operations in the South Atlantic. These ports would be connected to the development of the South African port at Simonstown into a NATO naval base, with the capacity to receive nuclear-equipped vessels. This military fortress in southern Africa would operate as a military strike force against all of Africa. It would be the main expression of the effort at neo-colonialist containment of the African liberation struggle and would present a formidable military threat to every independent nation in Africa. Angola would, in the eyes of western imperialism, fit into this neo-colonial beachhead in southern Africa. Therefore, a reversal in Angola would be the first stage to an unprecedented assault upon the liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. This counteroffensive by imperialism would then extend to the independent nations especially those pursuing socio-economic paths of development leading to socialism.

### ZAIRE, SOUTH AFRICA, AND COUNTERREVOLUTION

Zaire's participation in the invasion of Angola from the north is based upon the Mobutu regime's reliance upon neo-colonialism. The friendship between the Mobutu





regime and western imperialism is predicated upon anti-communism, historically rooted in the relationship that developed between Mobutu, Tshombe, Belgian colonialism and the Central Intelligence Agency in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the overthrow of the Lumumba government in the Congo in 1961. Mobutu hopes to enlarge his prestige in southern and central Africa at the expense of the Angolan people. Since the overthrow of the Lumumba government, the United States has extended \$430 million in aid to Zaire, \$50 million of which is military. In November 1975, Kissinger asked Congress to approve an aid package worth \$63 million for Zaire. This to go along with \$19 million in military aid which had already been extended and was an increase over the 1974 level of \$3.5 million. According to the Paris-based journal Juene Afrique, Zaire has between 4,000 and 6,000 troops in northern Angola. According to the Johannesburg Star of November 29, the Zaire troops had been joined by from 800 to 1,000 Portuguese, members of the ultra-rightist "Portuguese Liberation Army," (which is aligned with Antonio de Spínola), and about 200 U.S. mercenaries. This aid to

Zaire must be added to the \$30-35 million of covert CIA funds sent through Zaire to FNLA and UNITA. The New York Times of December 15, reported that American pilots were flying five spotter planes into Angola from Zaire. Senator John Tunney of California on January 6 said American pilots are flying transport planes with supplies from Zaire into northern Angola. The MPLA, after capturing Carmona on January 5, reported destroying U.S. transport planes on the ground at the airport outside Carmona. Carmona had been the staging area for the northern invasion of Angola.

The South African press reported in December that facilities had been prepared in South Africa for receiving 400 to 450 mercenaries from the United States. The call for mercenaries has been widespread in the United States. The important point to be made is that the United States government sponsored a military buildup in the early months of 1975, soon after the signing of the Alvor Agreement, on January 15, 1975. The first fruits of the U.S. arms buildup was the reign of terror initiated by the FNLA in the capital city

# UNCLE MONEY BAGS



Although virtually every American is hard hit by inflation, most of us favor helping people in poorer nations, especially disaster victims.

But Sen. Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), who believes wasteful military spending abroad is one of the chief causes of inflation, thinks Americans would be keenly upset if they knew all the facts about U.S. multibillion-dollar foreign aid programs.

Cranston, who is a member of the powerful new Senate Committee on the Budget, has been analyzing some figures and here are some of the things he has learned:

\*The U.S. has sent nearly \$200 billion in aid and credits to 138 foreign countries since the end of World War II--the equivalent of more than 40 percent of the entire U.S. national debt (\$474 billion).

\*About one-third (\$66 billion) has been in the form of military aid.

\*Among the governments we've been supporting are 56 military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes which, to one degree or another, have used military aid money, intended for defense against outside aggression, to terrorize and subjugate their

own people.

These repressive governments have obtained \$81 billion in U.S. aid since 1945, and they are scheduled to receive still another \$5 billion this year.

\*Even the \$47 billion sent to those countries in the form of so-called economic aid, according to Cranston, "includes huge sums appropriated for military or diplomatic reasons rather than for humanitarian purposes. Much of this money has ended up in the banks of the bureaucrats and the affluent instead of in the hands of the poverty-stricken."

Senator Cranston has listed 56 repressive governments and the total amount of military and economic aid they have received from the U.S. Below are the 10 that received the most:

S. Vietnam	\$22.3 billion
S. Korea	12.2 billion
Taiwan	6.16 billion
Pakistan	5.1 billion
Brazil	4.7 billion
Greece	4.3 billion
Spain	3.14 billion
Iran	3.1 billion
Indonesia	2.9 billion
Philippines	2.7 billion

(Reprinted from Pittsburgh Press Newsmagazine, 1974.)



# EQUALITY DEVELOPMENT



*IKEJA, NIGERIA*



*Elhori Fak  
OYO, NIGERIA*

# AND PEACE

*By Pat Roberts*

The struggle for a just solution to social problems affecting women cannot be separated from the radical changes which characterize the lives of peoples and countries, international relations and relationships between man and nature, the earth and the universe.  
(Final Statement of the World Congress for International Women's Year, October 24, 1975, Berlin, GDR.)

The opening quote of this article is an excerpt from the Final Statement of the World Congress for International Women's Year, held October 20-24, 1975, in Berlin, German Democratic Republic (GDR). In many ways the Congress consolidated the various conceptions of what International Women's Year was all about into one solid expression of international, democratic, peace-loving and anti-imperialist sentiment.

Over 2,000 people were present at the Congress, representing some 140 nations and international and regional organizations. One-quarter of the United States delegation was composed of Black women, representing many different political, religious and economic backgrounds and views. Black representatives from Central and South America, the West Indies, and, significantly, 43 African states, some developing, others still in the process of fighting for independence and freedom, were present. This Congress truly expressed the solidarity of the international working class, national liberation and socialist forces everywhere, and women generally.

This Congress was a demonstration of the fact that women throughout the world are evaluating their role in society and reaffirming their dedication to the struggles in their respective countries. Significantly, 1975, proclaimed International Women's Year by the United Nations, was a year of education in which we learned of the struggles of women in other countries. In many cases we found that whether in the United States, Africa, Europe, Asia or Latin America, we share many common problems.

African women who had come from the battlefield, such as Mara Jesus, representative of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim, President of the Sudanese Women's Democratic Union, (who, upon returning home, faced imprisonment and probably death because of her belief in freedom and democracy), played leading roles and greatly enhanced the deliberations.

Black women, who have consistently played a leading role in the struggle for justice, such as Madame Jeanne Cisse, Permanent Ambassador to the United Nations from the Democratic Republic of Guinea (Conakry) and Chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid; Florence Maphosho, member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and Angela Davis, a leading Communist of the CPUSA and Co-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, NAARPR, U.S.A., were there. These are just a few of the Black women whose continued efforts have made major contributions in the struggle to achieve freedom and justice throughout the world.

Throughout the four-day Congress African women spoke of the conditions in their countries, not only in relation to women's struggles for emancipation, but also in the struggle for the liberation of all their people, men and women, in Angola, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Sudan and elsewhere. Time and again these women proposed resolutions calling for solidarity with and total recognition of peoples' liberation forces such as the MPLA, the ANC, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia. The resolutions called for an end to apartheid and the Bantustans - the government-created, isolated and desolate, Black-only "ghettos" of the Republic of South Africa - and condemned racism in all its forms; apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, Zionism in Israel. They appealed to all peoples interested in liberty and justice to mount campaigns to release all political prisoners in South Africa, and the U.S. delegation called for the acceptance of 1976 as a year of solidarity with the women of South Africa in their fight against apartheid.

Despite the fact that the Blacks in the U.S. delegation were of diverse backgrounds and opinions, they were unified around a "Third World Statement" issued by the delegation. This document, presented to the Congress by Akousa Barthwell, activist in the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSAL), condemned racism in the United States and told of the many forms of oppression used by U.S. imperialism against newly developing nations. It pointed out that Blacks and other oppressed minorities are well aware that U.S. imperialism is the main force opposing the liberation of peoples throughout the world. This document showed the parallels between exploitation in the developing countries by major U.S. business concerns and the exploitation of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other national minorities in the United States.

This document also expressed the recognition on the part of the U.S. delegation that progressives in the United States had a major responsibility to organize and struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism and racism, and assured the Congress that we would do all within our power to combat these injustices.

### UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Unity in the worldwide struggle against the common enemy was an important concept advanced at the Congress. This was a direct rebuff to some ideas that men are the main enemy to be fought. Such ideas only serve the interests of racism and imperialism. The struggle for equality of women must fall within the larger picture of the total struggle for democracy, peace and social justice for all. The women of the African nations expressed it well when they said, "We cannot be liberated until our countries are liberated." It is in this light that we must see the continuity of the struggle. When we realize that "Freedom is a Constant Struggle," we recognize that the theme of the World Congress, "Equality, Development and Peace," must be our guide to maximizing our everyday efforts toward that end.

In the wake of the rapidly developing events in Angola, therefore, it is necessary to extend the spirit of International Women's Year and the Berlin World Congress into 1976, in the form of solid anti-imperialist, anti-racist support for the People's Republic of Angola, and particularly the women of the PRA and the people of southern Africa generally.

Our strengthened and continued efforts to prevent U.S. intervention in the just struggle of the women and peoples of Angola against foreign invaders are the kind of daily commitments that give International Women's Year a permanence.







# BLACK LIBERATION And The BICENTENNIAL

By William Patterson

This year, 1976, marks the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of the United States of America.

July 4, 1776, was one of the most significant dates in the history of social development. Capitalism was emerging in fierce struggle from the womb of feudalism. Not only was the strongest link in the then existing chain of human exploitation, Anglo-Saxon colonialism, broken, but a new and higher form of class exploitative government was put into construction. It was allegedly "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." But it endorsed human slavery. Slavery of a new character--capitalist slavery.

By this embracing of the slave trade, the curse of Cain was cast upon the new society. It was logically followed by the fabrication of the mythology of superior and inferior peoples which was calculated by those in power to justify the trade in Black human beings. The slave trade and the profits derived from slave economy laid the foundation for most of the early accumulation of wealth upon which this capitalist industry then relied. Capitalism made a commodity out of the Black skinned human being.

The ruling class of the country, now plagued by socio-economic crises, seeks to glorify its past. Thus, it calculates to justify its continuance. It celebrates the positive deeds of that historic era by re-enacting the most graphic. The deeds of bourgeois heroism that feature the defeat of the armies of King George III of England and the political intrigue characterizing the plans of expansion of the 13 states are commemorated as worthy of emulation. The "Big Lie" comes on the stage.

Little or nothing has been, is being, or will be said about the heroic supporting role Black men, women and youth seeking freedom and respect for their dignity as human beings, played in the fight to enlarge the embraces of bourgeois democracy. That is taboo. Racism is an insolvable contradiction in U.S. capitalist class society.

Reasons for the criminal failure of the bourgeoisie to put an end to slavery and racism, to advance the dignity of all human beings as well as the basic interests of

labor regardless of color have to be made clear if the magnificent democratic freedom struggles of Blacks are to become an organic and spiritual part of the Bicentennial celebration and American history. Those class forces responsible for the fabrication of the myths of white superiority have to be exposed and their purposes explained. But this course will not be followed. It would reveal clearly the class essence of racism. Such a course would be suicidal for the bourgeoisie. Exposure of the nature of the myths of racial superiority and of the mythology of race will inevitably lead to a disclosure of the inherent class viciousness of bourgeois democracy. Such a course of procedure would make of the Bicentennial Celebration an instrument of progress and national unity. That is what it should be. That is what is needed. If this is "the best of all possible social orders," from what source do its monstrous contradictions flow?

An objective approach to this celebration, an approach reflecting the peoples' interests in democracy calls for an accounting for the critical social conditions under which we now live. It calls for an analysis of the nature of and purpose of the foreign policy of the U.S. multinational monopolies and their government. It calls for a comparison with socialist society, which has destroyed racism.

What is needed is an exhaustive, scientific analysis of the "State of the Nation." Why are those in power here, on all occasions, on the side of the enemies of peace and freedom, whether the scene is laid in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean area or Middle East? Why are the socialist states always on the side of the progressive social forces? Why is this ruling class in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the Charter of the United Nations?

Such an accounting is to be found in The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back, the Main Political Report of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, to its 21st National Convention held in Chicago, June 1975. The evidence adduced in that report reveals the need for profound social changes, making for irreversible peace and social security. Among the first must be those leading to an end to racism and its war-inciting ideology. Racism makes for war and the decisions of the Nuremburg trials should apply to the racist war makers of the U.S.

Destruction of racial mythology can only open the door to an appreciation of the limitless potentialities for social growth through the unity in struggle of labor regardless of creed or color with the dwellers of the ghettos of the U.S. Through that unity in struggle will inevitably come knowledge and understanding of the laws of social development and of the historic responsibilities of labor as such in the emancipation of humanity. We have entered a new stage of history.

Through subversion, chicanery, deception, distortion and repression leading to prison or murderous terror the reality of the interference of U.S. secret police agents in the internal affairs of sovereign peoples is concealed. Bourgeois ideology is in a crisis from which no exploitative ruling class can extract it. The general outlook of state-monopoly capitalism is filled with obscurantism and prejudices. The ideological drive launched by those promoting the Bicentennial Celebration only brings more lies and further weakens the credibility of the masses in the existing order. An ideology that does not call for and vigorously give aid to the forces standing for peace and social security can no longer dominate the market of ideas.

The Bicentennial Celebration should usher in a mass social movement in the interests of labor and the exploited dwellers of the ghetto. Emphasis should be placed on the fight for jobs and against inflation. This can be most effectively advanced through the struggle for peace and the transference of the war budget to the solution of the social and political crisis confronting the country. The Bicentennial Celebration should be made the property of the people. The world should be made safe for democracy -- the democracy of the people. That is the demand of history. It should be the essence of the Bicentennial Celebration.

# WAR

By Langston Hughes

The face of war is my face.  
The face of war is your face.

What color  
Is the face  
of war?

Brown, black, white -  
Your face and my face.

Death is the broom  
I take in my hands  
To sweep the world  
Clean.

I sweep and I sweep  
Then mop in blood -  
And blame you for this,  
Because you are there,  
Enemy.





# **SLASH MILITARY SPENDING**

# **for a PEOPLE'S PEACE BUDGET**

## WHAT IS THE PEOPLE'S PEACE BUDGET?

The PEACE BUDGET gives \$125 billion more-FOR PEOPLE. It transfers money from military to civilian programs. This would create 4.8 million more jobs, add 5 million more by increased consumer spending and add 1/2 million more by increasing trade with socialist countries -- for a total of 10.3.

The PEACE BUDGET cuts military spending by more than 50%, or about \$75 billion. It adds programs for housing, education, health, guaranteed income and social security, mass transit and cultural and recreational facilities to enrich the quality of life.

The program of the PEACE BUDGET is geared to correct the inequalities suffered by Black people and all people of color.

The President's Budget is constantly geared to starve, oppress, depress and regress the lives of Black people.

## WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

SLASH THE MILITARY BUDGET which may amount to \$150 Billion in 1976.

The U.S. towers over all other countries in the world in the massive strategic buildup. It has 3 strategic nuclear forces, each capable of destroying the Soviet Union, and has 44 new major weapons systems under way which will cost \$148 billion.

Drastic cuts in military spending have been proposed by people who have expert knowledge of the defense needs of our country. These proposals would provide much of the funds needed for the PEACE BUDGET. These proposals include the following:

- Cancel the B-1 Strategic Bomber program, which would cost \$43 to \$75 billion.
- Cancel the Trident Submarine program, which would cost about \$24 billion.
- Stop funding obsolete ICBM's, which will cost \$50 billion.
- Cancel the multi-billion dollar program to develop new strategic missiles which have no military justification.
- Dismantle the 222 military bases overseas; remove all overseas military forces.
- Terminate military treaties with reactionary governments; abolish the CIA - an agency of international provocation and domestic repression.

ALL OF THIS WOULD SAVE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS!

## SHIFT THE TAX BURDEN TO THOSE WHO CAN PAY

The PEACE BUDGET provides financing according to ability to pay. Closing tax loopholes would remove a major part of the tax burden from most working people. It ends taxes on incomes under \$15,000; makes no social security deductions on salaries under \$10,000. The PEACE BUDGET would tax corporate profits at 52%, and personal income above \$50,000 a year at 50%.

THESE PROPOSALS WOULD INCREASE REVENUES BY \$37 BILLION NET!

## WHAT WILL THE PEACE BUDGET DO FOR US?

Spending for peace, and cutting military spending, creates a total of 10.3 million new jobs!

The following shows a comparison between the PRESIDENT'S BUDGET and the PEOPLE'S PEACE BUDGET, proposed for 1976, for vital services and programs for social welfare:

(All figures shown in billions.)

PROGRAM	PRESIDENT'S BUDGET	PEACE BUDGET
EDUCATION	\$ 7.4	\$22.4
MEDICAL & HEALTH CARE	28.0	60.0
HOUSING	3.0	20.0
CHILD CARE & AID TO WORKING MOTHERS	0.5	5.0
TRANSPORTATION	2.0	8.0
CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES	1.0	5.0

The PEOPLE'S PEACE BUDGET can help save our cities, create jobs and programs for people, reduce the power of the multi-nationals to pursue national and international policies of racism, oppression,

exploitation and aggression, and generally help build toward a world of peace, democracy and social progress!

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

For more information about the PEOPLE'S PEACE BUDGET and the program for its implementation write to:

NATIONAL CENTER TO SLASH MILITARY SPENDING

150 Fifth Avenue  
Room 537  
New York, NY 10010





# Maoist March Down



"Funeral" Francisco Amighetti

## Treason's Road

By James Jackson

The Maoist regime in China has come out in full partnership with Pretoria and Washington in support of the FNLA-UNITA traitor-stooges who are murdering Angolan patriots as mercenaries of United States and South African foreign imperialists.

The Maoist ruling clique--now dictating policies of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China--has gone over to collaboration with the most savage of imperialists, racists, and fascist forces on the world political scene.

Maoism has descended from the depths of class betrayal of socialism to a yet lower depth of treason to the cause of the elementary right of peoples to their national freedom.

Maoist China has come out on the side of the racists of South Africa in jointly rendering aid to the pro-imperialist, CIA-directed bandit Holden Roberto and his deluded followers and imported mercenaries.

In the journal Afrique-Asia of July 14, 1975, a leader of the MPLA (Mouvement Populaire de Liberation a Angola), Lucio Lara, reported his appeal to Peking to stop its support to the counter-revolutionary FNLA-UNITA forces. This appeal fell on deaf ears, though it was reported as follows:

"The Angolan people do not understand how China can support those who would bury Angola, how China can give any support whatsoever to the organization created, financed and run by the Central Intelligence Agency, how it can support an organization whose real purpose is to suppress the true independence of the Angolan people. Our duty is to stress that the Chinese leaders are following a false path."

In recent years this "false path" taken by the Maoists who lead the CPC, this path of socialist betrayal and the desertion of the cause of struggle for the emancipation of peoples from the chains of colonialism and imperialism has been seen in the sup-

port China rendered to the enemies of Bangladesh. Also, China recognized the government of the bloody tyrant Pinochet, the hangman of the working people and revolutionary patriots of Chile.

Above all else, China's Maoists are doing everything possible to undermine the growing unity of the struggle of the world working class and damage the world socialist system both materially and morally. Whereas the Soviet Union and other socialist countries display tireless energy in pushing initiatives designed to deepen detente and further the process leading to an end of the armaments race, toward progress in limiting arms on the way to general disarmament, Chinese spokesmen urge upon the "Western powers" a further military build-up in the European NATO countries, and urge a continuing U.S. "presence" in Asia. China pushes its own nuclear weapons program and scoffs at peace movement programs to remove the armaments burden from the backs of the masses.

At the Ninth and the latest--the Tenth-- Congresses of the CPC, the Maoists enscribed their abandonment of Marxism-Leninism in their policy documents in terms of abuse of the Soviet Union.

The frenzied flow of anti-Soviet hatred that pours forth from the mouths of Maoist spokesmen at the United Nations is part of the determined service which Maoism is rendering imperialism and colonialism.

The Maoist spokesmen refer to the Soviet Union as "fascist," "social-imperialist," "the worst super-power," and endless other slanders.

In the daily record of the Thirtieth Session of the General Assembly of December 10, 1975 (A/PV.2435), Mr. Lai of China addresses the Assembly of the United Nations during the debate on Amendments to the Resolution condemning South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. He speaks not in condemnation of South Africa or in support of the victim of her aggression. No, Mr. Lai comes to South Africa's aid by assaulting the Soviet Union which is rendering material and diplomatic aid to the embattled new Republic. Calling South Africa's invasion of Angola "a civil war," Mr. Lai lies on the record as follows:

"...the root cause of the civil war that divides Angola lies in Soviet intervention, and that with its intervention in Angola the Soviet Union has become a monger of death, discord and confusion...."

"Soviet social-imperialism has a big stake in naked intervention and expansion in Angola. The Soviet Union covets Angola's natural resources. Control of Angola would mean control of the waters of the South Atlantic and of an important sea route to European countries....The civil war in Angola provoked by the Soviet Union has brought untold disasters to the people of Angola...."

A fitting reply to the Maoist mouthpiece, Mr. Lai, was given by Ambassador Malik of the USSR who addressed himself to Mr. Lai's new master, Daniel P. Moynihan, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations,

"There can be no peace on earth while any nation whatsoever is still oppressed. The people of the Soviet Union have been brought up in the spirit of the teachings of the great Lenin, and he taught us that there can be no freedom for peoples which oppress other peoples.

"We cherish as sacred and follow this teaching of the great Lenin. That is why we give selfless assistance to any people in its sacred struggle for freedom and national independence against the encroachments of the imperialists, colonialists

and racists. If to give assistance in a struggle for the freedom of a people is interference or a new form of colonialism, then what in fact do these words mean in the understanding of Professor Moynihan? It is quite clear that Mr. Moynihan is dreaming of turning the clock back in Angola, back to the past of evil memory when Angola was plundered and exploited by colonialists and annexationists. That is Mr. Moynihan's interpretation. Is that what he understands by a return to freedom and democracy?

"No; we cannot find a common language with Mr. Moynihan on this score. He is in favor of a policy of continuing the plundering by the transnational companies of his country of the natural resources of Angola, and the exploitation of its people. We are in favor of national freedom, independence and the total sovereignty of the Angolan people as proclaimed on 11 November by the people of the People's Republic of Angola. We want that people itself to determine its own fate, to be the master of its own resources, and not to allow anyone else to poke his nose into its internal affairs." (p. 8, op. cit.)

The further strengthening of the united front of the international working class and the national liberation movement is a matter of special urgency for fully realizing the potential for advancement of the world revolutionary process now. The Maoists are looked to by the commanders of world imperialism to perform a big service by driving wedges between these major sectors of the common front. The knife of divisionism with which they endeavor to sever the anti-imperialist ties which bind the constituent components of the world revolutionary process together, they will attempt to camouflage all kinds of demagoguery, double-dealing, hypocrisy and unscrupulousness. Yet, they will fail, for they drag at the heels of history, they do not march in step with it. The Maoists are an aspect of the problem now posed for historic solution, they cannot sustain a deception that they are a part of the forces who will provide the answer.

In his book Strategy for a Black Agenda (International Publishers, New York), Henry Winston devotes a hundred pages to an exposition and indictment of Maoism. Winston here emphasizes the fact that "Leninist strategy recognizes that the cause of proletarian revolution and socialism had merged with and become the foundation for the liberation of all oppressed peoples." (p. 151)

Consequently, the essence of imperialism's tactic "...is to disrupt the unity between the socialist countries and the national liberation movements and in the first place to isolate them from the Soviet Union." (Imperialism Today, by Gus Hall, International Publishers, N.Y., 1972)

Angola could be Maoism's most expensive "hurrah," in terms of loss of prestige and disillusionment among its dwindling world constituency. It has tarred itself with the handclasp of Pretoria's super-racist, fascist power. No aware and self-respecting African person is likely to want to touch China's Maoists with a ten-foot pole.

Maoism has further revealed itself as great nation chauvinism. Regardless of how it rationalizes its course with revolutionary phraseology, in practice it pursues doggedly a "China first" policy at the expense of the peace, freedom and social progress of its own masses and the revolutionary gains and prospects of the world's working class and oppressed peoples.

To the Maoists, Marxism-Leninism is used merely as cosmetic make-up for concealing its essential counter-revolutionary nature. Maoism is a degenerate brand of national opportunism which compromises its revolutionary past to strike richer deals for itself in its present-day counter-revolutionary partnership with imperialism, fascism, racism and militarism.



# HISTORY

By Langston Hughes

THE PAST HAS BEEN A MINT  
OF BLOOD AND SORROW.  
THAT MUST NOT BE  
TRUE OF TOMORROW.

# Maoism Trojan horse for imperialism in Angola

By GERALD HORNE

The very name Angola has become a cry that has stirred the conscience of the world. The massive intervention of U.S. imperialism in the form of mercenaries and weapons and the shameful betrayal of Maoist China which has consistently aided the reactionaries, is of grave concern to all progressive and democratic forces.

The U.S. State Department itself has been forced to admit that the notorious Holden Roberto of the so-called FNLA has been on CIA "intelligence retainer" since the early 60's — i.e. since the MPLA launched the armed struggle. Documents released after the overthrow of the Portuguese fascists April 25, 1974 indicate that Jonas Savimbi, quisling head of the UNITA, was in the employ of the Portuguese secret police (PIDE). The alliance of these groups with the bloody Mobutu clique in Zaire and the outlaw racist regime in South Africa has further revealed their reactionary designs.

China's military aid to the right-wing forces in Angola has long been familiar to many. U.S. progressives have long condemned these actions.

U.S. imperialism is the main bulwark of reaction, aligning itself with the South African racists as it provides arms directly and through NATO. However, as Lenin correctly noted in his classic *Imperialism*, the fight against imperialism is a

sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism. It is from this vantage point that the Maoists' position on Angola must be considered.

As detailed earlier in the DW, the "Guardian" weekly, after agonizing over whether to follow the State Department, and China's reactionary position, and oppose MPLA and the Peoples Republic of Angola, or support PRA, decided to follow the latter course.

While "supporting" PRA, they blithely glided over the underpinnings of Maoist policy, i.e. blind anti-Sovietism. Henry Kissinger, of course, uses anti-Sovietism as the main justification for U.S. intervention. Hence, by their continual heating up of the anti-Soviet atmosphere, the Guardian and its followers objectively lend a helping-hand to the State Department and its actions and plans for aggression.

A further danger involved here is that the Maoists will attempt to break the strong solidarity in support of PRA by injecting their vile anti-Sovietism. Indications of this have already appeared; progressives must be on guard against this development.

Imamu Baraka and his Congress of African People and the so-called African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) have gone the Guardian one worse by calling for the withdrawal of imperialism

from Angola (including "Soviet social-imperialism"!) and the formation of a coalition government (i.e. a coalition government with the CIA backed forces!)

The fact that Kissinger has dispatched an emissary, W.E. Schaufele, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, to Africa proposing this same formula in order to split the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is apparently of no concern to these "supporters of African liberation."

Baraka and ALSC allegedly have disagreements but they are united in anti-Sovietism. Their travail from Right opportunism to "Left" opportunism, from bourgeois nationalism to cosmopolitanism is no more than a classic example of petty bourgeois revolutionism.

Baraka and ALSC were early proponents of bourgeois nationalism. The latter organization was heavily influenced from the onset by such as Roy Innis who was prominent in its early attempts at protest (e.g. the African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, May 1972) and more recently revealed himself as a CIA recruiter.

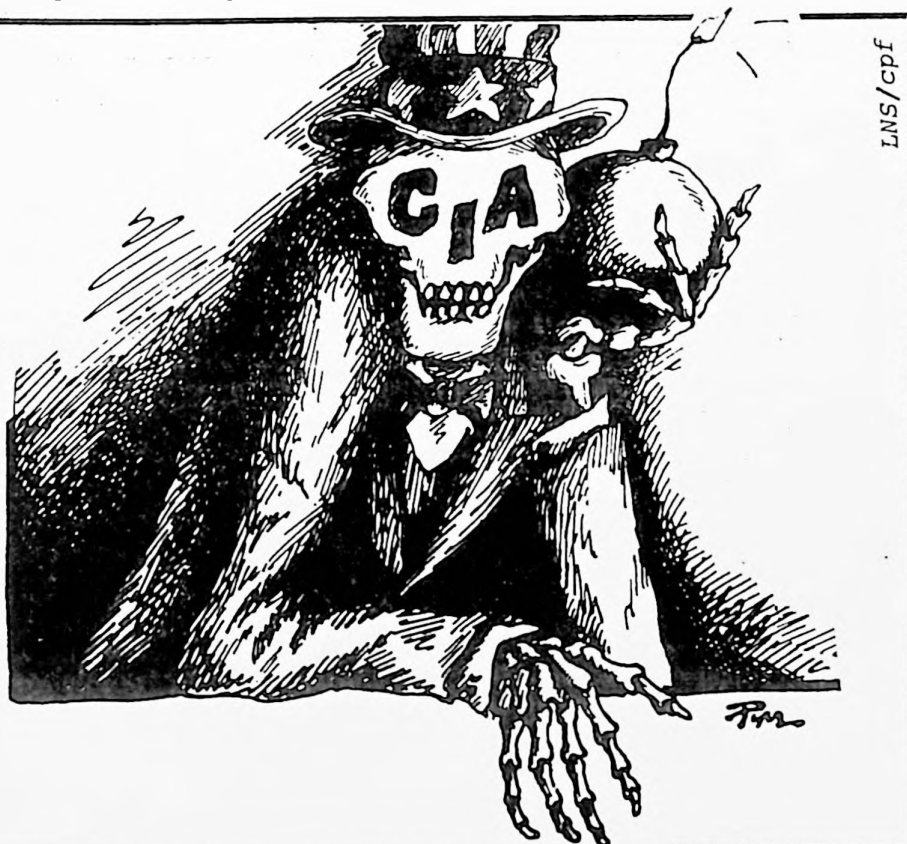
At this juncture these forces were not anti-imperialist; indeed they attempted to deflect mass energy from struggle against imperialism with their romanticized, warmed-over "back-to-Africa" schemes. Their slogans, e.g. "white man's hands off Black man's land," hardly reflected the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggles then occurring in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

This bourgeois nationalism naturally did not generate enthusiasm in a Black community that was becoming increasingly anti-imperialist. On the ideological plane they were forced to retreat in the face of the sledge-hammer blows of Henry Winston in his seminal "Strategy for a Black Agenda."

In addition, the formation, in October 1973, of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and its rapid gathering of support, further eroded the already declining base of ALSC and indicated new directions were in order.

Scrambling to secure a position that would allow them to better deflect mass struggle in the Black community, Baraka and Co. turned to that tried and tested friend of imperialism — Maoism. Their petty-bourgeois, anti-working class approach left them no alternative but to swing to barren ultra-Leftism.

Subsequently Baraka and ALSC became champions of Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA. Baraka has sponsored speaking tours for these agents, and ALSC has been raising money for them since 1973.





# How U.S. Involvement In Angola Affects You

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*The following are excerpts from a speech which was delivered by RONELLE MUSTIN, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAIMSAL), at a demonstration in Chicago, Illinois, on December 15, 1975, at the U.S. Federal Building, against U.S. intervention in Angola:*

You may ask the question, what does Africa have to do with me in America? You may think that the U.S. is fighting communism in Angola. I would hope that America learned from the war in Vietnam. I would hope that 65,000 dead Americans, billions of dollars and a divided nation is enough to sacrifice for the war hawks and the multinational corporations.

The United States government started in Vietnam saying we were fighting communism, when the government was really protecting U.S. investments. The Ford Administration is saying today that America is fighting communism and keeping the world balance of power in Angola. The Ford Administration is really protecting multinational investments in Angola and South Africa. This United States policy was outlined in National Security Study Memorandum "39." The United States has no vital interest in southern Africa but money for the multinationals. People, let us not kill for the Pentagon. Let us not die for the profits of big business. Let us say, no more killing. Let us say, no more dying. Let us say, no more Vietnams.

Every working person in America should be for freedom in southern Africa. Every working person should be for the peoples of Angola controlling their own natural resources. One of the main causes of high unemployment in America is the investments of U.S.-based banks and multinational corporations in Africa and other parts of the world.

The multinational corporations are shifting production in their plants from America to other parts of the world for cheap labor and lower taxes. This shifting is costing American jobs. It is estimated that 5 million jobs have been lost since 1968, because of U.S.-based foreign investments. These foreign investments are also lowering tax revenues for America. People of America, when you talk about freedom for the peoples of Africa and other parts of the world, you are really talking about saving your own jobs and standard of living.

Let us look even closer. The Ford Administration is talking about cutting spending. President Ford has said he would veto a bill in Congress that cuts taxes for Americans unless it includes a cut in spending for the American people. Yet President Ford is giving over 50 million dollars in military and economic aid to traitors in Angola. President Ford is not asking for 50 million dollars for the unemployed of Chicago. Fifty million dollars could build homes for Americans.

Don't let our tax money be used to save profits for big banks and big business. Don't let our tax money be used to put Americans out of work. Don't let our tax money be used to kill. Say no to U.S. investments in Angola. Say no to U.S. intervention in Angola. Write your representative in Congress, write the newspapers, talk to your church or school. Say no to U.S. intervention in Angola. Stand up for freedom-built schools, not bombers.

Create jobs, not napalm! Peace, not war!



# Facts On South Africa

(From special advertising section of  
Business Week Magazine, 11/2/74).

- \* JAN MARAIS, founder and Chairman of the South African Trust Bank, believes South Africa can emerge as the nucleus of a South African Common Market or even a Southern Hemisphere trading bloc, including South America.
- \* "If South Africa and the U.S. co-operate in the development of South Africa and Southern African territories, an area of quite formidable strength could be formed in this part of the world which would be a great factor in maintaining the free capitalist system of the entire west. Nothing could please me more than to see South Africa and the U.S. come closer together."
- \* The U.S. is South Africa's second largest trading partner. The balance of trade in America's favor rose from \$474 million in 1972 to \$526 million in 1973. U.S. purchases from South Africa were up from \$221 million in 1972 to \$236 million, but sales to South Africa increased from \$695 million to the 1973 figure of \$762 million. Currently South African exports to the U.S. are running at 12% higher than 1973 levels, but imports from the U.S. are growing at a rate of 15%.
- \* Business executives point out that American firms are increasingly using South Africa as an export base. They develop their South African operations as export springboards into the rest of Africa, the Middle East and South America and take full advantage of South Africa's attractive export incentives. These include allowances up to 200% on expenses and steel rebates up to \$150 a ton which make it one of the cheapest manufacturing countries on that score.

Continued from page 31

Their rationale for this is that UNITA is opposed to "Soviet hegemonism" and best exemplifies the "Thought of Chairman Mao." They ignore Mao's ties to the South African racists and the CIA, in their haste to oppose the USSR.

In typical wavering, vacillating, petty bourgeois fashion they have swung from bourgeois nationalism (exclusivism, exploiting the Black masses) to cosmopolitanism (disregard of the national interests, "Mao says this," "Mao says that").

Unable to relate consistently to the working class and unable to reach monopoly status, they have wildly gyrated from one extreme to the other.

In the process, they revile the anti-monopoly forces, e.g. progressive trade unionists, democratically-minded Blacks and, needless to say Communists. All of these groups are condemned as being "reformist." Baraka's denunciations of the Congressional Black Caucus are so obscene as to be sickening.

Yet, on the crucial issue of Angola — an issue that has united progressive African states (Somalia, Guinea, Mozambique, Tanzania, etc.) and socialist states (USSR, Cuba, etc.) — the "reformist" Black Caucus has resolutely condemned U.S. intervention while Baraka, ALSC and Co. have continued to provide "Left" cover for Kissinger by prating about the "Soviet threat" in Angola.

Angola has once again illustrated the difference between those who spout revolutionary phrases and those interested in social progress; those who talk continuously about "revolution," while acting to prevent it, and those who realize the strategic importance of the battle for democracy.

Whither these forces? A process of differentiation is taking place as honest elements finally begin to see the bankruptcy of Maoism, and its complicity with imperialism in supporting Pinochet in Chile, failing to support Puerto Rican independence at the United Nations, opposing the Bengali people's struggle for national liberation in Bangladesh, etc. etc. etc.

Many are beginning to realize that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp are the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and ably assists the national liberation forces and the international working class in their battles against monopoly. Others however have realized the incorrectness of opposing PRA without recognizing that this incorrectness inevitably flows from Maoism and anti-Sovietism.

If U.S. imperialism is to be rebuffed in Angola, it is incumbent upon progressives to work overtime in pointing out that Maoism is no more than the "Trojan horse" of imperialism.

Continued from page 17

of Luanda in April 1975. The fraternal aid which was extended to the MPLA by the Soviet Union and other traditional allies of the MPLA including Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Peoples Republic of the Congo, was in response to the U.S. buildup.

Seymour Hersh reported in The New York Times of December 19, 1975, that the United States massive buildup "came in January 1975, more than two months before the first significant Soviet buildup." The United States, subsequently, through statements by Ford, Kissinger and Moynihan, has attempted to cover up the truth under an anti-communist hysteria about a "Soviet takeover" and "Soviet colonization of Africa." What the Ford Administration is attempting to disguise is its sponsorship of a brazen invasion into Angola. Hersh also pointed out that the Soviet Union "did not substantially increase its support for one of the liberation armies in Angola until March or April of this year."

Mobutu has for some time expressed interests in Angola which coincide with those of U.S. imperialism. Mobutu, moreover, has for several years been an open enemy of the MPLA, jailing and murdering many of its members. The FNLA has been based in Kinshasha, the capital of Zaire, since 1962. Mobutu has also supported the secessionist movement in oil-rich Cabinda which is financed by Gulf Oil. Mobutu intends to form a federation of northern Angola and Zaire where he would become President and Holden Roberto, Vice President. In the periodical Zaire Africa, which expresses the official views of Zaire's government, it was stated in December 1974:

The prediction made in our last issue that President Mobutu would play a key role in Angola has been fulfilled by events...if FNLA becomes the ruling party in Angola it will continue to depend upon Zaire, not only for arms and training facilities, but politically and economically...Nor would it be surprising if, as the reward for his help, President Mobutu obtained the agreement of Roberto to the separation of Cabinda from the rest of Angola, and the setting up of an independent Cabinda Republic... A victory for FNLA owed largely to Zaire would make President Mobutu the unquestioned arbiter of Central Africa with unrivalled influence and prestige....

On January 15, 1975, a transitional government was established in Angola. It included the Portuguese authorities in Angola, the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. The role of the FNLA, acting on behalf of neo-colonialism was to destroy the transitional government and to establish itself as the sole government in Angola. For this reason, the FNLA initiated a reign of terror in Luanda in April. The FNLA, using U.S.-supplied weapons, in April 1975, slaughtered hundreds of Angolan civilians. The FNLA claimed it was combating communism and the Zaire invasion in June was to oppose "Soviet intervention." In a document distributed to the United Nations in September 1975, the FNLA stated, "Our struggle is another chapter in a larger conflict the true source of which is the Soviet Union and its lackeys who cynically exploit the legitimate aspirations of peoples for national liberation, economic emancipation and self determination." In its "struggle" against what it calls "social imperialism," the FNLA aligns itself with South Africa. In Newsweek, December 29, 1975, Holden Roberto states, "I am calling on the west to save Africa from communism." Roberto then stated, "I am strongly against apartheid, but I will say this for the South Africans, when they see a neighbor's house burning they come to put out the fire...The major western nations should take a lesson from this."

## HOLDEN ROBERTO: CIA AGENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Holden Roberto, who is on a \$10,000 per year CIA retainer, has been affiliated for some time with U.S. imperialism. Leslie Gelb, on September 25, 1975, reported in The New York Times that "Holden Roberto, head of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, [was] the man chosen in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy and the CIA to forge a link between the United States and the indigenous groups that were expected to drive Portugal from Angola one day."

In the south, the invasion is spearheaded by the South African fascists utilizing an armored column. The South Africans number up to 6,000. Sean Gervasi of the Center for National Security Studies indicates that the initial incursions of South Africans into Angola took place on August 6, 1974. In mid-October a column of some 2,000 mercenaries were joined by a mechanized calvary unit of some 1,500 South African regulars, who originated in staging areas in Namibia, probably at the newly-constructed Grootfontein base in northern Namibia. A third column was said to have 100 U.S. and French-made tanks. All three columns have been supported by South African cargo planes, helicopters and jet fighters. Gervasi also indicates that U.S. cargo planes are supplying the South African forces, flying from Zaire to Huambo (Nova Lisboa).

This force is supposedly aiding the efforts of UNITA. The South Africans have attempted to "justify" their invasion by rhetoric about defending the Cunene Dam in southern Angola, "hot pursuit" of SWAPO freedom fighters and, finally, protecting Africa and the Cape Route from "communism." Jonas Savimbi has always harbored tribalist and secessionist aspirations that coincide with the stated ambitions of the South African regime to annex southern Angola to Namibia. These combined reactionary forces are now meeting stiff resistance from the counter-offensive of the MPLA which is carrying out both conventional and guerilla operations against the invaders.

The New York Times of January 17, 1976, reported "... the rapid retreat northward of National Front troops, pursued by Popular Front (sic) forces." The Times also reported that "... the forces of the two western supported movements, the National Front and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, were not so hard-pressed in southern and western parts of Angola, mainly because of the presence there of South African troops." Further reports indicate that the South African-led invading column is suffering decisive defeats at the hands of the MPLA.

## JONAS SAVIMBI AND THE NATIONAL UNION

Jonas Savimbi was formerly Holden Roberto's key aide. In 1966 after breaking with the FNLA he formed UNITA, approximately one year before MPLA opened its eastern front in Angola. For some time, Savimbi has been in close collaboration with the enemies of Angola. The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, after the overthrow of the Caetano regime, made public letters between Savimbi and the Portuguese military in Angola. In a letter addressed to General Luz Cunha, Commander and Chief of the Armed Forces in Angola and General Bethencourt Rodrigues, Commander of the Eastern Military Zone, Savimbi stated, "We have done everything within our power to weaken the forces of the common enemy." Continuing, he said, "Whatever the government's intentions...we shall not be involved in the illusion of again taking up arms against the territories. We are using them to the full to ensure that the MPLA will eventually be forced to abandon the East...."

Confirming this collaboration, a Lieutenant Colonel, Ramirea de Oliveria, on November 4, 1972, addressed a letter to Savimbi, stating: "The first aspect--that of ensuring that the population has unfavorable attitude towards the MPLA--is very important because almost everything else depended upon it."

The logical next step for Savimbi was, therefore, collaboration with racist South Africa. In an interview reported by Reuters, Savimbi stated that indeed South Africans



were fighting with him against the MPLA. However, he stated that by exposing this fact they would be "weakening our democracy and giving a chance to the East to come up." Savimbi continued, "Let the West get united and the world will fear us. We have a common cause."

Savimbi is an advocate of "free enterprise." He has praised John Vorster, the racist Prime Minister of South Africa. He has gone on to say it would be realistic for South Africa and Angola to cooperate economically and has opposed the armed struggle in Namibia, as well as supporting "detente" and "dialogue" between South Africa and independent African nations.

### KENNETH KAUNDA AND ZAMBIA

Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, has also joined the reactionary alliance against Angola. Kaunda camouflages his betrayal of the struggle against colonialism in southern Africa under such phrases as "government of national unity" and calls for "all foreigners to leave Angola. According to the South African press, Kaunda, along with Mobutu, Roberto and Savimbi, while calling for all foreigners to leave Angola, meet almost weekly with South African military commanders concerning developments in Angola. Kaunda said to C.L. Sulzberger of The New York Times, "The Soviet Union has supplied arms to the MPLA all along. If the United States is asked by the others to help them accordingly, who am I to stand in their way? We in Africa must look at Angola in a sober, cool way, not emotionally." Continuing this reasoning, Kaunda says, "Much as we condemn South Africa's presence in Angola, we cheat ourselves if we think that by condemning South Africa we are settling things. The South African presence, too, is an effect of the problem, not a cause."

Kaunda's reasoning is predicated upon anti-communism, which leads him to equate fraternal aid to the liberation forces provided by the Soviet Union to the MPLA with aid given by the CIA to promote neo-colonialism. Kaunda's anti-communism, as with all anti-communism, drives him to the side of racism and collaboration in the attempt to destroy the historically necessary alliance between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the national liberation struggle in southern Africa.

The Washington/Baltimore Afro-American answers Kaunda in an editorial that appeared on December 20, 1975. The editorial said, in part, "...had it not been for assistance, including weapons, from countries like Russia, Angola and the other recently freed countries still would be colonies of Portugal." The editorial continued, "People in Africa, and Cuba too, appreciate the support they get from Russia in their efforts to liberate themselves from outside control."

The government-owned Peoples Evening News of Ghana editorially called attention to the fact that the MPLA effectively fought Portuguese colonialism, while the United States supported the Portuguese, then says, "The U.S. is now fighting tooth and nail to prevent it [the MPLA] from taking the reigns of government, just as it used Tshombe to destroy Patrice Lumumba in order to prevent the socialist-oriented party from taking power at independence in the Congo."

Inherent in Kaunda's argument is the notion put forth by the racist, Daniel Moynihan, that the Soviet Union is attempting to colonize Africa. This concept put another way is the Maoist argument that two super-powers are contending for "colonial hegemony" in Africa. This line of thought directs its major fire against the Soviet Union as supposedly the main colonizer of Africa. This is a brazen denial of the glorious struggle waged by the Angolan people led by the MPLA. It is inspired by racism and anti-communism. It denies the reality that Africans are able to determine their national liberation struggle and their friends and enemies.

It is the old concept that Black people, when fighting for their freedom, are being used by outside forces. This argument originated with the Ku Klux Klan and was a justification for the racist attacks upon the Reconstruction governments in the South after the Civil War.

It appears that Kaunda and the Maoists of China have forgotten that Moynihan openly stated that the United States and South Africa have the same policy objectives in Angola. The New Nigerian, not forgetting this statement of Moynihan's, and calling attention to it, says, "It is hard to imagine a more damaging revelation. We should now go all out -- short of sending troops -- to help MPLA. We cannot stand idly by and see a sister African country destroyed by a combination of Vorster and Moynihan."

### THE FALLACY OF A "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY"

In calling for a government of "national unity," Kaunda echoes the phrases of Kissinger and Ford. President Ford on January 5, 1976, in St. Louis said that the United States favored "an immediate ceasefire, an end to all outside intervention and a government of national unity, permitting the solution of the Angolan problem by the Angolans themselves."

If by this is meant a government including MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, this would not be an Angolan government nor a government of national unity. Hardly anyone in Africa, or the world as a whole, would consider a government of national unity to be one which consists of elements which have openly collaborated with the CIA, South Africa, Portuguese fascists and others. Ford's call is for a neo-colonial government dominated by the economic, political and military interests of the west.

For Kaunda and Ford, the first step to an Angolan solution is to do as 23 states on the African continent and over 20 nations outside of Africa have done, and that is to recognize the legal government in Luanda, and to terminate the war of aggression against Angola.

The basis for an African solution was put forward on November 9, 1975, in Lourenco Marques, the capital of Mozambique, at a meeting of the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies. According to a statement by the Conference, the only solution for Angola would be:

To call on all peace and freedom loving nations and all democratic forces of the world to recognize the sovereign state of Angola, its government and its vanguard, the MPLA, and to support, with all means, the Angolan people's struggle for the defense of their independence and territorial integrity and their right to progress and peace.

The only African solution for Angola is based upon anti-imperialist solidarity and unity against the enemies of Angola and Africa.

### A HISTORY OF THE MPLA

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was founded in 1956 as a united front of patriotic and anti-colonial political forces in Angola. It established strong roots among the workers and intellectuals in the urban areas of Luanda, Lobito and Benguela. Later the MPLA rooted itself as well among the peasants in the countryside. For 14 years it waged a consistent armed struggle against the Portuguese, while supporting every

anti-colonial current of struggle throughout the nation. In the course of waging the armed struggle, the MPLA was successful in developing a national consciousness and national unity that transcended tribal differences. During the armed struggle, the MPLA established hospitals, schools, cooperatives and other social services to meet the needs of the people in the liberated areas. It also established the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), the Medical Assistance Services and Centers for Revolutionary Instruction, as well as Young Pioneers organizations and MPLA youth organizations. Its prestige and authority to lead the people flows from its having fought the Portuguese colonists for 14 years.

Directing the attention of the nation to the struggle against neo-colonialism and the need to wipe out the heritage of colonial plunder, Aghostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, speaking at the ceremony proclaiming independence on November 11, 1975, stated that,

The People's Republic of Angola will launch increasingly into the industrialization of our own raw materials and even into heavy industrial enterprises. However, bearing in mind that most of the Angolan population live off the land, the MPLA has decided to regard agriculture as the basis, and industry as the determining factor, of our progress...

### THE HEROIC ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

President Ford's persistent lecturing to the Soviet Union concerning Angola flies in the face of reality. For instance, in a speech on January 5, 1976, Ford stated, "The Soviet Union must realize that the Soviet attempt to take unilateral advantage of the Angolan problem is inconsistent with the basic principles of Soviet-American relations." President

Ford would be hard pressed to discover in any of the documents guiding Soviet-American relations any mention of the Soviet Union renouncing its internationalist duty to defend the national liberation movement against imperialist aggression, as it has done for 14 years in Angola. Specifically, the Soviet posture towards Angola is not unilateral, but based upon long-standing fraternal anti-imperialist ties of solidarity with the MPLA and the Angolan people, and now with the new government. It is the Ford Administration which is attempting to "take unilateral advantage of the Angolan problem." Moreover, in doing so the Ford Administration is intentionally attempting to destroy the meaning of detente. Detente is a process leading towards peaceful co-existence of two antagonistic and irreconcilable social systems. Socialism does not cease to be socialism as a result, nor does it cease living up to its responsibilities of friendship and internationalism toward national liberation movements and developing countries. Detente does express a mutually advantageous objective between two systems, that objective being preventing a thermonuclear war.

Hence, SALT talks are in no way endangered because the Soviet Union aids Angola. SALT I and II express the inability of the United States to realistically pursue a policy of threatening the Soviet Union with nuclear war.

The Angolan people in fighting to defend their national integrity make a supreme contribution to the world struggle for peace. In liquidating colonialism, a main hotbed of war is eliminated. Moreover, they demonstrate through their heroism the fruitlessness of imperialist military adventures and thereby aid the people of the United States and other capitalist countries in their struggle against militarism.

### U.S. IMPERIALISM'S RACIST POLICIES: ANGOLA AND THE UNITED STATES

We in the United States share with the people of Angola a common historical process. The racist exploitation of the people and resources of Angola by U.S. imperialism (and its allies) is but an extension of its long standing exploitation and oppression of the people of this country, in the first

place the Afro-American population.

The aggressive policy of the U.S. government in Angola and the Ford Administration's open identification with the racist and fascist regime of South Africa is but an extension of its racist domestic policies here at home. This administration, which endorses racist terror against Black children and the Black community under the guise of opposing busing, pursues international policies that have the same racist content.

Our solidarity with the people of Angola and all of southern Africa in the struggle against racism and imperialism creates a powerful international force against racism. The achievements of the peoples of Africa, and southern Africa in particular, have already elevated the struggle against racism in the United States. In a very real sense, the people of Angola are the unnamed fighters for the rights of all victims of imperialism.

### MAOISM'S BETRAYAL

The government of the People's Republic of China has joined the anti-communists and neo-colonialists in Angola. Its policy is identical with the CIA and the racists of South Africa. China's reactionary role became particularly active in 1974, after the overthrow of fascism in Portugal. It increased its aid to Zaire and the FNLA in that year. The Maoists intensified their calls for the strengthening of NATO, while at the same time attacking the democratic forces of Portugal, and directly supporting the right-wing and pro-fascists there. The role of Maoism in Angola is a crystallized expression of the collaboration of Maoism with racism and imperialism. Its alliance with reactionary forces in Angola and southern Africa is a further extension of its alliance with U.S. and West German imperialism -- an alliance that Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., calls "a triangular entente," based upon strengthening NATO. The recent extension of this alliance to include Pretoria further enhances its counterrevolutionary nature, and creates a base for this anti-communist front on the African continent. It is well known

that the Peking government has never broken trade relations with South Africa or Rhodesia. In the last year China has, according to the Johannesburg Star of December 20, 1975, come out in support of the South African maneuver of "detente" and "dialogue." According to the Tass correspondent, Vladimir Goncharov, the official China news agency has commented that South Africa's invasion into Angola is "fully justified."

The facts belie China's charges that the Soviet Union is fueling a civil war in Angola. The buildup by China and the United States coincided, and were directed at undermining the peaceful transition to a genuine Angolan people's government. It was the China-U.S.-Zaire alliance in the early months of 1975 that was the main force supporting the FNLA efforts to destroy the transitional government. The fact that the transitional government continued to govern the nation in spite of the departure of the FNLA and UNITA was a setback to the efforts of this China-U.S.-Zaire alliance.

China's policy is based solely on anti-Sovietism and reactionary nationalism. The extreme expression of this position joins China with the most reactionary and fascist elements on our planet. It is important to note that the movement resisting imperialism and racism finds no common ground with neo-colonialism in any form, be it that of the racists of South Africa or the Maoists of China.

### WORLD PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTS THE MPLA

World public opinion is conducting a thorough examination of the situation in Angola. A determination concerning who are the friends and who are the enemies of Africa's liberation struggles is now being made. This judgment is rejecting anti-Sovietism as a basis for determining the perspective of the African liberation struggles. Reflective of this fact is the official statement of the 17-member Congressional Black Caucus on the Angolan situation. It said in part, "While the Soviet Union in contrast to the U.S. has traditionally supported liberation movements in Algeria,

southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, as well as certain independent African states, there is no Soviet satellite on the African continent."

Amilcar Cabral, founder and martyred leader of the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), said of the Soviet Union, "...it is from the Soviet Union that we receive the bulk of the aid in our struggle." On another occasion he referred to the socialist community of nations and the African liberation struggles as "historic associates."

Michael T. Kaufman in The New York Times of January 4, 1976, quotes a leading African churchman: "The issue put simply is that the Soviets have had an historical involvement with African liberation struggles against the Portuguese while the United States was on the other side."

Yet, here in the United States, a motley alliance of right-wing social democrats and trade union bureaucrats, plus some right-wing Black nationalist and Maoist forces continue to raise the anti-Soviet cry.

This is an attempt to disorient the pro-peace and anti-imperialist forces in our own country. Anti-soviet ravings on the part of Meany, Rustin, Baraka and Innis place them in league with Moynihan, Kissinger and the CIA, and other enemies of Africa and the peace majority of our country.

An editorial in the Nigerian Herald recently stated that, "Africa must stand up squarely to the crude bullying and insulting logic of the U.S. government. President Ford's double-quick march to the right wing for the purpose of a Presidential election cannot be done at the expense of innocent Angolan people. Nor can Henry Kissinger give substance to his cosmetic diplomacy that failed in Indochina and the Middle East by trampling like a rogue elephant on the independence of Angolans."

Angola's victory belongs to the MPLA, the authentic representative of the Angolan

people. The recent gains recorded by the MPLA in the north and south against the forces of invasion indicate the bankruptcy of the imperialist invasion and the determination of the Angolan people to consolidate their national liberation. Most significantly, such gains explode the myth of the invincibility of the fascist army of South Africa.

This is a new moment, one which must give birth to a new type of peace alliance in our country, one rooted in the basic sections of the population and one that is anti-imperialist in content. The peace majority must now become a peace and anti-imperialist majority.

It now becomes our responsibility to help quicken imperialism's defeat in Angola. Unity based upon the Black liberation, trade union and peace movements, uniting all anti-monopoly forces in our country, would constitute a new stage of the peace and anti-imperialist movement. This unity must demand:

- \* U.S. HANDS OFF ANGOLA!
- \* RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA!
- \* CUT ALL FUNDS TO THE CIA!
- \* CUT THE MILITARY BUDGET BY 50%!
- \* INSTITUTE A PEACE BUDGET TO SAVE OUR CITIES, NOT NEO-COLONIALISM!
- \* EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNITED NATIONS!
- \* CUT OFF ALL RELATIONS WITH THE RACIST VORSTER REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA!



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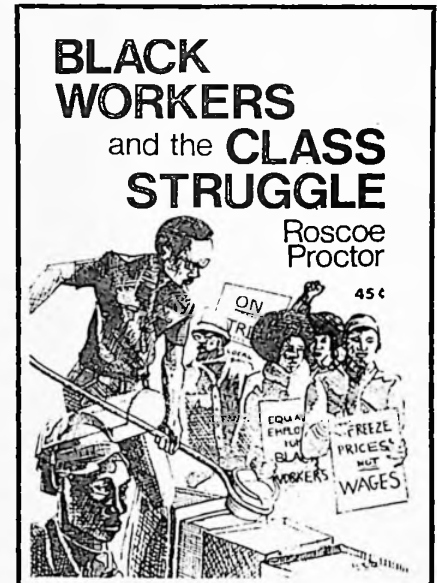
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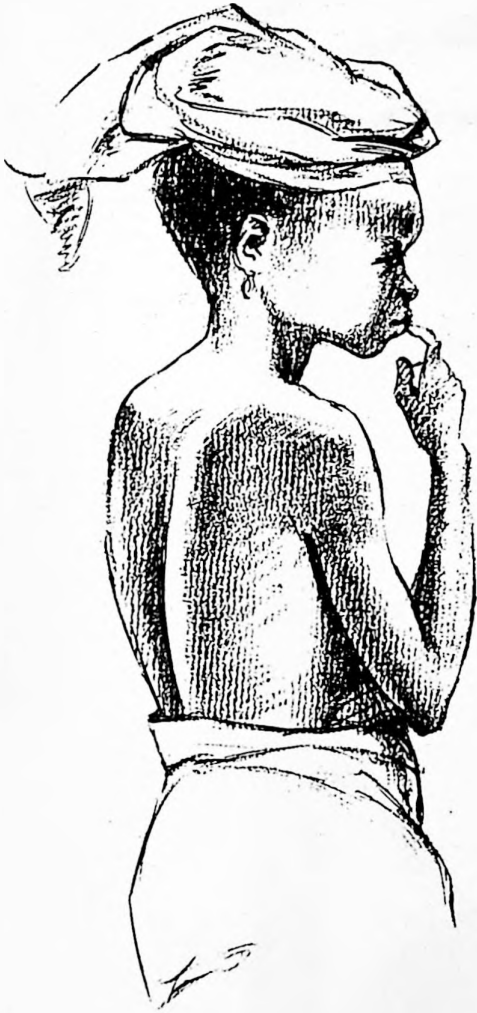
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# QUESTION

Durban, Birmingham  
Cape Town, Atlanta,  
Johannesburg, Watts,  
The earth around  
Struggling, fighting,  
Dying - for what?

A world to gain.

Groping, hoping,  
Waiting - for what?

A world to gain.

Dreams kicked asunder,  
Why not go under?

There's a world to gain.

But suppose I don't want it,  
Why take it?

To remake it.

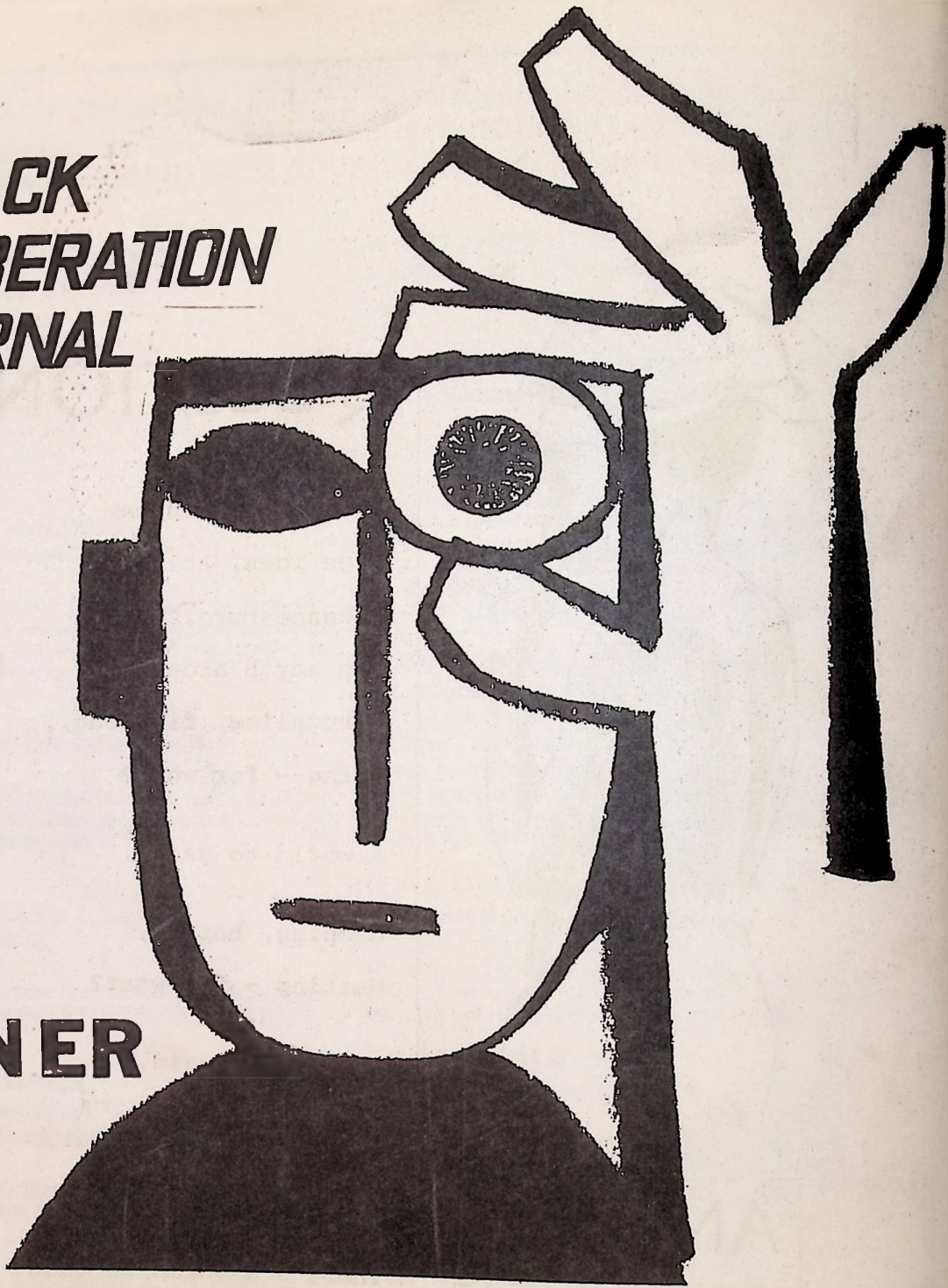


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