

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH: MAY, 1974



MAY 18-19

**Local
Demonstrations**

MAY 23-24
**National
Conference**

WASHINGTON,
D.C.

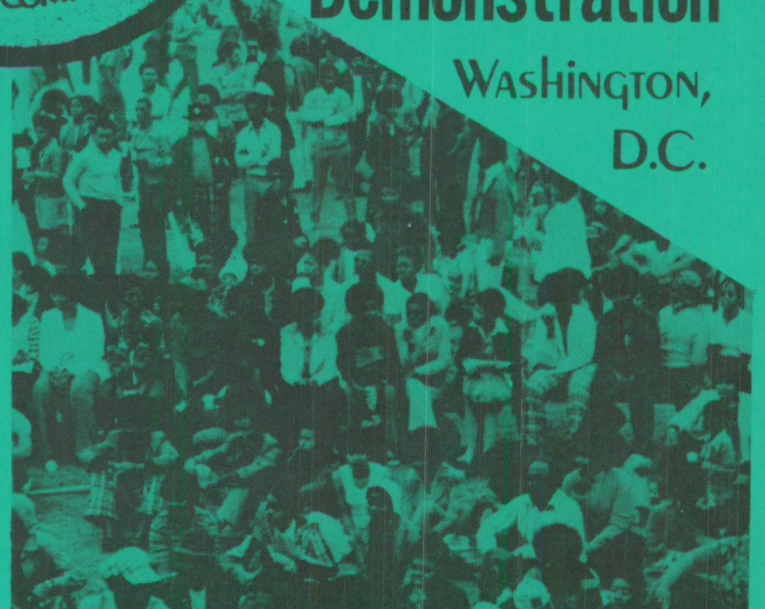


1974
**Fund
Raising
Goal
\$75,000**



MAY 25 **National
Demonstration**

WASHINGTON,
D.C.



HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #4

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

MAIN SLOGAN: IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO!

SMASH RACISM!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

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APRIL 1974

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HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE #4

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

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The Research and Development Committee wishes to extend its thanks to all the Brothers and Sisters who contributed material to this HANDBOOK. They are from the following areas:

1. Atlanta
2. Boston
3. Greensboro
4. Houston
5. Nashville

1. INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW

This is the HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE that should guide each local committee's work in preparation for and in carrying out activities around this year's ALD demonstration. This year there will be a full month of action, and therefore each local committee should be much better organized and prepared to carry out all that must be done.

This HANDBOOK is your basic reference guide for how to do things, for the correct line of the front, for the slogans, for reference data on the issues, and information on the African Liberation Fund. Each local committee should feel free to reproduce any or all of this HANDBOOK, and distribute it to all who work within the ALSC united front motion. It is our cookbook for the next two months of struggle.

A supplementary HANDBOOK on the National Conference and National Demonstration is forthcoming. All further information can be obtained from one of the members of the ALSC Executive Committee, or the 1974 Conference/Demonstration Headquarters:

ALSC Conference/Demonstration Headquarters
P.O. Box 2482
Washington, D.C. 20013

REMEMBER: ALSC is unified around the Statement of Principles and therefore everyone should be thoroughly familiar with it. We must struggle to unify! We must unify to struggle!

BUILD ALSC!!

2. PROGRAM FOR THE MONTH: PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

A. May 1 - 18 Educational Forums

The first part of African Liberation Month should be spent on mass ideological propaganda and educational work. There is a great need to heighten the consciousness of the masses of people in order that they can understand the necessity of expressing their dissatisfaction with the system through our activities. The protest actions the last half of the month will only be successful if there is intense involvement in the educational first half of the month.

1. Content For All Educational Forums:

- A. Outline History of ALSC
- B. ALSC Statement of Principles
- C. 1974 African Liberation Month Program of Activities
- D. 1974 African Liberation Month Issues
 - 1. Main Slogan
 - 2. Local Issues
 - a. any ALSC involvement in local issues (like being in a coalition against police repression, etc.)
 - b. highlight involvement of local organizations who are participating in ALSC
 - 3. International Issues
 - a. Racism and Imperialism in Africa
 - b. Racism and Monopoly Capitalism in the USA.

2. Materials for Study to prepare for Educational Forums:

- A. All official ALSC minutes from Steering Committee, Regional, and Executive Committee meetings, and local committee meetings.
- B. Outline History of ALSC
- C. Statement of Principles
- D. Handbook of Struggle #1: Repeal The Byrd Amendment
- E. Handbook of Struggle #2: Defeat Portuguese Imperialism
- F. Handbook of Struggle #3
- G. Handbook of Struggle #4: African Liberation Month
- H. ALSC Executive Committee Statement on "Oil and the Crisis of Imperialism"
- I. ALSC Executive Committee Statement in Support of Rank and File Longshoremen
- J. ALSC Local Area Research Guide

3. STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL FORUMS

- A. There should be two types of educationals:
 - 1. internal political education for the local ALSC committee
 - 2. a series of mass educational forums
- B. The internal political education sessions should:
 - 1. allow everyone to give a short speech on some aspect of the material to be studied to give the person practice in speaking and to build familiarity with the material;
 - 2. systematically cover all of the material listed above;
 - 3. include as much information as possible about the local community;
 - 4. concentrate on three main objectives:
 - a. uniting the committee around the programs for African Liberation Month 1974;
 - b. organizing the committee to carry out its tasks efficiently;
 - c. building the spirit of the committee to aggressively tackle the tasks at hand.

C. The mass educational forums will be one of the following:

1. ALSC Speakers Bureau:

- a. compile a list of leading persons in ALSC for a speakers bureau. These should be people who have been in ALSC for some time and who know the content outlined above;
- b. send a letter to all local organizations requesting time during their organizational meetings or during a special meeting for a speaker from ALSC to present our program to them. Especially important are Black trade unionists, churches, schools and students, social and fraternal, and community groups;
- c. have the speakers bureau call up people on the phone (have a quota like 25 per week) and request this;
- d. a session for the speakers bureau should include groups from as small as 5 people;
- e. the purpose of each session is to get organizations and individuals involved in ALSC. We are recruiting and raising funds for the \$75,000.

2. ALSC Public Programs:

- a. arrange to have a program of not more than two hours, in the evening when working people can attend, and try and have more than one speaker or a speaker and a movie;
- b. try and have the program at a place well known to the people you are trying to attract;
- c. send news releases to all of the newspapers, radio stations, television stations, and call all of the key Black reporters on each one to ask them directly to help you get air time;
- d. try and jointly sponsor programs with well known organizations in the community; a student government association, a church group, a community group or a social group;
- e. use the following report on the organization of local demonstrations to pull this together.

3. Sources for Audio-Visual Resources:

- a. YOBU Film Project
473 Florida Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 387-3556
- b. Tricontinental Film Center
244 West 27th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001
(212) 989-3330
- c. Impact Films
144 Bleeker Street
New York, N.Y. 10012
(212) 674-3375
- d. Newsreel
322 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001
- e. American Documentary Films
336 W. 84th St.
New York, N.Y. 10024

B. LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS AND RALLIES---MAY 18-19

DURING AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH, ALSC HAS CALLED FOR MASS RALLIES OR DEMONSTRATIONS IN LOCAL CITIES THROUGHOUT THE USA. THESE ACTIVITIES ARE KEY TO THE OVERALL SUCCESS OF ALM. THIS SECTION OF THE HANDBOOK LAYS OUT WAYS TO INSURE SUCCESSFUL LOCAL ACTIVITIES.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose and goals of having local activities on May 18-19 are many. They include our thrust to do the following:

- A. To provide mass anti-imperialist education in local areas.
- B. To physically involve people in political struggle.
- C. To build ALSC. The process of building ALSC means increasing our membership; increasing our own experience and practice in struggle; and increasing our local and international influence as a leading force in the struggle against racism and imperialism.
- D. To heighten the anti-imperialist struggles of Black people at the local level.
- E. To draw world attention to Black people's support for the liberation movements.
- F. To show mass protest for the main issues: energy crisis, police-political repression, and the impeachment of Nixon.
- G. To influence United States and Canadian foreign policy in relationship to Africa.

Local organizers should keep these objectives in sight as we build at the local level. Good activities in each city can go a long way in pushing our struggle forward. The local activities must not be taken lightly. In many respects, these will be the backbone of our future work.

II. RESEARCH & PLANNING

Once an organization decides to take action surrounding a given issue it becomes very important that meetings are set up to do the proper research and planning. Area research is important because it will help to decide what specific action should be

taken. Your planning sessions become even more important because they will lay out the best and most effective method of carrying through your plan of action. The following are items that should be included in your area planning and research.

A. Assessment of Local Strength

The number of active members in your local committee will definitely have some bearing on your capacity to carry out a particular plan of action. All committees have individual and organizational supporters who have worked with you on some level. There should be an accurate assessment of those supporters and the role they will play in aiding. It is also important to make an evaluation of last year's demonstration. Was it successful? What mistakes were made? Did you have organizational support? How many active members do you have from last year? All of these questions and many more should be answered in an effort to determine local strengths and weaknesses.

B. Compile List of Local Organizations

Keep in mind that ALSC is attempting to involve the broadest spectrum of the Black community in anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggles. In order to make this real each local committee should compile a list of local Black organizations and find out what their position has been on the issues of ALM. This will not only help boost your united front efforts; but will also increase the amount of manpower at the local level. It is also important to find out what local groups are hooked up with a national structure. If there national office endorses ALM, then you will probably have success in approaching them at the local level.

C. Investigate legal aspects of demonstration

Every local committee should know what is legal or illegal about the action it is about to take. If you are planning a march find out if the city government requires a parade permit. If you are planning a rally in a community park, find out if a park permit is needed. In many cities there are ordinances explaining the procedure for marches, pickets, etc., this information should be gathered and passed on to people involved.

D. How the Four Issues (Energy Crisis, Police Repression, Impeach Nixon, and Southern Africa) Relate to Local Area

This research is extremely important to your planning. You should know what issues the masses of people are talking about. How do they feel about Watergate? Have there been cases of police brutality? Are there cases where families' homes are cold because of the energy crisis? Being able to answer these questions will help you decide what issues should receive more attention. Every committee must speak to every issue, but surely the Atlanta and Detroit Black communities will want to hear more about police repression, as well as impeach Nixon, Southern Africa and the Energy Crisis. You might want to do a pool to find out what are the hot-potato discussions in the local Black communities.

E. What Banks and Corporations in your area have investments in Southern Africa

As a build-up for ALM '74, every local committee will be staging political activities. Political activities that show solidarity with the anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggles being waged by the masses of people throughout Southern Africa. Therefore, every local committee is obliged to find out what Banks and Corporations in their area are financing the war of oppression against our people in Southern Africa. This information will tell you what corporations and banks are key and finally, who should be attacked, picketed, etc.

F. Find Out How Local Politicians Voted on Certain Issues. (Byrd, etc.)

This information will determine what politicians should be approached for assistance during your local efforts.

III. UNITED FRONT APPROACH/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Even though African Liberation Month and the local demonstrations are spearheaded by ALSC, it is critically important to involve the broadest possible number of people in the process. In line with our Statement of Principles, local demonstrations must try "to unite all social groups and class formations within the Black community in a common struggle."

The issues of ALM are clearly things that have broad support inside our communities. Therefore, it is our responsibility to mobilize for mass action. Keep in mind the "focus for mobilization" of ALSC.

Every effort should be made to involve groups and individuals in the planning and implementation of local demonstrations. Try to involve groups outside of ALSC to some extent in planning. People are generally more willing to work on something when they see that they are a real part of it. This can be done by inviting groups to planning sessions for the local demonstrations. Seek their ideas and suggestions. Ask for specific help from various organizations on specific parts of work. Try to involve both the organization's leadership and rank and file membership. Pull in groups that ALSC has had established relationship with through worker, community, or student struggles.

While some groups will not be active participants in the planning and work, they may be willing to give an organizational endorsement. These endorsements can be gotten by mailing out information on AIM and ALSC to these groups and following this up with personal contacts. It is usually better to use ALSC members who are also members of other groups to seek endorsements; if this is not possible, try to identify a friendly contact person within the group who will push for the endorsement. On a national level, several groups have endorsed AIM. You should try to contact their local chapter for support and endorsement. In working with other groups, it is always important to be principled, honest and straightforward. Moreover, it is of tremendous importance that ALSC move in an organized manner with an efficient work style. Nothing can turn others away quicker than confusion, disorganization, lack of follow-through and neglect by ALSC. No one wants to be associated with something that is unorganized. Remember that we are trying to develop links of support that will be ongoing.

IV. MOBILIZATION

When an organization attempts to organize a political activity designed to involve a massive number of people, such as rallies, marches, etc., there are certain things that must be done to insure mass participation.

A. Have groups participate under organizational banners

As a united front effort as many local organizations as possible should be asked to attend the function.

B. Have groups take active part in the Mobilization Process

Ask local groups to do whatever they can to mobilize their supporters to the functions. If they have an organizational newsletter, urge them to print a schedule of ALSC activities.

C. Hold activities to build interest

1. Forums
2. Films

3. Speaking Engagements
4. Rap Sessions

5. Special Meetings

D. Door to Door Campaign

If manpower is available it will be good to go door to door talking with people about the issues ALSC will be speaking to. This will allow some mass work for ALSC members and volunteers.

E. Contact ministers of Major Black churches and ask them to urge the participation of their congregation.

Some ministers will allow 5-10 minutes for an explanation of functions. Also set up table with literature explaining ALM '74 and ALF.

F. Use ALF to push demonstration.

Whatever fund-raising activities you organize you should always distribute materials concerning your upcoming demonstrations.

G. Focus of mobilization - Black workers

1. Compile a list of labor organizations with high concentrations of Blacks and find out what is their position on issues mentioned (energy crisis, impeach Nixon, etc.)
2. Organize events designed to attract Black workers.
3. Arrange speaking engagements during union meetings.
4. Leave literature in union halls.
5. Put articles concerning ALSC activities and position in union organs (newsletter).
6. Leafleting work places.
 - a. To make sure you are touching base with a sizable number of Black workers, a list should be compiled of work places with high Black concentration.
 - b. Get information on change of shifts and plant lay-out, that is, is there a gate or fence where workers exit? Is there a parking lot for workers, if so is it the best place to do your leafleting? All of these things should be considered.
 - c. Find out legal aspects of leafleting. Can you leaflet on company premises? Can you leaflet on parking lot? Can you leaflet as workers go in and out of the gate?
 - d. Establish contact with workers inside plants who are supportive of ALSC program.

V. COMMUNICATIONS & INFORMATION

The area of communications is one of the most crucial for the success of any activity where mass participation is desired. You not only have to convey the who, what, when, and where; but to do it in a manner that appeals to people's interest and motivates them to become involved. A communications campaign for ALF and AIM should be as carefully planned as any other phase of the mobilization. If feasible the responsibility for communications should be in the hands of a communications co-ordinator who is responsible to the local ALSC and who at all times would keep on top of the flow of information in the local area. If a person can be chosen with some background in dealing with the various media so much the better. If not, the suggestions here should help the work to go more smoothly.

A. Planning & Internal Organization

1. Plan the entire campaign. The communications co-ordinator and his/her committee should plan the entire three month information campaign. The plan should include all available media (radio, tv, newspaper, etc.), and all forms of communications to be used in each. The communications effort, like the overall effort at mobilization, should escalate. Timing is key. The campaign should begin with the ALF news conference in March and steadily build through May 25.
2. Set a timetable for submitting articles, newspaper ads, etc., and for producing and distributing leaflets, posters, bumper stickers, etc. Check with all radio and tv stations, newspapers, community newsletters etc., to find out their deadlines for submitting materials, and scheduling appearances on various programs.
3. Make assignments for the members of the committee and volunteers who will work under the direction of the committee. Set deadlines for the completion and distribution of all materials. These deadlines should follow the overall timetable. Allow time for review by the local ALSC before materials are released.
4. Check work periodically through committee sessions to monitor the effectiveness of the information campaign.
5. Keep a file of all articles, news releases, ads, leaflets, etc., that are produced.

B. Media

1. **Radio/Television**--The possibilities for utilizing these popular media will vary in local situations, particularly with television. Most of the suggestions below are generally applicable:
 - a. **News Conference**--All media are invited and a "news release" is prepared. The news conference should be reserved for major events and can be easily overused. Refer to the March memo sent out by the International office on How to Arrange a Successful Press Conference.
 - b. **News Items**--Any international, national, or local event which relates directly to the mobilization for ALF-AIM can be reported in the local media. This is generally done through the news release (refer to March memo for format). Many radio stations have a "hotline" on which news items can be phoned in. Relate such news items to ALSC work and/or political positions.
 - c. **Public Service Announcements**--All TV and radio stations are required to provide free time for public service announcements. Fifteen to thirty second (rarely longer) spot announcements can be aired for local activities.
 - d. **Interview or Talk Shows**--Schedule local supporters and members to talk about the national and local ALF/AIM activities and the overall thrust of ALSC. Try to schedule any out-of-town speakers or guests of the local ALSC who will be in your area as part of the mobilization.
 - e. **Ask any disc jockey or program host** who is sympathetic to the mobilization effort or with whom you have personal contact to plug the local activities on his/her show.
2. **Newspapers, magazines, community, school or organizational newsletters**
 - a. **News Items**--News of local activities or events relating to the issues of AIM can be submitted.
 - b. **Feature Stories and Serials**--These allow for more comment and opinion than news stories. They can be used as political education tools around the issues of racism and imperialism, and to educate around the specifics of the struggle in Southern Africa. They can also be used to build the united front character of the local effort by featuring interviews with supporters from various segments of the Black community (church, labor, etc.), highlighting their interests and reasons for participation.
 - c. **Ads**--Particularly Black newspapers, newsletters, might allow space for a small ad for ALF and/or AIM if requested. Pictures or graphics should be used to make these eye-catching.

3. Leaflets and posters--There are two types; those designed to mobilize and those for education or information. One technique involves coupling the two in distribution.

It is important to design leaflets to appeal to specific audiences students, workers, etc., whenever possible, emphasizing the issues which most relate to each group. When this is not possible, plan the content of the leaflet so as not to alienate any sector we need to mobilize.

- a. Mobilization--Such leaflets emphasize the what, when and where; little explanation is given. This category will probably represent the bulk of leaflets and posters for ALF/ALM. Pictures or graphics are essential.
- b. Information--Such leaflets are for political education around the issues, goals and political thrust of ALF/ALM. They are more detailed and explanatory.

*****All leaflets and posters should be carefully done and look as professional as possible considering the resources of the local chapter. To the masses of people they will reflect the organization and character of the local effort.

4. Bumper stickers, Buttons, Banners, etc.--These can be effective with a good system of distribution. If manpower and resources are limited, more emphasis should probably be put on other means of communication.

C. Distribution

Plan a system for distribution each of the promotional and educational materials. This is the backbone of a good mobilization effort. Some suggestions are:

1. Mail outs to past supporters or potentially interested persons can be done; this will be limited because of the expense.
2. Leave leaflets and display posters in places of business and anywhere there is considerable traffic in the Black community.
3. Ask community, social, labor or church organizations to include your leaflet in one of their mail outs, or attach it to their newsletter or bulletin.
4. Leave material on display at union halls, fraternity or sorority houses, the rental office or lobby of an apartment complex, etc. If possible, get someone on the inside to handle the materials.
5. Ask high school or college student organizations or a dependable individual to handle promotional material on his/her campus.
6. Spread literature door-to-door in key areas.

VI. PROGRAM

Whatever the activities during ALM and on May 18-19, they should reflect the anti-racist, anti-imperialist thrust and united front character of ALSC. Programs should be organized to speak to the issues of international ALM.

- A. Build the program to be as educational (politically) and as interesting and moving as possible.
 1. Keep the entire program short enough not to lose people's attention.
 2. Limit the number of speeches and the time allotted each, e.g., 1 keynote speaker (25 min.) and perhaps 2 auxillary speakers (15 min.); other people may read brief endorsements.
 3. Use political entertainment (drama, song, dance, etc.) to break up a succession of speeches.
 4. Outline the major theme of each speech with the speaker (a) to make sure it is in line with the thrust and purpose of the demonstration, and (b) to avoid repetition among speakers.
 5. Use the issues creatively. Combine historic and current local struggles in your area with the issues of ALM; highlight those issues which are most real to local people and show the interconnection with the struggle against imperialism in Southern Africa.
- B. Check and double check all scheduled performers, speakers and participants on the program. Make sure they are clear on their function and the time slot allowed. It's a good idea to have one or two back-up speakers in case someone doesn't show.
- C. Assign someone to be responsible for any technical or other equipment (microphones, speakers, etc.), chairs, platforms needed for the program. These should be set up before hand and checked to make sure they are in working condition.
- D. Use the program to build toward the national conference and demonstration in D.C., May 23-25; (1) have some one speak to the importance of these two upcoming events, (2) give out literature.
- E. Use the program to build your local ALSC chapter:
 1. urge people to join the on-going struggle against racism and imperialism and to work with ALSC programs;
 2. announce the on-going work of ALSC;
 3. announce the regular meeting place and time, and
 4. have ALSC members circulate mimeographed sign up sheets in the crowd and ask people interested in ALSC work to sign.

VII. SECURITY AND LOGISTICS

In order to prevent a demonstration or rally of any size from turning into an undesirable situation it is necessary to develop some methods of crowd control.

A. Crowd Marshals

The marshal system will enable your committee to have some degree of centralized control over the demonstration. The size and character of the demonstration will determine the number of marshals needed. The crowd marshals should reflect a cross section of the expected participants, and should be selected on the basis of competence and self control, not popularity.

1. Crowd marshals should meet several times before the demonstration or rally.
2. A crowd marshal leader or co-ordinator should be selected. He or she should have some experience in handling large crowds. Make sure the marshal in charge has all information necessary regarding permits, etc.
3. Crowd marshals should handle any disturbance.
4. Flashy show-offism on the part of the marshals only incites the police and annoys the participants; therefore, it should be avoided at all times.
5. Identification and method of communication should be available. Every marshal should wear something which identifies him/her as a marshal. Whatever it is it should be uniform. It is also important that marshals have some method of communications (system of runners, megaphones, bull horns, etc.). Co-ordinationa between crowd marshals can be very difficult in a large crowd if there is no means of communications.
6. Placement of crowd marshals in key areas is very important to the total sucessfulness of the event. This will enable marshals to spot disrupters, provocateurs, and fights that may break out.
7. Collection of money should be supervised by marshals and they should be responsible for getting it to a safe place following the event.
8. Marshals should always be as courteous as possible to participants and bystanders.
9. Have a lawyer on hand in case of any emergencies, whenever possible.

B. Logistics

1. Make sure all equipment (microphones, podium, etc.) is secured well in advance. This point cannot be overstressed.
2. Both rally and march sites should be in areas of the Black community. Make sure you know just how long it will take the marchers to cover the distance so that a rally planned for the end of the march will come off on time.

3. The convenience of the participants should be considered. Try to arrange transportation to and from the rally and march sites. Provide refreshments for the participants if the route is extremely long. Medical personnel as well as rest rooms should be available. Someone should always be at a designated phone for people arriving late or from out of town and in the event of an emergency. This central telephone number should be given out to all involved in key roles of leadership.
4. A check list should be made about 10 days before the demonstration. This list should spell out all last minute details and materials needed.
5. Start all activities on time.

VIII. EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

Following your successful local activity the work is not yet complete. In general, the following things should be done by each local ALSC.

- A. Call in a report on your local activity to the Houston Office immediately after it is completed. This report should include the number of people in attendance, guest speakers, type of activity, and general outcome.
- B. Send a written report on ALM and ALF to the Houston office before May 30th. All funds from ALF must be in by this date.
- C. Set up a meeting of local ALSC workers and supporters to evaluate the local events and sum-up the strong points and weaknesses.
- D. Organize your delegation to attend the conference and demonstration in Washington, D.C.
- E. Develop a list of supporters to receive thank you letters for their work and support.
- F. Develop a list of people who worked hard and who may be interested in joining ALSC.

THESE GUIDELINES HAVE BEEN OFFERED TO HELP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS. USE YOUR OWN INITIATIVE AND IMAGINATION IN PLANNING YOUR ACTIVITIES. LOCAL CONDITIONS WILL VARY FROM PLACE TO PLACE AND THESE MUST BE CONSIDERED. THIS YEAR'S LOCAL DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD BE THE BEST EVER.

3. ISSUES FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH 1974

I. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM reflects the fundamental contradictions within the capitalist mode of production at this stage of history. ALSC must have a clear theoretical grasp of this condition if we are to wage a successful struggle.

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

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

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

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

(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;

(2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy;

(3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance,

(4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and

(5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

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

B. While we can see very clearly that there is a general crisis of imperialism, it is equally important for us to be clear on the particular forces that contribute to this general crisis. Among the main contradictions presently contributing to the overall decline of the imperialist system, three are crucial:

1. the contradiction among the countries of the imperialist camp;
2. the contradictions between oppressed nations and imperialism;
3. within imperialist countries, the contradictions between the working class and the ruling capitalist class.

1. The contradictions among the countries in the imperialist camp:

A. World War I (1914-1918) represented the first stage in the struggle between advanced capitalist countries for the control of colonies, markets, and spheres of investment for finance capital. World War II (1940-1945) was another stage in the attempts of imperialists to re-divide the world (almost 900 thousand square miles of African territory was taken from Germany and given to Britain and the United Nations after World War II),

B. While "hot" wars are the occasion of the intense competition among capitalist countries to increase their economic strength at the expense of others, their capitalist rivals, the usual method is to dominate a country through investments, trade, etc. U.S. monopoly capital dominates the economic activity of many advanced capitalist countries. 68% of all U.S. investments abroad are in "developed countries." Four-fifths of Canada's foreign

investments are American, and U.S. corporations control over 35% of Canada's industrial property. Among the 70 most important corporations in the world, 55 are U.S. monopolies, dominating such key areas as oil, electronics, transportation, etc. The American giant I.B.M. controls 70% of the world's computer market.

C. Most recently, the energy crisis has heightened the contradictions among imperialist powers as the struggle to get oil from the Arabs by offering bigger and better trade and technical assistance packages. This has led to disagreements over U.S. policy toward Israel and the refusal of many countries (all except Portugal) to cooperate in the U.S. shipment of arms to Israel, etc.

D. The outcome of all of this rivalry among the imperialist powers has been to weaken U.S. imperialism since many countries have successfully increased their strength, particularly Japan. This is reflected in the percentage increases in industrial production from January 1972 to November 1973.

Japan	31%
United States	17
Italy	16
Western Europe	14
France	14
United Kingdom	13

Thus, U.S. imperialism is faced with the increasing competition of other imperialist powers which can only serve to weaken the imperialist camp.

2. The contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism:

A. The recent victory of the heroic forces of Vietnam over U.S. imperialist aggression serves as inspiration to all of us who struggle against imperialism. U.S. imperialist domination is being challenged by the forces of national liberation in all parts of the globe and the result of these successful challenges is to remove vital resources necessary to the maintenance of imperialism from the grasp of greedy capitalists.

B. In Asia, as the Vietnamese people struggle to consolidate their victory, in spite of the U.S.-backed efforts to continue the war, the people of Cambodia are so close to complete victory that four former top officials in the corrupt Phnom Penh government have denounced U.S. puppet Lon Nol and joined the ranks of the liberation government. Armed liberation struggles are being waged in Thailand and the Philippines and in India, food riots, mass uprisings against rising prices, strikes by university teachers, mill workers, doctors and nurses all symbolize the growing protest against imperialist-caused exploitation and oppression.

C. In Latin America, Chile is still a revolutionary inspiration and a lesson as to how far imperialism will go to maintain their control of resources and domination over the lives of people. Since the bloody overthrow of Salvador Allende and the mass murders of thousands of his supporters,

I.T.T., Anaconda Copper, Ennecott Copper, and other U.S. monopoly corporations have again been given control of the country. Venezuela is spearheading the efforts of oil exporting countries to form a united front similar to one which operated in the Middle East. Panama has forced the U.S. to return ownership of the Canal Zone.

D. In the Caribbean, Cuba continues to be the most advanced challenge to U.S. imperialism and the masses of people in the Caribbean more and more see Cuba as a model for ending their own exploitation and oppression (which explains why Cuba has been recognized by several Caribbean governments over the objections of the U.S.). There have been significant upheavals in Grenada and Jamaica; worker and peasant seizure of land in Guyana; armed guerilla groups in Trinidad, and assassinations in Bermuda and the Virgin Islands. Puerto Rico was brought to a standstill by a massive workers strike. These challenges of the people of the Caribbean to imperialism corresponds to the extent of U.S. domination. The Caribbean bauxite industry, based in Jamaica, Guyana, Surinam, and Haiti, furnishes 80% of the basic raw materials for the U.S. aluminum industry, but is owned by four U.S. corporations--Kaiser, Alcoa, Reynolds, and Anaconda. The petroleum industry in Trinidad-Tobago represents 25% of its gross national product and earns 80% of its export income, but is almost totally owned by Texaco.

E. Africa is key to these challenges of oppressed nations to imperialism. The declaration of independence by the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau on September 24, 1973, indicated the inevitable success of the national liberation struggles in Africa and around the world. U.S. investments in Africa rose to \$4.1 billion in 1972, (a 28% increase over 1969). Profits reached \$800 million in 1969, (13 times higher than in 1959). We get a much clearer picture of how the success of the liberation struggles in Africa (and the Third World) threaten imperialism if we look at their share of the strategic resources so important to imperialism that they are stockpiled by the U.S. government. The following map and information clearly shows us the extent to which U.S. imperialism depends on the resources of Africa and the Third World (and why the U.S. has more troops outside its borders and spends more on "defense" than any other country in the world).

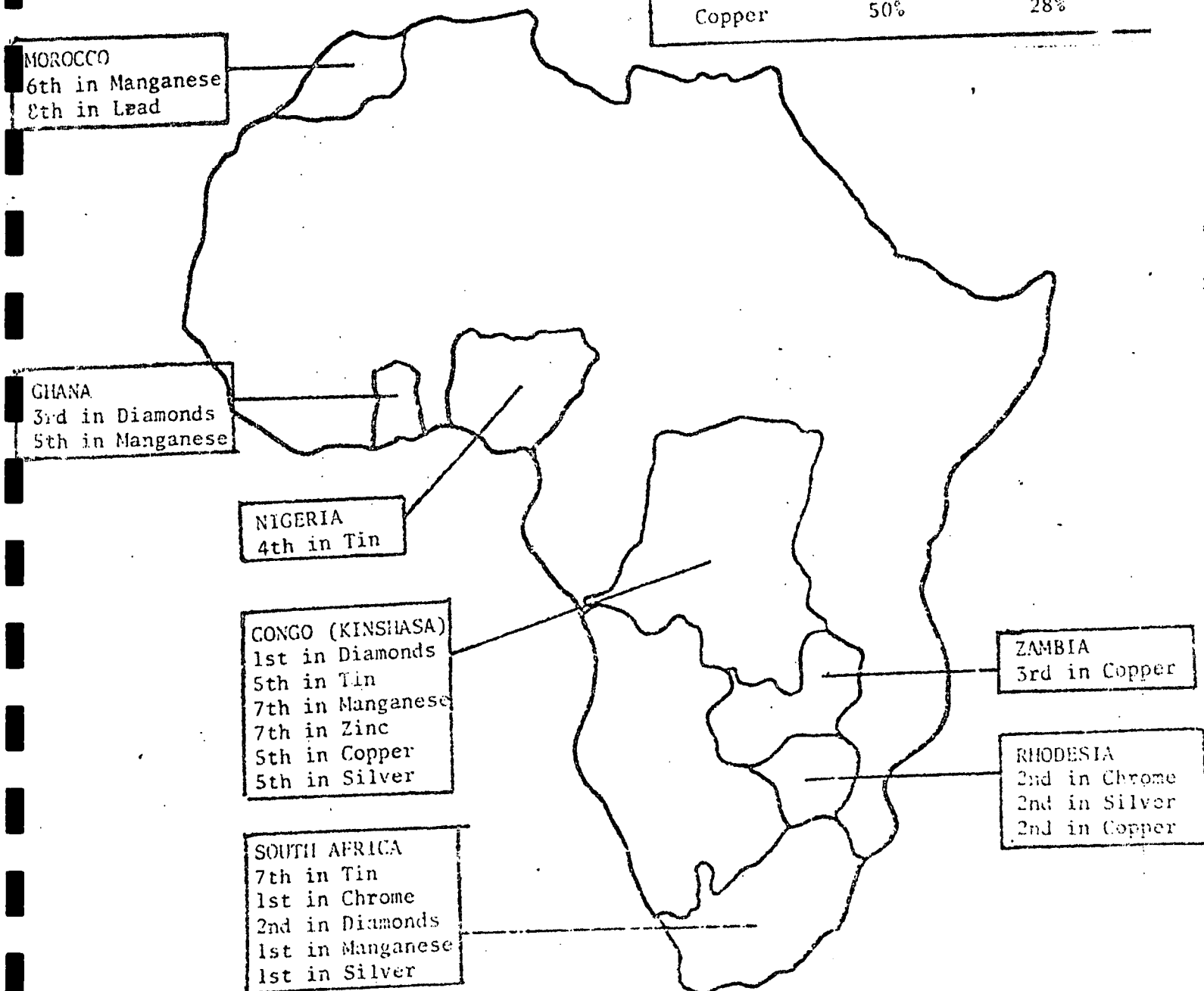
3. The contradiction between the working class and the ruling class within imperialist countries:

A. The two external contradictions outlined above more sharply focuses the third of the major internal contradictions weakening imperialism--the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class within each particular capitalist country. As imperialism loses out abroad (whether in Guinea-Bissau, Venezuela, or Grenada), the ruling class in each capitalist country is forced to try to recover its losses through the increased exploitation and oppression of the workers inside each country. This general tightening up is felt by all working people in the form of higher prices for basic necessities like food and fuel, increased unemployment and layoffs, speed-ups on the production line, and in other ways. Black workers and the Black community are more heavily burdened by an even higher unemployment rate, cutbacks in vital social programs like welfare and daycare programs, and increased police repression.

STRATEGIC RESOURCES STOCKPILED BY THE UNITED STATES

Mineral	Percentage from Asia, Africa, and Latin Amer.	Percentage from Africa
Tin	97%	15%
Chrome	97%	66%
Tungsten	44%	5%
Diamonds	99%	98%
Manganese	85%	25%
Lead	18%	5%
Zinc	12%	4%
Silver	42%	4%
Copper	50%	28%

African Countries and Their Ranking in World Production of Strategic Minerals



B. The contradiction between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class is irreconcilably antagonistic. It represents the private appropriation of wealth by a small few (the 500 largest corporations appropriate 75% of all profits of over 1½ million U.S. corporations), in contradiction with the social production of the wealth. The interests of the two classes are never the same. The working class fights the imperialist class on two levels. First, workers struggle to defend themselves against the forms of exploitation - low wages, poor health benefits, no adequate retirement pension plans, poor working conditions, etc. Second, as these struggles intensify the workers realize their common condition and begin to fight as a class against the imperialists as a class. The material basis for these two levels of struggle are contained in the following sketch of wages, prices, and profits:

1. WAGES--The ruling class called on its corrupt tool, Richard Nixon, to install the Cost of Living Council to make sure that the wages of working people do not cut into the profits of fat capitalists. Personal income in December 1973 was less than the annual average. Incomes in highly industrialized areas (where most Black people are concentrated) advanced even more slowly, hardly keeping up with runaway prices.
2. PRICES--Inflation in 1973 was at its highest rate since 1946. The Consumer Price Index (an average price for selected goods) was up 8.8%, the largest in history, with prices highest for essential goods like food, (up 19.5%), housing, transportation, and fuel, (up 33.7%). Black people were hurt even more by runaway prices. Most Black people are low income consumers and a recent Congressional study concluded that the impact of higher prices on low income consumers was 25% greater than on middle and high income consumers. Needless to say, higher prices had very little impact on the Rockefellers, the Mellons (Gulf Oil), the DuPonts, and the ruling capitalist elite that control the monopoly corporations.
3. PROFITS--U.S. corporations made more than \$70 billion in 1973, a full 27% more than the \$55 billion they made in 1972. This was the biggest increase in profits since 1955, when U.S. corporations made record super-profits from supplying arms during the Korean War, (wars are always profitable for imperialists). These record 1973 profits reflect the success of U.S. monopoly capitalists in keeping wages down and prices up. Many of the corporations which provide basic necessities (gasoline, steel, paper) had the highest increases in profits, (see chart below comparing the last three months of 1973 with 1972). We must keep in mind that there was continuing talk of gas shortages, paper shortages, etc. The only real shortages were in wages because profits soared.

Industry		Corporation	
Aerospace	313%	Lockheed	60%
Oil	80	Gulf	153
Metals and Mining	79	Anaconda Copper	155
Steel	60	U.S. Steel	91
Paper	57	Hammermill Paper	245

C. The contradiction between the exploited working masses and the ruling class is the basis for fundamental social change. Many examples of the militant responses to imperialist exploitation by workers across the United States and throughout the world can be cited. Independent truckers almost brought the country to its knees and tied up traffic in Washington and around the country in protest against rising diesel fuel costs. British coal miners forced new elections, unseated the ruling conservative party, and won significant wage increases. Detroit has been the scene of several militant strike actions led by Black workers, and most recently two Black workers closed down an entire assembly line by liberating the power controls to bring attention to their grievances. As the crisis of imperialism deepens and the attempts of the capitalists to wring lost profits from the working class intensifies, we can expect a more militant and organized response from working people who feel the brunt of exploitation. In order to build the African Liberation Support Committee into a strong Black United Front--a vehicle that serves the needs of our people because it is relentlessly moving to defeat imperialism and racism, the cause of our problems, we must have a correct analysis and understanding of these forces which contribute to the general crisis of imperialism.

B. SLOGANS

MAIN SLOGAN: IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO! SMASH RACISM!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

MASS SLOGANS: BUILD ALSC!

BUILD THE BLACK UNITED FRONT!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!

IMPEACH NIXON NOW! DUMP THE CHUMP!

FIGHT THE OIL MONOPOLIES! ROLLBACK GAS PRICES!

STOP UNEMPLOYMENT! RAISE WAGES! LOWER FOOD PRICES!

NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!

STOP POLICE REPRESSION! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

REMEMBER SHARPSVILLE! REMEMBER ATTICA! RISE UP AND FIGHT!

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF AMILCAR CABRAL!

SUPPORT THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU!

ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA!

ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE!

ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA!

ALSC SUPPORTS THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA!

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

DEATH TO THE IMPERIALIST MONSTER!

BLACK PEOPLE OF (NAME OF LOCAL AREA) UNITE NOW!

C. ENERGY AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

1. The Oil Monopoly

A. The International Oil Monopoly

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

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

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

19% of the total assets of the 500 largest U.S. corporations

13% of the total sales " " " " " "

19% of the total profits " " " " "

2.7% of the total workforce " " " " "

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

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

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

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

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

- 70% of crude oil production
- 80% of the transportation
- 80% of all refining capacity
- 72% of all gasoline sold.

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

2. EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

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

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

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

SOURCES OF PROFITS FOR MAJOR OIL COMPANIES (In percent)

	U.S.	OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES	ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA
EXXON	46	21	35
Texaco	49	14	37
Gulf	70	10	20
Mobil	42	5	53
Standard Oil of California	46	5	49

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

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

PRODUCING COMPANY	MAJOR OWNERS	PERCENT
Abu Dhabi	British Petroleum	66 2/3%
Marine	CFP (French)	33 1/3%
Kuwait Oil Co.	British Petroleum	50%
	Gulf	50%
Iranian Consortium	British Petroleum	40%
	Shell	14%
	Texaco	7%
	Gulf	7%
	Standard Oil of California	7%
	Mobil	7%
	CFP (French)	6%
Iraq	British Petroleum	24%
	CFP	24%
	Shell	24%
	Mobil	24%
	Exxon (Standard Oil of N.J.)	12%
Aramco (Saudi Arabia)	Exxon	30%
	Texaco	30%
	Mobil	10%
	Standard Oil of California	30%

3. ALSC RECOMMENDATIONS

A. U.S.A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---Homeowners and public buildings will lower temperatures and create further health hazards--an increase in the number of colds, pneumonia, etc., has already been reported. Several deaths from freezing and suffocation have been reported of people trying to deal with fuel shortages.

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

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

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

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

3. REINSTATE ECOLOGY AND CONSERVATION LEGISLATION

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

1. In July, 1973, the Senate approved the \$3.5 billion, Alaska pipeline bill (Agnew even broke a tie vote on an amendment which now prevents court suites against the bill by ecology groups). (Even though U.S. taxes will pay for the pipeline, British Petroleum, EXXON, and Atlantic Richfield own 87.5% of the pipeline, and two-thirds of the Alaskan reserves estimated at 15 billion barrels.)
2. The National Emergency Energy Act, which Congress recently passed, authorized Nixon to suspend the Clean Air Act and allow utilities to use coal and oil which produce more pollution because they contain more sulfur.
3. Strip mining, which destroys the earth's surface, will now be permitted in oil-rich shale areas of Colorado and Wyoming.
4. Not only has the sham Environmental Protection Agency "eased" emission control restrictions several times, they are now considering doing away with them altogether to the detriment of air quality and health standards.
5. Off shore drilling--and the giant oil spills which accompany it--has already been approved for the Pacific Coast (remember Santa Barbara), the Atlantic Coast, and the Gulf of Mexico.

4. PRICE CONTROLS ON ALL GASOLINE

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

FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Local Area Research Guide

Prepared By

ALSC Research and Development

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

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INTRODUCTION

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

OUTLINE

Part One: Questionnaire on Local Area

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

Part Two: Guidelines for Writing a Local History of Struggle

PART ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE ON LOCAL AREA

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

2. ECONOMY

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

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

B. List the top 10 employers.

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

C. List the 10 largest locally owned businesses.

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

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

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

3. POLITICS

A. % vote Democratic in presidential elections:

	City	County	State
1960	_____	_____	_____
1964	_____	_____	_____
1968	_____	_____	_____
1972	_____	_____	_____

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

1. Mayor's Office

Name	Position
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Governor's Office

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

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

1. Democrats

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Republicans

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

3. Independents (electoral politics)

_____	_____
_____	_____

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

1. City Government _____

2. State Legislature _____

3. Congress _____

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

Yes _____ No _____

Explain: _____

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

1. Public Transportation: _____

2. Hospitals: _____

3. School System: _____

4. Police: _____

5. Welfare: _____

6. Sanitation: _____

4. BLACK COMMUNITY

A. Class Structure

1. 1970 Census Occupational Structure	No.	%
Professional and Technical	_____	_____
Managers, Officials, & Proprietors	_____	_____
Clerical	_____	_____
Sales	_____	_____
Craftsmen & Foremen	_____	_____
Operatives	_____	_____
Service Workers	_____	_____
Private Household Workers	_____	_____
Non-Farm Laborers	_____	_____
Farmers & Farm Workers	_____	_____

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

A. Receiving welfare assistance _____

B. Unemployed _____

C. Family income \$10,000 or more _____

D. Family income \$3,000 or less _____

3. List the top 10 major Black businessmen

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

B. Social Institutions, Organizations, & Leadership

1. List the 10 largest Black churches and their ministers

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

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

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

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

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

4. List mass media (Black owned or oriented)**A. Newspapers****Describe**

B. Journals

C. T.V. Programs

D. Radio

E. Bookstore

5. Major organizations (size, power, & influence)**A. Political****Describe**

B. Religious

Describe

C. Labor

D. Student - Youth

E. Social Welfare

F. Business

G. Social Fraternal

H. Civil Rights

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

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

A. The Black Community: _____

B. The white community: _____

C. The _____ community: _____

D. The _____ community: _____

GUIDELINES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM 3-F

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

GENERAL SOURCES FOR INFORMATION

ITEMS

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

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

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

PART TWO: GUIDELINES FOR WRITING A LOCAL HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

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

PRICE PER GALLON OF GAS

	NOW	EXPECTED SOON
Italy	\$1.30	\$1.60
Japan	1.15	1.35
West Germany	1.21	1.27
France	1.10	1.19
Switzerland	.93	1.05
Britain	.87	.96
Eastern Canada	.54	.64
Western Canada	.58	.58

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

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

"The construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam is the most eloquent expression of the colonialist and imperialist attitude. Cabora Bassa is a crime. It is a crime not only against the Mozambican people but also the entire people of Southern Africa and Africa as a whole. The complicity of the Western powers in the realization of the construction project of the Cabora Bassa Dam has provoked the indignation of the popular forces of these same Western world, especially envisioning the impediment of the Dam construction. This movement of solidarity comes to support precisely the positions and decisions of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people."

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

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

1. Gulf is the largest U.S. investor in Africa, with over \$250 million in Angolan Oil. And, Gulf pays from \$30-50 million each year in taxes.
2. Portugal has 12.5% royalty rights in kind (in oil) up to 37.5%. But in case of war (as the Portuguese government decides) they have rights to the total production. The recent Middle East oil boycott has nearly led to this, in cooperation with the U.S. government.
3. Gulf has hired its own force of private police composed of mercenaries from many countries. Moreover, their taxes cover more than 30% of the Angolan military budget.

D. End monopoly control of the oil industry in CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN--

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

1. Canada was the leading source of crude oil imported into the U.S. in 1972, supplying 38.5%. The Arab boycott made the Canadian oil of even greater importance to the U.S. In March, 1973, the Canadians cut oil exports to the U.S. by 4%, concerned that their own refineries might run short of oil. Recently, Canada announced that the export tax on oil coming into the U.S. will increase almost 200% to \$6.40 per barrel, as Canada takes advantage of the increases in oil prices initiated by the Arab countries. An imperialist power like the U.S. has few lasting friends. Since U.S. corporations control 35% of Canada's industrial property, including its oil, Canada will take every chance it gets to strengthen its hand against the U.S. This increases the competition and rivalry among imperialist powers, weakens the imperialist camp, and will quicken its downfall.

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

WETZEL GAME





D. POLICE REPRESSION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

Black people are the victims of excessive police violence in the U.S.A. as well as in Southern Africa and the occupied territory of the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This flows out of the economic crisis of imperialism and its political defeats throughout the world. We must struggle to defend Black people wherever we are brutalized, we must unite against the rising tide of fascism.

On this question we have included the following material:

1. Documents from local struggles:
 - A. Nashville
 - B. Atlanta
 - C. Chicago
2. Fact Sheet on South Africa

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

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

December 3, 1973
Nashville, Tn.

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

As Coalition Chairperson, I would like to adress myself to two basic questions:

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

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

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

But who is it that benefits from this violence? Frantz Fanon, that great Black psychiatrist, demonstrated in his study of the Algerian revolution that the police who engage in torture also end up torture also end up torturing themselves. They have nightmares, beat their wives, and children, worry and end up leading miserable lives. Fanon pointed to the ruling class as the benefactors, the profit seeking greedy capitalists are the ones who benefit. They calmly sit in offices high off the street, live in comfortable villages like Belle Meade (a former slave holding plantation), and only have to deal with police brutality as statistics or when they go to church and discuss the ethical crisis facing the church. The ruling class is guilty of murder and not the poor slob who acts out racist terror. The cop on the block is a victim, just as we are the victims. Our enemy is the ruling class.

Who is the ruling class? We are aware of the fact that in this city there is a very high percentage of millionaires, people who own and control business or represent the large multinational corporations that control the entire United States. These are our

enemies. Who profits most from our misery? The corporate elite, the barons of industry. Who sucks the blood from our babies and sends our youth to die in wars against people who we, the people have no quarrel with? The millionaires, bankers, and factory owners. We must not fight just the representatives of the ruling class, we must identify and confront the ruling class directly. This means we must understand power.

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

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

WHAT IS THE COALITION?

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

We have two goals:

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

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

We are moving to unite the entire community for justice. Not for personal gain, not for power or prestige, but for humanity's progress--peace, freedom, and justice. We want Justice for every person - and we want to start with the most oppressed - the toiling Black masses. We want Justice and we want it now! Our program tonight is not one of sorrow but one of joy, we come not to weep but to form a militant unity of forces no corrupt police or state force can stop. WE ARE ON THE MOVE FOR JUSTICE NOW. JUSTICE NOW!

COALITION AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION
DECEMBER OFFENSIVE
NASHVILLE, TN.

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

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

We are demanding two specific things:

1. That the 4 policemen involved in the murder of Ronald Lee Joyce be suspended immediately without pay until there is a full investigation by a citizens committee;
2. That this citizens committee be formed to select the next chief of police and to investigate police brutality in general. The committee should have at least 50% Black membership selected by the Coalition Against Police Repression.

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

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

WHAT ARE OUR PLANS?

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

STEP ONE: BLACK WORKERS UNITY RALLY

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

STEP TWO: STUDENT STRIKE DAY

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

This action will have one secondary demand, saving Black colleges. Black students must be united around these demands. On Tuesday and Wednesday, the key phrase is STUDENT STRIKE. This phrase must be put on leaflets, posters, sidewalks, walls in bathrooms, on blackboards, over public address systems, and in every conversation that you have. STRIKE FOR JUSTICE! STRIKE FOR DEMOCRACY! STRIKE THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6th!

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

STEP THREE: BLACK BUTTON DAY

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

On this Button Day we must cover every work place, every major traffic intersection, every major shopping area, every major public housing project, every Black residential area and every school. The purpose of this Button Day is to heighten the consciousness

of the masses of Black people. We must work hard to convince every brother and sister that the movement for freedom and justice is a real movement. We must convince all of us that when racist madmen shoot us and hide behind a corrupt Mayor that all of us move in unity until justice is done. The death of Ronald Lee Joyce must spark us to build a movement that will force the fountains of evil to dry up under the heat of militant unity.

STEP FOUR: BLACK SUNDAY

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

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

THE ATLANTA EXPERIENCE

ATLANTA ANTI-REPRESSION COALITION

In September, 1973, the following conditions faced the Black and working class communities: 13 police killings of unarmed Blacks has occurred - a safe streets act prevented Blacks from congregating on Atlanta's streets - increased surveillance of radical groups - formation of SWAT, Decoy and Stake-out squads - LEAA makes grant of \$20 million of city to try out new fascist techniques - finance capitalists make plans to turn Atlanta into an "International City" - workers struggles in the form of strikes intensify - prices are rising - workers are forced to work overtime - lines are running at break-neck speed - plants are running away to the rural areas to get cheaper labor. This is an accurate picture of the economic and political conditions facing especially Black people in the city of Atlanta. How should we respond to this state of affairs? What was needed to halt the onslaught of repression? How to begin to fuse the mass movement? These were questions confronting those of us who wanted to bring a halt to repression in the form of police killings.

Collectively, a number of forces had come to the conclusion that we needed to take an offensive position in relation to the increased killings of Blacks by policemen. No one organization given the massive job that needed to be done could take such an offensive position against developing repression so then the logic pointed to the development of a coalition of forces and thus was formed the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition. It was instructive to have done research in the following areas:

1. Analysis of repression in the Black and white working class communities;
2. Analysis of anti-repression forces in Atlanta;
3. LEAA;
4. Atlanta Police Department;
5. Strategy for organizing coalition;
6. Economic and political basis for fascism;
7. United Front principles.

Members of the AARC include Peoples Committee to Insure Justice, Black Labor Action Committee, Commission for Racial Justice, African Liberation Support Committee, Black Workers Congress, Committee for Independent Black Politics, Metro Summit Leadership Conference, National Lawyers Guild, Workers Action Movement, Atlanta Center for Black Art, Great Speckled Bird, United Youth Adult Conference, Dixie Hills Progressive Civic Association, October League, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The initial meetings of AARC worked out the structure, general principles of unity, and the main demand of the Coalition. The principles of unity were that organizations must agree to struggle against repression and attacks against the living standards of workers. The main demand of the Coalition was formulated to be: STOP THE MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE!

To date, the AARC has been involved in massive demonstrations in front of the police station, picketing of the Fulton County Courthouse, a picket at one of the local plants (Warren Refrigerator), marches from City Hall to the police station, educational forums, numerous appearances before the old Aldermanic Police Committee and the new Public Safety Committee; appearances on several radio talk shows, involvement in community rallies and workshops, and a petitioning drive to have two cops indicted for murder. Other activities of the AARC have included production and distribution of thousands of leaflets and bumper stickers as well as the production of a monthly newsletter. The first efforts of the Coalition served to cement the core of organizations and individuals together and even though we did not attract the broad masses to our first efforts we learned the valuable lesson that the Coalition had to be a fighting organism whose purpose would be to develop the struggles in the communities where political repression is dominant and connect those to the struggle in the plant where economic repression is dominant and vice versa.

Our earlier lessons learned showed that if we wanted the masses of people to come out to a central demonstration or event then we must have ripened the struggles in specific communities and work places and rely upon the consciousness that we had developed among the masses in those areas to fuel the interest in whatever central activity we were building, letting our work (propaganda and agitation) be the motive force that would propel the masses into the arena of action. We were able to build demonstrations from 75 people to over 300 people in front of the police station which had never attracted more than 10 or 12 people to any demonstration before.

The Coalition was brought into existence to build a movement around the question of anti-repression, an objectively anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, we say that the ideology of the AARC must be anti-imperialist meaning that the AARC has the responsibility to show the relationship of the developing repression to the finance capitalists and state apparatus who actually conceive the plans of police terror and murder. AARC is reaching and educating more people, not only about police repression but about how the police are serving the interests of Atlanta's ruling classes.

Politically, the Coalition is a fighting formation and has gained a reputation as such. However, the base of the AARC must be broadened, it must attract more community organizations, more progressive worker organizations, student organizations, and any other groups or individuals that have sharp contradictions with the monopoly capitalists. One of the main political activities of the AARC is propaganda and agitation and to this end educational leaflets and the monthly newsletter are produced. The AARC has set the following as immediate political tasks; 1) broadening the base of the Coalition; 2) attracting community and labor organizations; and 3) further developing the fighting image of the Coalition.

Organizationally, we say that the AARC is a vehicle for building the unity, consciousness, and struggle of the broadest section of the forces that exist in the city of Atlanta that have sharp contradictions with the rule of monopoly capital.

During the period of the formation of the Coalition, political repression was a killer knife aimed at the heart of the Black community in the form of police terror and murder. Through all of the activities that the Coalition was engaged in such as demonstrations, rallies, petitions marches, picketing, forums, etc., it has been able to mute and mediate the intensity of police murder aimed at the Black community. Were the anti-repression forces to relax their vigilance this murder and terror would crop up again. Of that we're sure.

Now that the police repression has been muted, to keep the AARC active, it is necessary to be able to change focus from political repression to economic repression. Over the coming year AARC will probably become more active on the economic front, fighting attacks on the living standards of workers. Already, the AARC has participated in a strike when the courts issued an injunction against striking workers and against the frame-up arrest of a Warren organizer. The perspective in dealing with workers' struggles is the same as dealing with police brutality, i.e., showing the connection of what workers are going thru to the overall crisis of imperialism.

FACT SHEET ON SOUTH AFRICA PRISONS

A. Average Daily Prison Population in South Africa increased from

1958-59	49,886
1963-64	52,956
1970-71	91,000

B. From 1970-71 a total of 474,065 people were put into prison. This represented 2.3% of the total population and was 85% African and 2% white.

C. 42% of all prisoners serving up to 4 months were arrested for violating the fascist "pass book" law, nearly 2,000 daily.

D. South Africa has the highest rate of executions in the world and the number of executions is increasing. The average number of executions was 25 between 1911 and 1947; 67 between 1948 and 1966. One hundred and eighteen (118) were executed in 1968.

E. In 1969, nearly 5,000 mothers with breast-fed infants were admitted to prison.

F. We should be constantly aware that:

1. The police and prisons are tools of imperialism.
2. One case of police repression is as significant as any other--all are to be fought against.
3. ALSC is committed to the fight against police repression and for the release of political prisoners.

E. IMPEACH NIXON! DUMP THE CHUMP!

We have thr removal of Richard Nixon from the presidency as one of our major goals. The following is a model speech on this issue. More information on this issue is available from:

1. Michael Myerson, Watergate: Crime in the Suites, (1973)
2. National Campaign to Impeach Nixon
1404 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 659-1118
3. NACLA Newsletter
Special Issue on Nixon and his criminal activities
(October Issue, 1972)
NACLA
North American Congress on Latin America
P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025

WANTED: RICHARD NIXON, FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE

Two and one-half years ago Richard Nixon was resoundingly re-elected. He interpreted the election, which he bought and stole, as a mandate to continue "four more years" of murder in Indochina and Portuguese colonies in Africa, assaults on programs affecting Black people, freezing of wages, and attempts to destroy radical organizations. But even then the cracks in his patriotic suit of armour were beginning to show.

Now, two and one half years later, Richard Nixon and his gang have what Gil Scott-Heron has called "the H2O-gate blues." Most of his old buddies and fellow criminals are either in jail or on their way in a minute. But Nixon's crimes against Black people did not begin with Watergate.

From the minute that Nixon took office it was clear that his policy toward the Black community was to be one of "benign neglect". Under his administration the Justice Department has pumped millions of dollars into the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); much of that money has gone into the formation of special goon squads like STRESS in Detroit. The Justice Department has also greatly stepped up its infiltration, disruption, and repression of radical Black organizations. Nixon's Black Capitalism program has been successful in creating a new set of parasites in the Black community who are faithfully trotted out every two years to sing the praises of "free enterprise" and the Republican Party. Nixon has frozen wages. He has frozen the construction of low-income housing. About the only things he hasn't frozen are profits, and prices. He has embarked on an effort to change the welfare system into a huge forced-labor pool. He has deliberately kept unemployment (mostly Black, of course) high to "control inflation", which hasn't been controlled. He has ordered the purchase of new super-planes and super-missiles to insure the super-profits of his defense contractor buddies. He has dismantled what little of the poverty program remained. The list is endless. There are some who tell us that we should support the efforts of politicians to impeach Nixon - that when they get this "bad" president out and a "good" one in, things will be allright - again. There are others who tell us that Nixon is irrelevant - that we should ignore the mass anger and disgust that our people have and concern ourselves with other things. We must address each of these views by first examining the role of the government in America (and any capitalist country) and then examining the reasons for a mass movement to DUMP THE CHUMP.

One of the recurring exposures of the Watergate scandal has been the intimate connection between big business and politics.

Almost every week for the last six months new tales of corruption and bribery have been revealed - the Milk fund, grain deal, ITT affair, etc. But the establishment media, while expressing shock and outrage, keep insisting that all this is something new - or at least that Nixon himself is responsible for taking it too far. But these exposures are only confirmation of something that some of us have known for years: that the government of the United States is in the hip pocket of imperialist interests. Over 50 years ago, in his The State and Revolution, Lenin showed that the state (the government) of capitalist countries was nothing but the executive committee for the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie.

What this means is that in a class society like America, the government is not, and cannot be, the "impartial," "neutral," "objective," force which it claims to be. As long as there is a capitalist class, as long as there is a small group which controls

the economic power and wealth in society, it will control a mechanism to repress and/or deceive those whom they exploit. That mechanism is the state. In other words, the state cannot stand above the class struggle in a class society, it must serve one class or another.

THE RULING CLASS'S DIRECT CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT

Who runs for political office in America? Welfare recipients? Small farmers? Unemployed Black workers? Of course not. Most candidates (for important offices) are already rich - lawyers, businessmen, large stockholders. Even most Black politicians are either successful businessmen (funeral directors, etc.) or slicksters picked by businessmen to attract Black votes. So most successful politicians represent the interests of the "business community" first because they are members of that community, whether its Eastland of Mississippi, Kennedy of Massachusetts, or the biggest of them all, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

Who holds appointed office in America? It doesn't take long to figure out that most appointed judges, federal officials, state commissioners, and ambassadors have received their appointments for one of two reasons:

The first kind of appointment is for the large political contributor or faithful political lackey who is getting paid off for funds received or services rendered. Apparently there are a lot of old businessmen who get their kicks out of being an ambassador. So they give Nixon two or three hundred thousand dollars, and he turns around and appoints them, even though they have no diplomatic experience at all! Even though Nixon has gotten caught at it, the practice is nothing new. Likewise, patronage appointments are sold as America itself; when we see Nixon's cronies like Connally, Mitchell, Stans, Chapin, and Rogers go flying in and out of the Justice, State, Treasury, and Commerce departments with no apparent credentials, don't worry - it's all part of the gravy train.

The other kind of appointment is the kind that places corporate executives and other experienced servants of the ruling class in a position to implement their master's wishes. One great example is Henry Kissinger - a long-time Rockefeller international affairs specialist. Another is William Simon.

Before William Simon was the "energy czar," he was a Wall Street czar - a multimillionaire investment banker whose business and political connections with Richard Nixon go way back. He was called in (from a job in the Treasury department) to "lead the Nation out of the energy crisis" - a situation created by the oil companies to increase their profits and power. And how did Simon find people to formulate and implement the government's policies toward the oil companies? He accepted the oil companies' generous offer to "loan" their own executives to the government for this difficult task! After all, who knows more about oil?

Nixon's Secretary of Commerce, Frederick Dent, is a South Carolina textile baron, and past president of the Textile Manufacturers Institute. How impartial is he? Whose interests does he represent? And, besides of all, every year generals and admirals "retire" into vice-presidencies of Boeing, Lockheed, and other defense contractors. There they will do business with the new generals and admirals, their life-long friends and former subordinates.

How are American election campaigns funded? If anyone didn't know before Watergate, they sure know now. Political campaigns on a federal, state, and local level are financed out of the pockets of rich candidates and their business patrons, and even (illegally) from corporation funds themselves. And the new "campaign reform" measures are no better. Under the new proposal, each taxpayer can "check off" one dollar of his taxes for a contribution to the (Democratic and Republican) election campaign. What does this do? First, it gives the appearance of "independent" campaigns and politicians by using George McGovern's phoney rap about "let's get one dollar from five million people instead of a million dollars from five people." But where did he get his money from? Secondly, the plan will have the effect of transferring some of the financial burden of the campaign to the taxpayers - to us - but of course it won't transfer any of the control of the politicians and the government. In other words, some of our tax money will stop paying for schools and health services (it sure won't come out of the defense budget), and start paying for Ted Kennedy and Ronald Reagan grinning on the T.V.

So we see that the entire government apparatus is directly tied, in a thousand obvious ways, to the interests of the imperialists. But the connection is even more powerful and more subtle than this; the connection lies in the very basis of the American government itself - the law.

THE RULING CLASS' INDIRECT CONTROL OVER GOVERNMENT

It is no news to most Black people that the "impartial" law is not impartial at all when it comes to us. The entire legal system of this country - starting with the Constitution - is designed to protect the "haves" against the "have-nots". The concern of the law is private property - not the kind of property many of us own; cars, clothes, maybe a house; but the kind of property most of us don't own: factories, land, municipal bonds. There's a big difference: someone who owns a car doesn't exploit anyone with it; it's his personal car. But what about someone who owns a car factory? Is that a personal item? No. In order to "use" his factory, the capitalist must exploit his workers (have you ever seen Henry Ford in overalls?). This kind of property ought to be public. The government of the U.S. is, and always has been, committed to the protection of this kind of property and those who own it. It is committed to the maintenance of Imperialism and its interests. This fact is important, because it means that the changing of individual politicians in office cannot fundamentally change the system.

It is true, though, that the removal of Richard Nixon will strike a blow at imperialism, because it will strengthen the confidence of the people and weaken the hypnotic hold of the ruling class' power and "invulnerability." It will show our people that we can change society by our struggle. The Democratic party politicians tell us: "We will get rid of Nixon and all our problems will be over." We say, "We will get rid of Nixon, and our struggle will just have gone one step further." They say: "Let's impeach the president." We say, "DUMP THE CHUMP!"

Richard Nixon has repeatedly said that the exposures of his gang's crimes is proof that "American democracy works." In fact, it is not proof of anything except that the crisis of imperialism is producing severe struggles within the American ruling class.

WHY WE SHOULD ACT!

What about impeachment? A number of politicians have indignantly called for Nixon's removal. Isn't impeachment their issue? Why should we get involved?

Let's look at some of these self-righteous defenders of freedom. Look at Sam Ervin, chairman of the Senate Watergate committee. Where was he during the civil rights movement, when Black people were waging a pitched battle for their freedom in his "beloved North Carolina" and all over the South? He was solidly with the segregationist forces, just as he is today. Ervin has always taken a personal interest in keeping North Carolina a low-wage, non-union state, in order to attract corporate investment to exploit the state's workers. Ervin was the one who first accepted Nixon's offer to let Mississippi's John Stennis review the incriminating tapes; apparently Ervin trusted him. He should - because both he and Stennis share a concern for freedom - the freedom of their fellow fat cats to sip mint juleps in the Southern sun and watch their "darkies" - us - work in the fields and factories.

Look at Edward Kennedy, who has been on the freedom trail to Alabama to join forces with George Wallace - a notorious freedom-lover. Kennedy - a certified liberal, has called for Nixon's removal for his transgressions against democracy and his use of executive power. We wonder if Ted remembers his brother's interest in the Bay of Pigs . . . and the Congo . . . and Israel. We wonder if he remembers his other brother's surveillance of Martin Luther King and other Black leaders. You see, Ted comes from a very liberal family.

Kennedy and the rest are not fighting Nixon because they are opposed to imperialism or to his policies. They are fighting him because they are trying to cash in on the mass sentiment against Nixon and because the financial interests they represent within the ruling class are struggling with the interests Nixon represents over the question of who will "represent" (and repress) the people of this country. It has recently been revealed that Hubert Humphrey was involved in the Milk fund scandal along with Nixon. Is he interested in demanding Nixon's removal on this charge? Daniel Inouye, the fire-breathing Hawaiian Democrat on Ervin's committee, has recently been charged with accepting illegal campaign contributions. How far can he go in punishing Nixon for the same crime?

The fact of the matter is that most, if not all, of the ruling class politicians are guilty of the same "unethical" practices as Nixon. That's how they got in office. Most, if not all, of them would have resorted to Nixon's "plumbers" and "dirty tricks" to defend their besieged class if they had only had the chance. Would these men convict Nixon of the murder of students at Jackson State or of the leaders of the Black Panther Party for which he was ultimately responsible? Would these men convict Nixon of conspiracy in his attempts to infiltrate and disrupt radical organizations? Would they convict him of criminal neglect of welfare mothers, school children, prisoners, and Vietnam veterans? Would they convict him of murder in Vietnam? Murder in Chile? Murder by American weapons in "Portuguese" Africa? Of course not! But we do! These crimes, and more, are our reasons for throwing Richard Nixon out of office.

It must be pointed out that Nixon, if removed, would only be succeeded by another imperialist politician who won't be much different. But that is no ordinary succession, like the one that takes place every four years. The rulers of this country have never been forced to throw its top representative (the president) out of office; this event would hurt their prestige, authority, and power both here and abroad. This is why we must show our anger and determination to get rid of this criminal. Throwing Nixon out is just flexing our muscles for a larger fight - but it brings the masses of the people new confidence in our power. It is one more step in the process which will teach our people the one great truth from which all else flows: Revolution is possible.

RACISM - IMPERIALISM - NO! NIXON MUST GO!

D U M P T H E C H U M P !!

F. SUPPORT THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES

For the entire history of ALSC we have given consistent support for the African Liberation Movements fighting wars of national liberation in Southern Africa and the New Republic of Guinea-Bissau. All of the literature used for these years of programs should be reviewed for information concerning the movements involved, the material conditions of the people, and the role of US imperialism

At the present time there is an Investigations Committee of the ALSC International Executive Committee that is charged with the responsibility of providing in depth information on the liberation struggles. So we will not attempt to do this in HANDBOOK #4. Any ALSC committee wanting more information on this right away can write to the Research & Development Committee or to the Investigations Committee and request it.

For immediate purposes, the following books can be read though they do contain incorrect information and must be read with a critical eye. All are easy to find paperbacks.

1. Kenneth Grundy, Guerrilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview, (1971)
2. Richard Gibson, African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles Against White Minoritary Rule, (1972)
3. William Minter, Portuguese Africa and the West, (1974)

4. AFRICAN LIBERATION FUND

I. Introduction

The African Liberation Fund is one of the most important programs of ALSC. It allows us to show our tangible, direct support for liberation movements fighting against racism and imperialism in Southern Africa and in Guinea-Bissau. The main purposes of ALF are:

1. to involve Black people in North America in the struggles for liberation in Southern Africa;
2. to provide an apparatus for on-going monetary support from our people in North America;
3. to build ALSC by demonstrating our leadership in support for liberation movements;
4. to give concrete, material assistance to the struggles in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

The purpose of this section of the HANDBOOK is to offer ways and suggestions for ALSC local committees to reach their quota of \$2,000 toward the overall goal of \$75,000. Our goal is quite realistic; but it will require serious work, and co-operation by each member of ALSC. A good style of work, along with adequate planning and implementation, are essential to the ALF (as well as all phases of ALSC work). By combining the suggestions in this handbook with hard work and your own imagination, each local committee can realize its quota and go above it.

The suggestions put forth in this HANDBOOK are designed primarily to stimulate ideas by your local members on what will work best in your area. It is suggested that these be read and discussed carefully with an eye on using two or three of them as major activities of ALF. Again, use your own initiative and imagination based on your local conditions. However, the general guidelines that relate to creditability of fund-raising and the deadlines must be followed exactly by each local committee.

II. General Guidelines on Fund-Raising

A. Maintaining Your Creditability

Many people are generally suspicious of fund-raising activities. Given the historic rip-offs this is quite understandable. Therefore, ALSC members must make a special effort to maintain the creditability of ALSC and the ALF. The following things are necessary in this regard:

1. open a separate bank account for ALF. Require two (2) or more signatures before funds can be withdrawn. This account should be separate from administrative accounts from your ALSC.
2. keep accurate records of all monies raised through ALF. Whenever possible, give receipts to donors.

3. keep all ALSC fund-raising for administrative needs separate and distinct from ALF. Remember to always stress that all ALF funds go directly to liberation movements;

4. make periodic public announcements through local radio and newspapers about the progress of ALF so that people can see the growth of the local campaign;

5. send letters of thank-you to all major contributors and to all volunteers who helped with ALF;

6. give accurate financial reports on ALF at each ALSC meeting.

B. Necessity for Proper Planning

No fund-raising project will be successful unless it is properly planned. Therefore, it is necessary to start early in your work. You cannot wait until May to begin this task. Generally, the better an activity is planned the better it will come off. In the planning process, it is necessary to examine all factors (manpower, locations, goals, materials needed, etc.), before deciding on a particular project. A small committee can be pulled together to do the initial work, but maximum involvement is needed in the implementation.

C. Proper Use of Promotional Materials

To build an ALF campaign requires real mobilization. Promotional materials are essential to this process. If people know about it they are more likely to give to it.

Whenever soliciting, always have an ample supply of materials on hand. Use the uniform materials developed by the Production and Distribution Committee. This gives a national character to the campaign and insures consistency.

The following are key ways to build the campaign through promotional materials:

1. newspaper ads--use the ALSC copy-ready ad and have it run in local Black newspapers.
2. posters--these should be placed in selected places where there are a lot of people and they should be very visible.
3. selected leafleting--ALF leaflets can be used for special kinds of events and audiences. However, it is not recommended to do just mass leafleting.
4. radio public service announcement--have ALSC members and respected local leaders cut short PSA's to urge people to contribute to ALF.

IV. Suggested Fund-Raising Ideas for African Liberation Fund

A. Container type collection

Uniform containers as well as posters and leaflets should be used.

1. Street corner solicitation---A street corner solicitation is when you put as many people as possible on street corners for the sole purpose of collecting funds.

A small ad-hoc committee should be selected to co-ordinate this effort. The following things are necessary in this regard:

- a. The ad-hoc committee should develop a tentative schedule of sites and when sites will be manned.
- b. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of as many as one hundred (100) people who will volunteer to work as collectors during this effort.
- c. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of organizations, clubs, groups, etc. who will volunteer to work as a group, (ex. AKA's agree to be responsible for one intersection the entire day).
- d. The ad-hoc committee should obtain solicitors permits. One permit for the organization and then agent permits for the solicitors. Depending on city ordinances in your area, each person will need an agent permit or at least one permit per intersection. This should be checked out to avoid unnecessary problems with the police.
- e. The ad-hoc committee should plan for propaganda materials to be reproduced in large volume for that day. A good leaflet (front & back being used) with information about ALF and information about upcoming AIM events in your area. Also articles can be written to run in the paper the same week as the street corner solicitation, who is sponsoring the solicitation, what the monies will be used for and why and then encourage people to give when they see the solicitors on the streets.
- f. A person from the ad-hoc committee should be designated to periodically pick up monies at the different intersections and to be responsible for making sure solicitors don't run out of materials. This person should also co-ordinate breaks.
- g. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with the bank to make a night deposit. It is best for the ad-hoc committee to be responsible for counting and depositing monies. It is also best that the ad-hoc committee not leave monies at one person's house.
- h. The ad-hoc committee should set time and place for all solicitors to meet. At this meeting the following things should be discussed:
 - where to stand on street (on medians)
 - best time to approach cars (when light is red)
 - who will pick up monies and at what time
 - how to approach person(s) in cars
 - co-ordination of car pools to different intersections
 - who will carry solicitor's permit, if not everyone
 - instructions on what to say and do if approached by police.

2. Concert Collection--A concert collection is when you get as many people as possible to help pass collection containers through the audience of a major star's performance for the sole purpose of collecting funds. Because of the limited time it is not a good idea to try to pass out leaflets.

Depending on the frequency of entertainers to your city, this planning might need to be done at least eight weeks before projected date.

A small ad-hoc committee should be selected to co-ordinate this effort. The following things are necessary in this regard:

- a. The ad-hoc committee should try to find someone who has contact with the entertainment circle (stars, promoters, agents, etc.), to help them in the initial contact efforts.
- b. If ad-hoc committee was unable to find contact person, a letter should be written to promoter(s) requesting information on who will be in town and your reasons for asking. Your letter should spell out very precisely what you are requesting and be sure to give background information. Request an appointment to further discuss your request. Your local committee may wish to use a recognized figure in the community to sign your letter so as to add legitimacy to your request.
- c. Follow this letter up with a phone call if you have not heard from the promoter within three days.
- d. If ad-hoc committee was able to find contact person, ask that individual to set up appointment for you with promoter, entertainer, agent, etc. Be sure to explain your request to him/her first. Remember, he/she will have to explain briefly your request to the person you are wanting an audience with. Sell contact person on your request, make sure they see the necessity of your efforts.
- e. Once permission is obtained (from promoter as well as star) the following steps are necessary for the effort:
 1. The ad-hoc committee should develop a tentative list of as many as one hundred (100) people who will volunteer to work as collectors during this effort.
 2. The ad-hoc committee should develop a list of organizations, clubs, groups, etc., who will volunteer to work as a group.
 3. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with the bank to make a night deposit. It is best for the ad-hoc committee to count and deposit all monies and never to place the money in someone's home overnight.
 4. The ad-hoc committee should arrange with promoter the time, and method for announcing to audience what is happening. Also the promoter should give time he will let collectors into door and whether they can remain for the rest of the performance.

5. The ad-hoc committee should set time and place for all collectors to meet. At this meeting the following things should be discussed:

- where to stand in auditorium (ad-hoc committee should be familiar with building)
- time to meet (group should go in together wearing uniform identification badges or arm bands)
- where to meet after collection process is over.

3. Stationary Collection---Stationary container collection is when closed containers with open slots are placed in strategic locations throughout the community that will afford frequent, if not daily contributions.

The Houston ALSC has found this method of collection futile for a number of reasons. First, the majority of store owners aren't able to watch containers against theft. Secondly, too much time and energy was spent running back to the spot checking on containers and usually store counters aren't large enough for containers with self-explanatory literature or posters. Thirdly, energies spent heavily outweighed monies received. Finally, store owners didn't want containers with money on display.

However, if an ALSC committee should decide to try this method the following steps should be taken:

- a. Have small ad-hoc committee develop a list of sites to places containers.
- b. Uniform containers should be used as well as a uniform poster for each site. If room is available leave leaflets about ALM.
- c. Check daily or every other day location sites to either empty containers or replace materials.
- d. A record of how much was collected from each container.

4. Community Event Solicitation--A community event solicitation is where a group of individuals go to events happening in the community to make a special appeal to the audiences of these events to give to ALF and to pass out materials on ALM.

Even though these collections may be small these small efforts will help push AIM plus build toward ALF goals.

The following steps should be taken in this regard:

- a. A small ad-hoc committee should select events happening in the community to attend. Reading local papers and listening to local radio stations will help give insight into the various events in the city, (ex. community forums, mass public meetings, campus speakers, conventions, etc.).

b. The ad-hoc committee should try to make contact with organization's leadership or whatever person is sponsoring program to see if someone from your local committee can briefly speak about ALF or if one of the speakers or host/hostess will speak on ALF and announce to people that you are in the audience requesting contributions and would be willing to talk in more detail with anyone. (Experience has shown that generally people not really familiar with ALF do a poor job of explaining and convincing people to give). In any case, person or persons should arrive at these events in plenty of time for early arrivals. This will allow you to set up your display, assess the size of the place and assess the people as they come in. Arriving early may give you a chance to talk to some of the people and possibly recruit them as volunteers to work with ALF and/or ALM.

B. Massive Mail-out Appeal--A massive mail-out appeal is when a written appeal is made to people announcing ALF and requesting a contribution from them. This should be done early in the campaign.

One person could possibly handle the co-ordination of this effort. The co-ordinator should compile names and addresses of individuals who members, friends, and supporters feel would be responsive to their cause. This list can be as large or as small as the group wants it to be. The committee would have to take into account the group's ability to acquire paper, stamps, envelopes, etc.

Also, the co-ordinator should do the following in regard to this effort:

1. The co-ordinator should set deadline date for letters to be in the mail.
2. The co-ordinator should get letter written, typed and duplicated to be used in mail-out. The letter should include:
 - a. an explanation of ALF
 - b. announcement of ALM
 - c. request for their participation in ALF and ALM
 - d. explanation of what the money will be used for and how every cent counts
 - e. who to make check out to and where to send money, if self-addressed envelope is not sent with letter.
3. Arrange work sessions for members and volunteers.
4. The co-ordinator should make sure there is enough of the materials needed to get the mail-out done. (Always try to have more than enough stamps, staples and staplers, pens, etc., for work session). Arrange space and work so that everyone that comes to the work session can have work to do and will not have to wait until some one does something else before he or she can get to work.

5. Depending on the size of the mailing and the size of the group who will do the mail-out work the mailing can usually be completed in one major work session with individuals donating one or two hours before then.

6. Example One

a. Members and volunteers can be assigned alphabets to do during their time before the major group work session. Either at ALSC office or if mailing list can be removed from office at their homes.

b. After all the alphabets have been completed (labels done) the co-ordinate should arrange a set time for everyone to work as a group to complete the last stage of the mailing.

7. Example Two

a. Get members and volunteers to agree to come into ALSC office one or two hours before major work session to help do the alphabets (addressing labels).

b. At the first major work session be prepared for people to fold, stuff and stamp envelopes.

c. The second major work session (can be done in b. if the mail-out isn't very large), should be designed to finish letters for the mail. This might mean sorting letters for bulk-rate mail.

C. Group Donations--Group donations are when an appeal is made to groups, organizations, clubs, etc., to give to ALF.

A small ad-hoc committee could handle this effort. The following steps should be taken in regard to this effort:

1. Compile list of labor unions, civic clubs, churches, social and political groups in your area.

2. Try to match up a contact person within each group. Ask other members for contact people in these groups.

3. If there are contact persons within these groups get contact person to make the initial request that someone from your committee be allowed to speak for ALF. If contact person is a supporter or member of ALSC, it would be best if he or she made the request to the body. Remember to take ample materials about ALF and ALM in presenting yourself to the body of another group.

4. If there is not a contact person, each group should be sent a personal letter then a follow up with a visit to the leadership of each group requesting to speak to the group in behalf of ALF. Remember letter should be to the point and explain what you want and who you are.

D. Activities Sponsored by Other Groups--Small scale activities sponsored by groups such as BSU's, youth groups, community organizations, etc.

It is best to use groups that have had some kind of contact with ALSC or members of ALSC who are usually familiar with ALSC and ALF.

One person can usually handle the co-ordination of this effort. The following are some things he or she should do in this regard:

1. Develop a list of groups you would approach to sponsor an activity for ALF.
2. Make contact with group and request an audience with the entire group or program committee of that group to explain your request.
3. If the group agrees to sponsor a benefit (dances, bake sales, dinners, etc.), a member of the committee should be assigned to work with the group. It is best to do this since an outside group will be raising funds under the banner of ALF. Remember, the ALSC member is to make sure that creditability is maintained and that all funds raised for ALF are ear-marked as such.

V. Community Involvement

In keeping with the ALSC policy of struggling to build and work through an anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front, each local should attempt to organize a cross-section of groups and individuals willing to work on the programs as possible.

ALM is sponsored by ALSC but should not be carried out by ALSC alone. In the initial planning, locals may choose to call in outside supporters and volunteers to help in the planning of ALF. A special attempt should be made to make people feel ALF is their campaign as well as ALSC's campaign. Some ways to insure this are:

1. Volunteers should be given as much educational material as possible. They should be clear and understand precisely the reason for ALF. People generally work the hardest when they understand the cause.
2. Instructions should always be precise and clear so that volunteers and supporters are not guessing as to what to do.
3. Deadlines should be set around each area of work. Every attempt should be made to meet these deadlines.
4. Kinds of people to get involved:
 - A. Workers
 - B. Professionals
 - C. Students (high school and college)
 - D. Civic groups
5. It should be made clear to people that to work with ALSC does not commit them to joining the organization.

VI. Rap-Up

The African Liberation Fund is an on-going effort by the African Liberation Support Committee. ALF collections should not be abandoned after the three month intensive campaign but continued on a less intensive level. ALSC should keep apparatus for fund-raising set up at all times.

All ad-hoc committees and co-ordinators of various efforts should do follow-up to their projects. This may mean going to pick up committed donations, addressing letters to organizations, volunteers, supporters, etc.

Local committees should make public total monies raised and thank the community for their help.

All local committees are required to report to the International Office and to their regional office on the following dates:

1. March 31st
2. April 30th
3. May 31st

All monies should be in to the International Office by May 31st. A standard report form is to accompany all reports (this report form will be forwarded by the International Office to all local chapters).

1 MAY

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

WHAT IS AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH A.L.M. is a mass campaign that will be waged in May against racism and imperialism by Black people throughout North America. It is an extension of the annual African Liberation Day demonstrations which brought together over 150,000 Black people in 1972 and 1973 in support of the struggles for liberation in Africa and against exploitation and oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31	1	2	3
1925--Birthday of Malcolm X. Black Liberation fighter	1968-Louisville Black rebellion	1969-North Carolina A & T students repressed by 500 police	1926-Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters organized by A. Philip Randolph	1961-Guinea expelled the U.S. Peace Corps	1967-Miss. Highway Patrol kill 1 student at Jackson State in Jackson, Miss.	1954--U.S. Supreme Court outlaws segregation in Brown case brought by NAACP	1961-CORE organized first Freedom Rides 1965-U.S. Marines invade Santo Domingo to put down mass uprisings to overthrow U.S. puppet government. May 4th-1970- 4 U.S. National Guardsmen kill 4 Kent State students in Cambodia invasion protest.
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY

6. OUTLINE HISTORY OF ALSC

1. During the summer of 1971, Owusu Sadaukai, then director of Malcolm X Liberation University, made a trip into the liberated areas of Mozambique under the auspices of FRELIMO. During the few weeks he spent there the FRELIMO leadership spoke about the need for a world-wide movement for peace and freedom in support of African liberation struggles (like the anti-war movement).
2. A meeting of movement leaders was held in Greensboro on his return. They decided to use May 25th since the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had chosen it as World Solidarity Day with Freedom Struggles in Africa.
3. ALD-1972 was organized as a national demonstration with the major mobilization in Washington, D.C., and others in San Francisco, and Montreal. A total of 50,000 people were mobilized.
4. ALSC met in Detroit on September 30, 1972, and formulated governing principles and objectives, and also adopted a national structure. The first national officers were elected and an ALSC office was opened in Dar es Salaam.
5. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, gave a speech at Lincoln University at which time ALSC gave him a check for \$2,200.00.
6. On February 10, 1973, in Chicago, the plans for ALD-1973 were finalized:
 - A. \$2,000 goal for each committee was set;
 - B. The Goal for mobilizing would be 3% of the Black population of each state;
 - C. The theme would be "There is no peace with honor. African People are at War with Imperialism Both at Home and Abroad."
 - D. "It was agreed upon that local and state committees were to extend invitations to non-white organizations (who would, or have, taken similar stands against imperialism), to participate in the demonstration under the guidelines devised by the support committee."
7. The last meeting before ALD-1973 was in Greensboro on April 28th, 1973. The decision was made to allocate 30% of the funds raised to the liberation organizations and allocate 20% later under recommendations of an investigation committee. Groups chosen were PAIGC, FRELIMO, UNITA, and the joint command of ZAPU-ZANU. It was decided to boycott Gulf Oil, all Portuguese wines, and freeze-dried coffee from Southern Africa.
8. ALD-1973, May 26th, was a great success. Over 100,000 people were mobilized and \$40,000 raised.

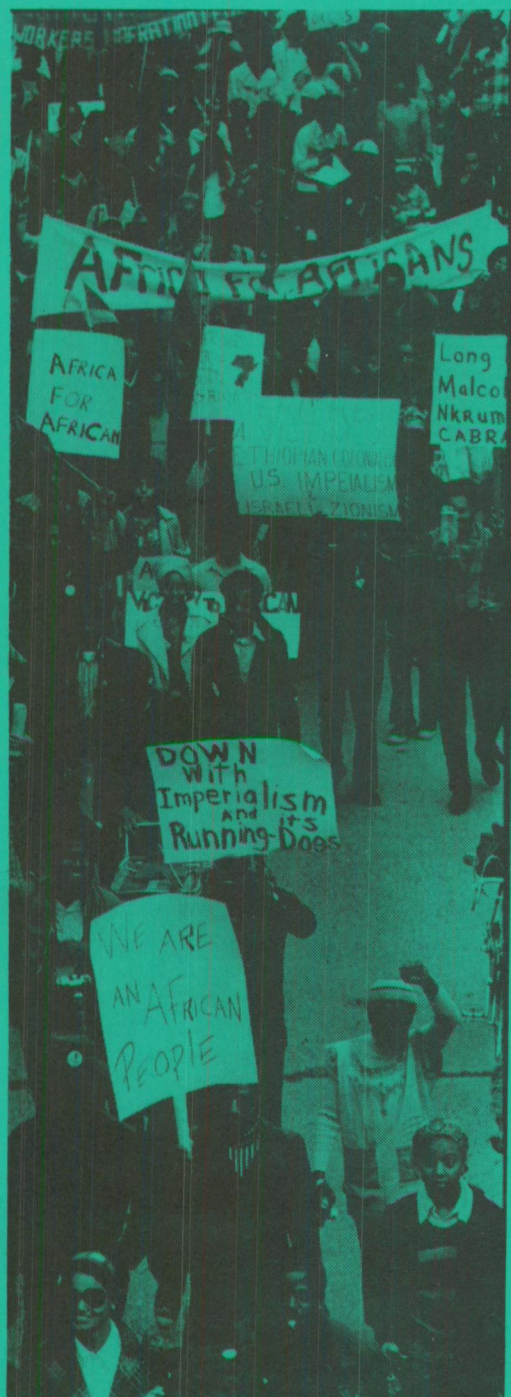
9. A national position paper was unanarously adopted at the summer steering committee meeting in Frogmore. Its summary statements are:
 - A. "The new unity of the Black liberation struggle must be anti-racit, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character;
 - B. The struggle to unite Black anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement;
 - C. Our unity must involve all social groups and class formations, but we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD."
10. The first action of the new ALSC was to launch a national program to defeat the ?Byrd Amendment." The national demonstration was on July 20th, 1973.
11. The next national program was a week of solidarity to "Defeat Portuguese Imperialism" on November 19-23rd.
12. The International Steering Committee convened February 1-3, in Greensboro, N.C. We now have 51 local committees in 27 states and 6 countries, and eleven people on the Executive Committee.
13. African Liberation Month has four basic programs:
 - A. Local Educational Forums
 - B. Local Mass Demonstration
 - C. National Conference on Racism and Imperialism
 - D. National Demonstration.
14. The African Liberation Fund for 1974 has a goal of \$75,000. All contributions are greatly needed.

IMPERIALISM NO! NIXON MUST GO! SMASH RACISM!

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!!

BUILD ALSC!

Imperialism No!



NIXON MUST GO!

SMASH RACISM!

BLACK
PEOPLE

Must be FREE

**SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH
ACTIVITIES**