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1702 EASTWOOD DRIVE  
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27106



# THE AFRICAN WORLD\*

\* Published by Student Organization for Black Unity • Post Office Box 20826 • Greensboro, N. C. 27420

VOLUME II, NO.2

SATURDAY OCTOBER 30, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS



H. RAP BROWN

## Showdown on Black Schools

SOBU NEWS SERVICE  
RALEIGH, N. C.- A showdown is drawing near on the question of survival of Black schools in the state. With the NC state legislature beginning debate this week on a proposed plan for 'reorganization' of higher education, that issue has been thrown dead into the center of the arena of activity.

Black students in the state, spurred on by the recently organized North Carolina Youth Organization for Black Unity, presented one of the first totally conceptualized and collective positions on the question of the future of Black schools here last week in a press conference announcing the declaration of this past Monday as "Black Monday." They called for mass Black demonstrations at the state capital to show concern for the future of their schools.

The higher education bill presented to the legislature, which is meeting in special session, has been clouded by a barrage of wordy debate around big-word issues, they pointed out.

However, said the group, re-

presenting students and community persons at the five state run predominantly Black institutions, in their eyes the whole question of restructuring as it related to Black schools was simply one of "survival or destruction."

Specifically, their contention was that rather than in any way speaking to the unique needs of their institutions, the new draft would 'insure the speedy death' of their schools.

While the Black schools questions has often been couched only in terms of a bland and simplified racial position--we don't want no crackers at our school--the points emphasized by the group had more depth, giving some kind of substance to the position.

Moreover, their specifics were strongly substantiated by the presence and testimony of Harold Johnson, student body president at the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore (formerly Maryland state university). Johnson's state underwent a similar restructuring two

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## Man Wounded in N.Y. Shootout

# H. Rap Brown's Arrest Claimed

SOBU NEWS SERVICE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. - The question of the whereabouts of H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has again come to the fore with the arrest last week of a Black man wounded here during the alleged hold up of a bar and crap game.

In the wake of what was described as a police-robbers shootout, New York city police commissioner Patrick Murphy announced that a Black man wounded in the affair had been identified as H. Rap Brown. He said the identification was based on fingerprints taken and analyzed by three different 'experts.'

The brother, who identifies himself as Roy Williams, is said to have been shot on an apartment building roof as he aimed a .357 magnum at police officers. He was wounded twice in the stomach (yet walked to a police car). After being taken to Roosevelt hospital in critical condition, he was operated on and, upon recuperation, arraigned at bedside by a criminal court judge on charges of robbery and attempted murder. Bail was first set at \$250,000 but later reduced to \$50,000.

Also alleged to have been captured in the holdup and subsequently charged with homicide, robbery and possession of a dangerous weapon were Arthur Perry, 25; Sam Petty, 23; and Levira 'El Rico' Valentine, 24. Police at first reported that three other men had been involved, but have since dropped that line.

Such inconsistencies of police reports also extended into not only the events which actually took place (as could be expected) but also as to whether or not it is really The Rap. Conflicting statements have attributed some policemen with knowing right away it was he, others with having been tipped off by one of the other three men, and still others with knowing nothing until finger prints were taken.

Atty. William Kunstler, who has in the past acted as an attorney for H. Rap Brown, viewed the wounded man from 20 ft. away and said he could make no positive identification. No further clarification came either from Rap's wife Lynn, his brother or Haywood Burns of the national council of Black

Lawyers.

Kunstler later said he was going to hire a private physician someone who knew Brown, to make an identification. "The hair is closely cropped and there's a beard. It's a different looking person," he told newsmen.

Police officials are of course hoping that they have captured H. Rap Brown, who has been missing since an explosion in Bel Air, Md. demolished the car in which he was supposed to have been riding, killing two companions, Ralph Featherstone and William Che Payne.

Since that March, 1970 incident, Rap Brown has not been

seen publicly and has been, by many, presumed dead. Others have maintained that he was either in exile or underground. FBI sources have placed him in at least 11 different locations, including reports this week by police in St. Louis that he had brothers who had been arrested in conjunction with the hold up.

There have been the usual reactions by questionable Black 'leaders,' among the Roy Innis, who said that if the real Rap Brown had in fact been the man captured in the robbery attempt, it was a "monumental dumb stunt."

(Cont'd. on pg. 11)



MIRIAM MAKEBA, THE QUEEN OF AFRICAN SONG, HAS BEGUN a tour of performances in this country, following uncalled for harrassment by U. S. officials which delayed her entrance into the country. Having opened in Pittsburgh, Pa., she is also scheduled to make appearances in Washington, D. C., NewArk, N. J., Chicago, Ill., Detroit, Mich., and Greensboro, N. C., among many other places, bringing with her a powerful musical message of the African Revolution.



## Two Blacks Killed

## Shooting in Memphis Sparks Black Revolt

SOBU NEWS SERVICE  
MEMPHIS, TENN. - Memphis has been trying to whitewash its reputation here ever since James Earl Ray allegedly shot Martin Luther King, Jr. in April, 1968. That snow job melted this past week following the police murder of a 17-year-old Black youth.

The snow job went right up to the first few days after the death of 17 year old Elton Hayes, who, according to first police reports, was killed when the truck in which he and two other young brothers were fleeing from police at a high speed crashed. Then, following medical examinations, it was revealed instead that young Bro. Hayes had been beaten to death.

This announcement set off Black rebellion throughout the city, resulting in over 100 arrests and two shootings, despite efforts by a cross section of Black community leaders, including musician Isaac Hayes, to pacify Black unrest.

Twenty-three policemen, including 2 inspectors, a captain and two lieutenants, have all been 'relieved' of their duties. (This is not to be confused with

suspension, for the men are still on the force and still receiving full pay. Thus it is more like a brief vacation.)

The Shelby county district attorney, Phil M. Canale, has assured people that indictments will be made against all persons involved, but, coming in the wake of demonstrations, it too, like the 'relieving' of the officers, is taken by many Black community residents here as more of a pacification move than a genuine promise.

Isaac Hayes himself, said that although he did for one night go throughout the community urging calmness, he would not do it again unless new developments led him to believe that the police and city officials were just as serious. "Otherwise," said Hayes, "I'd be a Judas."

Along with Elton Hayes in that truck were George E. Barnes, 15 and Calvin McKissack, 14. Bro. Barnes said from the beginning that there had in fact been no accident (Newsmen noted not a single dent on the truck). Instead, he said, accusations that there had been a chase at 100 miles per hour and

that he, the driver of the truck, had sideswiped a police car, were all lies.

What happened, said Bro. Barnes, was that when the police halted the truck, the young brothers were pulled from the car and beaten with billy clubs. He said a large contingent of policemen were quickly on the scene and for a time he felt they would all either be shot or beaten to death.

"After the beating started, Bro. Barnes recalled, "I grabbed my head and they began poking me in the ribs with their sticks, I could see policemen on their knees in the ditch swinging their sticks up in the air, but I couldn't see who they were. Then they knocked me down and started kicking me in the side and the stomach."

Bro. McKissack also appeared in county offices, his head shaven and clearly visible lumps showing in several places.

As last weekend began, recent reports said that tensions had returned to a high point following the reported death of a Black child beneath the wheels of an unmarked police car.



Wherever  
we may be.

## Things Haven't Changed

WEST POINT, MISS. (SOBU)- Things have not changed much in the deep South. It is still no crime to kill a Black man. To prove it, an all-white jury of nine men and three women this month freed a white man who shot and killed a prominent Black freedom fighter here last year. Acquitted was Seth Stanley, a white factory worker, who shot John Thomas in August, 1970 in the parking lot of a local store.

The jury deliberated only one hour before rendering the verdict on murderer of the man who had worked unsuccessfully for the mayoral victory of Black activist John Buffington last year.

Buffington, Thomas and three other brothers had been accused 8 months earlier of bombing the Clay County Courthouse, but a grand jury had refused to indict them. It seems as if when all else failed, local white terrorists turned to the old maxim--the only good nigger is a dead nigger.

## Nigeria Exposes Hypocrisy

KADUNA, NIGERIA (AWA)- Nigerian radio this month laid heavy criticism on the hypocritical policy of the United States government in Viet Nam. Commenting on the recent 'elections' in which incumbent puppet Pres. Thieu received an alleged 94 per cent vote of confidence, the Nigerians said that it had not been unmarked by violence, as a reported 29 persons were killed on election day.

Calling America "the maker and unmaker of governments in Saigon," the radio announcement pointed out that the US had supported Thieu by resuming bombing of North Viet Nam, and also discouraging Saigon generals from staging a coup, threatening to cut off U. S. aid if such was done.

"It is ironical," said the statement, "how the US that is said to be committed to troop withdrawals and a return to peace to this war-torn country, would foster such an unpopular figure to the Vietnamese people. This only portrays America's insincerity in its pronouncements regarding efforts and plans toward the restoration of peace to Vietnam."

## Unemployment Rises

WASHINGTON, D.C. (SOBU) - Unemployment in urban Black communities across the country again rose over the past 3 months, hitting a high of over 14 per cent, two and a half times larger than that of whites. Among Black youths under 21, it was almost 40 per cent.

The Bureau of Labor statistics made the announcement, and also another saying that it would no longer release the figures, on the excuse that it would take them until sometime in 1973 to adjust their operational base from the 1960 to 1970 census data. This move was seen as more of a political move to eradicate such volatile information from the 1972 elections campaigns than to do some badly needed readjustment of figures.

On a national level--that is, in both rural and urban settings--Black unemployment rose to 10.5 per cent, still almost double that of whites. Between July and August, Black urban unemployment rose from 11.9 per cent to 14.1 per cent.



BLACK VIET NAM VETERANS TESTIFYING IN CHICAGO, ILL. RECENTLY, UNVEILED TO U. S. senators that unemployment among Black returning vets is almost twice as high as that among whites. Arthur Davenport (C.), head of the Gary (Ind.) Veterans Committee pointed out that although his city has 38 per cent of the work force unemployed, the federal government's Emergency Employment Act has thus far provided only 41 jobs. Davenport called for immediate action.

## African, Chinese Workers Outdo American Road Building Efforts

DAR ES SALAAM, TAN. (SOBU)- A spirit of the people much greater than US technology is on the brink of causing America a most embarrassing situation. The Tanzanian government recently announced here that the 1,056 mile Tanzania to Zambia rail link, the TanZam railway, was far ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, a group of Dixie contractors over here to build a 146 mile stretch of road have yet to finish a job begun over two years ago.

The railway should be completed ahead of schedule, said a Tanzanian official, because of the quantity and quality of work being done.

The Chinese experts advising on the road's progress have clearly shown their superior ability. For example, the boring of a tunnel which western 'experts' said would take two years, was completed in just 6 months.

All in all, some 300 miles of railroad should be completed this year, just close to only 13 months after the original construction began.

Meanwhile, the American teams of Durham, N. C. contractor Nello Teer has been working on half that much highway for twice as long and still made little progress. Persons on the scene have humorously remarked that if the Americans don't get on the move, the Chinese will easily overtake them, and they will have to "ride out of here on the Chinese railway."

The problems are being caused because Teer's firm and the U. S. Aid for International Development (AID) program agreed on the cheapest possible design for the road, a design which--like that of most federally drawn up plans for Black people--has simply not worked.

Americans are still trying to

hold on to a little racism, as evidenced by the remark made by one US official who told a Newsweek magazine reporter, "I'd like to see us beat the Chinese on this job. But we were doomed from the start. This road couldn't have been worse if it was designed by Mao himself."

Such nonsensical and childish remarks will, in the final analysis, make laughter only for Chairman Mao, however, because according to the agreement, the government of Tanzania, which has already given the yankees a four month extension, will, in the event that the first stretch of road is not completed by Dec. 31, be able to collect \$3,000 per day from the delinquent Americans.

Chairman Mao will laugh last and best.

**Ujamaa**



**Mwaanga Speaks at U.N.****'South Africa is Desperate'-- Zambia**

**SOBU NEWS SERVICE**  
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. - South Africa's recent incursion into Zambia from the Caprivi strip has been labeled a sign of desperation on the part of the apartheidists to initiate hostilities between the countries.

In several sessions here, H. E. Vernon J. Mwaanga, Zambia's ambassador to the UN, said South Africa's moves represented a new and more desperate move, denoting the failure by the South Africans to create political disunity within Zambia. He also added that it showed that the pressure of internal fighting by guerrillas was "tightening the screws" on the settler regime of Balthazar Vorster.

The ambassador pointed to no less than 25 similar incidents where South Africans had violated Zambia's territorial borders, with airplanes and foot soldiers and in some instances even kidnapping Zambian citizens.

"In addition to the violations I have already tabulated," he told an emergency meeting of the Security Council, "it is important for me to state that South Africa has been interfering in our internal affairs by, among other things, financing reactionary political parties inside Zambia with a view to destroying the unity of the Zambian people."

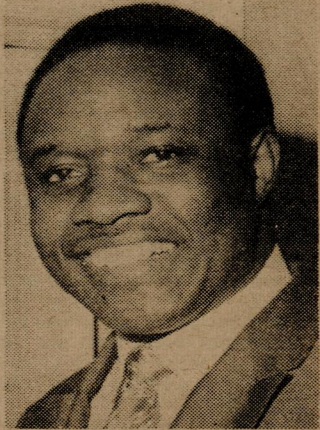
"However," Mwaanga went on, "having lamentably failed, it has now embarked on a program of direct military action against Zambia in hope that it can influence the policies of the government."

The latest incident involving the two countries had occurred last month when South African forces reportedly crossed into Zambia, allegedly in pursuit of freedom fighters whose land mines had killed one South African officer and wounded four others in the Caprivi Strip of Namibia (South West Africa). South Africa occupies Namibia illegally, and has extended her rule there. It claims that Namibian freedom fighters use Zambia as a sanctuary.

The security council meeting had been called by Mwaanga after having received the

unanimous support of the African group at the UN. The group sent a collective letter to the president of the security council.

While Vorster had at first reported the invasions of Zambia and then later denied it, Mwaanga disclosed that, in addition to reliable press reports to the effect that Vorster had said his forces had illegally entered Zambia, very reliable diplomatic sources confirmed that Vorster had on an



AMB. VERNON MWAANGA

earlier occasions specifically mentioned Zambia as the country to have been penetrated.

South Africa has been involved in a new initiative for dialogue with Africa. Her intention is to change her image,

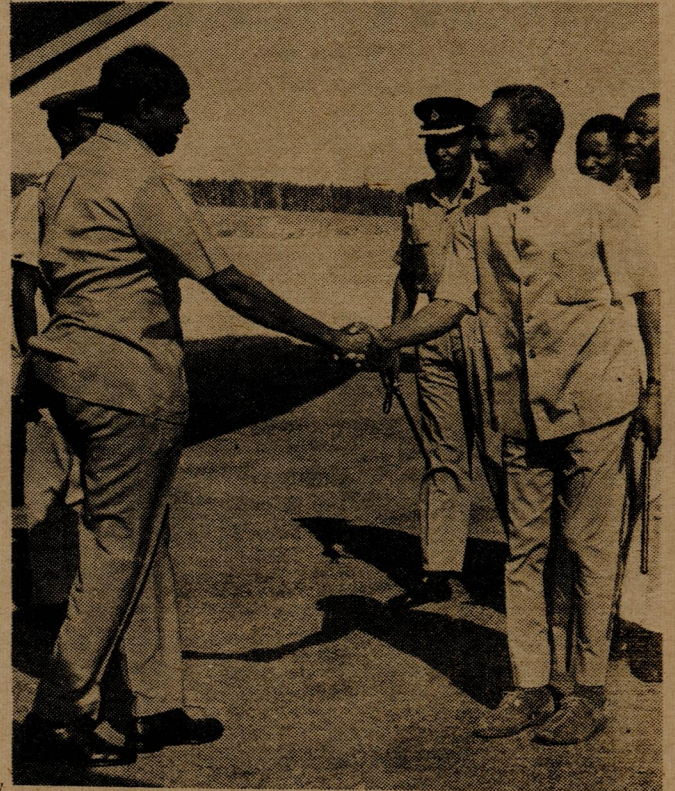
but not her apartheid. Zambia has maintained that she does not serve as a sanctuary for the freedom fighters inside Namibia.

"In our view," said Mwaanga, "the conflict is first one of color; and secondly one of religious fanaticism . . . based on certain misconceptions about the nature of man," referring to the diabolical apartheid system.

"Fear of competition from the Black majority felt by the poor whites of South Africa and Namibia," he added, "referring to the plight of the white settlers, 'was the main reason for the discrimination and apartheid; but since then it has turned into a ruthless struggle for the survival of the white race in Southern Africa.'"

South Africa's motif behind invading Zambia is not hard to find. Along with Tanzania, Zambia stands on the frontier of Africa's bold anti-apartheid stand. Toppling Zambia would open the gate to Tanzania. And with Idi Amin running virtually berserk in Uganda, this would totally place the entire Southern half of the continent under imperialist South African control, thus rendering a heavy blow to all the progressive forces of Africa.

Noting the graveness of this situation, Damantang Kamara, foreign minister of the Republic of Guinea, recalled how his country had defeated imperialist Portuguese invaders last



ZAMBIA'S HEAD OF STATE PRES. KENNETH D. KAUNDA (L.) has joined with Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere (R.) in opposing South African apartheid and aggression. The two men's countries complement each other. Thus South African aggression against Zambia threatens Tanzania (T.I.S.) photo.

year and called for a similar "resounding defeat" by the people of Zambia of any South African aggression.

**State Terrorism Used to Discourage Revolt**

**SOBU NEWS SERVICE**

We are presently witnessing violent acts of state terror in America. The thinly hidden murders of George L. Jackson and the freedom fighters of Attica prison are recent examples of the state's attempts to spread a psychology of fear among Black people and other oppressed ethnic groups who are demanding power and freedom.

Since the establishment of American government some 200 years ago, the state apparatus

has been used as the instrument of perpetuating the reign of the white ruling class. The setting up of the American state itself was simply an admission by the "founding fathers" that there were certain contradictions and antagonisms found in American society which needed to be regulated and institutionalized, not eradicated.

The racial and economic contradictions of American society were recognized from the very beginning as irreconcilable but necessary antagonisms, that

had the potential of consuming early American capitalism in a massive uprising by its victims. So in order to insure the smooth functioning of its racial and economic oppression America's white ruling class set up a force, based on the Constitution, to moderate the conflicting racial and economic groups, and keep them within the bounds of "law and order."

This force which was called into being by the white ruling class, but placed over the entire society and given supreme power over the life and death of the oppressor group's victims is the state, the government. It is very important to understand that the state is not called into being to reconcile or solve antagonisms but rather to institutionalize and regulate them.

The state, then, is simply the ruling class's organ for legitimatizing and enforcing its oppressive rule. Thus, we can understand clearly the Reagan-Nixon-Rockefeller conspiracy in the recent murders at San Quentin and Attica.

The rising tide of revolutionary consciousness among Black people and other oppressed ethnic groups in America represents points of antagonism which thus far fall outside the government's attempts to moderate and institutionalize them; the despite Black capitalism and Black electoral politics.

On the repressive side of the white rulers' state apparatus are the armed police forces, court systems, and prisons. These institutions which all operate in the name of the "people" are merely appendages to the state apparatus and are designed to protect the "law and order" necessary for continued racial and economic domination in America.

The police forces, courts, and prisons represent the "legiti-

mate" organs of violence of the government. They are called in to action when (or even before) Black people grow tired of their oppressive and marginal existence in America and strike out for freedom. Thus, we can understand the large proportion of Black people who fall victims to America's police, courts, and jails.

In the ideal situation for the state, these institutions would serve as the final recourse for suppression and containment. But these are not ideal times.

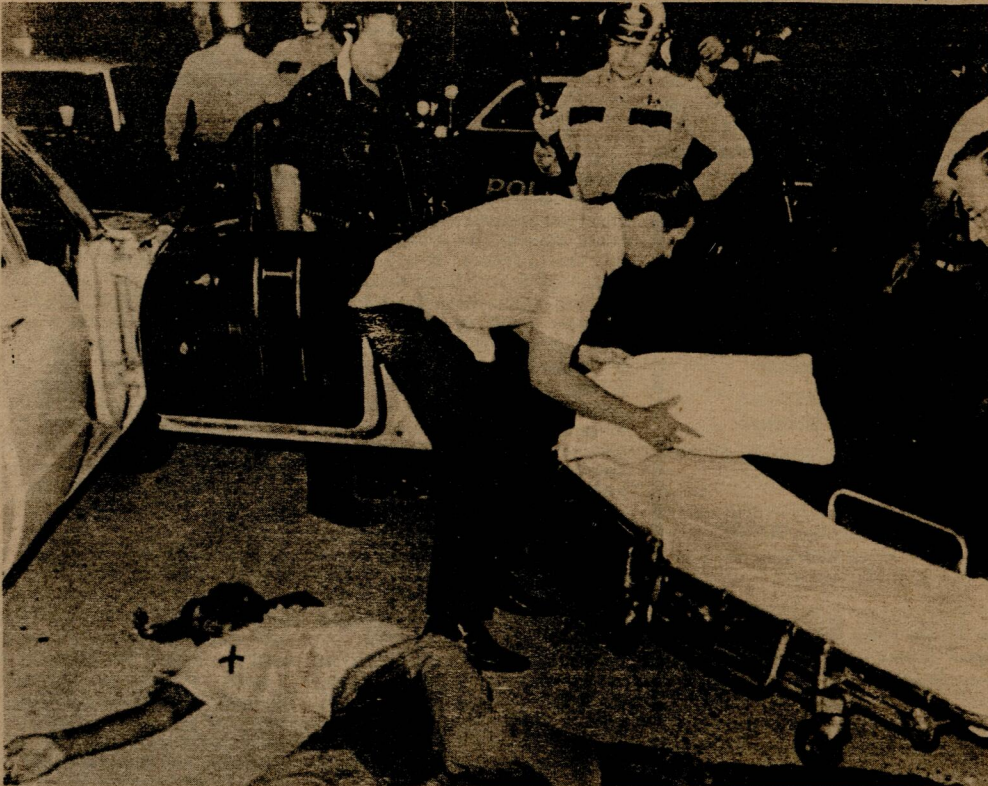
The forces of Black liberation have succeeded in exposing the military role of the police forces, the "legal" lynching of the court systems, and the political nature of the prison systems. It is this phenomenon, the attacks by Black people and other oppressed ethnic groups upon the state's last "legal" organs of oppression that is forcing the Reagan-Nixon-Rockefeller ruling clique to show their true colors and use state terrorism.

State terror is a natural phenomenon which is called into being when oppressed people succeed in calling into question the regulatory and containment organs of the ruling class. It is designed to operate on basically two levels.

The first level, of course, is the physical annihilation of revolutionary leaders, i. e., the murder of George L. Jackson and the freedom fighters at Attica. These murders are distinguished from those of other Black revolutionaries because the state makes no pretense to mystification as to the cause, e. g., Malcolm X who was supposedly a victim of Black militant infighting, or M. L. King supposedly killed by one white man in an individual racist act.

The recent murders are dif-

(Cont'd. on pg. 5)



STATE TERRORISM MANIFESTS ITSELF IN MANY WAYS, AMONG THEM VIOLENT REPRESSION of any kinds of uprisings which accentuate the antagonisms of the society. One favored tactic is the murder of the uprisers, in this instance a Black man in Chattanooga, Tenn., murdered by the state's militia men (the police) for allegedly throwing a brick during a street rebellion.



## Don't Be Confused

In the clamor that surrounded the question of who would be Richard Nixon's nominees to fill the two vacancies on the U. S. supreme court, a very disturbing thought from the liberal left was echoed by several prominent persons in the Black community, who argued for naming a woman to the court just to have a woman. This brought to mind the need to again clarify the identity crisis which is creeping throughout the movement today.

Advocates of this position, in its classic sense, claim that women have a unique outlook and are, for some reasons or other, prone to be progressive in a certain kind of way. We would hope that Black people are not hung up in this.

For example, Nixon in fact mentioned two women--both white. Yet one of these persons was the one who had helped to author the notorious Washington, D. C. anti-crime bill, famed for its fascist 'no-knock' law.

Then there have also been several other historical realities which call in question the idea of simply organizing around womanhood. Lurleen Wallace (may she rest in peace) who followed her husband George as Governor of Alabama, was no less racist than he. Martha Mitchell, wife of attorney general John Mitchell is more outspoken fascist than he. In the Middle East, Israeli Zionists use women to perform torture on Palestinian freedom fighters. It is quite questionable whether or not the torture they inflict is any less brutal or more progressive or possessing any kind of keen revolutionary insight than that inflicted by male Zionist soldiers.

The challenge to us as Black people is to place all of the problems we face in the proper perspective and then solve them accordingly. A people moving towards revolution cannot afford, it is true, to be hung up on outdated, antiquated 10 steps and 4,000 years behind ideas about 'the woman's place.' But nor can we lose track of the national and political character of our struggle. There is a little difference between a woman capitalist and a male capitalist, they are both capitalists. By the same token, a male Pan-Africanist and a female Pan-Africanist are both Pan-Africanists.

Female chauvanism becomes just as ridiculous as male chauvanism and in the final analysis, it will be a question of work, necessity and struggle--not shallow theory or outdated tradition---that will bring to end the oppression of the African woman.



## THE STRUGGLE IN PERSPECTIVE

by NELSON N. JOHNSON  
SOBU National Chairman

### *The Necessity for Socialism*

The call for Pan-Africanism has always been driven on by the need to properly develop the vast mineral resources of the African homeland. The need for this to be done under a socialist system is mandatory when we consider two important realities.

The system of capitalism has built into it a great quest for constant production or resources and continually seeks to extract profit for its believers--the capitalists. A constant supply of resources is in fact mandatory to the capitalist, who, without it, labor and a market, cannot go on.

Capitalism places the control of the means of exploiting these resources in the hands of a small number of people who never see the resources in relationship to the way in which they might benefit peoples' lives but always only in terms of a means toward more profit.

The capitalist does not care about such things as mineral waste, ecologically unsafe methods (such as strip mining) and the like. A clear example of this, for instances, is the past two years of ecological demonstrations in this country where white capitalists have said very plainly, that when it comes to either closing down factories, improving methods or saving resources, they would rather just move ahead in the name of progress.

Should the various African states be controlled by capitalists, the same kind of mineral depletion would be carried out. There would be no collective decision, for example, about the way in which one country's bauxite would be used. It would simply be mined and put to use to produce whatever was going 'on the market.' The market is, of course, determined and controlled by none other than the capitalist.

Now then--and this becomes our second consideration--when it is understood that very few African states as they now

exist are in themselves economically viable, we can understand the double danger of capitalism. Having the exploitation of their resources done only along lines that will 'make it' on the world market, we see ourselves opening up the door for outright robbery.

An entire forest in Nigeria, for example, could be readily wiped out almost overnight to provide fine woods for expensive aristocratic styled furniture made in, by and for Europeans, while at the same time African people in various parts of the country's interior still were forced to live in mud huts and later found their top soil washed away by the erosion which followed the forest's destruction.

In short, the needs of Africa's people would always be subordinate to those of 'the world market,' which is of course a capitalist market.

The only social phenomenon which could prosper in such a situation would be not the entire people, but rather a handful of local entrepreneurs who then would become the middlemen for such a vulturistic operation.

Needless to say there is also the question of competition, of African countries producing the same goods, using up the same resources in a mad dog fight to win the favors of 'the market.'

Not only would we lose out in the realm of material benefits, but also as regards the question of capital accumulated from the values of the products. All of these monies would

be lost. The lion's share would be split quite unevenly, with the majority going to the capitalists, the small portion to his henchmen and middlemen, and the crumbs to the African people. We would be forever dependent on the capitalist for investment monies with which to raise the industrial, military and other related levels of our people--- those at home and those abroad.

Efforts towards self-reliance which are going on among various progressive nations are a step in the right direction, as are also the regional groupings along economic lines which have developed throughout the continent.

Yet there remains the need for an underlying socialist outlook which would emphasize that without mechanisms to insure that unless the mineral wealth of a land--economic and material--is used to the good of its people, African 'control' is meaningless.

Under a continental program of this sort, Africa could be very strong internally. No nation in itself produces the minerals to provide for its people totally, but together, they can provide for just about the entire world. Yet if they are dictated by the values of capitalism, only profit--never progress--matters.

Of course this socialist goal will not be effected without great effort, for there are many, many obstacles on the continent--tribalism, language, lack

(Cont'd. on pg. 5)

## Words From Our Readers:

### *Black Radio Can Be Powerful*

Dear Brother:

I want to congratulate you on your article "Black Radio Must Serve the Community" in The African World (Oct. 2, 1971). It has been my feeling for years that the "Soul" Stations must program to the Black audience. I don't mean by just playing soul music and talking jive. I mean we must get rid of the commercials that are degrading to us as Black citizens. It was beautiful to see the young people get out and demand better programming and hiring policies. The day has gone that one station owner in Ohio said about Black people to a Black announcer "All your people want is a little gospel in the morning and bam-bam-bam all day."

The National Association of Television and radio Announcers (N.A.T.R.A.) has new officers and a new board. This is an organization of Black announcers. They can do something to get people behind them. A lot of times the disc jockey wants to do something but just like other Blacks, he's an economic

slave.

It may take the masses boycotting the radio sponsors to get something done but it is needed...remember the disc jockey can be more important than the preacher, politician, teacher or what have you. By the way, the term Black Radio should be soul radio. Blacks only own ten stations in this country but there are over two hundred stations beaming to the Black community. Demonstrations that happened in Greensboro, N. C. should happen all across the country.

Sincerely,  
Frank E. Halfacre  
Frankie "Mr. Lucky" Halfacre

\*\*\*\*\*  
"Our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures. African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that society, and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if as a crucial one." - Kwame Nkrumah



**THE AFRICAN  
WORLD\***

Published bi-weekly by the Student Organization for Black Unity, a non-profit organization. Post Office Box 20826, Greensboro, North Carolina 27420. Telephone (919) 273-1797.

Subscription rates: \$3.25 per year (26 issues) in U.S. Add one dollar for Canada, Caribbean and South America; two dollars for Africa, Europe and Asia (surface mail). Special bulk and air mail rates to places outside the United States are available on request.

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*The truly African revolutionary press must aid in the defeat of imperialism and neo-colonialism, hailing those who advance the revolution and exposing those who retard it. We do not believe there are necessarily two sides to every question: we see right and wrong, just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, positive and negative, friend and foe. We are partisan.*

— KWAME NKRUMAH



## French Role Exposed

# Apartheid's New Cover-Man

by Omowale Edwards  
UNITED NATIONS (AWA)- The new South Africa dialogue offensive has many faces, many plans and targets. Not only is Black Africa involved, but also many other nations of the world, including France.

In fact, French and to a lesser extent American--involvement has surfaced around both the question of dialogue as well as South African involvement in Namibia (South West Africa), where mine explosions recently hit 5 South African officers, killing one and injuring the other four.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) warned on June 30 this year in a statement to the Times of Zambia concerning a deal whereby South Africa was not only to get Mirage jets but also French technical assistance in building a plant for manufacturing, under license, French super-sonic military aircraft. SWAPO said: "Make no mistake, these aircraft will be used against Zambia, Tanzania and the liberation movements, as well as against the innocent Africans of South Africa."

The record discloses that France and a number of United States industrial giants have a vested interest in the continuance of South Africa's illegal presence in the territory of Namibia.

The Capetown daily, *Die Burger*, for example, on June 29 this year disclosed that South Africa and France would enter into a close military partnership, involving the exchange of top secret military information. The French license permitting South Africa to build Mirage jet fighters, *Die Burger* quoted a military source as saying, was "the latest in-

dication of this military partnership."

While France is providing the fascist government of South Africa with arms against African freedom, United States industrial giants are building up the fascists' economic muscle. The London Times in June reported that Nord Mining, a subsidiary of Nord Resources of New Mexico has applied for an enlargement of its concession in Namibia's Omaruru district. It already holds three concessions.

Phelps Dodge, the second largest copper producer in the U. S. applied for a concession covering a vast tract of land in the Outjo area in northern Namibia, according to the London Times. It quotes a spokesman of Tsumeb corporation (an associate of American Metals Climax) as well as Newmont as saying his organization, De Boers, holds 20 per cent and 29.5 per cent, respectively, of a mining concession at Witvlei, Namibia. U. S. Steel Corporation also owns part of the Witvlei concession.

Phelps Dodge, the London Times reported, makes a profit of \$77 million a year. Rio Tinto, a British-based organization, has a \$140 million uranium venture at Rossing.

With the kind of military and economic support South Africa is getting from its Western allies, with France playing the public role, Vorster has recently revealed that his grand strategy is the knocking together of a "African entente" made up of South Africa, France and a number of duped, bribed or bullied African independent countries.

It is being said here by some diplomats that the new French-South African deal is merely a step in a French master-

plan to make up for what they have lost in the Middle East and Asia. The joint aim is to build an alliance, both military and economic, in Southern Africa.

It would be an alliance that would include a common market, and a defense pact that would present a powerful front to any potential invader. It would be a front that only a super-power would be able to challenge with any hope of success. It would be a power base in the Southern Hemisphere that would not only be a bastion in the line of defense for the eastern World, but also for a safe, secure, White Africa.

France has been steadily promoting South Africa's interests among the former French colonies in Africa--now nominally independent--but where France still wields powerful

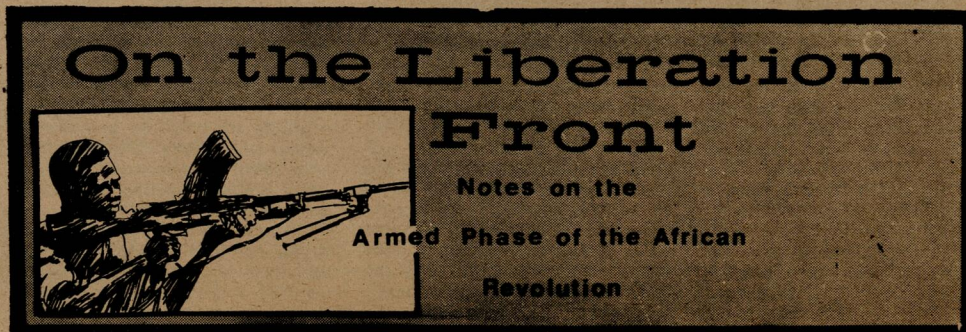
economic influence. In fact, French Ambassadors and advisors in some of the former colonies sit in the African cabinet meetings, and the Foreign minister of the Ivory Coast attended the OAU conference in Addis Ababa this year with a French advisor in the delegation. "That's nothing," one observer remarked, "the others have them but just didn't bring them."

According to Peter Young-husband writing from Capetown, France has assisted in business deals and discreet trading arrangements, and she has fostered and guided the dialogue proposals advocated by President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and others. Much of all this has gone through Paris where the two key figures have been Mr. Jacques Foccart,

President Pompidou's chief advisor on African affairs, who formerly held the same position under General DeGaulle--and South Africans Ambassador to France, Mr. A. Burger.

Mr. Foccart is the shrewd and ruthless manipulator of government and people who has for many years directed French intelligence operations in Africa. His name inspires contempt among freedom-minded Africans who have dealt with his French African Policy from Algiers to Conakry to Dialone.

This alliance of "moderate" Black states around a white power center, and a Black-white, multinational strategic and economic block built around a core of apartheid could dominate Africa if Africans are not wary and highly committed to total liberation;



## Guerrilla War in Chad: Prospects for the Future

The colonial power tries to do what it did in Sudan but in reverse, instead of it being the Moslems who try to rule as in Sudan, here in our country it is the animist Chadians they have pushed to the front of the scene; this is a convenient method that permits colonialism to survive by opposing one to the other.

But the nationalists who have a sane view of the problem must perceive that this does not work in the interest of national unity and for this reason when someone enrolls in the fighting forces he has to swear to combat all racial, religious, ethnic, tribal, regional discrimination, and it is only after having done this that he is conditionally accepted into the fighting forces.

Then, for two months, all his actions are watched to see that he understands this. Only after these two months of proof is he finally admitted.

There are possibilities that a coup d'etat may take place although this is not an auspicious period, for the very good reason that it is no longer possible to give Chad a reformist policy. The masses that have been fighting since 1966 have already gone past this stage. This is no longer the question now because there is a comparison that the fighters make.

At the beginning they blamed the present government for injustices, that they imposed too many taxes, that the administrators behaved like extortionists in imposing contributions. In comparison with the French colonial administration, this administration was unjust.

But for a reformist government this means precisely the installation of a type of gov-

ernment whose practice would be comparable to the French administration--that is, a government that is simply less unjust. Very well, but what the people now want are radical reforms that no reformist government can undertake.

There are contradictions of interest within the local government ranks; that is, since the present situation is very bad, each one tries to take care of himself, defend his interests. The people who are in power pay no attention to Chad's interests but use it only as a way to get ahead.

Chad is an African state and as such, is a member of the OAU; however, the OAU is an organization that was created under the auspices of the North Americans with a very subtle clause that says that "it is prohibited for any state to intervene in the internal affairs of its neighbor."

Thus a movement such as ours, which has to do with what are called internal affairs, causes the moderate African states to obey this formula; of course the North Americans do not respect it; because when their interests are endangered they intervene to re-establish them. This is what obstruct our struggle.

There are African countries that believe the OAU is in no way as it pretends to be, an organization of African unity, but is rather a species of body whose objectives rather aid in the defense of the interests of imperialism. We have good relations with countries that have overcome this contradiction. I cite the case of a young country which has just liberated itself, Libya, which tries to understand our problems in an objective manner. Sudan also, but it has many difficulties

because it also has internal problems.

Ideologically we are progressives because we cannot be otherwise given the level of evolution of our country, but as we say, the movement proves itself as it goes along, and I believe we will do very interesting things, very evolutionary things when we are in power.

With respect to our organization, it is structured in the following way: an executive organ, the Political Bureau, which includes ten members, among whom are the two commanders of the armed forces; below the Political Bureau is the National Council of the Revolution with 30 members, among them the ten members of the Political Bureau.

To be a member of the Political Bureau one must be a member of the National Council of the Revolution. These are the organs, the supreme bodies of the Front.

Apart from these we have important colonies of Chadians outside of Chad, in Sudan, in the Central-African Republic in Libya, in Gabon, in Niger, etc. In each one of these states cited, we have what we call the general delegate of the Front, who is frequently one of the members of the Political Bureau, and who is concerned with administrative organization, people's education, the policy of the Chad people's masses abroad.

At home, in each village we have base organizations that include the people's militias, the village committees. The people's militias are support forces for the combat forces and the people's committees

(Cont'd. on pg. 8)

## State Terrorism's Goal

(Cont'd. from pg. 3)

ferent in that the state admitted its treacherous work publicly. Ronald Reagan stood before a television camera and labeled George Jackson an "angry madman." Nixon issued a public statement from the White House that he supported fully Rockefeller's orders to murder the prisoners at Attica.

These public admissions by officials of the state are designed to operationalize the second intention of the terrorist acts: mass psychological warfare. Its intention is to demonstrate to Black people on a mass level that like the other contradictions of American society which have been successfully regulated and institutionalized, e. g. white labor unions, voting rights to youth, etc., Black people too much accept their oppressive and mar-

ginal existence or else...

This level of state terrorism which we are witnessing today in America brings with it two very clear messages for the forces of Black liberation, and Black people in general. The first of these messages demonstrates in a clear fashion the objective relation between the state and the masses of Black people. The second message these recent acts bring with them is a very educational demonstration of the futility of such regulatory efforts as Black capitalism and Black electoral politics.

The state, in publicly sanctioning the murder of Black people, is at the same time demonstrating to the Black masses that in the final analysis in relation to the white ruling class's state apparatus Black people are neither full citizens, or even three-fifths; but stand completely outside the organs of power in America.

With this fact in mind, the second message is made clear also. If the state is but a tool of the American ruling class, then the myths of Black capitalism and Black electoral politics as ultimate solutions to the contradictions of racial and economic oppression in America are exposed for what they are.

The goals of Black liberation, then, cannot be simply to integrate political offices or gain a piece of the capitalist action. At the core of the problem of Black oppression in America is the state apparatus itself.

## Socialism

(Cont'd. from pg. 4)

of transportation means, etc. Yet it would be nevertheless quite a shame for us to one day wake up and find Africa's mineral wealth near totally depleted and our people still in rags.

As Nkrumah has aptly said, "Only under socialism can we reliably accumulate the capital we need for our development, insure that the gains of investment are applied to the general welfare and achieve our goal of a free and united continent."



## Inside The Adjustment Center

# A House Full of Horrors

The maximum security section of San Quentin Prison, where George Jackson, Ruchell Magee, Fleeta Drumo and Johns Clutchette, among others, were kept is referred to by prison authorities as an 'Adjustment Center.' According to this first hand account, nothing could be farther from the truth than such an outright lie.

Mahiribi Muntu spent almost 3 years at the 'Adjustment Center' before being transferred to Folsom Prison. A close companion of Ruchell Magee, he is an outstanding prison lawyer as well as one of the most gifted writers among the brothers. His condensed statement, printed below minus two vivid examples (deleted for space reasons) readily testifies to his capability. Two particular incidents described by Bro. Muntu will appear in future editions of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

The Adjustment Center ("the hole") at San Quentin is situated alongside an immaculately landscaped, sedate patio with a gurgling fish pond climaxing into a colorful waterfall. Surrounding the patio is a neatly trimmed lawn.

With its pleasing-to-the-eye appearance of fresh paint and flower beds all manicured just so. Who would imagine that the third floor of this structure houses the death row, and the first floor houses the functionally dead and broken men in different states of mental and physical decomposition? That upon its sidewalk ran George Jackson's blood, spilled by the hands of infamy?

Upon first entering the Adjustment Center, you see a little table with a log book, record of whoever enters or leaves the building. This alerts you: you are now in a new place, a prison within a prison.

Down the hall, you see two doors--one solid, one of bars. Above the solid door is a red light, and when it blinks on and off it means a "dead man" is coming or going. The door of bars leads to the cell area. The last two cells are strip cells, where you put upon first entering the Adjustment Center.

The strip cell has a hole in the floor where you must urinate and hunch down like a dog. Straddle-legged you aim your anus at this black, foul-smelling hole to defecate. Your cell is a solid concrete slab where you must rest your bruised, tired body. A stark contrast to the cells in the general population prison. There you have a spring bed, earphones, your personal property, access to reading materials and such.

The color of the strip cell is a rancorous yellow that reminds one of hardening slime. The bars are a repulsive, rancid green that suggests mold and decay. The walls, bars, and floor are covered with feces, urine, smashed ants, squashed roaches, nose buggars, hair dried blood, tobacco stains, match burns, and countless epithets. Since pencils are often prohibited, the writings are carved or burned into the surface of the concrete wall.

Swarming around this putrid receptacle for waste materials are ants, roaches and flies. You must eat your two warm-to-cold meals a day in this milieu and if the guard feels all right he may allow you to shower once or twice a week. Then you can wash your body and teeth.

If the laundry comes in and there is any left, you can exchange your socks you have walked with on the cruddy floor (as you are not permitted shoes in the strip cell) along with your coveralls, shorts, undershirt, and towels. After the three-minute, lye soap shower, you are forced to return to your hole.

You are counted all day and all night under the pretense of security, but actually to insure you receive no sleep. The guard jingles keys, walks with an extra hardness, slams the security gates and tries to shine his powered flashlight in your eyes.

In the mornings the guard brings your coffee in a big bucket and pours it in your dirty cup. The regulations say prisoners, confined in the strip cells must get fresh water every hour but like most prison rules that can make things easier for a convict in any matter, it is only used when the guard takes the witness stand to testify about prison conditions. Then, for ten minutes all rules are stringently adhered to. The remainder of the time they are conveniently forgotten.

Your days and nights in the A. C. strip cell, where you are not permitted anything to read or smoke (and to do so will get you a write-up for violation of prison rules) are spent talking to the other voices about "how funky it is" and various aspects of the struggle of oppressed people, and just life period. Or else you kick back on your siao and pretend the obnoxious smell is absent and try to meditate.

Theoretically, the Adjustment Center was conceived as a temporary refuge to help recalcitrant prisoners adjust to prison life. It was supposed to be staffed with psychiatrists and counselors and hobby and craft shops and libraries. It was actually to be a clinic instead of what it is--a chamber of horrors.

It has worked the exact opposite of the purpose for which it was intended. It breaks men, turns them into babbling idiots or schizophrenics, gives them omni-phobias, makes them into mental vegetables and destroys their physical functioning.

It is the matrix of mind-accide. You are kept forcibly in a cell for indeterminate periods of time that range from a minimum of days to a maximum of the completion of your sentence. Most prisoners in the A. C. have maximum life sentences and some have been held for seven and eight years and many for three, four, and five years. The author is beginning his third year in the hole.

When you keep a man locked up in a cell a minimum of 22 hours a day that man is no longer normal. He could not exist in an abnormal world that long and not to some degree adapt to his environment. The atmosphere in these Centers of Destruction is so tense and strained you can only sleep an hour at a time, and even then you may be under heavy medication.

Because of the ubiquitous pressure, your nerves become so fraught that the flushing of a toilet, a key jingling, the

striking of a match wakes you up and all your dreams are nightmares.

Still, in face of this bedlam you refuse to go crazy. You hold your resolve, you fight with yourself to retain your sanity.

The psychological warfare which the guards use to terrorize and harass you is the almost daily shakedown. Practically every day you must remove all your clothing, blacks must run their fingers through their hair, allow the guard to inspect all your body cavities. Then naked or in your shorts, you are placed in the shower or a holding cell.

Under the disguise of a security shakedown, they ravage, plunder, and ransack your cell. The Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution prohibiting unreasonable searches does not apply and if you enjoy head in its natural state, it is best not to mention it.

The guards look at your pictures with drooling mouths and lascivious comments like "I could eat the crotch out of that one," and read your personal letters. In short, you have absolutely no privacy, and if you object to this unwarranted prying, you have violated a prison rule, and the penalty is whatever the culprit decides.

The guards in looking at pictures of your female friends and relatives say things such as "She looks like a good screw," "Did you see those legs and that big ass," and other even more degrading comments.



MAHIRIBI MUNTU

ments.

They may be talking about your wife, your sister, or your mother and in some cases even about brothers. But if you value your personal safety, silence

is more than golden.

It has happened that guards become so enthused with a prisoner's female relatives that

(Cont'd. on pg. 7)

## U.N. Proposal Self-Contradictory

# America's Two-Faced Policy Towards China

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

by Milton Coleman

The United Nations has now become embroiled in the question of who represents the people of China. Again this year as so many in the past, the U. S. is trying in earnest to stop representation of the Peking regime led by Chairman Mao Tse Tung. The finality of the matter--at least for this year--will be decided within the next few days, but it might be worthwhile here to briefly sketch the scene and the cast of characters for clarity's sake.

For about the past 20 years, the people of China have been represented in the U.N. by the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek of Taiwan, also known as Nationalist China. That regime was once the government of mainland China, but, following the revolution of 1949 in which it was overthrown, it has retreated to the island of Taiwan. There it governs 14 million Chinese people and claims to represent all of the people of China. Meanwhile, the Peking government, which is the uncontested spokesman for the 850 million people on the mainland of China--one of every four human beings on the earth--has been treated as a non entity with no U.N. representation.

For the record, we should perhaps pause and straighten out the cast of characters and their roles. Speaking for the U.S. and its puppet, Taiwan, is Ambassador George Bush, who advocates that (1) Mao's China be seated, (2) take over

the permanent seat on the Security Council but that (3) Taiwan's seat be retained.

Speaking for China is the representative from Albania, who says that (1) Mao's China be seated as the representative of the Chinese people, thus necessitating the expulsion of Taiwan as the representative of the Chinese people.

If at this point you can see that no one but the U.S. is talking about two Chinas, you are correct. The U.S. admits that this is a presumptuous move, but, said Bush in a most paternalistic gesture, "it is consistent with the realities of the present situation."

The U.S. has thrown another trick into the game by again trying to get the General Assembly to consider China's seating as "an important issue," thus making a two-thirds rather than simple majority vote the necessity.

This is the way in which the lines have been drawn. The American proposal is very bold in that, while claiming to speak directly to realities, it acts as if it has never heard Peking's official position that it will not sit in the U. N. with Taiwan. Thus Bush's forked tongue says that the resolution "in good faith" seeks to seat China, knowing all the time that if it were accepted, by the General Assembly, Peking would denounce it.

America has done a few more double dealings in conjunction with the whole question, dealings which have been openly spoken of in U.N. circles as

outright coercion and 'black-mail.' For example, conservative white legislators have threatened to withdraw congressional aid to the U.N. if Peking is seated, and Taiwan thus expelled, knowing full well that since U.S. monies make up close to one-third of the world body's budget, this might act as a lever to bring about second thoughts in some fence sitters minds.

Vice-president Spiro Agnew ran off to Greece last week under the pretense of returning to his fatherland, never bothering to mention that Greece as well as Iran, where Agnew also visited, were two of the primary undecided countries which, if properly persuaded, could change the very close vote.

Presidential aid Henry Kissinger took an entourage to Peking, ostensibly as a show of America's real sincerity with recognizing China. All of this in addition to Secretary of State William Rogers' endless lobbying (and undoubtedly more forceful 'discussion') with U.N. delegates themselves.

China can wait another year, some observers have said, and undoubtedly this is true. America may not be able to. Having virtually already lost in Viet Nam and now on the verge of losing in Taiwan, desperate diplomacy becomes even more and more so. The 850 million people in China do exist and as the effect of imperialism, neo-colonialism, monopoly blackmail and coercion grows less and less, those people are becoming more and more real and will have to be recognized.



## Tourism Up, People Down in Santo Domingo

# Tourism and Slavery for Fun and Profit

SANTO DOMINGO- A dying man is subject to do anything, and the same can be said of staggering economies, who, in desperation, turn to even the most unexpected in order to survive. Such is said to be the case here where the government has embarked on a new campaign to attract tourists to this Black Caribbean island.

The major problems it faces are two fold--the people and the place. It seems to have plans for solving both one by brute force and the other by western finance capital.

In early 1970, the U. S. dominated Organization of American States was forced to cancel a major meeting scheduled here because of such strong anti-U. S. sentiment, much of which may have been built up a following U. S. Marine invasion of the island in 1965 to crush a popular revolt calling for the return of the elected government.

Since then, however, the new government has gone all out to make the country 'safe' for imperialism without recourse to a repeat of the 1965 Marine landing.

Scores of progressive Do-

minicans have been reportedly shot in the streets or jailed, and armed patrols are everywhere. Death squads are said to be trained by U. S. advisors through a foreign aid program.

Right now, Santo Domingo doesn't have very many tourist attractions besides the corner soldiers and beaches about 20 miles from center of town. There is beautiful mountain scenery, accessible however, only over bone-jarring roads, where tourists are quite liable to be stopped en route by scowling soldiers and searched for arms, said one reporter.

Corporate liberals have vowed to solve this problem, however. It may surprise some to find that George Meany, the AFL-CIO president who rattled his sabres so loudly at Nixon recently, is one of these imperialist big investors.

His group, which also includes Lane Kirkland (his secretary) and New York lawyer and labor mediator Theodore Keheel, owns about seven miles of east coast waterfront and has begun to get it ready for business.

To leapfrog unpaved roads,

they have built an airstrip and will open a lodge and ten cottages this month. Guests are promised water sports, horseback riding, good food and 75 cent rum drinks served in coconuts cut down by "tree-climbing beachboys" (another name for the young members of the local Black population so desperate they are forced to take almost any job, no matter how personally degrading).

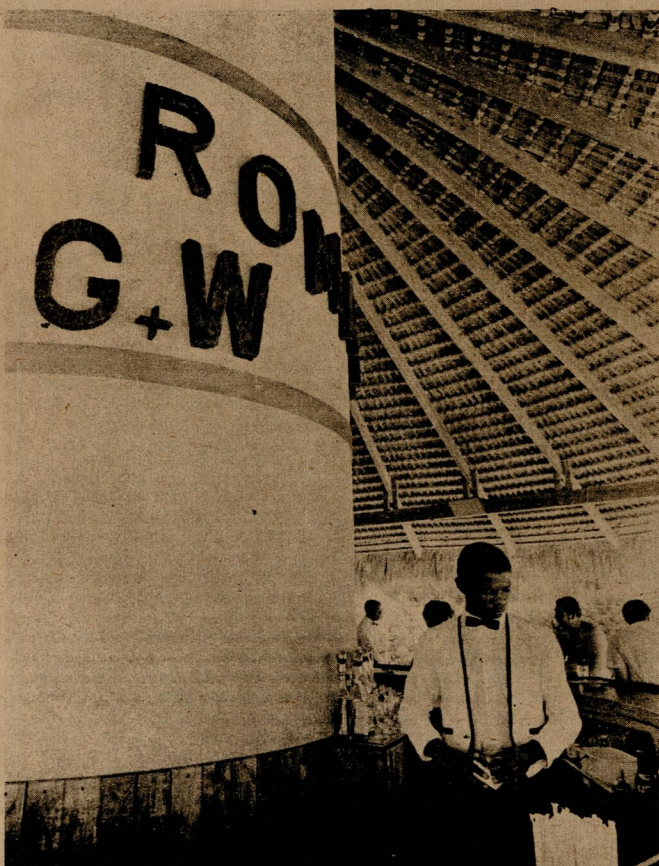
Terry Sanford, now president of Duke University, was reputed to be one of the most liberal whites in North Carolina history when he was governor. Much to the surprise of some, however, he has jumped right on the bandwagon in Santo Domingo. Along with Harry C. Robbins, Sanford and a group of other North Carolinians are operating Carolina Caribbean Corp., a real estate and resort development group.

Robbins, paying a compliment to the local fascist force which perhaps places them even higher on the repressive totem pole than the Klu Klux Klansmen in his own state (who just might vacation in Santo Domingo), said, "I have never been to a place where I felt more comfort and safe."

The largest by far and most ambitious developer is Gulf and Western Industries, however, which operates one of the world's largest sugar mills at La Ramona. It has already built a resort and is presently finishing off an 18-hole golf course, just a stone's throw away from its huge mill which grinds away 24 hours a day on the backs



THE WORLD OF SANTO DOMINGO'S OWN PEOPLE IS A WORLD of constant and hard work, such as this cane cutter who makes only 50¢ per day. Only 10 years old, he, like those others on the island, work under intolerable conditions because of intense poverty in the midst of plenty. (LNS photo).



GULF AND WESTERN, THE LARGEST IMPERIALIST INVESTOR in Santo Domingo, has been quick to erect a village for the settlers which sharply contrasts the native's world. The people of Santo Domingo are then brought in to serve those who grow rich from the sweat of their labor. (LNS photo).

## Inside Adjustment Center

(Cont'd. from pg. 6)

when a prisoner gets a visit and the guard hears who it is, he will go and search her out to start an affair with her by either a veiled threat or "What you wasting your time with him for, he's never going to get out anyway."

Why some prisoners attempt and consummate suicide by hanging, wrist or throat slitting, and drowning themselves in the commode is because the pressure is too great in these human warehouses of destruc-

tion.

"Why is there so much violence in the prisons?" everyone is asking. The whole answer I don't know. But part of it lies in the way prisoners are treated.

These years of confinement are grudging, grueling years, sapping your youth and mentality. Making you unfunctional at age 35. Each year you are confined you suffer more than the last. Then when you have either been broken or monsterized, you are freed or banished forever into perpetual slavery.

## SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD

SAN FRANCISCO CAL.— Having slopped through a flim-flam explanation for the killing of George Jackson, authorities here wasted no time in picking out scapegoats for the killing of the five prison employees in what they alleged was an escape attempt on Aug. 21.

A Marin county grand jury, not even bothering to make the slightest pretense of impartiality by calling a single prisoner as witness, handed down indictments against 8 persons this month for supposedly conspiracy and murder.

The six prisoners are Hugo Pinnell, 27; David Johnson, 24; John Larry Spain, 22; Luis N. Talamantez, 28; Willie Tate, 27; and Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo, 26. Also charged were George Jackson, who was murdered by guards that day, and Stephen Bingham, the lawyer who was supposed to have given George Jackson the 9mm. gun which was hidden in his hair under his cap/inside his wig and then used in an "desperate attempt to escape" over a 20 foot wall.

If ever there was a kangaroo court in which any relationship to justice was purely accidental, this seems to be it. All common sense, constitutional rights considerations and judicial courtesy is non-existent. Every pre-trial promise has been broken. Every man seems to be, even according to dissatisfied members of the grand jury, headed down the railroad to death row.

The men first came to trial on Oct. 5. They are to be tried as a group, but given few group privileges. That day in court was the first time they

of underpaid Black slave labor.

Gulf and Western is also said to pack considerable clout with the government, having in fact made sure that whatever government followed the 1965 military takeover, it would be one committed to 'law and order.'

Santo Domingo shares the same island land mass with Haiti. The Black people of both

countries are suffering under imperialist backed governments who have done little to improve the living conditions of their people. Yet one can only hope that their high level of constant repression present in both countries is finally reaching its last stages before being met with an all encompassing people's revolutionary force.

## August 21st Survivors on Trial

had seen each other since the Aug. 21 incident. Yet that did not seem to matter.

The men had had almost no time to even choose lawyers, much less confer with them. The entire predicament was summed up quite well by the attorney for one of the men—Bro. Tate—by Berkely Attorney Ben W. Holt, chosen by Tate's family to represent him.

Holt submitted a petitioning letter to Judge E. Warren McGuire afterwards clearly outlining the factors which were making it impossible for the prisoners to even prepare their case.

Specifically, Holt outlined a pattern of torture and terror, disdain of the guards for the orders of the court, guard intimidation of attorneys who conferred with the survivors, and the denial of the right of the men to confer with each other on the issue of the selection of securing counsel all as factors which were making the situation one of double danger, in which not only did they have to prepare a legal case, but worry about simply staying alive from one day to the next.

In speaking of the events which took place during the Oct. 5 hearing, Holt pointed out that one of the guards had slammed Hugo Pinnell—who like all the others was in chains—violently to the ground and "tried repeatedly to drive his foot into Pinnell's brain as Pinnell lay on the ground trussed in shackles."

Such terrorist tactics, he said, had the effect of paralyzing the defendants with fear. "In such a state of mind, when they are led to believe that at any moment some crazed guard is going to try to maim or kill them, the Survivors cannot give the at-

tention to the selection of a lawyer that they ought to be able to do."

Holt echoed the history of the entire case of incurt brutality suffered by prisoners when he added that "It is not the first time since Aug. 21 that a guard has attacked one of the Survivors. Past attacks have gone unnoticed, unchallenged."

Holt's letter said that even though the court had ruled that the men be granted adequate interview time with their lawyers, that they be given pencils and allowed to write and that their writings to lawyers be confidential, this had not taken place.

All of these rulings were never followed, and intimidation was so high that prisoners did not even take notes, for fear that guards would take them away under the pretense that they were 'subversive' or 'contraband.'

Though recognizing that guard intimidation of the lawyers was a problem, Holt felt even more disturbed because no special arrangements were made for the men to confer with their attorneys or families. Survivors had to be content with only regular arrangements in the two 4'x3' visiting rooms designed to serve over 200 prisoners.

Further, although the men have been charged and indicted jointly, there has been no arrangement allowed for them to arrange a joint defense. In addition, Tate himself had not even been yet provided with glasses so that he could read, his others having been destroyed by an ending been destroyed by an ending.

Some people have called these persons the San Quentin 6, but the men themselves

(Cont'd. on pg. 12)



## Build for Tomorrow

# Challenge to Africa's Youth

SPECIAL TO  
THE AFRICAN WORLD  
by Mxolisi Mgxashe

From its inception the OAU, having a rich background, became the organ, loose and clumsy as it still was, that was to usher in the realization of a giant monolithic State of Afrika--a power that will be reckoned with in world politics.

Eight years later, however, we feel ashamed to notice that not much that was expected in the achievement of its ideals has been fully attained. This to a large extent has to be attributed to the fears and anxieties of the big and imperialist powers over the determination of Black people to recover themselves. There was cause for them to shiver and panic because Afrika's freedom and unity would also mean their loss of raw materials, markets and "spheres" of influence. And they started plotting to subvert this movement.

Throughout this period of subversion against Black people by these unconcerned concerned, we have seen coups against legitimately established governments in Afrika, civil wars and mass slaughters of other Africans by their fellow men. This started the gloomy era we now find ourselves in today. All these things cannot, however, be pinned on outside forces only; but we ourselves have to be blamed.

Leaders who took over the reigns of power from the reluctant colonial masters seemed to forget too soon their pledges to uplift the masses of the people from poverty, illiteracy, diseases and tribalism. They only changed the colour of the rulers from white to Black, and became tin demi-gods whose sensitiveness to criticism and opposition gave an opportunity to some disgruntled elements being ready material for counter-revolution.

This is the stage of stagnancy and impotence our Afrika has miserably found itself in our age. All the dynamism she once had had evaporated with the wind. Afrika's leaders are to-

day capitulating to our enemies with preparedness to "share" our natural resources and wealth with the plunderers. Shame on us black people. Our echoes on the international platforms are now taken as a joke by our deformers, the neo-colonialists. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The hope of mother Afrika to regain her lost dynamism lies only in the hands of her youth, with guidance from the rich experiences of those leaders who are still dedicated to the cause. The youth and particularly the Black students have this responsibility on their shoulders. As future leaders it is their honorable task to have as their divine mission the re-assertion of the Giant's strength.

Organizations like the Students Movement for African Unity (SMAU) based in Ghana mainly, Student Movement for the Liberation of Southern Africa, based in Zambia, Student Organization for Black Unity, (SOBU) Pan-African Students Association (PASA), African Students Association and many similar bodies have emerged for this sole purpose. They alone will serve as the revival of the nationalist spirit that once bound brother to brother.

It is these organs that will be able to formulate an ideology for a people that suffer from want of an ideology, to serve as their guide and vehicle for the Black Revolution. Scattered as they are in different parts of the world these bodies have to engage in a heavy dialogue on how best Afrika can be saved from the blood vampires, who are determined to suck even her last drop of blood, rendering her a lifeless carcass.

And there is indeed so much fountain of revolutionary ideas that we have to draw from in formulating this ideology; We have Marx, Lenin, Mao - Tse Tung, Nkrumah, Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Kaunda, Malcolm X, Sobukwe, Azikiwe, Fanon, Che Guevara, Castro, Ho Chi Minh and all of them.

However, in naming this ideol-



THE YOUTH OF AFRICA HAVE BEEN BORN AND REARED IN A TIME OF STRUGGLE, A STRUGGLE which they will inherit and hopefully carry on. These young brothers in Mozambique, raised in an orphanage in one of the liberated zones, have grown up among fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters who are fighting every day to drive out aggression. In their eye, the African Revolution is very real.

ogy let us not label it Nkrumahism, Marxism, Leninism and so on, AFRICANISM in my mind comes as the most fitting title to a concept which will be the highest social philosophy for a new and rejuvenated AFRICA--a synthesis of traditional culture, "Western Civilization" and the Eastern way of life. Nkrumah calls this CONSCIOUSNESS, because it symbolises a new awakening and conscience of the African people.

To bear meaning and dynamism this philosophy has to be based on the conditions and

aspirations of the illiterate and semi-literate Black masses, for they are the cornerstone of our revolution. We must get rid from now on of pseudo-intellectual organs that succeed only in romanticising and academicising about Afrika. The people of Afrika want food, knowledge, medicine, clothing, decent houses and all other necessities of life. This must be the foundation of AFRICANISM.

With the complete integration and synthesis of all these

universal ideas, Afrika can then boast quite rightly of being the mother of civilization and the home of the human race. She has all these potentialities. The sophisticated simplicity, hospitality and humaneness of her people, which in some cases have been corroded by capitalist individualism, can be the mattress for a healthy atmosphere in the whole world.

Long live the African Revolution.

African Unity and Revolution at all costs.

## On the Liberation Front in Chad

(Cont'd. from pg. 5)

in the villages have as their aim the indoctrination and political education or explanation of what our Front is.

These cells and the supreme bodies of the Front, for example, the committees that exist in the interior, depend directly on the High Command of the People's Forces. There is a constant relationship between the fighting forces and the village committees. The people's committees are stationary, they remain in the village and are not dispersed. They serve to maintain the po-

pulation; they are the FROLINA support forces.

Our forces are grouped into two armies, as I said. Each army is led by a collegiate committee of four cadre comrades, a commander-in-chief assisted by an adjutant in charge of military affairs, another in charge of political affairs and a third in charge of financial affairs.

Each combat group has a commander and at the level of the combat group there is the same organization. The chief of the military group and

his adjutants form the military council of the armed group.

FROLINA, like all revolutionary movements, is a part of the great international revolutionary movement whose objective it is to diminish imperialism's zone of influence or destroy it. Consequently FROLINA is interested in maintaining good relations with all the revolutionary movements as well as others that pursue the same objects.

On the diplomatic level there will be a kind of power because at present Chad is an area that France has completely closed off. Despite its important geographic location, only one airline goes into Chad; Chad has almost no diplomatic relations with member countries of the United Nations, and thus our first task is to break out of this isolation; it is necessary that Chad be closed to no one, that it maintain diplomatic relations with all states, especially with the socialist camp, because we want a change, we want to live in the 20th century.

It is necessary that our comrades outside the country realize that our battle is their battle because we have the same objectives, which in the final analysis seek to restrict imperialism's domination so that the peoples direct their own affairs freely and nationally, so that the peoples are liberated from the chains of servitude, and can communicate freely with each other without going through any intermediary.

For this reason we hope that all the peoples who understand our struggle help us with their information media, with material, with arms, with scholarships to study in their countries. In a word, we hope that as we move toward the world, the world will come to us, so that we are not isolated.

## Storm of Protest Follows Counselor's Firing

SPECIAL TO  
THE AFRICAN WORLD

by Jesse Taylor  
PINEVILLE, S.C. - A storm is brewing in Berkeley County, South Carolina.

Parents and students have called for a boycott of Central high school in Cross, a heavily Black rural community.

The school has not run properly for two weeks. Teachers say students are "tense and unable to learn." The school football team, which is expected to make a bid for the State AA Championship this year, is facing a revolt of many of its key players. County Sheriff's deputies have shuttled back and forth between their headquarters and the school campus on a regular basis since the beginning of the crisis. Parents have even kept some of the buses from running to enforce the boycott.

What triggered the storm was the firing of Mrs. Wilhelmina Moore, a respected Black guidance counselor at Central High.

"They have been trying to get rid of me for some time," Mrs. Moore said. "Last year,

Superintendent Bonner didn't give me my contract until parents and students protested. Then, the beginning of this year, Mr. Bonner signed an order to take my phone out of my office. Again, it was the students and parents that kept him from taking the phone. I know that's where my strength lies, with the parents and students."

At the beginning of the year, Mrs. Moore was asked to take three English classes; along with her regular guidance work. She took one of the classes, but said she didn't have time to take the other two and do a satisfactory job.

Parents and students testified that the sister has done more than her share of work since she has been at Central the past three years. She has helped countless students go to college, and has worked to bring summer youth jobs into the community. Most people say this is probably the reason Mrs. Moore was really fired.

On Wednesday, October 13, Mrs. Moore received a call from Superintendent Bonner telling her she was fired. Bonner told her the reason she was fired was her refusal to take

the three English classes.

The next morning, a group of students began a sit-in in the hallway of Central high. By second period the hall was blocked and most of the school had joined the demonstration.

The School principal was forced to call an assembly of the entire student body, and turned out school early when it looked like the situation might get out of hand.

That Friday Mrs. Moore and a group of parents and students, including the student body president, met with the school principal and Bonner in the school library. Denying that there was any racial motive involved, Bonner claimed that Mrs. Moore's firing was a "closed matter." The parents in turn charged Bonner with "discrimination against a Black woman." One sister disclosed the fact that Mrs. Julia Cross, the white guidance counselor, only held a certificate as a teacher counselor, while Mrs. Moore has a master's degree in guidance.

When parents suggested Mrs. Cross be given the remaining two English classes, Bonner whined that, "It would not be

fair to her." Mrs. Cross is the wife of J. Russell Cross, an assistant to Bonner, and a powerful figure in Berkeley county politics.

The following Monday, October 18, twenty students were suspended for three days for failure to report to class. They were in the halls protesting Mrs. Moore's firing. That night at a packed meeting in Pineville, parents and students announced the boycott of Central High.

Mrs. Moore has consulted with the Justice department, which is investigating the situation. Rev. Edward Francis the Black assistant executive director of the South Carolina State Democratic Party, has met privately with Mrs. Moore at the request of state senator Renfor Dennis. Dennis was reportedly concerned because he will be up for re-election in November of 1972. Dennis and Bonner are expected to hold another meeting with Mrs. Moore in the near future.

Parents and students in the area say they will continue to boycott until such time as Mrs. Moore is re-hired at Central high.

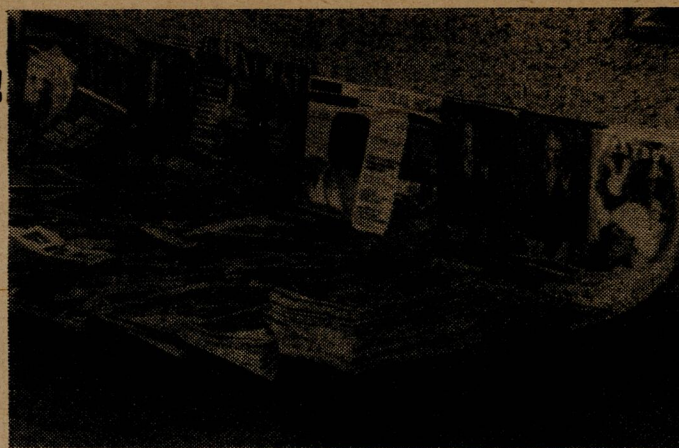




# contrasts in kenya



**not  
yet  
uhuru!**



The coming of political independence has not brought with it real changes for many people in Africa. Kenya was once hailed as a leader of the progressive Africa world. Nevertheless, these pictures readily testify to the contradictions still present in Kenya and raise the question of who really has 'Uhuru'?

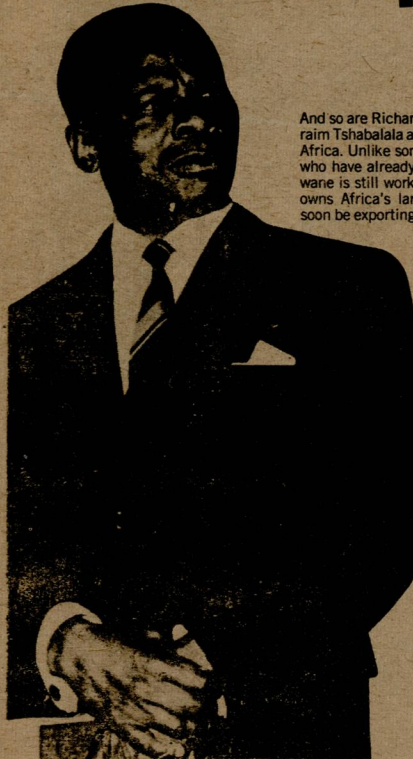
Is it the many white settlers and visitors, who roam through the capital of Nairobi, staying in fine hotels, riding down broad streets and bringing with them their decadent backwards ways?

Is there any kind of 'Uhuru' for the masses of Kenya's people, who live in areas like the Methari Valley, just 15 minutes bus ride from Nairobi, where houses are made of cardboard and mud, streets are dirty and mudded, playthings are junk and innocent children still smile?

How could any African in Kenya be proud of this, unless he had conveniently forgotten about the people?



## Habakuk Shikwane is a Black Capitalist



And so are Richard Maponya, Benjamin Salinda, Ephraim Tshabalala and hundreds of other Bantu in South Africa. Unlike some of his fellow black entrepreneurs who have already made their first million, Mr. Shikwane is still working towards that goal. But at 43 he owns Africa's largest cane furniture plant and will soon be exporting to Europe and the United States.

The Bantu Investment Corporation put Habakuk Shikwane in business. In the past decade it has assisted more than 1,000 other black businesses with direct loans and approximately 2,000 through commercial credits. It has helped establish a large number of bus services, 26 savings banks and anticipates spending a further \$145.6 million on black homeland development in the next five years.

The road to independence for South Africa's eight Bantu nations is not reserved for politicians. The Bantu Investment and other corporations are promoting black capitalism in these homelands with direct financial assistance. And private enterprise—South African and foreign—are doing so indirectly through border industries and in the homelands on an agency basis. This is where many Bantu capitalists first acquire their skills.

Further information can be obtained from The Director, South African Information Service, 655 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

DIALOGUE, PART II. SOUTH AFRICA IS TRYING TO CHANGE ITS image by misleading the world into thinking that its apartheid way of life is good for the native Africans. This advertisement, which appeared in the New York Times under sponsorship of South African government, holds up one of the hand-picked, minority of token African traitors chosen to join in the system which oppresses their own people. The 'eight Bantunations' spoken of are gentleman's words for concentration camps.

## Church A Partner to Jamaican Oppression

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD  
KINGSTON, JAMAICA - The failure of the Christian church to speak to its alleged moral ordering of the society has been underscored by a Black churchman here. In a letter to the 'Daily Gleaner' newspaper earlier this month, Rt. Rev. Ashley Smith of the United Church of Jamaica said that it was appalling that in the presence of such dire social situations, the church still posed no real opposition to such deplorable conditions.

Doubting whether or not the church had any real influence in society as a whole on the island, Rev. Smith pointed to the objective conditions of the island as representing a certain failure of Christian practitioners to cure social evils.

Scolding those who at best said nothing, and at worst went along with the kind of neo-colonial policies which maintained deplorable human conditions, he said, "It is difficult to see how one can talk so often and so eloquently about the stability and health of a society like ours, a society in which there are: so many men under fifty hanging out all over the place with no work to do; betting shops outnumbering groceries and business houses in so many urban centers; murders committed at the rate of more than one a day; hundreds of youngsters unable to find places in primary school at the beginning of each school year and so many homes that are either incomplete or suffering from the effects of irresponsible parenthood."

Rev. Smith's indictment of the misrepresented 'Jamaican Paradise,' also leveled a blast at hypocritical churchmen as well as deceiving politicians. He denied that more salaries for church officials were in order, recommending instead

that clergymen needed "not charity but a deeper sense of commitment..."

If they were honest, he said, they would "admit that they are better off than most of their parishioners both by their cash income and the living conditions they enjoy."

He warned that at the present rate, the church would in no way be able to defend itself against that which has always been advanced by many social theorists—that it too is part of the oppressive structure.

## Uhuru!

## CORE Meeting Lacks Direction and Depth

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD  
NEW YORK, N.Y. (SOBU) - The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held its 30th annual National Convention here on a theme of "Black Unity."

Opening ceremonies were attended by approximately 2500 brothers and sisters, (along with the traditional sprinkling of "concerned whites.") Present at the initial session were a large cross-section of Black leaders and African Diplomats representing the three African Republics of Liberia, Guinea and Tanzania.

Among the many guests were Jesse Jackson (Operation Breadbasket) Hannibal Ahmed (Harlem Five Member) Brig. General Daniel "Chappy" James, Representatives Walter Fauntroy and Shirley Chisholm (Black Congressional Caucus) George Wiley (Welfare Rights) Miss Black America, Joyce Warner, CORE's former National Director James Farmer and two white presidential hopefuls, Sen. George McGovern and Representative Paul McClos-

key.

The convention provided a forum for numerous speeches, not necessarily related, ranging from Jesse Jackson's 'I'm Somebody' to the brief and most significant message of the Ambassador of Guinea. The Ambassador reminded his 2500 brothers of "our mutual responsibility for the liberation of Africa." Moreover, he admonished all not to dodge this challenge but rather to bring "technical knowledge and other aids not only to his country but to the whole of Africa."

The keynote address setting the tone and theme of the convention was delivered by Roy Innis, present National Director of CORE.

The National Director capitalized four hundred years of history by claiming, "There has always existed in America two kinds of Africans, with two opposing viewpoints." These were the "House Niggers" and Field Niggers."

"House Niggers" were defined as Africans who "had no notion of altering the system,

limited context, according to the dictates of the larger white society, in whose ultimate interest the Black elite indirectly works.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Ofari claims, even before the onset of the civil war, Black capitalism and the profit motive had entrenched themselves in the northern Black community, in which a sizeable group of free Blacks existed. Beseiged by dreams of sharing in the wealth of capitalist America, these early Black capitalists failed to realize the fundamental reality that Ofari points out: "That such powerful forces as the northern industrialists and the southern planter-aristocrats, which controlled America, were not about to yield any of their dominance to a weak vested-interest group such as the Black elite."

After conducting a historical analysis of the major Black political, social and religious movements that have swept across Black America through the years (examples: Garvey movement, the Nation of Islam, Operation Breadbasket, etc.), Ofari contends that none have been really successful, within the context of its time, in obtaining a substantial margin of economic independence for the masses of Blacks in this country.

In light of this, he concludes that, "No matter how large or well organized a Black political or social movement becomes, those involved must be equipped with the proper understanding of the American economic order. Until they are, they will never use the correct approach in determining methods for the struggle against the conditions of corporate capitalism which are impoverishing Black America."

Indeed, Bro. Ofari carries his analysis across the water to the continent of Africa, which he maintains, is, with few exceptions, held back from real economic independence by the tentacles of in-

while in contrast the "Field Niggers" wanted to separate from the system and return to Africa." The "House Niggers" were elevated into places of authority by the white society and subsequently suppressed and betrayed their field brothers."

Innis continued, "After emancipation this division of aspirations did not change. Further, the white power structure continued to chose Black leadership by elevating 'House Niggers' to places of authority and in so doing suppressed and ignored men such as Marcus Garvey." This separated Black people by having black assimilationists and integrationists at odds with black people of different thinking.

As an alternative to this problem, Innis called on all Black people to "respect each others mutual differences and for both groups (integrationists/assimilationists and black folk of different viewpoints) to come together with a new unity of co-operation and understanding. Each working for each others different goals and neither ob-

ternational economic imperialism and neo-colonialism.

While "The Myth of Black Capitalism" provides the reader with an understanding of the nature of the capitalist system and an insight into the dependency syndrome or colonial mentality exhibited by the proponents of Black capitalist economics, more emphasis could have been placed on the examination and/or exploitation of alternative economic systems.

Only brief references were made to socialist oriented economic practices, such as co-operative economic ventures, without any real in-depth analysis of the nature of scientific socialism as an economic alternative to corporate capitalism. At one point Ofari makes the statement that "for the principle of self-determination and separation to be truly meaningful, U. S. imperialism must be totally destroyed," without giving any hint as to what mechanisms, economic or otherwise, must be used in its destruction.

While calling for "planned sharing of available resources in the Black community," and "community financing and collective control" of these businesses, Ofari ventures no real clue as to how these goals are to be accomplished, either on a local, national or international scale. And, after having been provided with such a sobering and penetrating analysis of the existing capitalist economic reality in this country and the depths of its stranglehold on the worldwide Black community, it is imperative that the reader be given specific and concrete alternatives, within a workable context, if the impact of this reality is to be translated into positive action.

Nevertheless, this book should be read by Pan-Africanists in order to better understand how we must augment our ideological to include the necessary economic analysis.

structuring the actions of the other.

Secondly, Mr. Innis called upon the American Government and Society to "recognize that there are two sets of aspirations for Black people in America and to come forward with a mutual assistance plan honoring and supporting nationalists as they have supported integrationist and assimilationist movements."

To the fact that the whole presentation seemed to be stolen directly from one of Malcolm X's records, could, they said, be added that there had been few self-reliant projections outlined, merely an alternative way to seek integration into the system.

Many had hoped that CORE, whose national director had recently returned from a visit to the African continent, would have expressed some more substantial analysis of the problem faced by Black people. Yet it seemed the Congress was more interested in Equality than the Race.

Looking at books...

## Myth of Black Capitalism

reviewed by Faye Coleman

THE MYTH OF BLACK CAPITALISM by Earl Ofari. New York: Monthly Review press, 1970. 126 pp. \$1.95 (paperback)

"A thorough understanding of the working dynamic of capitalism is absolutely necessary for Black people today if they are to grasp properly its relationship to Black America." This statement by Earl Ofari in his introduction to *The Myth of Black Capitalism* serves to set the tone for what is to follow. And indeed, what follows is a penetrating attack on the very foundation of and rationale for the theory of Black capitalist economic development as advanced by its historical and modern day proponents. This rationale, Ofari maintains, is steeped in the incorrect belief that the capitalist ethic can be made to work in the interest of the masses of Black people.

By tracing historically, the development of the Black capitalist myth from slavery to the present time, Ofari identifies the basic problem as being the inability or unwillingness of the Black bourgeois elite to grasp the totality of the exploitative nature of domestic corporate capitalism and international imperialism. According to Ofari's analysis, these two doctrines serve as the very basis for the economic system to which Black capitalists enthusiastically subscribe.

The predominant economic activities of the Black community, from slavery on, have, Ofari contends, been consistently manipulated by a small group of elite Blacks who, by utilizing a variety of cleverly conceived economic development schemes, have subjugated the interest of the Black masses to their own goals of personal economic advancement. And even then, Ofari points out, Blacks were and still are able to realize economic gains only within a



## Soul Singers Supporting 'Dialogue'

# What Manner of Madness?

SOBU NEWS SERVICE  
by Milton Coleman

One weak link in the anti-dialogue chain has been neo-colonialist and puppet African governments who have shamefully broken the ranks of Black unity against giving in to South Africa's 'new-image' drive. Another equally shameful one, however, has been the reported constant trek of Black soul singers and others from this country who have gone to the apartheid nation to entertain.

Though many insist their role is either non-political or even, in some instances, progressive, nothing could be farther from the truth. They seem to be suffering from a basic lack of knowledge of South Africa's realities.

Blues singer Percy Sledge was among those most warmly received, and has been followed by Wilson Pickett. Next on the agenda are reported appearances by the Isley Brothers, Ray Charles, and Sammy Davis, Jr. Unconfirmed reports have added Aretha Franklin to the list.

The situations under which performances have been rendered have varied, yet none have, contrary to what the entertainers reported, introduced anything revolutionary into the South African situation.

Some have played to separate Black and whites audiences, while others have highly acclaimed the fact that not only have their audiences and surroundings been integrated, but also that they stayed in many previously all-white hotels.

It might do them well to understand the South African master plan, designed to include a few hand chosen Black show pieces here and there in their switch from outright fascism to a form of window-dressed, friendly fascism.

Black athletes have also been drawn into the picture. Progolfer Lee Elder, who jumped to the defense of South African Gary Player, when the apartheidist was attacked by Black spokesmen here, plans to play in South Africa in the future. Elder reportedly said he was going because he and his attorney believed that "the South Africans are genuinely inter-

ested in closing the gap in race relations and my presence in the country as a guest will have ambassadorial effect."

Bro. Elder, like so many others, has apparently failed to realize that such a statement on his part at best reflects only wishful thinking. Ambassadors are chosen by their own countries, not others.

Not only does this kind of dialogue act to the disbenefit of the brothers from over here, because it misleadingly gives them the impression that South Africa is not growing more and more of a threat to Black Africa than ever. But it also makes a poor representation of those of us in this country.

Among the lower living standards of the African countries, such things as fancy clothes and the like are taken as signs of affluence, thus giving the impression so intensely perpetrated by South Africa and white America: Afro-Americans are happy.

Black American politicians have also been involved in this game. Recently Michigan congressman Charles Diggs, chairman of the house subcommittee on Africa, visited the apartheid kingdom and also got duped into believing things were getting better.

One would think that a man of Diggs political nature would have more sense than to fall for the South African snow job. Yet nevertheless, the man in a position to loudly affirm to the US that South Africa is wrong, has said little.

He advised the entertainers merely to get as much money as they could and donate it to worthy causes, or even the liberation groups. Even taking into account the dire financial needs of the liberation groups, one still can't help but to feel that Diggs is merely paying lip service.

In fact, if the need is for the freedom fighters, a two pronged approach as follows might be even better: (1) The entertainers could flatly refuse to go, sacrificing both personal profit and vanity, and instead encourage that South Africa listen first to the blues that is sung in the Bantustans by turn-



WILSON PICKETT, IN GHANA FOR THE FILMING OF 'SOUL TO SOUL' EARLIER THIS YEAR, recently completed a tour of apartheid South Africa. The appearances of Bro. Pickett and other entertainers from this country plays right into the hands of South Africa's 'New Image' program, designed to prove that nothing is wrong with apartheid.

ing over the land to its rightful owners. Secondly, benefit concerts for liberation movements could be given right here in this country.

This would be a much clearer and politically just as effective way to focus on improving the lot of the disenfranchised South Africans than

singing "When A Man Loves A Woman," "Mustang Sally" or "The Booty-But," to them.

The organization of African Unity (OAU) has been perhaps justly criticized for being unable to enforce its ban on dialogue with South Africans among its member states. Yet it must also be realized that there is

a failure of African people in this country to attain the same kind of unity that would block such shameful moves by entertainers and athletes. This weakness, if allowed to go unchecked, could well be the foot in the door to even further invasions into our liberation struggle.

## Positive Identification Not Yet Made

(Cont'd. from pg. 1)

However, such remarks seemed to be more representative of fantastic notions about ways to make a living while eluding the FBI (the Ford Foundation has yet to finance that kind of thing), than of popular Black sentiments on the matter.

Some people adamantly praise Rap Brown for being able to stay underground for a year and a half, saying that this credit must be given. To those who say that this was certainly the wrong way to go, this school of thought says, that is

real arm chair revolution. They laud Rap Brown for being involved in the dangerous part of whatever operation he might have been undertaking while in exile, rather than leaving the risky deeds solely up to others. This all seems to raise the question of what happened a bit above the level of so called 'common criminals' as the white press has argued.

Exact identification satisfactory to Black people can perhaps only come from those who know Rap Brown personally, and,

some point out, such persons are going to be very slow to speak, hoping to avoid either implicating themselves in the network which hid Rap for a year and a half, or not wishing to in any way endanger his safety if Roy Williams is in fact Roy Williams, and not Rap Brown.

Until such time as things do break, the Black community will remain unclear as to just what has taken place, who has been wounded and where Rap Brown is.

## KEEP UP WITH

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## Save Black Schools

(Cont'd. from pg. 1) years ago.

He pointed out several things which have taken place over the past two years. All of these occurrences seemed to clearly indicate that what was actually happening was that Black students were slowly being phased out of the possibility for education.

For example, at the formerly all-Black school, white enrollment had almost doubled, Black people had not only decreased there, but had not shown any significant rise at the predominantly white institutions.

He also noted changes in entrance requirements, making them standard for all the schools. Because this failed to take into account "the difference in socio-economic backgrounds or the well known bias of entrance examinations," said Johnson, the effect was one of gradually barring Black students the opportunity to even go to college.

Integration had also failed to remove the vast differences in the treatment of the pri-

marily Black school, he said, in noting that the faculty was still paid far less than those at the white institutions.

In addition, Ron Ivey, student government president at North Carolina A&T state university, who acted as a spokesman for the group, brought up the question of duplication. In many instances it would be ludicrous, he said, to think that since there was so much talk about avoiding duplication, that Black schools would be given any preference.

When the decision had to be reached as to whether or not the Black or the white school would be retained and the other dropped, it was clear who was going to go.

In all, the position expressed concern growing out of the now well-worn assertions that there is in fact a difference in the educational needs of Black and whites--from backgrounds to goals. It saw beyond simply a nostalgic and romantic quest to 'hold on to what is ours,' towards trying to recognize that some potential does exist for gaining relevance from the existing Black schools.

## JOMO Head "Guilty"

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. (LNS)—Joe Waller, chairman of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO), was convicted in early October of grand larceny in St. Petersburg, Fla., for tearing a racist mural off the wall of City Hall in 1966.

This is the fourth time Waller has been tried on the mural charge, and he has already spent 18 months in jail because of it. The U. S. Supreme Court reversed this earlier convictions on the basis of double jeopardy--since he had been tried for the same supposed offense on several different charges in both city and state courts. The case went back to city authorities who decided to try him again, almost five years after the original incident.

## HUD Racist

WASHINGTON, D. C. (SOBU)—Further racism within the United States government was uncovered here last week with the announcement by an attorney that the Housing and Urban Development Department had acted wrongly in holding back the pay of 106 Black employees who last year protested its discriminatory policies.

In an unprecedented decision that found the entire department guilty, Julia P. Cooper, a lawyer with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, handed down a 21-page opinion saying that the employees should not have been subjected to penalties 'imposed under questionable circumstances without fair warning and equitable application.'

Her decision was based on having heard some 88 witnesses and viewed 65 documentary exhibits, 40 affidavits and over 100 personal statements.

That such racism has permeated the ranks of the predominantly Black employees of the federal government has been asserted steadfastly by a growing number of individual task forces within the various departments. Most recently, census workers, postal employees and persons holding jobs at the library of congress have all engaged in demonstrations protesting the conditions under which they work.

# UJAMAA

The mural was a picnic scene in which whites were being entertained by caricatures of black people. The alleged "grand larceny" took place at noon, during business hours, in full view of news reporters, spectators, and police, as a group of singing, clapping protesters stood by.

The demonstration was organized in 1966 by the St. Petersburg group of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), of which Waller was then a leader. Prior to the demonstration, the SNCC group had repeatedly asked city officials to remove the mural.

Since 1966, Waller has continued his activities in the movement in Florida and became the founder of JOMO, which is now organizing in other parts of the South. His trial is part of a series of attacks on the organization, including repeated harassment from the FBI as well as from local and state officials.

Connie Tucker, the Florida chairman of JOMO was sentenced to five years in prison last spring on a flimsy marijuana charge; she was finally released from jail on bond after nationwide protests.

Waller is now awaiting sentencing on the new conviction.

## San Quentin Survivors

(Cont'd. from pg. 7) seem to have more correctly labeled themselves as the August 21st Survivors.

Following an October 27 joint conference at the prison, the hearing will resume on Oct. 29. Some of the minor concessions--glasses for Tate, minimal group counseling, etc. -- have, under pressure been met.

Yet, said Holt last week, the all important constant threat to the very lives of the men is still taken as non-existent by the judge. Subsequently he urged that persons write letters to Judge E. Warren McGuire, Dept. No. 1, Superior Court of Marin County, Civic Center, San Rafael, Cal. and urge him to grant the demands of the entire request.

"Otherwise," he said, speaking of the ordeal under which the men were living, "it will never be known from one day to the next if some crazed guard will substitute a lynching for a trial."

# LAND

## The Basis for the Struggle

Land is the basis of all life. It is the basis of freedom and independence. The struggles of history have all been fought over the question of land--who will own it, who will control what comes out of it, who owns which land and so on and so forth.

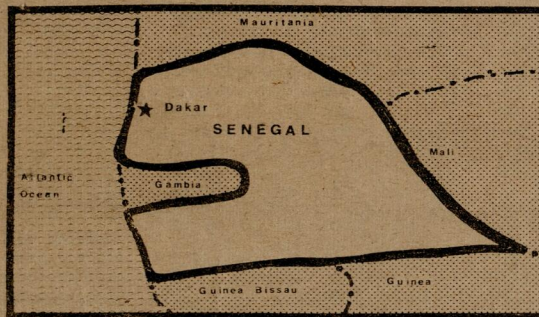
To understand land is to understand economy for land is the only real wealth. Other monies only represent the control of the goods and services derived from the land. That is world economy.

Politics is how to keep land, control and power. And culture is how to legitimize that power and make it last forever.

The most important land mass in the world today is Africa. First, because it is our homeland and birthright. Second, because it is the richest continent in the world. Unplagued by air pollution, overpopulation and drugs, it has enough minerals and natural resources to easily support all of its people--wherever we may be. Hence the priority of a free and independent African continent.

Europeans know this. The basis of their economy is industry. But the land they are on is essentially barren and desecrated. Hence, in order to maintain their existence they must depend on the mineral riches of Africa. Therefore they are exercising a continued struggle to keep us from gaining independence and thereby being in a position to develop Africa ourselves.

A casual look at most any African country will easily illustrate these points.



Senegal

The Republic of Senegal is located on the continent's westernmost edge. It is bounded by Mauritania, Mali, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, while at the same time encircling tiny Gambia. Its president is Leopold Senghor.

Senegal has an area of some 76,000 sq. miles and a population of 3.9 million persons. It has a 5500 man armed force. French and American troops and advisers--over 2,000--are also present.

It is said to be one of the most developed of African countries, although close to three-fourths of its people are rural. The main product of the country is still peanuts, introduced by French colonialists. Still tied to this colonial economy, Senegal is forced to import a good deal of the food its people need to survive. Thus the necessarily high cost of living combined with the average low income of \$60 per year make it no paradise for the masses of the people.

Although Pres. Senghor advocates what he calls 'African socialism,' foreign investors in fact own the country. Nationalization is forbidden.

If it is true that the future of Africa rests with its youth, Senegal may have an explosive situation developing among its younger element. Forty-five per cent of the population is 15 years old or younger. In the past 5 years there have been several student rebellions at the campus of the University in Dakar, one of which led to military occupation of the school. And although there has been a new plan announced to 'Africanize' the essentially French education being offered, observers point out that only significant changes in the actual material conditions of the masses of the Senegalese people will avert further rebellion.