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FIFTEEN CENTS

Tribute To Dr. Nkrumah

African Liberation Day



OSAGYEFO KWAME NKUMAH LISTENING ATTENTIVELY AFTER JUST ADDRESSING THE United Nations Assembly. Dr. Nkrumah, a statesman and revolutionary of historic proportions, will be honored by the demonstrations in Washington, San Francisco, Toronto and the Caribbean. ALD has been established as a tribute to this Pan African fighter of many years.

Hekima Convicted In Mississippi

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - The state of Mississippi convicted the first of the eleven Republic of New Africa members for defending themselves against a surprise dawn raid that resulted in the death of a Mississippi police lieutenant.

Brother Hekima Ana, vice-president of the Midwestern Region-RNA, was found guilty of murder in a Jackson, Mississippi court and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Brother Hekima and nine other RNA citizens were charged with murder, waging war against the state of Mississippi, federal conspiracy, and various assault and gun charges.

On August 18, last year, 14 Mississippi policemen and 15 FBI agents conducted a pre-dawn raid on the RNA headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi. In the ensuing gun battle, one policeman died and two others were wounded. This act of self-defense resulted in murder and "treason" charges against the RNA citizens.

In keeping with true "Mississippi justice," brother Hekima's trial lasted all of one and half weeks. It began on April 17 and by May 3, Hekima had been convicted and sentenced. According to reports from witnesses at the trial, Judge Russell P. Mare deliberately pressed the trial forward despite defense objection. The jury, sequestered in a nearby hotel, was awakened every morning before six and the trial was underway by eight and did not adjourn until late in the evening.

The jury that sat in judgment on Hekima's life was composed of eleven whites and one Black.

The attack on the RNA headquarters was similar to the one carried out on the Republic of New Africa in Detroit, Michigan in March 1969, and very similar to the premeditated murderous attack on Fred Hampton by Chicago police.

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SOBU NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C. - After learning of the death of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Student Organization for Black Unity, joining with the African Liberation Day Co-ordinating Committee, sent out a nationwide appeal for Black people in the Western Hemisphere to make African Liberation Day a successful tribute to Dr. Nkrumah.

The response has been overwhelmingly acceptable, indicating a solid level of understanding of the contributions made by Dr. Nkrumah to the struggle of African people on the theoretical plane, as well as in practice.

Memorial services and tributes to this great freedom fighter were held in Washington, D. C., New York City, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Lawrence, Kansas, Greensboro, North Carolina, to name only a few locations where appreciation for Dr. Nkrumah and the cause he championed was shown.

The outpouring of sentiment and praise served as a barometric indicator of a growing and maturing Pan African consciousness in the Western Hemisphere.

The scheduled solidarity demonstrations and rally on African Liberation Day, May 27, "will be dedicated to Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, one of Africa's noblest warrior sons who all his life studied, taught, organized, fought and worked for the total liberation and independence of Africa. His vision of a United Africa for Africans all over the world has

inspired all of us, and we are deeply grateful that he was able to see the beginning of the culmination of his lifelong struggle before his untimely death last week," announced Owusu Sadaukai, African Liberation Day Chairman.

It is only fitting that an event of the magnitude of African Liberation Day be dedicated to a person of the magnitude of Dr. Nkrumah. Let his struggle against the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism be crystallized and carried forward, to insure that those forces find no relief or comfort in his passing.

Dr. Nkrumah, who while in Ghana gave so much material, written and vocal and support to the liberation struggles in Southern African and made Ghana a refuge to freedom fighters the world over, more than deserves this minor tribute that we can make to his principled life.

African Liberation Day can illustrate our commitment to the ideals that guided the revolutionary life of Osagyefo. Let it not be just another demonstration of empty rhetoric and high sounding phrases, but a true expression of our belief that "the total liberation and unification of Africa under

an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and peoples of African descent everywhere." Dr. Nkrumah.



RACIST MISSISSIPPI POLICE STRUT AROUND IN FULL ASSASSINS GEAR, AFTER CARRYING out pre-dawn raid on RNA headquarters.

Chicago Police "Shoot To Kill"

"The police are not here to create disorder, they're here to preserve it."--Mayor Richard J. Daley, 1968.

CHICAGO (LNS). - 20 years old Chicano Bruce Aguina was downstairs in the basement washroom of Walgreens drug-store at State and Madison on February 4, 1972. So was off duty Sgt. James C. Johnson. Today Bruce Aguina is buried in the ground. Johnson claimed he shot Aguina "accidentally" when he tried to hit him in the head with his gun. Why did he want to slug Bruce with the gun? He was "making noise." The coroner's jury met and ruled "accidental death."

Ronnie Nelson, a 17 year old "greaser." Just stopping by a local hot dog stand. So was Richard Nuccio, cop. Nuccio shot Ronnie dead. Claims the kid threw a knife at him. Ballistics tests show that Ronnie was shot in the back. Oh, says Nuccio, didn't I explain it right before? He threw the knife over his shoulder at me. From 50 feet away.

James Clay, 24 years old and black was on his way home November 26, 1970. Patrolmen James Finnely and Thomas Bowling shot him dead for...being dressed in women's clothes! Nor was it enough to shoot James Clay dead. Officers Finnely and Bowling made extra sure the streets were safe for decent folk by pumping eight more bullets into the front of his head, the back of his head, his neck and penis.

Sometimes we read in the papers about someone being killed by the cops. Once in a while, when the people killed were well known, there's an outcry, lots of "investigations" but little else. Like with Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark or Young Lord Manuel Ramos. But usually, folks just see an article in the paper which gives the cops' side of the story, which is always 'he pulled a gun (or knife) on me and I shot in self defense.'

-ATTICA HAPPENS EVERY YEAR-

What it adds up to is that Attica happens in Chicago every year--30-odd people die by police bullets. It's not as dramatic as Attica was because it's more drawn out--but surely as Rockefeller's gestapo stormed the prison gates and gunned down those who had declared "we are men, we are not beasts" -- just as surely, Chicago cops bag their quota.

The Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, a joint project of the Center for Urban Affairs of Northwestern University and 12 other groups, issued a 104 page report March 28 entitled "The police and their use of fatal force in Chicago." It was an investigation of the 79 "civilians" killed by cops during 1969 and 1970. What did they find out?

First they looked at the five largest U. S. cities. New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Detroit. In a nine month period, from July 1970 to March 1971, cops killed 32 people in Chicago. In the same time period, 21 people were killed in N. Y., 13 in Philadelphia, 8 in L. A. and in Detroit.

Of the 70 civilians killed in Chicago, 75% were black--while only a third of the city's people are black. A black person living in Chicago was over six times as likely to be killed by police as was a white person.

And if you're under 25 years old, you're twice as likely to be shot down by the cops (62% of those killed were under 25). 21.5% of those killed were under 18 years old.

If you're young and black too, you don't have to compute your percentage. You just duck when you see the squad car coming down the street.

Supposedly, there are laws which prohibit cops from reckless conduct--firing into crowds, firing at a fleeing car (except when a forcible felony was committed), firing warning shots in cases where deadly force is

not permitted or when the shot may hit another person, and firing into buildings or doors when the person fired at is not visible.

The Internal Affairs Division of the Police Department, the Cook County Coroner and the State's Attorney all have authority to investigate killings by the police.

Edward Hanrahan, State's Attorney in Chicago, is presently under indictment for "obstructing justice," for ordering the killings of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. But on March 11, 1972, Ed Hanrahan was out campaigning for renomination: "Fred Hampton was a punk, communist and he deserved to die," he told a crowd.

-NO POLICE CONNECTIONS-

The Law Enforcement Study Group ran down the disposition of the 70 cases -- and in no case was the policeman convicted following the trial.

At the Coroner's jury, 65 cases were labeled "justifiable homicide"; 9 labeled "accidents"; 1 called "involuntary manslaughter" and 1 "murder." The last two cases were thrown out by the grand jury.

The Internal Affairs Division of the Police Department refuses to make public any punitive measures taken against cops involved in killings--but almost all of them remain on active duty. In one case, a cop received a one day suspension for killing a woman who was being raped. When she cried for help, he fired through a door, killing her instantly. His suspension was for violating the rule about not shooting through doors.

What kind of evidence is presented to coroner's juries, grand juries, etc.? Out of 74 cases there were 30 in which one eyewitness (usually the cop) was called, and 44 in which no eyewitnesses testified.

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RNA--"Little Support"

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Harassment of RNA citizens was instantaneous upon their dedication of a 20 acre Mississippi farm as their capital. At the time of the dedication, Mississippi FBI agents were quote as saying they "wanted to go down there and run them off, but they haven't broken any Federal law." RNA President Imari Obadele's assurance that RNA policy was to maintain peaceful relations with the state of Mississippi brought this response from Mississippi Attorney General A. E. Summer, "I'm not authorized to negotiate foreign policy. All I know is someone better cut out this damn foolishness before someone gets hurt."

Brother Hekima in his opening statement declared his innocence. He said, "...And here I am charged with the thing that I dislike so much (killing brother Hekima had been declared of conscientious objector status). Let me be very clear here. What happened on August 18th, was the kind of thing and situation that will make an innocent person hurt someone in defense of his own

life.

"The police came to this house at 6:30 in the morning, at a time when people are asleep, gave us 75 seconds to come out, and then started shooting into the house. I tell you that was a horrible situation."

"My wife and I had just gotten out of bed when this shooting started. And let me tell you, I was frightened and didn't know what to do. And I panicked somewhat also. But thank God I didn't hurt or kill anyone. The police and the state are trying to say that I killed officer Skinner. As I stated before that is a mistake. But still, here I am being forced to fight for my life and prove to you that I am not guilty."

Brother Hekima's mother, Mrs. Olivia McClure said, "I don't think he got a fair trial. The trial should have been moved from Jackson. Hekima couldn't get a fair trial because the jury had already made up their minds. Some of them actually slept during the trial." "Hekima and the others have had very little support from people here and elsewhere," she continued. "I wonder if

people realize that what happened to the RNA members could happen to them. I guess we never think about how repressive our society is becoming until actually happens to us."

Attorneys for the RNA citizens are expected to appeal the guilty verdict and life imprisonment sentence meted out to Hekima. Appeal, however, will probably not be made until all eleven have been tried.

PAIGC Youth Visit Havana

HAVANA (AWA) - Representatives from the youth organization of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) headed by Mamadou Tour member of the Executive Committee of the PAIGC, has arrived in Havana to attend the second congress of the League of Communist Youth of Cuba.



MAY 19, WAS MALCOLM'S BIRTHDAY. THERE WERE MANY celebrations, tributes and services around the country commemorating this great African warrior. Paying homage on May 19, in whatever form, is a positive step in redefining who our heroes are, and a move away from letting white folk impose all kinds of athletes, entertainers, class collaborationists, etc. upon us as heroes. REMEMBER BRO. MALCOLM.

Wherever we may be.

Ecology Aids Apartheid

RUSTENBERG, South Africa - Efforts in the U. S. to control pollution caused by cars may mean a bonanza for those who dig platinum out of the ground in South Africa.

Demand for the metal could increase more than fourfold if - as expected here - emission control devices using a platinum catalyst comes into wide usage on motor vehicles. A platinum boom hinges on whether the U. X. government insists that all 1975 model cars emit 90 per cent less hydrocarbons than those made at present.

If such exhaust systems become standard, the U. S. auto industry would need about one and a half million fine ounces of platinum by 1974 and an additional two million ounces by

1975.

Japanese and West German automakers who export to America would also become important buyers as would those in Britain and France.

This level of economic investment in the South African platinum industry would only strengthen the apartheid government's control over the African mass by insuring more economic stability.

A U. S. consular official based in Johannesburg, who attended recent Environmental Protection Agency hearings in Washington, has alerted South African producers to the probably demand.

Control or Bantustan?

WASHINGTON, D. C. - There are 22.6 million Blacks in the United States according to the 1970 census, or 11% of the population of the country. Over 40% of Black people live in Northern urban areas, while another 8% live in the West. No matter where Blacks live, however, over 60% live in the central city.

Four major American cities have populations of more than 50% Blacks: Washington, D. C., Newark, Gary and Atlanta. Among the smaller American cities are Willowbrook, Calif., with a Black population percentile of 82.3%, Westmont, Calif., with 80.6%, Compton, Calif., with 71%, East St. Louis, Illinois, with 69.1%, East Cleveland, Ohio, with 58.6%, Highland Park, Mich., with 55.3%, Petersburg, Va., with 55.2%, East Orange, N. J., with 53.1%, Greenville, Miss., with 52%, Vicksburg, Miss., with 49.3% and Goldsboro, N. C., with 48.1%.

Jackson State Massacre

Mississippi State Police Acquitted

BILOXI, MISS. (LNS) - There were rebel yells and plenty of back slapping among the Mississippi highway patrolmen in this Gulfcoast town recently. An all white jury returned with an acquittal verdict in a \$13.8 million suit brought against the patrolmen by nine wounded students and the families of two slain students--victims of the Mississippi Highway Patrol at Jackson State College on May 14, 1970.

The suit was brought against more than 50 Mississippi State patrolmen and Jackson city police along with city and state officials who were responsible for the mass attack.

The 200 round barrage of shotgun and automatic weapons fire came at the end of two days of demonstrations following Nixon's Cambodian invasion in the spring of 1970. Lawmen, white newsmen, and black students conflicted over the question of whether sniper fire from Alexander Hall (a women's dorm) or rock and bottle throwing from students in front of the dorm, touched off the twenty-eight second barrage.

However, there are several points of fact which cannot be disputed. Every lawman except one who fired weapons testified that he shot into the air or at a window on the third floor of Alexander Hall's west wing. But an FBI examination and photographs of the location showed clearly that there were bullet marks on the entire front of the building on all floors and also in the opposite direction from the alleged sniper. Further, both of the students who were killed and most of those wounded were standing on the ground in front of the dorm when they were hit.

Because the victims were all black, the Jackson State killings have not received the national attention that the fatal shooting of 4 white Kent State students has. Nor has it received the same treatment in the judicial system.

A county grand jury and a federal grand jury reviewed the evidence on Jackson State, but neither returned any indictments. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest found the attack by the patrolmen "completely unwarranted and unjustified," but the Nixon administration took no action on the matter.

On the contrary, the Justice Department recessed a federal investigation of the incident and refused to turn over files pertaining to incident to the plaintiffs in the damage suit until ordered to do so by the federal judge presiding over the case in Biloxi.

In past damage suits against employees and officials of city and state governments it is only possible to sue the individual employee and his salary. Thus any financial benefit from such suits has been negligible due to the limited salaries involved. Attorneys (Lawyers Committee for Constitutional Rights Under the Law) in the Jackson State suit, however, hope to get a Supreme Court ruling that requires the state itself to be financially liable to parties injured by employees for which the state is responsible.

The financial settlement

though is not as important to the plaintiffs, or indeed to everyone involved, as the question of whether in fact white lawmen can still "kill a nigger" and get away with it. And it is for this reason that the plaintiffs expect to appeal the case to the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans: to challenge a court of law that would allow the Mississippi Highway Patrol to play the roles of judge, jury, and executioner in the street--and get off without even a reprimand.

Sickle Cell New Ghetto Hustle

NASHVILLE, TENN. (PAC)-At a recent conference held by the National Association of Black Social Workers, it was basically resolved that many Black people are concerned about the new initiated sickle cell programs which seem to primarily benefit many whites and some Blacks who are heading up the programs rather than the Black who indeed have the disease itself. It was emphasized at the Sickle Cell Workshop titled "The New Ghetto Hustle," that many people are really "in it for their own personal gains rather than in the interests of providing some services to people who have sickle cell."

Other points which highlighted this particular workshop within the conference were concerns that Sickle Cell Anemia programs must go beyond the usual research and treatment. Prof. Naomi Chamberlain of the University of Rochester who attended the conference had this to comment about her doubtfulness of the sincerity of whites in their interest in Sickle Cell Anemia an inherited disease which primarily affects Blacks, "The American Red Cross which has had no historical interest in the Black community was undertaking Sickle Cell testing programs in some areas. The least they could do is to train Black people to the testing." Others in attendance at the conference surmised, "Anytime the enemy does something for Black people we had better look very carefully at what's in it for the white man and in the final analysis, whether or not it's destructive for Black people."

X Honored

BOSTON, Mass. - On May 19, the birthday of the revolutionary African leader, Malcolm X, approximately four hundred brothers and sisters marched from Boston's Southend, Dudley Station, and Mattapan area to both call for Black unity and pay tribute to Malcolm X.

The march began at 10:30 in the Black and Puerto Rican section of Boston, the Southend. By 12:00 o'clock the marchers had joined other crowds in the Dudley Station area of Roxbury, Boston's largest black community.

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BROTHER WILLIE RICKS DISPLAYING HIS BANDAGED WOUND TO YOUNG BROS. AND SISTERS, showing them the lengths that white-folk will go to maintain our oppression. Bro. Ricks, never one to be kept down, is well on his way to recovery after being wounded by a white hospital administrator during a strike in Atlanta, Ga.

California Repression

New Prison Regulations

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD
by Andre B. Dale

We must keep the words of Brother Drungo in mind as we go about fighting the justices of the savage prison system in this country and more specifically within this state. Let's not fool ourselves. White folks are testing us to see how we react to the repressive measures which they inflict on the Brothers in prisons. Our reactions will indicate how fast or slow they will proceed with their program of genocide.

Repression at the California prisons is becoming more severe every day. According to word received from Brothers who are incarcerated within this dehumanizing system the main intent of the prison administrators is to eliminate all of their outside contact with the community. These administrators realize that if they can effectively accomplish this then they can continue their brutal treatment of the prisoners. Any prisoner who does not give in to this treatment will then be murdered and some wild story will be concocted as to the cause of his death.

GEORGE JACKSON

Such was the case with Brother George Jackson. (Of course Brother George has not been the only one who has been murdered but his situation is well known to all of us.) The officials used Brother Jackson's murder to escalate their repressive regulations. The Department of "Corrections" changed the rules in regard to attorney visits with inmates, public information and community relations and so called "inflammatory" literature. Basically what all of these changes did were to eliminate all special investigators who were not "licensed" by the state, restrict the press and other media (specifically the Black Press and community information groups) from talking with specific inmates and eliminate any literature that the warden

didn't like.

THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR The special investigators previously used by many of the inmates were lay people who were really interested in helping the Brothers. Through conversation the incarcerated Brother was able to relate his plight to the investigator who would subsequently look in-

to the Brother's case. These relationships afforded the outside prisoners (the investigators and us) to see their inside Brothers as human beings, not sub humans as the press and prison officials like to portray them. The special investigator RECEIVED NO PAY FOR HIS WORK. No money was necessary. He was working to help his Black Brother who was confined and therefore unable to do for himself. Because the special investigator could not be corrupted through bribery, trickery etc. the white folks knew that they would have to make a rule which would stop them from visiting.

UNWRITTEN RULES OF REPRESSION

It is necessary to understand that there are many unwritten rules of repression used against prisoners within the walls of confinement. Reportedly many times the prison officials try to discourage prisoners from visiting and/or corresponding with the Brothers and Sisters through subtle tactics of harassment. It seems that after our people get word to us that certain rules are being changed, when the prison officials are questioned about it they say that nothing changed. It is this writer's purpose to tell what our folks say since the prison officials always have access to the "establishment media." You, the reader can judge for yourself.

SAN QUENTIN

Word has been received from Brothers within San Quentin that each Brother in the so called "adjustment center" (adjust to what?) can now only have

one (1) visit per week. Visiting days have reportedly been cut down for attorneys to Monday and Thursday only. Friday, Saturday and Sunday are reserved for families and friends only.

At VACAVILLE it seems that visiting a friend or relative may soon become a thing of the past. During the latter part of 1971 a Sister was attempting to visit some Brothers at Vacaville. She was told by

a guard at the visiting room desk that her husband had to sign a form permitting her to visit and that it HAD TO BE NOTARIZED. This appears to be another form of harassment as to get this form notarized the Sister would have had to drive 40 or 50 miles. Of course by this time that was done the meeting would have

been over. Also at Vacaville such organizations as the Black Cultural Association reportedly have had the number of outside guests who may attend the meetings restricted to twelve (12). This is being done without any consideration of an organization's needs or functions. In addition to all of these restrictions one of the most punitive measures is one which reportedly became effective on February 5, 1972. According to the Brothers within the prisons as of that day in order to VISIT OR CORRESPOND WITH THEM A PERSON MUST HAVE KNOWN THEM 5 YEARS PRIOR TO THEIR INCARCERATION.

CORRESPONDENCE AND VISITING QUESTIONNAIRE

The way the officials are going to introduce this regulation is very subtle. The questionnaire is now sent to all persons who want to visit and/or write Brothers. (According to those involved this form previously was NOT sent to those who wanted to correspond; it only came to those persons who wanted to visit). The

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ALD Significance

European and U. S. imperialism has meant the use of monies, trickery and fraud, and when those means weren't receivable, armed troops as a means of spreading their dominance throughout Africa, Asia and many other portions of the world to insure their economical existence and survival.

If we examine that situation today, Africa has become the target of this expropriation by western imperialism. The reason is obvious - the African continent provides the richest mineral and natural resources deposits to be found anywhere in the world. Added to this we cannot forget another economic factor which is the sprinkling of pennies paid as wages to our brothers who mine the resources of copper, zinc, manganese, gold, silver, and diamonds. These wages constitute merely the scattered crumbs of the super profits coming out of the mines. Our motherland has become the profit-haven of Western greed and imperialism.

Our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau are waging a victorious battle to free themselves from the clutches of Western imperialism.

A complete understanding of the oppression that we as Africans in the Americas and the Caribbean suffer reveals that the same forces which compel us here to pay the highest rent for filthy and unsanitary housing, the highest prices for the lowest grade foods, and the same forces which implement the "last-hired, first-fired" policy (even when we have their "legitimate" credentials), the same forces which daily rob our children of their potential black consciousness and replace it with self-hatred and inferiority; these are equally the same forces which have created the apartheid policy in Southern Africa and forced our brothers to leave their families to work for the greedy and profit oriented corporations of European and U. S. imperialism. African people throughout the world suffer at the hands of the same enemy. It therefore becomes essential that all African people throughout the world unite in a strong bond of solidarity moving to destroy our common enemy.

By joining the African Liberation Day march in Washington, D. C. or San Francisco on May 27th, we as African people here in the U. S. can begin showing our national unity to those brothers and sisters who have joined together throughout Southern Africa to rid their home territories of the aggressive Western imperialist. Our participation in the march will emphasize not only our support to the liberation movements in Africa but shall further make visible to U. S. and European imperialist that Africans in the U. S. are aware of the efforts which rape the African soil of her resources and have robbed African people of the right of self-determination.

Our growing consciousness can no longer allow us to forget our African brothers and condone this deplorable behavior by the world's imperialist. Our active participation in the African Liberation Day march will proclaim our mass awareness, support and solidify our committed task-total liberation of African and freedom to all African people wherever we may be!

Wallace and Others

The President of the United States is the pinnacle representative of western imperialism, thus the individual serving in that capacity always attracts a great deal of attention in the world. The economic ruling class in the U. S. usually prefers to have a representative who will continue to be a worthy spokesman for their interests yet

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THE STRUGGLE IN PERSPECTIVE

by NELSON N. JOHNSON
SOBU National Chairman

Capitalism and Black Nationalism

It is clear that the nature of our oppression in this country has both a class and a race character, we are oppressed because we are poor, and we are additionally oppressed because we are Black. We have noticed that the primary contradiction among Europeans is the contradiction between the owners of the wealth (and certain "non-productive" managers and middle layers) and the producers of wealth. It might be and sometimes is, assumed that this contradiction is ripe, that white workers are for the eradication of the capitalist class, and that our natural course of action is to align with our "class allies" white workers to overthrow this system. This argument breaks down for three closely interrelated but distinguishable reasons: 1. Racism permeates American society. Its effects are so old and so subtle as to render much of it UNCONSCIOUS. But the most conscious, virulent, personal, and vicious racism exists in the white working class. It is the working class whites who have burned buses, beaten old women, and spat on little children. Although it is true that, to a great extent, these attitudes are allowed and even fostered by the capitalist class in their own interests, it cannot be denied that white workers perceive some material benefits to be gained by the continued subjugation of our people. As long as we are the lowest on the economic ladder, they do not have to be. 2. The entire history of the labor-trade union movement has been characterized not only by racism and manipulation of African workers, but also by a singular degree of cooperation and collaboration between its leaders and the capitalist class. The result can be demonstrated, on the one hand, by the selling out of African interests in the Populist movement, and on the

other, by the visit of four West Coast Longshoremen union officials to Vietnam with union funds to speed up the delivery of weapons to the American war effort.

The extent of the "labor aristocracy" can be easily seen if we remember that many "important" union officials receive salaries and fringe benefits up to, and over \$100,000 per year! That is a sum worthy of a few capitalists—certainly worthy of Nixon—3. The long arm of American imperialism results in a tremendous flow of income into this country. The owners and users of this money, the capitalists, have long recognized that their interests would be served by the appropriation of a small percentage of their profits to domestic workers, usually the organized ones, in the form of higher wages. This results in what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has called "embourgeoisement of the western workers," just as valid in other advanced capitalist states, thought not to such an extent. The monopolized industries of the economy, with the most advanced state of development and the highest accumulation of capital, might be expected to yield the most advanced workers. Monopoly, however, is integrally tied to imperialism, and it is precisely those industrialist which function under monopolistic competition that are in the best position to throw out to their workers some of the crumbs squeezed out of their far off semi-slaves. The very motion of capitalist industrial development in the United States radically changed its class structure. Of the jobs held by the working class today 60% did not exist during the First World War. And conversely 70% of the jobs in existence during 1900 do not exist today. What has, in effect, taken place is a process of "deproletarianization." The old production line workers who formed the

main bulk at the turn of the century are now only 12 of the 60 million in the work force. These changes have led to a growing identity of workers with the bourgeoisie. The "embourgeoisement" of the white worker has been enhanced by the fact that many of the 'old' working class positions are being occupied by Black people. We form about 4 million or 30% of the 12 million "productive" workers. Growing in numbers every day, Black people increasingly seem to be the 'real' proletariat, thus reinforcing the bourgeois outlook of white workers.

It is evident, then that the nice neat picture of "Black and white together" class struggle is neither nice nor neat. It is nonsense to suggest that we must delay our liberation until European workers come to their senses. We must, therefore, push on to look at the potential for struggle within ourselves.

The romanticization of our past and present in recent years has led some of us to the belief that there were and are no classes in Africa, or that such class antagonisms are purely the result of European cultural, political, and economic intervention. A similar notion is that all Black people in this country have precisely the same interests and that there are no class cleavages in our communities.

First, let us look at Africa. A recent issue of Jet magazine reported that William Tubman, the fat President of Liberia, had left his widow an estate of two hundred million dollars. This, in a country where most people must squeeze a tenuous existence out of the ground and the rubber trees every day. Tubman's estate was symbolic of the relationships that exist across most of Africa between a few landowners, merchants, and civil servants on the one hand, and the vast

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National chairman

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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

Words from Our Readers:

Gary Convention—Another View

The National Black Political Convention held this year in Gary has received wide attention. Brother Vince Egan, executive secretary of the African People's Party of Atlanta Ga., has outlined in a letter to the *African World* his thoughts for the basis of a correct analysis.

April 11, 1972

Comrades, Solidarity!

IDEOLOGY. It presents itself to us as the anti-christ, the would-be saviour that has brought us so much disaster. The Great Call for Ideology has brought us a point of stasis, forcing us to ignore the historical roots of issues, their theoretical frame.

So it is with the positions on the recent National Black Political Convention, where "unity" is lauded as an illusion for solidarity.

On the one hand you have traditional left organizations such as the Socialist Worker's Party, alleged supporters of Black nationalism. The position of the SWP was that the historical roots of the Convention lay in earlier meetings of the Black Caucus, and that the thrust of the convention could be reduced to activities of Black Democrats moving to maintain and consolidate power in the Democratic Party. They contend that Baraka and the CAP equivocated on the issue of independent Black politics and had little or no intention of carrying the Convention past their particular level of reformism.

On the other hand you have Black Nationalists, such as S-OB, who portrayed the Convention as "a marvel of efficiency and accomplishment through unity," bearing a "totally progressive orientation."

Both positions to us represent a blissful caricature of the appearance of the Convention, but not an analysis of the historical contradictions concealed in the essence of the problem. We cannot provide such a critique here, but we can present this letter as a question, and only by raising the correct questions can we move to a proper historical assessment of the situation.

What was the conference a result of? Obviously, the sixties, the struggles and upheavals thereof, the dialectical interplays; nationalist/integrationist, violent/non-violent, revolutionary/reformist, etc. The sixties were a product of mass struggle by African people for democratic rights, and the conference was in part a product of the absence, or better the dissipation of those same struggles. The reasons for this disintegration devolves from basically three phenomena; a) ideological—the development of ultraleftism which sees itself as "too revolutionary" to participate in the Mass Movement and prefers petty-bourgeois, isolated armed sects; the development of passive reformism which prefers loud talk, little struggle, and much negotiation with the indigenous forces of monopoly capitalism; development of capitulationism and liquidationism in the revolutionary movement which takes the struggle for revolutionary change off the historical agenda and replaces it with efforts for social welfare, or a land-base, etc.; b) the white ideological superstructure—

the white communications network ignores what struggle there is in the Black community and gives daily mythological eulogies to the deceased Black Liberation struggle; c) absorption by the forces of monopoly-minimal demands have been exclusively met and a leadership is being formed which can express the radical aspirations of the masses of our people, but in such a fashion as to immobilize those same aspirations.

The last point is overdetermined in the National Black Political Convention. The Convention is neither about a capitulation to the Democratic party or a radical turn to mass independent politics. In the final analysis the Convention is about a "new class" ascending to leadership of our struggle and of our communities. The specific historical character of our communities dictates that class leadership does not simply come from who control production in our communities because no Black people do; it comes from those who accumulate the most political resources and can command the direction of our struggle.

To discuss these issues is to open up a historical problematic around the Convention and it is the underlying purpose of this discussion. The discussion leads us to analyze this new social force, its origins, its components, and its most important representative, Imamu Ameer Baraka. This force must be discussed in the context of challenges in leadership beginning with Mr. Muhammad's attacks on the Black Power Conferences to the Congress of African Peoples to now. A comparative analysis to the 1920's would be illuminating.

We must first employ the Marxist theory of ideology

which defines ideology as a

partially fallacious representation of reality which cannot be a tool to judge people and their movements. The problem is that the convention was judged ideologically at two levels, the ideology of those making the analysis, and the ideology of the convention. Historical materialism means that we cannot judge events by what they think of themselves (ideologically) but by their real, material basis (historically). History is the tool and theory is the weapon.

The other important tool would be stimulated by Fanon's remarkable chapter, "Pitfalls of National Consciousness," where he discusses the rise of an opportunist social force over the National Liberation movement which does not have authentic bourgeois economic power. His discussion of parties also reminds us that the true People's Revolutionary cannot be constructed by ornate conventions, but by decentralized grass roots work.

Make no mistake, we are not condemning the incorrigible revolutionary spirit of the Black Masses in attendance. We are condemning prevailing analyses of that attendance. We are saying that the root issues cannot be dealt with a crude analytical compartmentalism: revolutionary vs reformist, progressive vs reactionary, nationalist vs integrationist. We are saying that if we do not raise the correct questions, at a time of total crisis of capitalist democracy, we may have to watch the remnants of the Mass Movement either away in our hands. Extermination may replace it on the historical agenda.

Venceremos!
Vince Egan
Atlanta, Georgia

Nkrumah Will Never Die

cont'd. from pg. (4)

The sudden death of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah is a heavy and great loss not only for our people of Ghana and Africa, but for the peoples of Asia and Latin America. Like Ho Chi Minh to the people of Vietnam, when Nkrumah was living was our father, teacher, leader, comrade and mentor. He was the symbol of the iron will and unshakable revolutionary force of our liberation struggle. He was the drum of that struggle.

Nkrumah was born on September 21, 1909. His revolutionary courage and dedication, his unshakable and steeled loyalty to his ideological in our pan-African world. His life is a shining example of what the youth of Africa want to be—a shining example of revolutionary heroism, militant pan-African solidarity, total dedication and self-sacrifice to the African Revolution and socialism.

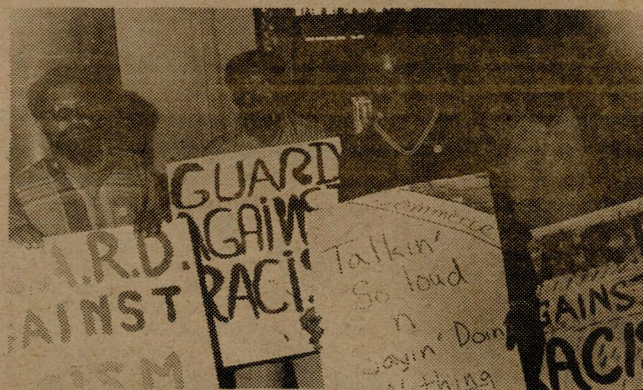
All his life, Nkrumah upheld the unshakable spirit of uncompromising struggle against the enemies of Africa—imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and devoted all his life to the liberation struggle of the masses of our people at home and abroad.

Nkrumah is gone! He is no more! But he left us an important and historical legacy. This is the Nkrumah era in our history, the most revolutionary era. This is the era of African Revolution, the era

of our people's struggle for independence, freedom and human dignity. Nkrumah's name symbolizes this struggle and its success. He was one of the rare men in Africa who clearly understood and reflected the revolutionary dreams and aspirations of our people. His whole lifetime was devoted and dedicated to the African liberation struggle and unification of the Motherland.

Like Lenin, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara and many other fallen revolutionary heroes, Nkrumah will live forever in the hearts of our people and the peoples of Asia and Latin America. He will live forever in the revolutionary struggle of masses of Africa and humanity, self-denial, self-sacrifice and devotion will inspire the generations to come. He set an example of total devotion, iron-willed courage and attachment to the ideological principles of Pan-Africanism, internationalism and socialism.

Nkrumah is not dead, he will live forever with our great mountains, our great valleys, our great lakes and our great rivers, in our revolutionary work and in the hearts of millions and millions of our people. Nkrumah will never die. Maina-wa-Kinyatti
National Secretary, Pan-African Students Organization in the Americas.



GUARD WORKERS DEMONSTRATE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. against the racist practices of the government, who has taken a cue from James Brown by talking loud and doing nothing. (R. Williams photo).

GUARD Challenges

Census Dept. Cop-Out

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "Talkin' loud 'n doin' nothing," was the assessment of several employees of the U. S. Census Bureau after a recent 2 1/2 hour meeting with the Assistant Secretary of the Commerce Department for Administration. The meeting was the "low light" of a demonstration by GUARD (Government Employees Against Racial Discrimination) and Census Department Black workers to get the Commerce Department to implement a "comprehensive upward mobility program." The Census Bureau is an agency of the Commerce Department.

The 75 Blacks had an appointment with Secretary of Commerce J. Peterson. However, an unidentified security guard told the delegation that "Sec. Peterson is out to lunch. But you may see the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Jobe." GUARD members stated that "although we have talked with Mr. Jobe before with no results, we will make one more attempt."

The irate employees patiently explained to Mr. Jobe how \$150,000 promised months earlier for an Upward Mobility Program "never seemed to

have appeared." Brother Roy Johnson, Chairman of GUARD explained that "Part of the problem here is a lack of seriousness for the concerns of Black people. Of 155 promotions recently announced at census, 109 went to whites in grades GS-II and GS-12, 46 went to Blacks in grades GS-3 and GS-4." One sister who was present state "I've been a GS-4 for the past 5 years." When asked if he would suspend all promotions at the Census Bureau until an Upward Mobility plan is implemented, Mr. Jobe stammered "if I think that is necessary. However, I doubt if I will find that necessary."

The sisters and brothers demanded to know what Mr. Jobe would personally do to help Black people get equitable salaries at the Census Bureau. Mr. Jobe replied rapidly, "I'll do what I have in the past." Mr. Jobe was scheduled to talk to employees at the Census Bureau on two occasions about implementing the program. "He showed the first time and hasn't been back since," stated one employee. Mr. Jobe agreed that the employees' statement was accurate.

Wallace And Others

cont'd. from pg. (4)

who can maintain at least a thin facade of liberalism. George Wallace was making a strong bid to become the first recent president to simply not bother with the liberal front at all.

Many Black folks viewed the recent shooting of Wallace with mixed emotions. First came the feeling of gratification that comes anytime a racist is struck down. Then came the realization that he was one of the most effective forces around at laying bare the racist core of this country. Wallace was proving without a doubt that America is a thoroughly racist nation and was rapidly stripping back the thin cover of liberalism which has had so many people of African descent confused for so long.

The confusion spread by white liberals is deep, however, and even Wallace was clearing the air fast enough. Blacks are coming out everyday with support committees for every white candidate who has filed for office — all of them, including Wallace.

It all reminds one of a certain dog food commercial with Black people running around shouting at each other, "My white boy is bigger and better than your white boy." When will it all end?

When a defeated primary opponent lashed out at Wallace's racist views, Wallace confidently replied, "He is not talking about me, he's talking about the American people. I represent their views." Maybe that tells the whole story.

Gary-Beyond The Unity

SOBU ANALYSIS

There is much to be learned from an analysis of the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana. The Convention was held over two months ago; yet, it continues to arouse, anger, and excite Black people throughout the country. In fact, several days ago, the NAACP announced it could no longer be a part of the follow up body of the National Convention (the National Steering Committee). Many of the traditional and projected leadership elements in the Black community have leveled divisive charge at the work of the convention, while avidly expounding Black unity. That the convention has drawn such critical attention is an indication of its impact and potential.

Although the Congressional Black Caucus has been credited with calling for the convention, the idea for it originated and was actively promoted by nationalist groups. Originally members of the Black Caucus and others of the Black bourgeois leadership element debated the merits of running a Black presidential candidate as a technique for building electoral strength.

The NBPC, unlike its Black power conference forerunners, represented a much broader spectrum of people as well as what appeared to be a more systematic approach to dealing with the problems which confront Black people. It was this broad composition of the delegations which defined both the nature and limitations of the convention.

The call for unity-unity without uniformity - prevailed throughout the conference. However, beyond the symbolic unity so eagerly sought, there lurked some basic and fundamental contradictions between different class interests represented at Gary. The differences are bound to manifest themselves at some point. In fact the Black Caucus and the NAACP have already indicated their lack of enthusiasm for the proposed National Agenda.

The current resistance to the NBPC can be understood in light of the nature and function of the bourgeois Black leadership. In an election year there is the usual maneuvering by Black politicians to gain the maximum brokerage leverage.

ty, and all personal friends of the great departed throughout the world, that the moral remains of the late President Kwame Nkrumah were brought back to Conakry today, 30 April 1972 (from a hospital in Bucharest Eastern Europe).

The Central Committee and the government have decided to have the funeral of the co-President of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah, coincide with the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the PDG scheduled to take place on 13 and 14 May, 1972.

In this connection, the Government of Guinea has the honor to invite to the national funeral of the late President Nkrumah all governments, political parties, trade union organizations, all women, youth and intellectual organizations, as well as all personal friends of the late President.

The Republic of Guinea will not oppose the return of the late president's remains to Ghana if the Ghanaian Government expresses the desire to take them home. However, the Republic of Guinea is anxious that the best political and moral conditions are insured so that the

Of course, the bargaining power so frantically sought after will be used to satisfy the interest of the small group seeking it and not necessarily in the authentic interests of the Black masses.

Bourgeois Black leadership finds little difficulty in responding to the call for blackness. In fact since the mid-sixties, blackness has become acceptable to the ruling class of this country as they have found effective ways to diffuse its revolutionary potential. As the progressiveness of the concept has given way to a more reactionary content, blackness has increasingly become the tool of that group of Blacks who seek to satisfy their own psychological and material needs - this being done in accordance with bourgeois values and aspirations.

The objective of those who view Black politics as a magic carpet to fame and fortune is to somehow gain the confidence of the Black masses and to mobilize the collective national strength of the Black electorate under its leadership. With such an objective in mind widespread understanding on the basic political questions which face Black people today would not satisfy that interest. In fact ambiguity and confusion would tend to better serve the objective of control through the leadership of a small self-interested group. If the Black political convention was designed to open up the political awareness to the masses of Black people, then it becomes clear why an open national Black political convention has met the resistance which it has. The development of a Black people's agenda would conflict with the Black leaders' agenda; that is, the problem.

Why then was a national convention called? Why did it initially receive the tacit support of the traditionally projected leadership? As has been pointed out, it was called at the insistence of nationalist groups. More fundamentally, many leadership elements agreed initially because of their desire to conform to the catch-all call for unity and because they felt they could control the substance of the convention through long and meaningless speeches and entertainment. In looking back at Gary, it is clear that the

three-day gathering was scheduled to be bogged down with speeches and entertainment. It is to the credit of Black people that many of those speeches never occurred.

The composition of the convention, the nature of the interaction between certain identifiable interest groups, and the mechanics of putting the convention together are all revealing. There are, however, some basic questions beyond the scope of an analysis of the last fifteen months and the immediate activities which led into the convention. It has been pointed out and quite correctly so that the NBPC is an outgrowth of the sixties and is the 1972 expression of the continuation of the struggle. It becomes clear then that the shortcomings of the convention were merely a reflection of the shortcomings and mistakes of the sixties and before. The convention could not exceed its built-in incapacities. Of course, we must also ask did it approach its potential. The question of what it did, not withstanding, an analysis of its potential, is really an analysis of the decade of struggle preceding the seventies.

It has been pointed out that the convention dodged or equivocated on basic questions. The question of a national Black political party comes immediately to mind. The question really is what could the convention do with the call for a Black party and did not the mode of organization over the last decades really determine more than which person chaired the convention whether that question could have been meaningfully dealt with.

Some argue that the convention brought to the fore a new leadership class-a new prototype of Black national leader. This may be true. The future will confirm this opinion. There were obviously all shades of interest and intent involved in the convention. What the conven-

tion was cannot be viewed as a three-day phenomenon. The convention was, in fact, what we have been and what we are seeking to become. It gives us a reading on how well or how bad we are doing.

all his comrades in arms being detained in Ghana; 3) Lift the ban forbidding his comrades in arms from returning to Ghana; 4) Receive his body with all the honors due to a head of state and accord him a funeral worthy of his gigantic work in the service of all just causes.

Glory to all struggling peoples! Glory to the eternal and immortal work of Kwame Nkrumah, champion of African independence and unity and of true human brotherhood! Long live the African democratic revolution!

Genocide Legislation!

CHARLEVOIX, MICH. (PAC)-It has been learned that a conservative Republican Michigan legislator has proposed the increase in birth rate among educated, propertied United States citizens and a curbing of births "in Americas slums." Mr. Friske, a John Birchler and George Wallace supporter, made this proposal in a press release criticizing President Nixon's population commission. He verbally attacked the new laws concerning abortion

and also the recommendation that sex education be taught in the schools. According to Mr. Friske, "There is a need for curbing the growth of the drone population that weakens our society." Many Black people who heard the press release had this to say: "Actually Mr. Friske is in complete agreement with President Nixon. Both of them would be quite satisfied if there was no Black population in the United States."



Nkrumah Burial In Ghana

Toure - Conditions For Return

CONAKRY, Guinea (AWA) - People of Guinea and Africa and freedom fighters, the body of President Nkrumah was returned today to the country he had chosen. The stricken and sorely tried Guinean people unanimously accorded him a worthy reception full of great moral significance. The man, who in his lifetime had embodied Africa with loyalty and courage in the face of imperialism, is in his turn being embodied and protected by a whole people who know how to remem-

gle of the eternal combatant aiming at the eternal dream for improved conditions.

Kwame Nkrumah was one of those men who mark the destiny of mankind fighting for freedom and dignity. Kwame Nkrumah lives and will live forever because Africa, which is grateful to him, will live forever. The combatants of all races and colors, fighting for the independence and progress of all peoples and for the equality and solidarity of all the nations of the world, will con-



LONG TIME FRIENDS AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS AHMED Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah address the Guinean masses. Although many have referred to Dr. Nkrumah's stay in Guinea as a period of exile, Dr. Nkrumah said "I want you all to understand that I am not in exile in Conakry. Every country and town in Africa is my home, and so I am at home in Conakry, Guinea, as I would be at home in any part of the Black world."

ber and recognize true human merit, devotion and efficiency.

Although death is inevitable and life very short, time and space always vindicate the history of a people and integrate it with their achievement. Thus, a man who lives once always continues to live - no longer in flesh and blood but in conscience and ideal - and continues to participate fully and constantly in the eternal strug-

gle to live and fight for Kwame Nkrumah's ideals.

People of Guinea and Africa and freedom fighters, the Central Committee of the Guinean Democratic Party (PDG) and the Guinean Government informs all party militants, all forces struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, all liberation movements fighting for freedom and digni-

SPECIAL SECTION



AFRICAN WORLD*

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Africa Must Be Free

Understand The Struggle!

COMPILED BY THE CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION IN CONJUNCTION WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY COMMITTEE

The objectives of African people are the liberation of Africa, the unification of African people, and the development of Africa's human and natural resources for the betterment of our people. We want the re-establishment of African conservices, culture and consciousness, land base--and the ability to defend and protect these aspects of our lives. We want to bring about such a change in the power relationships between Africans and Europeans that we are in complete control; that we, now the last, shall be first.

Since the presence of white control in southern Africa is an obstacle to the achievement of African objectives, that presence must end. Not only must black people living in southern Africa continue to develop strategy and tactics for this purpose, but black people living elsewhere on the continent, and in European countries (U. S., Russia, England, etc.) must begin to develop supportive work. All strategic considerations (short - run and long-run) should come from a perspective about what we have to do to win, not from reaction to what's done to us by the enemy.

We in the U. S. have a tremendous job in educating and changing the thinking patterns of the black community. Black people here have been programmed to think only in terms of the local and the immediate, and only in terms of pieces of the whole. We are discouraged from making connections, from real analysis. To deal with southern Africa, international, long - range, inclusive thought is required, and whole analysis of our interests as black people. As we seek to re-educate, we must inculcate in black people the will not to support Europe in Africa not to go as troops to fight not to serve as agents, not to support the sending of arms and money by the U. S. government against our brothers, not to fall into pitfall specific issues set up by whites while they remain in ultimate control in southern Africa.

Because of our experience in the U. S. with the civil rights and "human rights"

Basic to our understanding of the liberation struggles in southern Africa is the knowledge that the principle desire of Africans in southern Africa is to regain control of their land. Europeans, through the conquest of land and people, now control this land, and use it for their own betterment.

Africans, after years of frustration, have decided that guerilla warfare is the only means of regaining control of their land, and Guerilla movements are in existence in every white-ruled territory in southern Africa. (Azania--PAG, ANC, Namibia--SWAPU, SWANU, Angola -- MPLA, UNITA, Mozambique--FRELIMO, Zimbabwe--FROLIZI)

It is important that we understand that Africans are not interested in peaceful co-existence, nor "sharing the wealth," nor just ending apartheid. They want to re-conquer their land and have decided that violence in southern Africa will end only when their objective is achieved. In some territories, guerillas already control large areas of land, while in others, sabotage operations and general warfare continue.

Where Africans have reasserted control over their land, programs for educating the people and developing the natural resources for their betterment have already been established by the liberation fighters.

Our collection and donation of resources to aid the struggles in southern Africa is essential, for the liberation groups all suffer from lack of adequate financial and material resources, their numbers being their greatest advantage. Until now, the liberation groups have received limited help from the OAU and a few independent African countries. For this and the support of Black people around the world who are involved in struggle, the African freedom fighters are thankful. But probably more crucially important to their struggle than the material aid from supporters is the confidence of the African warriors that they will succeed against all odds.

movements, we tend to transfer our analysis from these movements to the struggle in southern Africa. Sometimes we fall into very dangerous pitfalls, set up by the enemy to confuse us while he remains in control. Many of these pitfalls can be raised and used as tactics, particularly in propaganda, but we must be wary of confusing them with African objectives in southern Africa. The following are some we believe are important to be aware of and to avoid, in making true analysis of southern Africa: BEING FOR OR AGAINST APARTHEID -- apartheid is a policy of whites in southern Africa, a complicated tactic for remaining in control of the

economy. If it should in the future prove an impediment to whites remaining in ultimate control, if it should prove an impediment to their using the human and natural resources for white betterment and development, it will be replaced. Some white businessmen are already calling for the alleviation of past laws, job restrictions, etc. that characterize apartheid. While the results of apartheid are cruel and bad for our people, while we may have to use this in motivating some people to action, we are not for or against apartheid. We are for African control, not for a better place for black people in the white scheme of things.

BEING FOR "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT" OR BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENT -- bantustan development in southern Africa is a bigger economic fraud than even black capitalism in the U.S. We must not carry over our enthusiasm for the concept of "community control" or a separate nation within a nation in the U.S. to the situation of reservations forced on Africans in southern Africa by the Europeans. The issue is not whites giving us back small pieces of the most barren, dry, overcrowded, infertile land in southern Africa to try to develop, the issue is gaining black control of all the land that belongs to us again.

IF WE WITHDRAW SUPPORT OF EUROPE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, IT HURTS BLACK PEOPLE THERE -- The factories built and money invested by the U. S. and Europe in southern Africa have historically helped to entrench

white power and control. That has not changed. Minor, specific improvements for some black workers do not affect the basic fact that all white investors and companies in southern Africa profit from and want to continue, the situation in which a handful of whites control the land, the valuable resources, the very labor of a majority of black people. These companies are not "helping black people." They are helping themselves and white settlers continue to profit. We would be betraying the efforts of our brothers and sisters who struggle for real freedom if we support U.S. companies in southern Africa. Our people have made it clear that they want long-term, meaningful change in their land, not crumbs from the enemy.

BEING FOR OR AGAINST BETTER PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES TO GET MAJORITY RULE -- this is akin to the apartheid pitfall, and is extensively used against us on the Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) question. Again, the issue is not being able to vote with the white folks on how they can rule us and use our land and labor for their own betterment. The issue is not to be allowed to become a part of their already-established political on African land; it is to create our own, to help achieve our own objectives.

BEING FOR OR AGAINST LIBERALIZATION OF WORK CONDITIONS FOR AFRICANS -- Of course we want to see the day when Africans don't toil under slave conditions. Of course we want better housing, good pay, adequate health facilities, the opportunity for technical and other educational training for black people. But we don't want to remain in the position of asking others who remain in control to grant us those things. They will grant Africans some of those specifics, if and when it fits in with their plans to remain in control and continue to use African resources for white development. We want the power to control the specifics of work, and all other important specifics, and this control comes only with a change in the power relationships in southern Africa, when Africans will be in total control of the land, its resources, and their own labor.

ASKING WHITE PEOPLE (OUR OPPRESSOR) TO DEAL WITH THE NATURE OF OUR OPPRESSION -- We must develop a mentality that enables us to formulate our own objectives, and work, first of all, from the perspective of what we have to do to achieve those objectives. We must move away from begging the enemy not to be the enemy, from appealing to the enemy's conscience to do better by us.

CONCERN ONLY WITH WHAT OUR WHITE FOLKS ARE DOING -- In order to arouse the interest of some black people in the U. S. in what is happening in southern Africa, we may at first have to pinpoint U.S. involvement. But we must remain aware of the fact that U.S. involvement in southern Africa is only a part of white control, only one section of the enemy's ranks -- and not even the biggest section. Right now, Britain is the biggest investor in South Africa, and France sells the most arms. Our interest can never center around only what one European nation is doing to maintain white control in southern Africa, and we can't base our actions and analysis solely on which white nation we want to be against. The enemy acts in concert against us, and we have to be united in opposition to all white control in southern Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA AS A cont'd. on pg. (8)

African Liberation Day

MULTI-NATIONAL RATHER THAN BI-RACIAL STATE -- white propaganda about South Africa tends to emphasize that there are many tribe-nations among the black population, that these do not constitute one race against the white race. We must be wary of singling out tribes in our propaganda, at a time when many brothers and sisters in southern Africa are moving away from those divisions and uniting in the struggle. The issue in southern Africa is clearly white control over all black people. As history and politics have evolved in southern Africa, the black people are all as one--in how they have been dealt with, and in how they will struggle to regain control of their land.

There may be other pitfalls to avoid in moving on southern Africa, but we think they can all be avoided, if we keep in mind what we are for, as well as what we are against. **LIBERATION STRUGGLES

Blood has been shed in Africa. Blood is being shed in Africa. For the oppressed black people of southern Africa, history demands that blood be shed in the future. The future has at last become fact.

In Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South West Africa, and South Africa, the seemingly endless procedures that once clouded and mystified the future have all been exhausted. The mysteries of prayer, protest, and the legislative process have been solved, and the solutions are the stark reality that is southern Africa today. The European settlers maintain control over the land, and the African remains powerless.

The Africans in southern Africa have one objective: to regain control of their territories, their land. This control was wrestled from their grasp by the European conquest of land and people, and it has now become painfully obvious that the European will not be persuaded by moral fibre to give up this conquest. It is important for those of us who exist in the western world to understand who the African in southern Africa views his situation. Having been exposed for so many years to the complexities of "civil and human" rights, we sometimes tend to transpose these complexities to the situation of our brothers in Africa. In southern Africa, the African seeks to take his land away from the European, not to share its wealth, nor to co-exist, nor just to abolish apartheid.

The freedom fight as it is now being waged in southern Africa is the newest most effective stage in a historical line of resistance. So that, in every white-ruled territory in southern Africa, there now exists a liberation movement, that has as its primary objective the restoration of African rule through armed struggle. These movements, which will be outlined later, are now facts of African life. At this point, philosophical debate has become academic, for regardless of it, the Africans have decided to arm themselves. These liberation movements could not exist if they did not embody the will of the people, for then the people would crush them; but the people have decided, we will fight!

The enemy is of course well-equipped for battle. South Africa has the largest armed combat force and the most mod-



THE YOUTH OF ANY COUNTRY IS ITS FUTURE. ABOVE IS AFRICA'S FUTURE. OUR SUPPORT can help in determining whether the youth of Africa will continue to grow up under the oppressive shackles of imperialism or grow up in a free and socialist Africa. (Photo by Owusu).

ern weaponry in all of Africa, and much of this is deployed in the neighboring territories of Rhodesia and South West Africa. Being a member of NATO, Portugal receives adequate assistance from Europe and the U. Z. for the maintenance of standing armies in Angola and Mozambique. (See Defense Report for more details).

Armed struggle is a difficult undertaking for black people, who lack the basic necessity for armed struggle: Arms. But the people are determined to fight, and determined to win. The liberation movements are beset by all the problems that characterize guerilla warfare: lack of financial resources, the search for correct ideological perspective, and personality conflicts. But victory is not expected to be easy. The enemy will continue a steady influx of propaganda into the western

world, engaging many black and white scholars in idle debate over meaningless moral abstractions, but armed struggle will continue to be a fact of life in southern Africa.

The Organization of African Unity, the congress at which every independent African country is represented, has decided to recognize these liberation movements and, where possible, to offer financial support. It will be no use trying to "stop the violence," because the Africans have decided that violence will only end when victory is theirs. We can either disavow them or support them. So far, with only limited support from inside Africa (notably Guinea, Tanzania, Congo-Brazzaville, and Zambia), the guerillas have already made significant penetrations. In Mozambique, for example, the members of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) have liberated three of the coun-



OWUSU SADAUKAI, CHAIRMAN OF THE ALDCC, SPEARHEADED THE THRUST TO MAKE ALD a reality. Owusu's travel inside Mozambique and shared moments with the FRELIMO forces, were the incidents that gave rise to ALD, which is a response to the question asked by Owusu to the Mozambique freedom-fighters. "What can we do to help?" (SOBU Photo).

try's eight provinces, and in these liberated zones FRELIMO has assumed the responsibilities of establishing government, providing for education, health care, and agricultural production, and beginning some small trade.

Though success has not always achieved these proportions, the activities of all the movements have steadily escalated over the last five years, as their membership has increased and their experience in armed struggle has grown. Each group is at this time deluged with more enthusiastic mem-

bers than they can adequately provide arms for, and while strategies may vary, objectives and determination never do. The existing movements are as described in the following sections:

Azania (South Africa)

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912. The organization then evolved through half a century of peaceful protest and internal ideological conflict (including the inevitable ongoing feud between Trotskyite and Stalinist Communists in the 1940's and

50's). In 1960, with the frustration of peaceful methods, culminating in the Sharpeville Massacre, a group of people in A. N. C. formed a sabotage unit, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). This group eventually brought the whole party to the realization that the struggle for independence would have to be violent. Operating

from bases inside the country and in Rhodesia, their sabotage operations are aimed at industrial centers, largely around the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The Pan African Congress PAC) was founded in 1959, by a group of ANC members dissatisfied with alleged domination of ANC by the Communist Party. The military army emerged in 1963 and is called Paga (We Stand Alone). Their constant emphasis on sabotage, along with the ANC thrust, provides a continuous source of frustration and confusion to the South African government.

Namibia (South West Africa)

The South West African National Union (SWANU) was formed in the early fifties. Organized along national lines, its membership is strongly dissuaded from participating in any tribal activities. Their petitioning efforts in the fifties achieving no success, military activity began in the early 1960's. The nature of the terrain in Manibia (see Geography report) is open savannaland, and it is therefore difficult to employ a strategy given to liberating areas of land as is done in Mozambique, since it would be very difficult to defend these areas against air attack. Sabotage is therefore once again the chief tactic.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was developed by ex-members of SWANU in an attempt to develop effective harmony with existing tribal structure. SWAPO was formed in 1960. Criticized in its earlier years for "making a career out of petitioning the United Nations,"

Support The Liberation MOVEMENTS

Breaking The Chains

the organization decided in the mid-sixties to employ the tactics of guerilla warfare. Today, operating, like SWANU, from within the borders of the country, SWAPO members have carried out sabotage operations on such important locations as the Caprivi Strip, site of a South African radar and tracking station.

Angola

Movement of the People for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) grew in 1956 out of a coalition of a number of then-existing small liberation groups in Angola. February 4, 1961 marked the beginning of armed

struggle when MPLA members attacked a police post in order to release brothers who had been arrested in demonstrations. Activities since that time have achieved much higher levels. Large areas have been lib-

erated in the Cabinda province to the North, and the districts of Mexico and Cuando Cubango in the East exist as firm bases for the military and political training of the guerillas. While developing schools and health facilities in liberated areas, MPLA is constantly opening new front in other offensives against the Portuguese colonists.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola



BROTHERS AND SISTERS DEMONSTRATING IN THE ABOVE PHOTO, SIGNIFY A GROWING Pan African consciousness that must grow even larger and more substantial if we are to contribute the moral and material support to the liberation struggles that 40 million Africans in America are capable of contributing. (R. Williams Photo).

(UNITA), formed in 1964, is based inside Angola and is carrying guerilla operations in east and southeast Angola. Brothers along the Namibia-Angola border also cooperated with their counterparts in the freedom fight in Namibia.

Mozambique

The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Towards the end of the 1950's, organizations were formed by Mozambicans

working outside Mozambique, in order to concentrate popular resistance against the Portuguese invaders. FRELIMO itself was formed in June, 1962 when three nationalist organizations fused into a single, anti-imperialist front. Complete independence was adopted

while its policies of peaceful change remained the same. Outlawed in 1962, ZAPU went underground to become a sabotage and guerilla operation. In an attempt to fill the gap of peaceful protest which ZAPU had been forced to abandon after realization that this would not bring complete independence to black people, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963. It was promptly banned by the white government in 1964. The acts of sabotage which have since then been undertaken by both ZANU and ZAPU have, with their merger in 1971, been channelled into the coordinated effort of the new organization, FROLIZI. FROLIZI forces have also lent support to efforts of political education and sabotage in South Africa undertaken by ANC.

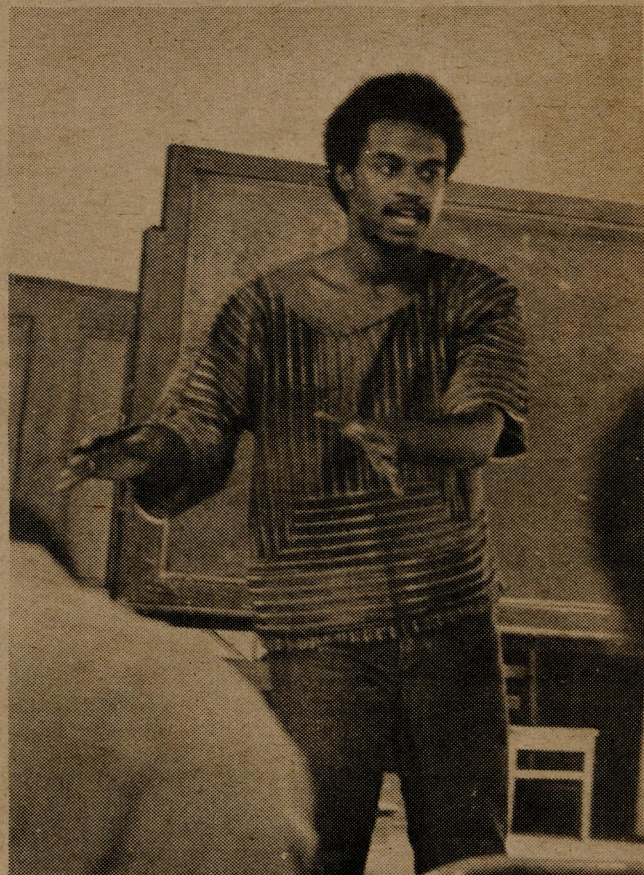
**We Are
An
African
People**

as the primary objective. Armed struggle was launched in September, 1964 with a series of attacks against the Portuguese in the northern province of Sabo Delgado. Since that time, FRELIMO has liberated three of the country's eight provinces: Nlassa, Zambezia, and Cabo Delgado, all in the northern part of the country. In the liberated zones FRELIMO has assumed the responsibility of establishing government, providing for education, health, agricultural production, and some small trade.

As an immediate priority, FRELIMO forces have vowed to destroy the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Pite province to the west. This project, undertaken by the combination of European nations who support white domination in southern Africa (see Defense Report), and largely financed by South Africa, has as one of its objectives the entrenchment of white settlement throughout Mozambique.

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

FROLIZI. With the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) - organized along the same lines as that organization in South Africa - in 1957 in Zimbabwe, came the formation of the National Democratic Party (NDP) in 1960. Itself banned in 1961, the NDP changed its name to Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU),



BROTHER MARK SMITH, SOBU NATIONAL VICE CHAIRMAN and Co-ordinator of Operations for ALD, has worked hard along with many other brothers and sisters to make ALD a success. (SOBU photo).



LIBERATION FIGHTERS PAUSE TO REST AND GRAB A bite to eat. These brothers firmly realize that the struggle for freedom is not romantic in the least bit, but a long arduous struggle that requires stamina, fortitude and the burning desire to be free. (Photo by Owusu).

Support

**AFRICAN
LIBERATION
DAY**

May 27



African Liberation Day, May 27

*Breaking the Chains of Oppression
Turn Black Unity!*

Legalism Fails Again

Diggs' Chrome Suit Rejected

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.- It will take more than legalism or moral persuasion to stop U. S. corporations from dealing with oppressive apartheid regimes in Zimbabwe, as evidenced by a U. S. District court decision, that denied an injunction to stop two firms from unloading barges filled with Rhodesian chrome at U. S. ports.

Congressman Charles Diggs and the entire Congressional caucus, joined along with the American Committee on Africa, SCLC, the Council for Christian Social Action-related to but independent of the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organizations, the Southern Africa Committee, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZAPU) and various individuals, as plaintiffs in a suit to enjoin the importation of chrome from Southern Rhodesia in violation of U. S. legal obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The defendants in the court action are John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury; Stanley Summerfield, acting Director of the office of Foreign Assets Control; Myles J. Ambrose, Commissioner of the Bureau of Customs; Foote Mineral Company; and the Union. At question was a law passed late last year by the Congress which violates a treaty agreed to by the U. S. prohibiting trade with the Rhodesian government until it ceases its oppression of its Black majority population.

Diggs, in a press conference stated that, "In particular as Black citizens, we are aggrieved by the violation of an embargo which was designed to benefit the subjugated Black majority of Southern Rhodesia. It is the intention of all who are joined in this action to pur-

sue all legitimate means to help restore integrity to United States Foreign policy."

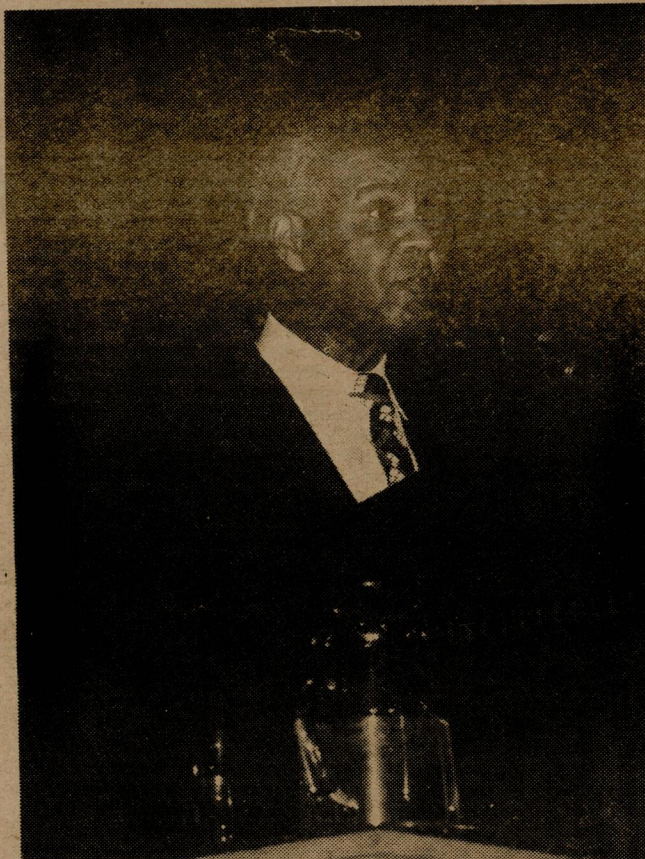
For many Black people, it was already understood that legalism cannot restore integrity to an insane U. S. foreign policy that only operates in its own imperialist economic interest. At best a legal suit could only have an agitational effect upon the chrome question, because U. S. international outlawry in Africa, Asia and Latin America has clearly illustrated a total lack of regard for anyone's law, but its own--the law of the maximization of profit, which becomes the material basis for legal decisions.

Judge Aubrey E. Robinson, one of the highest-ranking Black jurists in the country, handed down the decision, indicating that the issue involving U. S. treaty obligations with the United Nations might best be settled by a higher court.

Judge Robinson, not satisfied in passing the buck to a higher court, illustrated his collaborationist position by stating that the plaintiffs failed to show that they would suffer "irreparable harm" by the controversial business transaction.

Apparently the reality of the identity and sameness of struggle and oppression felt by African people wherever we may be, escapes brother Robinson. But even this situation, though disgusting is understandable, for in the final analysis, the national question has a class character.

Uhuru Na Kazi



UNCLE ROY SPEAKING TO SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS IN the above photo, continues to display the bankrupt leadership that has catapulted him to a new level as the darling of the most reactionary white folk in the world.

Police Thuggism

cont'd. from pg. (2)

The cops always say: "he" (or she -- but in 76 out of 79 cases, it is he) "had a gun or knife." In all cases, the police had weapons. Fingerprint evidence was never offered on the cops' gun. In only three cases, were ballistics tests offered on the guns, and in only one case was chemical analysis (for hair, blood, etc.) offered.

Although the dead person supposedly always has a weapon, in 21 out of the 79 cases no weapon was ever produced. In only three cases did they have fingerprint evidence to prove the person had touched the gun. In three cases they offered ballistics tests to show that the gun was fired. But in no case did they do chemical analyses.

So in 90% of the cases, all that could be said is that the cops had a spare gun or knife laying around in case they needed some "evidence."

Two policemen, including Harold Saffold of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, are now facing possible suspension for saying in an interview with NBC newsman Russ Ewing, in February that most of their fellow officers were carrying two guns, one for shooting, the other for dropping as evidence.

They are charged with appearing on NBC "without departmental permission." And "at that time disseminated information which could be construed as detrimental to the Chicago Police Dept."

The Law Enforcement Study Group, using the incident as reported by police, reports of the coroner's pathologist and credible eyewitness testimony or statements found at least 28 cases in which it seems cops violated the police department's own rules and 10 cases in which they could see "likelihood of criminal misconduct."

For instance Raymond Jones, a 29 year old black man was stopped by patrolman Brian Duffy on the Eisenhower Expressway, March 20, 1970, for going 70 mph in a 55 mph

zone. He wasteargassed, maced, beaten, thrown in a padded wagon and died of asphyxia (lack of oxygen). His family's lawyer said that examination showed his neck was broken. On June 18, 1971 the courts ordered the city of Chicago to pay Ray Jones's family \$90,000 in damages. "I can't say I'm happy at all" was all that his wife could tell tell the papers.

Struggle In Perspective

cont'd. from pg. (4)

masses of industrial workers and peasants on the other. It has long been a policy of colonial powers to develop a "native elite" to administer the country in their (the colonial powers) interests. The ruling elite, of course, is handsomely rewarded for their job, and as they operate against the interests of the masses of African people, must be rewarded as their enemies. Nor were these elites entirely of European creation. Prior to large-scale European intervention in the life of Africa, class relationships, usually related to feudal hierarchies, had been established. These class divisions, although undoubtedly used and aggravated by Europeans because they were a natural mechanism for indirect control, nevertheless existed prior to, and independent of, them. To continue to ignore or minimize the intensity of class division, especially given the present height of neo-colonialism, is to leave ourselves open to continued class deception and diversion by those African people who function in their own interests as well as European imperialists, to the detriment of the African masses.

The same can be said, though to a lesser degree, about the situation of the vast majority of African people in this country.

Roy Wilkins Separates From Blacks

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C. - Having achieved an academy award for selling out the March on Washington in 1963, and making a recent stellar performance by defending imperialist interest in Southern Africa, Roy Wilkins continued his nose-dive for the Judas of the year award.

Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, has officially given notice to the National Black Political Convention that his organization cannot remain a part of it because of "serious ideological" conflicts.

In a confidential letter to the three co-conveners of the convention, Wilkins said the groups actions had been "separatist in nature."

"We must regret the statement of policy (adapted at the convention and later reaffirmed at the Greensboro meeting on May 6) which gives half-hearted or meaningless endorsement to busing while in fact calling for abandonment of the fight against segregation," Wilkins said in his letter.

He called the Gary convention divisive instead of accomplishing the purpose it was intended for - to unify the black community.

Displaying the uncanny Wilkins ability to mistake friends for enemies and enemies for friends, Wilkins again "separated" himself from the masses of Black people.

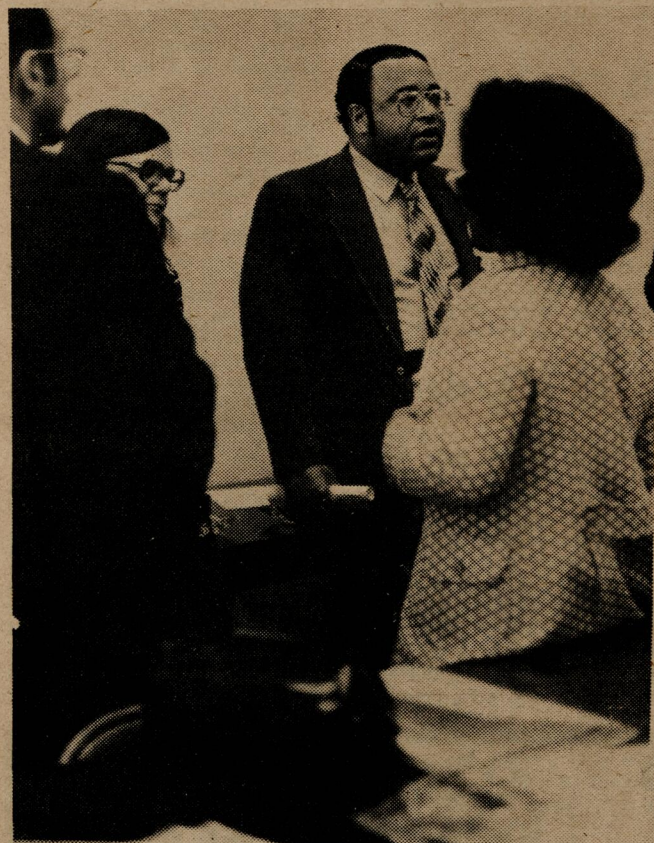
In taking a position that the convention failed in attempts at unity, Wilkins really means that there was no unity between the masses and the petty bourgeois and capitalist interest that he represents. In his usual anal method of viewing things, Wilkins completely neglected to mention that all positions were overwhelmingly approved by a voice vote of those present in Gary.

Wilkins, was especially critical of the anti-busing and anti-Israeli stands taken by the convention. But again, since the majority of people at Gary do not control organizations that survive off of Zionist funds - from the United Jewish Appeal and other organizations, Wilkins again placed himself on the other side of the crest line. The majority of the people in Gary took a progressive stance against Zionist imperialism in the Middle East, based upon their understanding of Israeli subservience to U. S. imperialist interest in Africa and the Middle East.

Wilkins' ideological conflicts with the National Black Political Assembly exemplifies his historical ability to run to Johannesburg and "dialogue" with South African racists, or stay here and dialogue with American racists, and his inability to dialogue with Black people.

The truth is that there was never any unity at the NBPC between the majority of the people who attended and the petty-bourgeois apologists who see their interest as one and the same as the U. S. Governments. By calling the convention, but unable to control the aspirations, politics, or progressive movement of those who attended, Wilkins and friends found themselves trailing behind the masses and now forced to pull out.

cont'd. on pg. (12)



DIGGS ANSWERING QUESTIONS AFTER CONDUCTING A news conference announcing the suit on the government, Union Carbide, and Foote Mineral Co. for their complicity, in the oppression of African people. (R. WILLIAMS photo).

Part I

Namibia: Ovambo Strike Causes Crack in Corrupt System

SPECIAL TO THE
AFRICAN WORLD
by Charles Cobb

For half a year now African workers have been striking with paralyzing effect in South African ruled Namibia. This intense struggle poses a serious economic and political threat to the ambitions of the white republic.

Namibia or South West Africa is one of the largest countries in Africa. Virtually the same size as Nigeria it covers an area of some 318,261 square miles -- or almost 3 percent of the total land area in Africa. With a population of 610,000 it has one of the lowest population densities in Africa.

There are some 800,000 whites in Namibia almost a third of whom are German speaking. The fact that there is a street named after the Nazi butcher Herman Goering indicates a strong sympathy for that state.

Namibia is a country rich in mineral resources. It is the world's largest producer of gem diamonds. Also buried in its soil is oil, copper, tin, uranium and zinc, in significant quantities. Mining therefore is an important sector of the Namibian economy.

South Africa has not published separate figures for Namibia since 1965, and it is difficult to get an exact measure of the state of production. However, the State of South African Yearbook for 1970 reports that exports of minerals rose from R93.4 in 1964 to R115.1 in 1965. Diamonds accounted for 46 percent of the rise.

There are over fifty international companies operating in Namibia. Among the largest are: Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd. (a subsidiary of the South African conglomerate giant the Anglo American Corporation), Marine Diamond Corporation also a subsidiary of Anglo American; Tsumeb corporation, primarily an American firm and the largest employer in Namibia; Rio Tinto Zinc, a British firm which is also tied to West German interests.

These giant imperialist enterprises intertwine with South African and other western governments in a political and economic relationship designed to squeeze out all of the wealth of Namibia. Literally millions of dollars pour into the coffers daily from this territory. And there is more potential wealth yet untapped. For example, De Beers Consolidated--another Anglo American subsidiary--and the French firm Societe Nationale des Petroles D'Aquitaine have been granted by South Africa a 30,000 square mile concession area in Namibia to prospect for oil.

South Africa of course reaps a tremendous economic benefit from this massive exploitation of Namibia. But also equally as important, and related to the economic return, is the political return it gets in the form of protection of its "right to rule" Namibia, given of course by the Euro-American nations.

The recent agreement signed between Rio Finex (a subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc) and the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority for the exploitation of uranium is yet another graphic example of the nature of this economic and political relationship. Under the agreement Rio Finex will supply UK with 45 million worth of

uranium from a new mine to be developed at Rossing. This also involves a partnership with the South African Industrial Development Corporation which will have special voting rights giving it a major voice in determining policy. It is estimated that from 1976 about 40 percent of UK needs will be supplied from Namibia.

The main attraction to Britain is that the new mine will be able to produce uranium at a cheaper rate than other sources of supply. Thus politically, the British Foreign Office has said in response to the World Court decision on the illegality of continued South African rule of Namibia that the UN "must not seek to act beyond its capabilities; South Africa is in de facto control of South West Africa and we cannot contemplate action which would lead to an economic confrontation with South Africa." This statement is affirmed and reaffirmed throughout the entire Euro-American world by the commitment of hundreds of millions of dollars to South African based enterprises.

The vast exploitation of Namibian resources has given rise to a system of contract labor that is unparalleled in its viciousness and brutality. This system has consigned the African to being a slave on mining and industrial plantations. And by slavery here we do not merely mean wage discrimination, but rather we are referring to the fact that every aspect of the lives of African peoples in Namibia are controlled and shaped in the interest of exploiting the territory for the profit of the Euro-American firms.

Africans in Namibia are grouped in reserves according to tribe in order to facilitate recruitment for the mines.

Africans in Namibia may not leave their tribal reserves except on contract to work. Africans are by law not allowed to choose their jobs. Before the strike jobs were only available through the South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA). Africans may not change jobs.

Under the contract system, when an employer wishes to recruit a laborer he fills in an order form stating the type of laborer he wants. There are three classes: class A-completely fit, class B, less so, and class C-capable but injured or deformed. A new category has been created now for workers under sixteen years--"picannin" (yes it is a cousin to that word familiar to the plantation south of America-pickaninny). The employer encloses a "recruiting fee" of R25 with his "order". In a short while he receives a notification informing him of the name of the worker and giving him his order number. The recruited worker--ignorant of where he is going or who he is working for--is sent to Grootfontein (SWANLA headquarters) and there receives a train ticket, a pair of shorts, a shirt, a blanket, some bread, and is sent on his way.

Tax requirements are used to force Africans into seeking cash. African taxation takes the form of grazing fees, tribal levies, kraal (home) tax, school fees, dog tax, and a tax on the actual employment contract.

The white law which rules in Namibia is designed to reduce

the African to labor units in perpetual bondage to the mines and industry. A major crime in this society is "idleness." If an African is found in the so-called "white area" of the country (which is most of the country) without an employment certificate, he is arrested and assigned to three months as a laborer on "public works." A second arrest brings a fine,

and inability to pay results in a years imprisonment.

The tribal reserves are of course unfit to support any significant population and African men are forced to leave their families for stretches of eighteen months to five years in contract to the mines in the effort to support them.

Labor relationships are largely regimented by the Master

and Servants Proclamation no. 25 of 1920. Offenses to the contract are considered criminal offenses under the proclamation and include: willful breach of duty, drunkenness, failure to report the loss or death of stock, desertion, failure to sender service at the stipulated time, being absent without leave, refusing to obey a lawful command, and impertinence. These "offenses" can bring up to three months imprisonment.

Although an African cannot resign from his job, if his employer violates the contract he can report it to the police or magistrate; but he requires his employers permission to do so.

African are not allowed to form trade unions. Everything is done to ensure that Africans will engage in no joint actions of any sort. In fact workers are housed in dorms according to tribe in a deliberate attempt to undermine any common national feeling among them.

The Ovambo people who make up a large proportion of the contract laborers call the system "omtete okangolo." "Omtete" means que or line of persons, and "okangolo" is the word for the identity disc once hung from the neck of African workers and now worn as a bracelet.

Tourists Banned

Touré Re-elected

CONAKRY -- (AWA) - Delegates from the 29 provinces of the Republic of Guinea gathered in the nation's capital, Conakry, to hold the Guinean De-



SEKOU TOURE

mocratic Party Congress. Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure was reelected secretary general of the party. Toure also received full approval from the delegates concerning the government's domestic and international policies.

The delegate from the northern province of Kankan, proposed that those implicated in the November 22, 1970 reactionary plot and all those whose fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children or wives were implicated in the plot be excluded from responsible positions in the PDG. He also proposed that any Guinean who was guilty of embezzlement, whose children are illegally abroad, who drinks alcoholic beverages or uses drugs, or who has violated the marriage regulations, is guilty of regionalism, or has shirked their obligations in a task, must also be excluded from trustworthy positions in the party.

In addition, the PDG demonstrated agreement with the government's plan to further develop the African Revolution in Guinea. Toure, in a series of radio broadcasts, has explained the purpose of initiating mandatory production norms for factory workers, drafting of secondary pupils and students for farm work, the systematic use of African languages in teaching and the courts, and a ban against foreign tourists.

Calf. Prisons

cont'd. from pg. (3)

form asks for such information as name, address, whether or not you have ever been arrested, if so when and the disposition. However a new form which has recently been circulated asks for information on the offense committed BY THE BROTHER YOU WANT TO VISIT, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND THE DISPOSITION. Apparently the prison officials will terminate your communicating privileges based on the fact that if you don't know much about why the Brother is in jail then you don't need to be seeing him. The officials will probably initiate these new forms in far away places like Susanville since they are somewhat removed from the urban areas.

BE AWARE BLACK PEOPLE

It is apparent that the officials are using all of these repressive measures with the hope that eventually one day NO VISITORS WILL BE ALLOWED WITHIN THE PRISONS. Black people must work hard (as many of us are already doing) to see that that day doesn't ever come. We can not let our efforts end with one tour to the prisons. Black officials and community leaders must lead the way in us-

Repressive

ing the weight of their office, the image and influence, their energy and contacts, to end oppression and repression within the walls of the prisons. As Brother James Baldwin has said, "For, if they take them in the morning, they will be coming for us that night!"

Wilkins

cont'd. from pg. (11)

Rather than present Brother Roy with his Judas award right now, if we wait, there will probably be more contenders as the United Jewish Appeal begins to tighten its purse strings on election campaign and organizational contributions. There may be more theatrical performances that push Brother Roy to the wall.

Part II in Next Issue

Castro In Africa

ALGIERS, Algeria -- (AWA) - Making his first visit to Africa and the Arab world, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro flew to Algiers from Guinea where he had attended the State burial ceremonies of Former President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Algerian President Houari Boumedienne headed a welcoming party which included leaders of the Government, the National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Council of the Revolution, Algeria's highest organization.

The visit is expected to last ten days and has been a great success in the eyes of the African leaders including a massive reception by the peoples of Guinea.

Algerians in their press and statements gave "the Great Castro an exemplary welcome." Algerian and Guinean newspapers have placed the accent on the visit by the Cuban revolutionary leader as developing the theme of solidarity between third-world revolutionary states. In Guinea, Sekou Toure called for another Tri-continental Conference of peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to oppose US and Western imperialism.

**CHANGE,
MOTION &
DEVELOPMENT**



DESPITE THE NIXON AIR STRIKES AND HARBOR MINING, the Vietnamese people will continue to move supplies by truck, bicycle, foot, etc. Reports have filtered through that Vietnamese forces have carried tanks piece-by-piece to the front and reassembled them for battle. (LNS photo)

Guyana- Travelling A Revisionist Road ?

Brother Tim Thomas, former SOBU co-ordinator of International Affairs, travelled to Guyana in the spring of 1970 to attend the Pan African Secretariat. Brother recently received information on the situation in Guyana from the wife of Guyanese organizer, Eusi Kwayana.

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA - This small country located on the northeastern tip of South America, had been the hopes of many Pan-Africanists for a socialist land base in the western hemisphere. Until recently, the government headed by Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, was considered progressive and developing along socialist lines. Recent observations and reports coming out of Guyana are beginning to point to the contrary. Domestic and foreign policy decisions, are pointing toward the growth of bourgeois nationalism, attempting to disguise itself as genuine socialism.

Unrest in Guyana underscores increasing opposition to and a decline in popularity of the People's National Congress (PNC) HEADED BY Burnham.

This unrest and resentment is traceable to the runaway corruption that is constantly

alleged by those forces in Guyana that oppose the Burnham government. Coupled with a growing use of force to silence the critics of PNC and a deteriorating economy, the seeds of revolt find fertile ground.

ASCRIA (African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa) an organization headed by Eusi Kwayana, a former government official, has led the opposition against the Burnham government. ASCRIA members have suffered retaliation for their stance and have since been branded enemies of the state.

On March 28, 1972, Tawafa, a suspected ASCRIA member, was dismissed from his job at the Guyana National Co-operative Bank. ASCRIA asserts that Tawafa's dismissal was political, and claimed that the orders came from above.

Tawafa's resignation was requested, and he resigned at once. Later he was told not to make it public and was of-

fered help to leave the country or to start a business of his own.

Demonstrations at the National Co-operative Bank on Tawafa's behalf were given no coverage in the press, as the government ordered the editors not to print the story. ASCRIA has been charged with bringing people to Guyana to overthrow the government, as a response to their activities geared toward forcing Guyana in a progressive direction.

In a society composed of two major ethnic groups, Indians and Blacks, ASCRIA's motto has been, "Publish the His-

tory and Culture of Blacks." Unemployment seminars and educational programs have been conducted by ASCRIA held a General Meeting and appealed to its members publicly not to be involved in acts of corruption and called for a code of conduct for ministers. A Pan - African Secretariat has been organized by ASCRIA in addition to popularizing the call for interior development of the country. For this, ASCRIA has been outlawed and treated like aliens with no rights.

Kwayana continues to condemn the reformist policies of the Burnham government, for which his life has been threatened.

Commenting on the PNC's slogan "Long live the Co-operative Socialist Republic" Kwayana stated, "Do these people know what they are saying? Is there no end to their stage play? Has no one whispered to them that Nkrumah discovered: 'You cannot build socialism with socialists'?"

"During the PPP regime (People's Progressive Party, headed by Cheddi Jagan) that party succeeded in making socialism a dirty word by its oppressive attacks on the urban working class. It took all sorts of approaches after that to make the word acceptable again to some of the people.

"Now we have proclaimed the country a Co-operative Socialist Republic. On what basis and with how much truth has this proclamation been made? There are those who think that nationalization means socialism. Guyanese should not make that mistake. Right here on our soil there were state-owned plantations worked by slave labor. So there is no equation between socialism and nationalization. Our own history

Peking, Moscow Cool

Nixon Frantic In Defeat

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

By mining North Vietnam's harbor, Nixon committed the most heinous act of international piracy of modern times.

The imperialist interest and save-face policy that drove Nixon to make such a drastic decision was caused solely by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, which shattered the bogus Nixon vietnamization plan.

The North Vietnamese offensive literally over-ran the South Vietnamese (ARVN) forces. Desertion, loss of morale has signalled the collapse of the "let the natives fight the natives" schemes of Nixon and the economic interests he represents.

The successive defeats inflicted by the liberation forces in South Vietnam only further clarified what was already ev-

ident - the inevitable triumph of the Vietnamese struggle for independence. The new developments that were triggered by the offensive were the insolent ultimatums thrown out by Nixon, and the beginning of an international chess game by the "Big Powers," that left the survival of humanity at stake and hanging thinly on Nixon's presidential ego and a Soviet response.

The mobility of the ARVN forces to control the liberating tide of the resistance forces sent Nixon's National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, scurrying to Moscow to plead their case for settlement. A President faced with the threat of disaster to the forces of which he is commander in chief will run almost anywhere to avoid disaster. This is the imperialist arrogance that will continue to sink America into the quagmire of defeat.

In April, when Kissinger returned from his mission in Moscow, he and Nixon thought that the Soviets could and would persuade Hanoi to settle on a plan that would allow the U. S.

to look "honorable" in defeat. But when Kissinger went to Paris on May 2, to meet again with Le Duc Tho, he got the same answer he had received the year before - no compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. The South Vietnamese government must be thrown out and replaced.

The attempt to isolate North Vietnam by reaching an agreement with Moscow underscored Nixon's ignorance on the question of North Vietnamese self-determination. Nguyen Giap stated, "We also have the complete initiative because - and this is very important - we have a completely independent line. We have a completely independent position. We take the strategic initiative in the timing as well as what forces are employed.

In war it is those who hold the initiative who create the conditions for victory. We have the complete initiative because we have a powerful battle corps and abundant reserve forces whose source is the enormous potential of our nation as a whole. We are waging intensive people's war on different fronts. That is why we can attack everywhere.

The Soviet Union, which could have responded as forcefully as Nixon, choose to sit back and not jeopardize its intended objectives in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union is also playing for high stakes: to become recognized as the predominant power in Europe. For that purpose it will use its influence and leverage to impede European steps to political unity and to erode U. S. influence. Therefore, rather than jeopardize the European Security Conference, SALT talks, and the Summit Conference with Nixon, they choose to play it cool at a time when they clearly have the upper hand. It becomes increasingly clear that rather than a desperate measure trying to invoke an international showdown, Nixon's actions were

merely those of a desperate man and country trying to save face.

The mining of North Vietnam's harbors and the continuance of the genocidal bombings will have dubious effect on North Vietnamese fighting ability. Any familiarity with the history of General Vo Nguyen Giap says that he would not have launched the current offensive had he not had his supplies and equipment in place beforehand.

The intensified ground attack at An Loc was backed up by an unprecedented 7,000 rounds of incoming artillery fire. It was as if North Vietnamese were deliberately calling attention to their ample ammunition supplies after more than a month of continuous fighting in the An Loc area.

China was quick to reaffirm its support for Vietnam, reiterating a statement by chairman Mao that "the 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear arena."

With presidential elections just six months away, it seems safe to assume that Nixon isn't going to stand pat if his latest moves don't pan out.

But all speculation gives little indication of where he may be headed - whether he may decide at the last minute to pull a peace offer out of his hat that has been open all along, or to go down fighting, perhaps taking all the rest of us with him.

Right now, everyone (China, Moscow, North and South Vietnam Liberation Forces) see Nixon's latest move as a belligerent, futile gesture calculated to ease the embarrassment of defeat. The question becomes one of necessity, on the part of the people of the world to inflict final defeat on a wounded imperialist beast that will choose to inflict greater suffering on the world as he progressively becomes weaker and sees inevitable defeat.



THE BOURGEOIS FAKE SOCIALIST POLICY OF THE BURNHAM GOVERNMENT IN GUYANA is causing the severe economic conditions that may lead to upheaval in the future.

makes this very clear."

"What kind of socialist republic is this in which the right to work is not even pretended to exist?"

Kwayana accuses the government of elitism and attaches a situation in which there are

no restraints or rules of conduct which will prevent the government from becoming a bourgeoisie.

"You cannot declare a country a socialist republic and then begin to juggle. All that can follow such an attempt is the

misuse of the armed forces of the country against the people when they complain against politically illiterate monsters who are sent to control them."

Kwayana sums up the current situation in Guyana by stating that, "The flatterers are making a hopeless mess of things."

Billy Smith, victim of army

Black GI Framed For Fragging

On March 15, 1971, at 0045 hours a fragmentation grenade exploded in an officers' barracks in Bien Hoa, Vietnam. Two lieutenants were killed and a third was wounded, Captain Rigby and First Sgt. Willis, who usually slept in these barracks, were not there. When they arrived on the scene they decided that the fragging was meant to kill them, and that the guilty party could only be Private Bill Dean Smith, a black GI they considered a "troublemaker."

They informed the CID (Criminal Investigation Division) officer of their verdict, and called all the men in the battalion into formation. Without a single scrap of evidence, Billy was called forward to the front of the formation. A heavy CID hand slapped his shoulder, and Billy was told that he was under arrest for murder.

To the two murder charges were added two charges of attempted murder--against the Captain and First Sergeant, and one count of assault on another captain and two counts of resisting arrest, all for when he was arrested.

Once they had a theory, the Brass never asked whether someone else might have done the fragging, or what the reasons for it might have been. Instead, the military worked night and day to fit the facts to the theory--to build a tight case against Billy Dean Smith.

The only direct evidence consists of one item. The Army claims that they found a grenade pin in Smith's pocket when he was arrested. This grenade pin has nothing linking it to the grenade that killed the officers. In addition, none of the six "witnesses" against Billy were anywhere near the fragging incident. No one even knows why they will be testifying.

Almost all GIs hate the war, the Army, and their commanding officers. Most believe in fragging, and have access to fragmentation grenades. Billy's unit was a combat unit. The officers in his unit were so afraid of their own men that they locked up the grenades every night. The fact that there is no special evidence against Billy Smith is not important to the Army. In their eyes Billy is guilty.

Billy Dean Smith was born in 1948, tenth in a family of twelve. He grew up in Watts, and was arrested during the 1965 insurrection in the city-wide dragnet for curfew violations. In 1969 he was drafted into the Army. He was opposed to the war and the Army even then, and wanted to resist induction, but respected his family's desire that he not go to jail.

He tried to appear too dumb

to be drafted, but found that next to impossible, and spent his time in boot camp at Fort Ord, California. He underwent AIT (Advanced Infantry Training) in artillery at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and was sent to Vietnam in October of 1970, where he was assigned to the command of Captain Rigby.

Captain Rigby and First Sgt. Willis spent a lot of time making it miserable for Private Smith. Smith had been punished three times within a few months for minor infractions, and was being processed for a "212" discharge for unsuitability and unfitness. Capt. Rigby did not believe Billy Dean Smith would ever make a good soldier,

saying the private was unenthusiastic about "clashing with the enemy."

The Vietnam War has encouraged racist persecution of blacks by whites. Many white officers are out to get blacklisted men who refuse to act like slaves. The oppression of black people, which is part of normal life in the U. S. goes wild in the army. Being an officer or a life gives a racist a chance to fulfill his fondest dreams of giving orders to the "niggers."

Since his return to this country from Vietnam, Billy has been in solitary in the Fort Ord Stockade without bail. At the same time, Lt. Calley--convicted of the murder of over a score of Vietnamese civilians--is allowed many privileges--a private apartment, frequent visits by his girl friend, full officer's pay, etc.

The difference? Lt. Calley is white, while Smith is black; Calley killed "gooks", while Smith is of the murder of white American officers; Calley went right along with the war, while Smith defied it.

Military justice is a lethal weapon. It is being used against Billy Smith. The Army is asking and expects to get the death penalty. It is not a

coincidence that officers--the men who have the most to fear from fragging--will sit in judgement over Billy. They have been picked by the same Convening Authority who brought the charges and recommended the death penalty. They no doubt have already decided that Smith is guilty. They intend to murder Billy Dean Smith regardless of the flimsy nature of the evidence against him. They intend to murder Billy as casually as they murder the Vietnamese people.

Although there have been

Harris Shot At Eight Times

SOBU NEWS SERVICE

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C. - The fact that the forces of repression in this country have no regard for Black people no matter what our political or economic status was revealed here again as a prominent Black businessman and political leader was the victim of a late-at-night shooting attempt upon his life. Marlon "Rex" Harris, vice-chairman of the N. C. Black Caucus, was uninjured after eight shots were fired at him from a following car near downtown Fayetteville on May 4.

The night before the shooting, a business he operated was ransacked. Since the shooting attempt he has been subjected to day and night phone harassment as well as ridiculous public accusations that he staged both incidents.

Brother Harris stated in an interview with THE AFRICAN WORLD that, "I did not see any would be assassins and cannot say whether they were sent by my political enemies or my economic enemies." The fact that Harris has enemies on both fronts stem directly from his deep involvement in the Black community of Fayetteville and the state of North Carolina.

Harris operates several strong businesses in Fayetteville, and whites have long been out to get him because he is one of too few Black businessmen who will use his influence and

resources to support endeavors in the Black community. A few years ago a dry cleaning plant he operated was completely burned down by whites. He had further provoked the ire of local whites and a few misguided Blacks recently after he led a successful battle to have Black community groups in Fayetteville endorse only Black political candidates rather than the "liberal" whites running in the primaries. Harris continues, however, to have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Black community in Fayetteville.

Brother Harris has a history of active involvement on behalf of Black people throughout the country. He recently presided at the North Carolina Black Political Convention, which produced some very positive resolutions and commitments. The white establishment in Fayetteville has good reason to want to end the effectiveness of a Brother like Rex Harris. Fayetteville is the home of the largest military base in the world - a fortress of United States militarism used as a training ground for imperialist armies throughout the world, including South African forces. They do not want to see a unified, politically conscious Black population in this city.

Recently the 110 members of the North Carolina delegation to the National Black Political Convention, Malcolm X Libera-

Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicago, GIs are systematically assigned more dangerous duty than are whites. 18 percent of the combat dead have been black; 20 percent have been Chicano and Puerto Rican. Everyone who has been there has seen that many of the highest risk battalions (e. g. airborne) are as much as 50 to 70 percent men of color.



MANY BLACK GIs, FORCED INTO THE MILITARY WAKE UP and see the contradictions in serving an imperialist and racist government. Rather than become another helmet, propped on top of an M-16, brothers frag the real enemy, which caused paranoia amongst the military brass.

Kaunda Warns South Africa



KENNETH KAUNDA

LUSAKA, Zambia (AWA) - President Kenneth Kaunda has sworn that as long as the minority regimes in southern Africa fail to respect the right of the majority to rule and continued to violate our air space, Zambia will never back down from its support of the freedom fighters.

President Kaunda gave the warning at a dinner party at state house in honor of the decolonization committee (United Nations) currently hearing petitions from Lusaka-based freedom fighters, in Lusaka.

The President said that Zambia was free politically, but the revolution was far from being completed. So far some parts of Africa still remain under colonial subjection and we are compelled to support the revolution. Dr. Kaunda said that Zambia's freedom was still being haunted by the fascist regimes, which are constantly violating its airspace, killing innocent citizens and confiscating its property.

He told the members the airspace had been violated by Rhodesian jet fighters and by a Dakota plane from Mozambique. Kaunda warned that Zambia was still weak now, but one day it may be a strong nation and will defend itself. We are not warmongers, said the president, but when our airspace is violated we are dutybound to defend our territorial boundary. Dr. Kaunda said it was a sad thing to see that the US, a country which "fought for its independence, France, which was the old revolutionary leader, and Britain, with its liberal history, could support the continuation of colonialism."

tion University, and the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) issued a joint statement of support for Brother Harris. Part of the state-

ment read, "There is no doubt in the minds of most Black people that the shooting attempt and subsequent harassment is a direct result of Brother Harris' tireless work in the Black community. Attempts to destroy dedicated Black leaders is not

new in North Carolina, and current efforts against Harris is but a continuation of a long line of such moves against Black figures. We wish it known that Rex Harris does not stand alone in his battle against repressive forces."

Journalists Denounce Imperialism**Afro-Asian Meeting**

PEKING, China - A meeting of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association and the 9th anniversary of the founding of the A.A.J.A. took place in Peking on April 24.

Attending the meeting were Djawoto, Secretary-General of the A.A.J.A., members of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, and members of the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

Also present were press attaches of embassies of Asian, African and other foreign countries in China as well as Peking based correspondents from Asian and African countries and other parts of the world and representatives of Chinese news organizations.

In his speech at the meeting, Djawoto said: Forced by the growing struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation, imperialism has been resorting to a more sophisticated system of domination-the system of neo-colonialism-by applying the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of deception, bribery and blackmail in the economic, political, diplomatic and other fields. It does not hesitate, however, to resort to brute force when and where it considers it necessary.

He pointed out that the imperialist countries have been collaborating and sharply contending with each other for maintenance of the capitalist

order and their common imperialist interests, and that the social-imperialists are contending with the imperialist countries in a scramble for the redivision of spheres of influence all over the world.

All this, amongst other things, has forced the freedom-and-peace-loving people to fight, he said. In the

capitalist countries workers, youth and the students and the masses of the people who are discriminated against are fighting valiantly. In the colonies and semi-colonies, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people continue their struggle, the highest form of which is armed struggle, for genuine political independence and social emancipation.

Djawoto described the general trend in the present situation in these words: Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution - this historical tide is pounding the decadent rule of imperialism and all reaction.

He denounced U. S. imperialism for escalating the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and said that the Afro-Asian journalists firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

Shih Shao-hua, Deputy Director of the Hsinhua News Agency, then spoke on behalf of

Chinese journalists. He said: The A.A.J.A., holding high the banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism, has made contributions to the case of progress of the people of the whole world.

The revolutionary ranks of the Afro-Asian journalists, he said, are growing in strength. The journalists of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have sent good news of victories in the war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, greatly inspiring the fighting people of the world.

He went on to say: The Korean journalists have acquainted the people of the world with the splendid achievements in socialist construction in the north and the patriotic, anti-U. S. struggle of the people of South Korea; the rise of the independent national press in Africa has shattered the imperialist monopoly of the press; and, in their struggle against the superpowers' hegemony and power politics, large numbers of journalists of the medium-sized and small countries have contributed their share.

Shih Shao-hua declared: The Chinese journalists will do their best to report the struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, expose the imperialists and social-imperialists and strengthen their militant friendship with progressive journalists of all countries in the world.



BROTHERS AND SISTERS SHOW THEIR ANGER FOR THE Portuguese bombing of Tanzanian territory. Demonstrating in front of the Portuguese embassy in Washington, D. C., they continued on to the Tanzanian embassy where they were thanked for their support by the Tanzanian ambassador. (R. Williams photo).

Bond Used As Ransom

RALEIGH, N. C. - The chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has attacked the use of high bonds to keep black activists in jail.

The Rev. W. W. Finlator acted in the case of James Grant of Charlotte, but his criticism also applies to the case of the Rev. Ben Chavis of Wilmington. Both men are in jail under \$50,000 bond.

Grant's bail was set by U. S. District Judge Larkins after he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Grant was found guilty of conspiring to help two young men flee to Canada to avoid prosecution and of actually helping them to do so.

Chavis was found not guilty by the same jury, but he is held under \$50,000 bond on a charge of conspiring to murder a white vigilante during an insurrection in Wilmington in 1971. He and Grant face further trial in the federal court on charges of having dynamite with caps attached.

Testimony against Grant and Chavis was provided by the young men who went to Canada, Theodore Hood and Walter Washington. Charges against the pair were dropped by the government in return for their testimony.

"Those dudes had almost a hundred years in suspended prison sentences piled on top of their heads. That was wiped clean completely," said the Rev. Leon White, executive director of the N.C. Va. Commission for Racial Justice (CRJ).

White told a news conference that "Rev. Chavis and Brother Grant are victims of political oppression unprecedented in this state."

Chavis is an organizer for the CRJ and a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Grant is a reporter for the African World and the Southern Patriot.

Grant and Chavis were represented at their trial by William H. Allison, Jr., Louisville, staff counsel for SCEF, and James Ferguson, Adam Stein, and John Harmon of Charlotte. They are appealing Grant's conviction and have asked Judge Larkins to cut his bond.

Finlator called the \$50,000 bail "deeply disturbing". He said: "The conclusion is inescapable that bail of this amount has the effect of retention in custody and raises questions in light of constitutional protection against exaction bail."

He said that minority groups in North Carolina are convinced "that political structure of-

ten operates not in the administration of justice but for the purpose of controlling and impeding those who seek for greater justice and opportunity within the social order.

"It has to be said with regret that the imposition of such high bail will only serve as further confirmation of the suspicion of these citizens."

Touré Gives Credit Where Credit Is Due

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD by R. Campanella

CONAKRY, GUINEA (AWA)-During January of this year a conference of state-owned store managers was held in Conakry, the coastal capital of the West African Republic of Guinea. For the most part these store managers have represented just another element within the overly bureaucratic and corrupt petty bourgeoisie. Many of them have flagrantly violated economic directives established by the Democratic Party of Guinea. Thus, on the final day of their conference, after it became clear that these brothers were not intending to take any positive actions towards the elimination or corruption among their ranks, President Sekou Touré, one of the world's most truly revolutionary leaders, in his closing address, told them that they must personally pay for any unpaid merchandise delivered on credit.

It was noted that the conference had been called to "put an end to the underhanded operations, embezzlement, theft and irresponsibility in the stores." Touré made it clear that the government was not going to look the other way while regional general store managers failed to respect the party's directive to end all credit transactions.

"You are not even good managers," he said, "you have cost more than you have brought into the national coffers."

Touré then announced that if merchandise went unpaid for past March 31 that "every general store manager who has not cleared his books of such debts can turn himself into the warden of the prison."

It can be said without a doubt that this was one conference that brought about positive results. The majority of store managers, realizing that credit would only be given where credit is due, promptly got about the business of correcting their past mistakes.

Frelimo Is Implementing THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

Modestly, Samora Moises Machele, president of FRELIMO, declined to speak about himself. He simply said: "I have risen with the liberation struggle of my people." But he talked passionately and extensively about the successes of FRELIMO, which on September 24, 1964 in the north of Mozambique--an East African country of 784,000 square kilometers and some 8 million inhabitants--staged its first battle against the enemy with a handful of poorly armed partisans, an enemy who has been in the country for more than 450 years and who could bring 64,000 soldiers armed by NATO into the field. Today more than a quarter of the country--200,000 square kilometers with 1 million inhabitants--has been liberated.

"The most important result of our struggle," continued President Machele, "is the unity of the people. Our people had been torn by tribal feuds for centuries. The Portuguese colonial conquerors fanned it and created new strife according to the principle divide and rule. The FRELIMO, however, implements the people's will and hope for unity. It includes men and women, young and old, regardless of origin, education, tribe or province. Hopelessness and lethargy have given way to belief in our own strength. With the development of their consciousness, the men have learned to overcome the colonial complex that 'only whites can

accomplish something" and the women that "they are inferior to men." They now participate in the struggle and in reconstruction with equal rights.

"We have created a completely new structure in the liberated areas. People from all parts of the country are co-operating. They participate in the discussions and in planning, deciding and implementing the decisions. Thus a new country -- our Mozambique -- is emerging from struggle, work and reconstruction, and the Mozambique nation is growing out of the members of various ethnic groups."

"In the liberated areas we have liquidated the capitalist economic structure and multiplied production. That means we are producing everything that our country yields: peanuts, cashew nuts, corn, rice, sesame and many other products. We are famous far beyond our borders. Our blacksmiths are making tools and knives out of parts of wrecked cars.

"We must produce goods for the direct consumption of the population, for the supply of the army and for the market. But only collectives can produce a surplus, and a new consciousness is developing through joint work. Creative energies are mobilized and pride is developed over the collective achievement. Here, too, a nation is growing."

President Machele stressed that it is against this background that the military successes of FRELIMO must be

viewed: "Even through the Portuguese have reinforced their troops in the meantime, bringing them to over 70,000 men, not counting the armed white settlers and police, the military initiative is in the hands of our armed forces. They have captured numerous strongholds, destroyed trains, sunk patrol boats on the rivers, captured war material inflicted great losses on the southern bank of the Zambezi River. In the meantime, we were able to cross the river and to expand our military operations over the entire Tete Province. We have succeeded in blocking the roads leading to the notorious Cabora-Basse construction project on several occasions.

"Naturally, the flames of the struggle must be brought to all

provinces of the country. But the military operations cannot be separated for a moment from our ideological work and the development of a militant consciousness."

Only casually did the FRELIMO leader mention problems of arms, equipment and drugs supply: "All this is normal under our conditions. We do not want to list this in detail but there is something else which poses quite a problem to us. As you know, colonialism left us illiteracy and ignorance. A good organization, however, needs many good cadres in all fields. We feel this shortage within and outside our country."

Prison Officials Rather See Bro. Die

RALEIGH, N. C. (LNS)—More than 300 inmates of Central Prison in Raleigh, N. C., have recently petitioned North Carolina Governor Bob Scott to commute the sentence of prisoner Philip Ingram. Twenty-two year-old Ingram, who has served 10 months of a 3-5 year sentence for "conspiracy to commit a felony," has sickle-cell anemia. The petition states that he has just 18 months to live, and urges the time cut so that he may spend the remainder of his life in the company and presence of his family."

According to the April 19 edition of Raleigh Times, a Central Prison spokesman said there was no reason to believe the figure had any accuracy, he said, Ingram's disease is in a state of arrest and his condition is "normal. Sickle-cell anemia, a genetically linked disease which afflicts blacks

almost exclusively, can lie dormant, but appears as a "sickling crisis" when red blood cells change from their normal rounded shape and clog blood vessels to muscles and vital organs. Body tissues are starved of oxygen and nutrients during each "crisis;" each one does some irreparable harm, so victims usually die very young--there is no cure.

Crises are often triggered by stress and bad food, which are everyday conditions in this Board of Paroles "plans to investigate" Ingram's medical condition.

One of the writers of the petition says, "These officials don't want to see him out, they would rather see him die right here. You can see that all evidence in this young Black's medical record is being covered up to try and keep the people unaware."

United Nations intervention against US aggression in Southeast Asia. A scuffle between the veterans and UN security Guards occurred near the entrance to the delegates lounge while the veterans were waiting an audience with the Secretary General. Waldheim did not meet with the veterans the day saying "the time had come when the full machinery of the United Nations should be used to end the war in Vietnam." Al Hubbard had recently returned from an official visit to North Vietnam where he had been welcomed by the Vice Premier who gave high praise to the activities of the anti-war organizations and laid special stress on the Vietnamese peoples support for the freedom struggle of Blacks in the US.

Malcolm X Honored In Boston

cont'd. from pg. (3)
munity. While marching to Franklin Park where a rally was held, brothers and sisters from the Mattapan area met with the other marchers and continued on the rally.

At the rally various community speakers addressed the crowd. Minister George X, leader of Muslim Mosque No. 11 exhorted the crowd to realize that one cannot have solidarity without unity around a leader. He pointed to the teachings and work of Elijah Muhammed as the best example of leadership for the Black man in America.

Brother Gene Jones, leader of the Boston chapter of the Black Panthers, spoke about the need to support the Panthers' survival program and to register to vote for Shirley Chisholm.

And Brother Chuck Turner addressed the crowd about the significance and purpose of African Liberation Day on May 27 in Washington, D. C.

The turnout was larger and better organized than last year's even though it was cold and rainy.

Riot Shakes Malagasy

NAIROBI, KENYA—The violent weekend student demonstrations that rocked the Indian Ocean island of Madagascar have shattered the image of tranquility President Tsiranana has sought to give the Malagasy Republic.

How deeply they have shaken his regime remains to be seen.

The demonstration flared May 12 into student-security force clashes. Several police and 16 students were reported killed. Some 150 persons were injured in the disturbances, more than 400 students were arrested out of the 65,000 said to be supporting the demonstrations.

In further rioting Sunday, students set fire to the city hall of Tananarive, which is the national capital and opposition party stronghold.

Monday the demonstrations began to take the dimensions of a national strike as workers joined students in marching on the presidential palace, shouting for the President's resignation. Later, violence erupted again, with police shooting into crowds of demonstrators.

In the wake of the demonstrations, President Tsiranana has made several conciliatory gestures toward the students. But with the unrest spreading both geographically and beyond student ranks, there has been speculation about what role French military units stationed on the island might be asked to play in controlling the disturbances.

The demonstrations, said to involve some 65,000 university and secondary students, stem from a three-week old strike by students at the Befelatanana medical school. These students began agitation in January for fundamental educational reforms.

Black Vets Move On UN

UNITED NATIONS (AWA)—The national Secretary of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, AL Hubbard, led a delegation of veterans into the United Nations on May 10 to present a petition to Secretary General Waldheim of the UN. The veterans demanded the impeachment of Richard Nixon and

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.

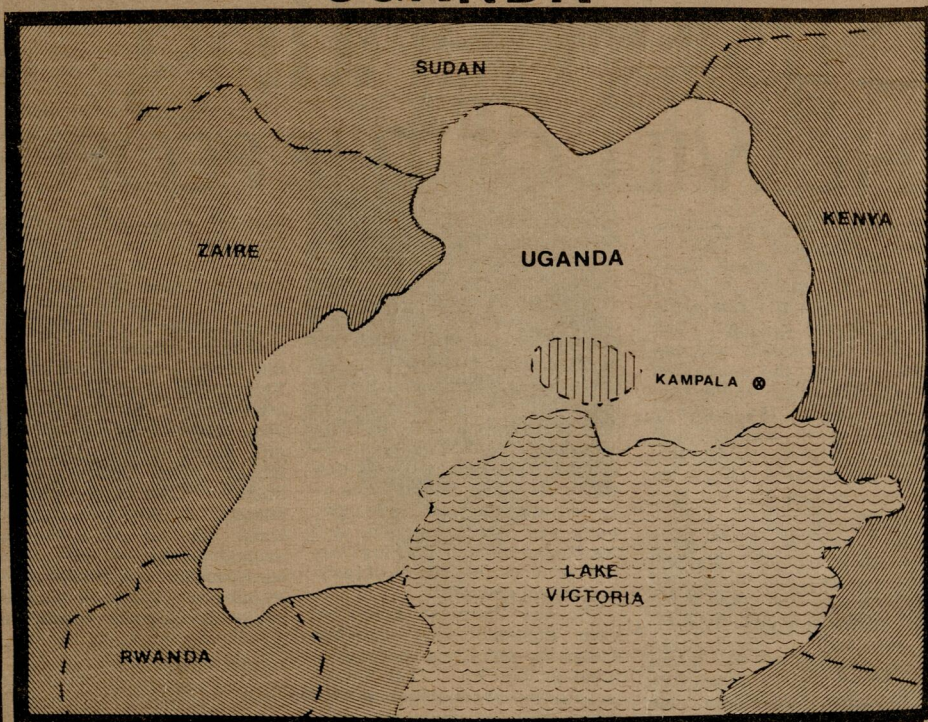
Politics is how to keep land, control and power. And culture is how to legitimize that power and make it last forever.

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.

UGANDA



Uganda is a small country located just above Tanzania in East Africa. Uganda has a total population of about 9,800,000, which is largely composed of Bantu and Nilo-Hamites. The largest group is the Bugandas. English is the official language, and the predominant religion is Catholicism.

Although the country is essentially agricultural, with 56% of the gross domestic product derived from the land, manufacturing has developed to a point where it now contributes 9% to the national production. Manufacturing rests on the procession of cotton, copper, tea and coffee.

Progressive Milton Obote was overthrown in a military coup in January 1971 by General Idi Amin, who promptly pushed the country in the opposite direction. The recent expulsion of Zionist military personnel in Uganda is not enough to proclaim a progressive turn of events in Uganda. General Amin has a great deal of negative history to live down.