



AFRICAN WORLD

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TWENTY CENTS

ALD Demonstrations A Month Away

African Support Building



Remember...

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah - First
President of Ghana.

Died on April 26, 1972

YOBUS NEWS SERVICE

The momentum is increasing the work pace picking up and the planning is more specific for African Liberation Day 1973, to be observed on Saturday, May 26 in sites throughout the western hemisphere and around the world.

This week Black people throughout the world are commemorating Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who died in April, 1972, at the age of 62. As we remember Dr. Nkrumah, African Liberation Day takes on an added significance.

The first ALD demonstrations last year were dedicated to Nkrumah because he was a symbol of the spirit and ideals the day was meant to achieve. The liberation of Southern Africa from colonialism and the liberation of African people everywhere from oppression were among the things he lived and worked for and they also are

embodied in ALD.

The form of African Liberation Day- the visible expression- will be mass demonstrations and rallies and the collection of thousands of dollars to be sent to liberation movements who are waging armed struggle against colonialism in Southern Africa.

But as seen in the successful effort last year, the day will also be much more. It will be an unmistakable protest against U. S. government and big business collusion with the regimes oppressing African people. It will be an educational crystallization of Black consciousness of the interconnections of the problems of our people on the continent of Africa and elsewhere.

And for us in this country it will be a coming together of Black people with the realization that we

are not free in this country and face common struggles each day.

Thus far, over twenty U. S. cities (see list inside page 3) from coast to coast have been chosen as sites for ALD demonstrations and ALD coordinators are at work in the majority of the states in this country. Demonstration sites in Canada and the Caribbean have also been announced. And there are moves to have simultaneous demonstrations in other parts of the world such as Accra, Ghana and London.

The theme for this year is, "THERE IS NO PEACE FOR African People-Africa is at war." It comes from the recognition that although Nixon has announced that there is peace in Southeast Asia, there is no peace in Africa. African people in the areas of Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania

Cont'd on pg. 3

Nixon Involved In "Bay of Pigs" Too

The Watergate Bunch 12 Years Ago Invaded Cuba

(TNS) - At 11 p.m. on the night of April 16, twelve years ago this week, a motley invasion force of 1500 expolicemen, plantation owners, playboys, petty crooks and assorted anti-communists, disembarking from six ships provided by the CIA, landed on a rocky, coral-sharp occupied beach (which the CIA had described to them as smooth and deserted) called Playa Giron in Cuba and the Bay of Pigs in the United States.

The invaders expected to seize an area of the beach and hold it until the United States recognized them as a provisional counter-revolutionary

government and send in aid. The CIA expected to topple yet another "communist" government in Latin America as they had six years earlier in Guatemala. Ex-Vice President Richard M. Nixon expected to use this victory to reach the Presidency, but the invasion, planned as a pre-election boost, came too late.

After 72 hours of fierce fighting, during which the Cuban "air force" of 5 planes sank the ship containing all the invaders' ammunition and communication equipment and drove the rest of the ships out to sea, and the Cuban militia, instead of rising up against

Castro's "dictatorship" defended the beach and all the hopes of the North American and Cuban exile planners were torn apart.

The CIA's greatest debacle was over; the United States had suffered its first military defeat in Latin America.

NIXON LIED TO SAVE THE INVASION

Caught red-handed back at home, the U.S. Government reacted in a familiar way: everyone blamed someone else. Finally President Kennedy was forced to accept full

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Ahmad is Drugged, Faces Psychosurgery

NEW YORK - Muhammad Ahmad (Max Stanford), chairman of the African Peoples Party, is currently being held under heavy sedation in Rikers Island Prison in New York. He is scheduled to undergo a series of psychological tests for what has been termed as "his proneness to violence."

The transfer from Long Island City Jail to Rikers Island took place after Ahmad was the victim of an unprovoked attack by an alleged inmate. In defending himself, it is claimed that Ahmad broke the alleged inmate's jaw. As a result Ahmad will be charged with assault.

Ahmad, active in the Black struggle since the early 1960's, has been in the New York jail system for over three months since his capture and extradition from San Diego. In that time he has had to defend

himself from three known physical attacks. Each attack brought a penalty of isolation with it. Isolation is more commonly known as solitary confinement. Having spent more than half that time in isolation, Ahmad's physical condition has steadily deteriorated.

The plans for psychological testing brings with it the threat of psychosurgery. This is an operation on the brain which is generally used to cure individuals of their "proneness to violence". The operation is usually used on young Black men who are unwilling to passively accept the inhumane conditions in American society.

The sentencing of Muhammad Ahmad for bailjumping has been postponed until April 27, 1973 in Queens County Supreme Court, New York.

Harlem Four Freed

NEW YORK, N.Y. - While publicly maintaining their innocence, four young Blacks known as the "Harlem Four" pleaded guilty to first degree manslaughter last week and were immediately freed.

The surprising, and somewhat unusual move thus ended the nine year history of one of this city's most controversial and widely publicized criminal cases.

Originally the Harlem Six, the young Blacks were charged with the knife slaying of a white Harlem clothing store owner during an alleged robbery on April 29, 1964.

Two of the original six - Daniel Hamm and Thomas Rice - are currently serving prison sentences in relation to the slaying, while the remaining four spent eight years in jail awaiting a series of trials.

An early conviction of the four was reversed and two subsequent trials ended in hung juries.

The special agreement worked out between chief defense counsel, William

Kunstler and the office of Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan thus prevented a fourth trial on murder charges for the quartet.

The U.S. Supreme Court had recently refused to hear a defense plea for a stay of the planned fourth trial.

Defense spokesman indicated the guilty plea was decided upon in order to take the lives of the young men, all of whom were teenagers when arrested in April 1964, "out of the courts."

A prosecution spokesman stated that the district attorney's office supported the arrangements because the four had already spent eight years in jail and none of them were charged with the actual slaying.

William Craig, 26, one of the Harlem four told newsmen after the group's release. "We feel the world should know we are not guilty."

The other three young men are Ronald Felder, 27, Wallace Baker, 28, Walter Thomas, 27.

U.S. Halts all Economic Assistance to Uganda

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The strained relations between Uganda and the Nixon administration have culminated in a total withdrawal of all U.S. aid from that East African nation.

The State Department announced last week that all U.S. aid to Uganda was being cut off, and that 30 U.S. staff members of the Agency for International Development assigned there will be out of the country by June 30, 1973.

Uganda will lose an estimated \$1.6 million in educational and agricultural programs. Ugandan students already in the United States under these programs will, however, be allowed to continue their studies uninterrupted, the State Department said.

Although the State Department insisted that aid was being cut off because "the atmosphere in the country was not conducive to constructive work," speculations are that a strain of relations between the U.S. and Uganda, caused by a

telegram sent to Pres. Nixon soon after the Vietnam cease fire agreement weighed heavily in the decision.

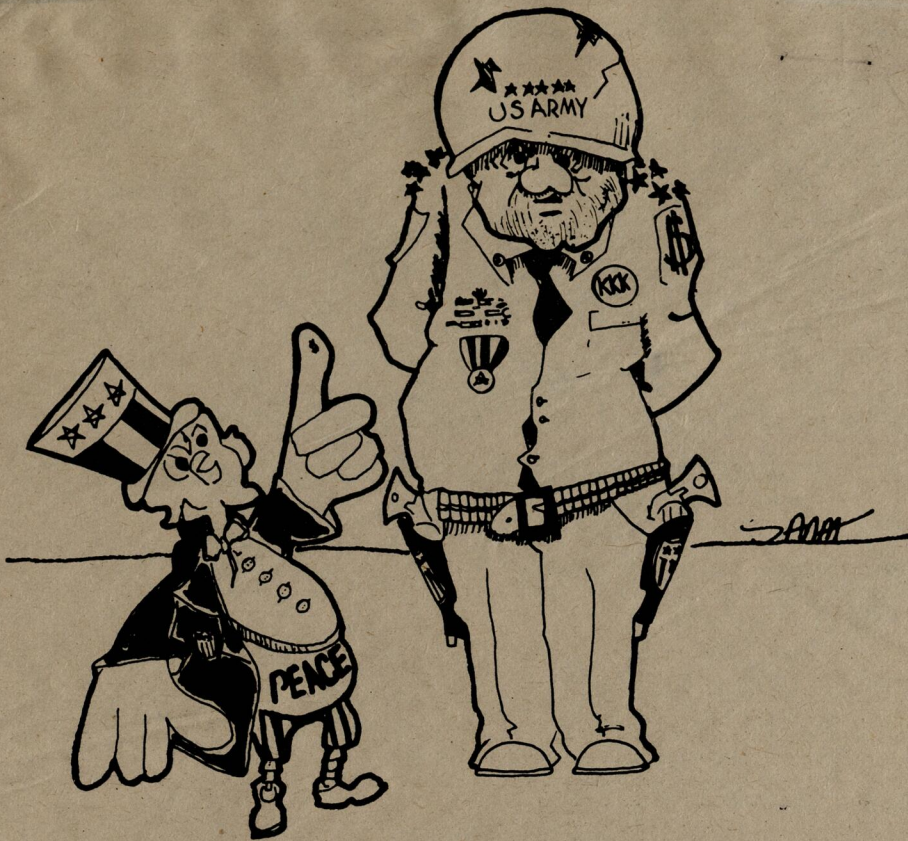
The Nixon administration withdrew its ambassador in Uganda following the telegram, and last week, a State Department official said that the ambassador, Mr. Melady, "was still here and had no further plans for travel."

The telegram had praised the Vietnamese people for a courageous stand against "United States aggressors and the puppet regime of Saigon."

Uganda's Pres. Idi Amin, reacting to the reports that U.S. aid will be terminated, said that Uganda will continue to progress despite the cut off.

"Maybe the Americans think I will go and kneel before them, but I am not going to do that," he said.

Radio Uganda said the cut off "smacks of political arm-twisting."



Well partner, we didn't vietnamize the Vietmese;
nek'con' we can Africanize the Africans!

New Police Plan File Data on Everyone

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

In its mad rush to meet what we thought was a fictionalized "1984" deadline, the repressive forces of the United States are making all kinds of inroads into citizen surveillance and information storage systems. The forces in power in this country seem to view "1984" as very real, and are apparently trying to hasten its advent.

In addition to the insidious developments of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) outlined in the last edition of the AFRICAN WORLD, that federal agency was just funded a project in the west whereby Huntington Beach, California will be the first city to have every member of the community on the police department's computer. That means that each and every resident of that city; man, woman and child, whether guilty or innocent, accused or unaccused, convicted or awaiting trial will be included in the police data bank.

And the information will not be limited to criminal, or so-called illegal activities. Every piece of information that has ever been recorded concerning individuals' medical histories, credit, school records, family structure, even the name of the family dog, in short, everything recorded, or to be recorded will be taped into the system. The only snag officials are hitting in fully implementing the program is how to get the information on the more than 140,000 people

who live in rental housing, but that won't be a problem for long if current legislation is passed. A new law will make it mandatory for landlords to supply police with all information they have on their tenants.

In its rapidly growing web of keeping an ever growing lookout on the masses of people and non-interference with those in power (who are the real criminals), LEAA gives money for this particular program to the California Council on Criminal Justice, who in turn hands it out to the county and local law enforcement units.

This federal agency, (LEAA) is not admitting to it, but sources in the area report that also to be funded are programs which will put names of young school children in a national computer bank after they've been classified as "pre-delinquent" by some official of the local government.

One such program, called the Analytical Methods of Behavioral Systemization in San Diego County, will record the histories of any child who has had even the least scrape with established authority. Therefore, talking back to a teacher, playing a little hooky, or being "beyond the control of their parents" or "incorrigible to authority" entitles the child and his parents to inclusion in the national lists.

As a result of an infraction by a child, the parents would then have to choose between court action on their children or to

submit themselves to a group-psychiatric program which purports to teach the parents how to handle their affairs. The so-called experts who conduct these sessions teach the forced participants that these experts know the definite cause for both abnormal and normal behavior, definite bases for evaluation of children's needs, and what is the definite ground work and techniques of modifying aberrant behavior.

Probation officers briefed on the program have said that just being a bit disorderly in a classroom ties a child and his parents up into all of this. From this way very first straying from the "normal", the child is known as a "pre-delinquent", another reinforcement that he's nothing but an anathema to the society anyway.

South Vietnamese Denied at U.N.

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

The Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam (Vietcong) has been barred from sending any observers to any business session at the United Nations. This disclosure was made this week in a letter sent by UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim to the PRG Foreign Minister, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh. Waldheim would not comment on the letter, saying only that discussions are presently being held to decide matters further.

Throughout the World

ALD Demonstrations Widespread



SOME OF THE NATIONAL OFFICERS FOR THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT Committee: Nelson Johnson, Owusu Sadaukai, Kwadwo Akpan and Hisani Mweusi.

List of ALD State Coordinators

Following is a listing of state coordinators for African Liberation Day. Contact the coordinator nearest you for information about local efforts.

CALIFORNIA -

Tanya Russell, 1811 Stuart St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703, (415) 848-8796

Joe Williams, 1753 W. 48th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90062

CONNECTICUT -
Clifton Bush, 55 Truman St., New Haven, Conn. 06519, (203) 776-4753

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA -
Courtland Cox, 1371 Fairmont St. N.W., Washington, D.C., (202) 234-2883

Donald Issac, Washington Tech. Institute, Student Government Ass., 4100 Conn. Ave., Washington, D.C. (202) 629-7654

GEORGIA -
Mary Ethel Jones, 751 N. Evelyn Place, Atlanta, Ga., (404) 795-5200

Bob Brown, P.O. Box 460, Macon, Ga. 31204

ILLINOIS -
Ruwa Chiri, Box 509, Chicago, Ill. 60617

Ron Walton, 7850 So. Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.

INDIANA -
Endesha Alimayn, 1416 Linden Ave., South Bend, Ind. 46618

KANSAS -
Duane Vann, 1310 Tennessee St., Lawrence, Kansas 66044, (913) 864-4153

LOUISIANA -
Kalamu Ya Salaam, 2535 St. Maurice Ave., New Orleans, La. 70117

Ricky Hill, 9927 Ave. F, Apt. E, Baton Rouge, La 70807

MASSACHUSETTS -
Dimizulu, 25 Holyoke St., Boston, Mass. 02610, (617) 536-4524

Randall Robinson, 317 Bluehill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02186, (617) 442-7784

Akosua, 25 Holyoke St., Boston, Mass. 02116, (617) 536-4525

Al Carter, P.O. Box 402, Highland Station, Springfield, Mass. 01109, (413) 737-5996

MICHIGAN -
Kwadwo Akpan, P.O. Box 551-A, Main Station, Detroit, Michigan 48232, (313) 834-7310

Modibo Kadalie, 196 Avalon St., Highland Park, Michigan 48203

MINNESOTA -
John Warfield, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. 55705, (612) 647-6541 or 224-7042

Kojo Odinga, MX Pan-African Inst., 1626 Portland Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55104

NEW JERSEY -
Imamu Baraka, 502 High St., Newark, New Jersey 07102, (201) 621-2300

NEW YORK -

Alice Reid, 178-14 Leslie Road, Springfield Gardens, N.Y., (212) 870-3151 or 527-4392

Roger Newell, 1009 Hartley Hall, Columbia Univ., N.Y., N.Y. 10027, (212) 280-3611

Tony Mackall, 208-A Conant Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14623, (716) 473-0251

Shakoor Aljiwani, 94 Best St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14209

Maina-wa-Kinyatti, 362 Riverside Drive No. 30, N.Y., N.Y. 10025

NORTH CAROLINA

Vaughn C. Glapion, 2215 Eldert St., No 3, Durham, N.C. 27905, (919) 286-3818

John Mendez, 115 Bart St., Raleigh, N.C. 27610

OHIO -

Mwanza, 2710 N. Cassady, Columbus, Ohio 43219, (614) 475-4845

Floyd B. Johnson, 2676 Salem Ave., Dayton, Ohio, (513) 276-2116

OREGON -
O. B. Hill, 2726 N.E. 10th Ave., Portland, Oregon

Ron Herdon, 3703 N Williams Ave., Portland, Oregon

OKLAHOMA -

Hannah Atkins, Rt. 4, Box 799, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111

PENNSYLVANIA -
Jimmy Reeves, 1324 Walnut St., Harrisburg, Pa. 17102, (717) 232-4480

RHODE ISLAND -

Michael Spearman, or James Monroe, Organization of United, African Peoples, Brown University, Providence, R.I. 02812, (401) 803-3137

SOUTH CAROLINA -
Mto Whitaker, Benedict College, P.O. Box 480, Columbia, S.C. 29204

TENNESSEE -
Abdul Alkalimat, 1809 Morena D-2, Nashville, Tenn. 37203, (615) 329-2115

TEXAS -
Dowolu Gene Locke, P.O. Box 14093, Houston, Texas 77021, (713) 524-8679

VIRGINIA -
Rev. Milton Reid, 800 E. Virginia Beach Blvd., Norfolk, Virginia 23504

WASHINGTON -
Charles Patillo, Rt. 3, Box 696, Yakima, Washington 98901, (509) 452-8080

ANTIGUA -
Everette Christian, P.O. Box 493, St. John's, Antigua

CANADA -
Rosie Douglas, c/o June Ward, 22 Roosevelt Road, Toronto, 369 Canada

DOMINICA -
Mable Augustus, 40 Citronier, Roseau, Dominica

GRENADA -
Maurice Bishop, P.O. Box 167, St. Georges, Granada

TANZANIA -
Fred Brooks or Babatunda Folyemani, ALSC, P.O. Box 4405, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, East Africa

African Liberation Day demonstrations will be held in the following cities in the U. S. and other parts of the Western Hemisphere:

Antigua, West Indies,
Atlanta, Ga.,
Boston, Mass.,
Chicago, Ill.,
Columbia, S. C.,
Columbus, Ohio,
Detroit, Mich.,
Dominica, West Indies,
Grenada, West Indies,
Houston, Texas,
Indianapolis, Ind.,
Kansas City (or Omaha),
Los Angeles, Cal.,
Montreal, Canada,

Nashville, Tenn.,
Newark, N. J.,
New Orleans, La.,
New York City,
Oakland, Cal.,
Oklahoma City, Okla.,
Philadelphia, Pa.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.,
Portland, Oregon,
Raleigh, N. C.,
Rochester, N. Y.,
St. Paul, Minn.,
Toronto, Canada.

Demonstrations are also being considered for the following areas throughout the world:

Accra, Ghana,
Baltimore, Md.,
Halifax, Nova Scotia,
Kingston, Jamaica,
London, England,

Louisville, Ky.,
New Haven, Conn.,
Norfolk, Va.,
Seattle, Wash., and
Wilmington, Del.

African Liberation Support Committee National Officers:

Owusu Sadaukai, chairman, P.O. Box 21045, Greensboro, N.C. 27420, (919) 275-0930

Don L. Lee, vice-chairman, 7850 So. Ellis, Chicago, Ill. 60619, (202) 636-7138

Nelson Johnson, P.O. Box 20826, Greensboro, N.C. 27420

Hisani Mweusi, Howard Univ., Frazier, P.O. Box 263, Washington, D.C. 20001

Dr. Ronald Walters, Political Science Dept., Howard Univ., Washington, D.C. 20001
James Turner, Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell Univ., 310 Triphammer Road, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
Florence Tate, 1648 Roxanna Road, Washington, D.C. 20012

Support For Africa

Cont'd from pg. 1
(South Africa), and Guinea-Bissau are in armed conflict with European settler colonists who are supported by the U. S. and other European nations.

And the theme stems from

the realization that Black people in this country are likely to be increasingly faced directly with the consequences of war in Africa. The companies we work for or buy from are the same ones which economically support white regimes in Southern Africa. The government we exist under is the same one which supports those regimes and the military. Black servicemen are a part of it, the same one which trains and equips those oppressive armies and is the same one which conceivably could fight there.

ALD was set to coincide with the traditional observance established several years ago by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It was agreed that the Saturday nearest the traditional May 25 date would be most appropriate.

Participate in the demonstration nearest you. Use the list of names included in this issue and contact the local coordinator and volunteer to work to develop the demonstrations.



LAST YEAR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY DREW 60,000 PEOPLE IN LESS THAN NINE locations in the Western Hemisphere. This year many more are anticipated in over 20 locations.

Calif. Funds in Southern Africa

SACRAMENTO, Calif. - Two California legislators introduced a series of bills last week designed to change a state policy which now allows public funds to be invested in South African white minority regimes.

In July, 1972, a special legislative study conducted for Assemblyman John L. Burton showed that 200 firms from which California buys substantial amounts of goods and services or invests part of a \$5 billion public investment fund "played a key role in the economic development of Southern Africa."

"Many - perhaps most - of these firms use Black slave labor to reap huge profits from their investments," Burton explained. "There activities contribute to the suppression of Black majorities in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia."

The survey showed that California spent \$10 million in 1970 with Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., which provides South Africa with atomic energy.

Standard Oil was singled out as having extensive operations in Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa, and also as "the largest supplier of gasoline, oil and transmission fluids for state cars."

The study identified the California Legislators' Retirement System, the Public Employees' Retirement System and the University of California (UC) as also investing substantial sums with firms making huge profits from their Southern Africa operations.

Remote Control Warfare

SAN FRANCISCO - "When the weather is on the ragged edge; the flack a thicket; the target too hardened; the approach too limited; then you are in RPV country," says Robert Schwanhausser.

Schwanhausser is Executive vice-president of Programs at Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical. He is talking about a new Air Force robot bomber which is almost ready to begin operations.

Already being called the "Nixon era plane," The Remotely Piloted Vehicle (RPV) can be directed from a comfortable, distant room by push-button. The pilotless drone bomber will be able to dodge and jam enemy radar, conduct reconnaissance, drop 700 pounds of deadly bombs by remote control and return home. It is the final word in "low profile" combat.

The first remote controlled drone was flown as early as 1939 and for seven years, from Tonkin Gulf to President Nixon's China visit in 1972, the U.S. Strategic Air Command has employed drones for reconnaissance work over China. Remote-controlled drones have also carried electronic eavesdropping gear over Vietnam and dropped leaflets over villages before air strikes.

The new, improved RPV's, however, are technologically far superior to their predecessors and more economically appealing as well.

Training for RPV "pilots" (who may even be civilians) will also be less expensive than in-flight training for regular

ENCOURAGE CHANGE

The University of California, for instance, invested \$340 million of endowments or pension funds in such companies.

Burton, along with the California Assembly's Black caucus and Assemblyman John F. Dunlap have produced a number of bills which would prevent the state from doing business with firms who operate in or buy goods from South Africa, Rhodesia or the Portuguese colonies.

Black Assemblyman John Miller of Berkeley pointed out that "UC investments contribute directly to human misery."

Copies of the report were sent to the UC Regents Investment Committee.

"We have no formal response to the reports, but we do respond to legislation," said a spokesman for the regents.

"We are certainly looking forward to examining the proposed legislation very carefully and making our views known to the legislature."

The UC Regents is a 26-person body that rules the multi-campus university system.

Individual regents, through interlocking memberships in the boards of directors of banks, manufacturing firms and agri-business ventures, are in touch with much of the investment capital in California.

The regents are expected to oppose the legislation on grounds that the regents' investments "have been managed consistent with seeking the best returns."

pilots. The human factor will also be lessened considerably. Unlike the pilot in danger of his life, the RPV operator, safely tucked into a control panel away from the action, need have nothing impair his capabilities.

As an industry bumper sticker puts it, "Strike drones are fearless."

With the air war in Vietnam apparently over, everyone is looking to the future. "We're at the start of a new era in our defense posture," says Schwanhausser. "An era of paradox. We face a spectrum of future threats that promise to be substantially more demanding than any we have encountered in Southeast Asia. Yet we must be more effective against these tougher targets at less cost."

Zimbabwe

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A Rhodesian farmer - later identified as a police reservist - was reported killed last week by guerrillas in the Centenary area, the region that borders on Mozambique.

He was killed during an operation on his farm, Trosachs Estate, which lies between Centenary and Umvukwes. Another member of the police reserve was also seriously injured during the same operation.

The victim became the seventh member of the Rhodesian security forces to have been killed since Black guerrillas began their operations against the white minority regime last December.



OWUSU SADAUKAI, CHAIRMAN OF THE N. C. BLACK ASSEMBLY LEADS A DISCUSSION OF the progress made in the Assembly since it was first convened last fall.

Second Session Reveals N.C. Black Assembly Is Diligently At Work

DURHAM, N. C. - On April 14, 110 delegates gathered at St. Joseph's Baptist Church in Durham for the second session of the North Carolina Black Assembly. During the day-long proceedings delegates discussed activities in the eleven districts, national activities, the state of the National Black Assembly, and progress on the three major project areas outlined by the first session of the N. C. Black Assembly.

Assembly chairman, Owusu Sadaukai opened the session giving a brief history of the N. C. Black Assembly for the benefit of new delegates. The state Assembly was created following the Gary Convention held one year ago. Following the Gary Convention the second N. C. State Convention was held (The first was held before the Gary Convention) to pick delegates for the State Black Assembly, the first session of which was convened in October, 1972.

The Assembly delegations are broken down by districts and the districts reports revealed that while process is slow in some areas other areas are launching a multi-pronged approach to local problems following the general direction outlined by the Assembly. In the fifth district (includes Winston-Salem) a s s e m b l y members have initiated the development of the black hospital, set up a network for receiving and handling welfare complaints and public school problems, and started a movement to establish an education center on a 700 acre campus in Winston-Salem. One fifth district delegate reported on his efforts to teach the valuable skill of brick making to Black youth.

Other districts are also engaging in significant self-reliant programs and projects.

The first Assembly session

had outlined three primary state-wide projects areas—education, prisons, and Black cultural commission.

Reports indicated significant progress in all three areas.

In the area of programs to aid Black prisoners most districts reported some type of activity ranging from inmate sponsorship programs, inmate correspondence efforts and support for Black political prisoners. In March the assembly organized a face-to-face meeting between virtually all major Black correctional officials in the state and black inmates and community representatives. The meeting, the first of a series, proved to be an extremely productive and significant effort.

Before the end of the session the assembly had voted to provide greater support for the Wilmington eleven, Dr. Jim Grant, and Robert Williams—all facing political cases in the state. The assembly also decided to work for the creation of a prisoner's union, to actively support positive legislation being sponsored by N. C.'s three Black state representatives, to move to inspect prison units, and to support the re-appointment of A. S. Webb, the outspoken Black member of the N.C. Prison commission.

The cultural commission reported plans for a N. C. black Cultural History Day, the appointment of an Assembly historian, and efforts to establish an on-going Black cultural exposition. The commission is headed by Dr. Earle Thorpe, Chairman of the History Department of N. C. Central University and author of over seven books on Black history.

The education commission is working to establish student-parent committees throughout the state to monitor public school problems. It is also

compiling research on Black education problems and encouraging lobbying to influence bills and legislation affecting Black Education.

The Assembly discussed African Liberation Day and laid plans for the demonstration in Raleigh, N. C. on May 26.

A resolution was passed instructing Sadaukai to communicate to the three convenors of the National Black Assembly dissatisfaction with the rate of activity and planning on a national level. The Assembly noted that the three national convenors (Diggs, Hatcher and Baraka) seemed to be having trouble even convening themselves for a meeting. The group also noted that it was not dependent upon the national body for direction although it hoped that such leadership and direction would be forthcoming.

The final session of the day, presided over by Assembly executive committee chairman, Nelson Johnson, dealt with mechanics, operational procedures, and ongoing strategy.

Overall, the session was smooth and work-oriented. Delegates—young and old, workers and professionals—had come from every end of the state and they pledged themselves to continue working for the interest of Black people in North Carolina in particular and all Black people in general.

Chance has never yet satisfied the hope of a suffering people.

Action, self-reliance, the vision of self and the future have been the only means by which the oppressed have seen and realized the light of their own freedom.

—Marcus Garvey

The Point of Production

AFRICAN WORKERS THE SAME GAME

As workers who constantly suffer from exploitation at the hands of the bosses, we are aware of the way we are cheated. In the past, the Point of Production has examined this process from many angles.

We have learned as a result of those examinations that by paying the workers as little as possible, the bosses are able to reap profits for themselves. The products that our labor produces is taken away from us and then sold back to us at higher prices again reaping profits for the bosses.

In the past, we have paid particular attention to America. This method of cheating workers however, is in effect, in a great deal of the world. In fact, the reason that America can boast of its high standard of living is that around the world, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the United States underpays workers so much that they can take those countries resources at an amazingly low cost.

This profit based system — capitalism — is also the system of many other unjust and illegal governments, governments the U. S. supports. The white controlled country of South Africa is just such a government.

Just as we, African people, are exploited here, our brothers on the continent are even more oppressed. It is extremely important that we realize this. As Malcolm once said, "It is the same game." We must support the struggles of the brothers on the continent for every victory against capitalism is a victory for us.

In order to get a clearer picture of the situation on the continent, let us look at South Africa and the situation in one of its most productive enterprises, the mines.

This year, South Africa is enjoying its most prosperous time in the 87 year old history of its mine workers. In 1971, income from the mines was \$1.3 billion. Last year, it jumped to \$1.6 billion. Gold, which is what the mines hold, can be sold for \$38.00 an ounce. Brothers, 400,000 of them, work 10 thousand feet below the ground to produce 70 million TONS of the ore a year. From 1936 to 1966, 17,000 Blacks died in mine accidents.

Despite all the work and danger, Blacks receive only \$7.00 a WEEK for their labor. The rationale for such low wages is the same as it is for low wages in America: the lower the wages for the worker, the higher the profit for the bosses, the capitalist. Even in other South African industries, the pay is below the poverty line. Blacks make about thirty dollars a week in industry.

Many will hold these figures up to Blacks in America, and tell us how much better off we are here. But we must not be fooled into thinking that we have a good thing. It is with the money the U. S. saves by buying

materials cheaply from places like South Africa that allows the U. S. to pay workers here more money. But the same process is in effect. Under capitalism, all workers are cheated. Our studies of rising prices, worker layoffs and many other things has revealed this to be true.

Here as well as on the continent of Africa, we suffer from the same evils - capitalism and racism. We must support the struggles of oppressed people abroad for as Malcolm has said, "we have a common enemy, a common exploiter, a common discriminator! It's the same game." Knowledge of that game is essential if ever we are to change the point of production.



AFRICAN WORKERS IN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE) AND OTHER PARTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED BY THE SAME ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH EXPLOITS WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY. It is the same game.

Industrial Speed-ups Taking Toll

DETROIT - In a landmark decision, the Michigan Bureau of Workmen's Compensation ordered Chrysler Corporation to pay compensation benefits to Bro. James Johnson, Jr., dating back to July 15, 1970 when Johnson shot and killed two foremen and another worker at the Chrysler Eldon plant in Detroit. The Bureau also ordered Chrysler to pay for all psychiatric care for Johnson.

Johnson was found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity and the Compensation Bureau ruled that it was the racism at the plant as well as the unsafe working conditions that drove Johnson to shoot the three men. Chrysler must now pay Johnson \$7500 in back benefits and \$75 a week until further order from the Bureau.

In the three months prior to Johnson's breakdown, one worker in the plant was killed when he was buried under 4 tons of scrap steel. Dozens of rank and file workers were then fired for protesting unsafe working conditions.

Johnson himself had been called called "nigger" and "boy" by his foreman and had been bypassed for promotion by that same foreman in June 1970 for openly racist reasons. Chrysler did not even attempt to refute these facts at the hearing.

Upon hearing of the decision, lawyers for Johnson termed it "a direct indictment of the racism and inhumane working conditions at Chrysler." They explained that "Johnson was a good worker, he needed his job. But the conditions at Eldon wore him down and drove him mad."

They added that "Chrysler pulled the trigger which resulted in Johnson's insanity and the death of three fellow employees."

In arguing the case, lawyers pointed out that Johnson's case is not isolated. At the Dodge

Main plant in Detroit, assembly line running speeds were only recently increased from 46 to 63 units per hour. The speed-up has already resulted in one death on February 2.

And at the Jefferson Chrysler plant, where a white worker recently killed a foreman, the line speed has been increased from 58 to 65 per hour.

The United Auto Workers has been conspicuously silent throughout the Johnson case and similarly silent on the firings of strikers.

Three Plant Workers Die But G.M. Assembly Line Never Stops

LOS ANGELES - Two auto workers died of heart attacks in one California General Motors plant on January 18 and 19. In neither case was there a doctor in the plant, and no first aid was administered.

GM did not shut down the line. Instead of trying to get help, the line foreman warned the workers to watch their work and not to miss anything.

In another California GM plant, a stock chaser fell from his scooter due to a heart attack on January 10. A doctor arrived too late, with an empty oxygen tank.

GM's drive for increased productivity does not allow the assembly line to stop - even to rescue a dying man. And the work speed-ups have increased the incidents of heart attacks among workers.

In contrast to its negligence of workers' safety, GM has rescue units ready at all times to revive the line when it dies. There are stations throughout the plants to receive radio message and inform mobile maintenance squads of a breakdown in the line. Help arrives in no more than two minutes.



SCENE IN FRONT OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION'S PLANT IN SOUTH AFRICA. CHRYSLER EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS IN THE U. S. is much the same as that in South Africa. Recent automotive industry speed-ups are taking the lives of workers for the sake of greater profits.

Nixon Adm. Flooded With Watergate Thugs

The ever-widening circle of Watergate conspirators has gotten so large that it is difficult to tell the thieves without a scorecard.

The trail from the burglarized Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate Apartment Building has led to the Republic Party, the Committee to Re-Elect Nixon, to the Bay of Pigs invasion, and even to the White House itself. The denials of Richard Nixon and Ronald Zeigler, his mouthpiece, have become reminiscent of Johnson and Nixon Vietnam statements. Remember them? They went something like this: The 1st day: "The charges that we have bombed cities in North Vietnam are utterly false, they have been to totally fabricated by the communists (sometimes 'the enemy') in order to make their aggression in South Vietnam."

The 2nd day: "No comment on the matter."
The 3rd day: "We are investigating these reports."
The 4th day: "NO comment."
The 5th day: "I want the American people to know that I ordered 'protective reaction' strikes in order to protect the lives of...."

Now, the Watergate scandal is beginning to sound like that. First Nixon knew nothing-denied everything. Then, when two of the burglars, caught red-handed, were shown to be White House consultants, he said that they had acted independently.

Next, one of the men, a Bay of Pigs veteran, showed up with money received from the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Nixon ordered a White House lawyer, John Dean, to investigate. He later reported that.....no one employed by the administration is involved in this very bizarre incident."

Then, James McCord, one of the burglars, testified that Dean himself was involved. Then John Mitchell denied that Dean was involved, and McCord reported Mitchell was also involved. (The other burglars quietly accepted conviction. They have also reportedly accepted a \$250,000 payoff to keep their mouths shut, and they have.)

Now it all really gets tricky. Newsweek said that Dean was involved. Dean kept quiet. Nixon trots out Ronald Zeigler to imply that if Dean was involved, he's on his own. Dean now jumps up and shouts that no one is going to make a scapegoat out of him, that he was involved and is prepared to implicate other conspirators below and above him.

Nixon issues a statement withdrawing his claim of executive privilege for his goons, for two reasons: First, because the news is getting too funky, and second, because old N. C. Democrat Sam Ervin said, that anyone who didn't testify would go to jail. And old Sam meant it.

Now the only person above John Dean is H. R. Haldeman, Nixon's Chief of Staff. News reports indicate that Haldeman will resign any day now.

The whole thing stinks. Everyone who was involved (and that seems like everybody) is trying to say that somebody else planned it. The only person that no body has said is involved is Nixon himself. But every one knew that anyway.



THE in Struggle PERSPECTIVE

by NELSON N. JOHNSON YOSU National Chairman

Important Tasks For Black Youth

The Nixon administration is now with us for real. Firmly installed in his second term (which might not be his last), Nixon no longer has to play patty-cake for votes. In fact, his every action since inauguration, has indicated that this ruling class casanova's "playing days" are over.

Of particular importance to the struggle is our understanding of what the current situation means to Black Youth.

The Nixon administration's disastrous policies, that is, cutbacks in federal programs, increased repression and out-right racism is taking its toll on the total Black community. Black youth, as the most unsettled, oppressed, and dependent section of the Black community, may suffer the greatest.

The inflationary crisis currently gripping the American capitalist economy has increased unemployment in the overall society. Unemployment rates for Black youth have always hovered at a near-depression level, but will increase to stratospheric heights behind the Nixon program.

That section of Black youth currently in school (students) find themselves in a precarious position as cutbacks in the National Defense Student Loan program, the replacement of the E.O.G. program with the B.O.G. program, cutbacks in specific academic and social programs that served Black students, and the attack on Black colleges, may very well mean the end of the ability of large sections of Black students to continue schooling beyond the High School level.

The disastrous unemployment rate in the Black community will also increase the rate of high school

drop-outs, as the pressure for survival may intensify the current contradictions that already exist among families in the Black community.

The impact of unemployment, repression and heightened racism will have a tendency to force a large section of our youth into joining the "all-volunteer army" as their options become narrower. Compelled by the high-power selling campaign ("you can be Black and Navy too"), the imperialist military will become a more frequent option for Black youth.

The frustration and disastrous economic situation spreading throughout the Black community can only lead to an increase in the already genocidal drug traffic that exists among Black youth. Already a profitable enterprise to the police, mafia, politicians and Black leeches that operate in the Black community, increased frustration and despair among Black youth will only fatten the pocketbooks of the death-dealers.

We all know that a lopsided section of Black youth spend a great deal of time in and out of jails and prisons in America. The heightened economic and social forces operating to the detriment of the total Black community, can only mean the incarceration of greater numbers of Black youth, for Black youth have always resisted the effects of racism and capitalism, but not always in a political manner.

WHAT DOES ALL OF THIS MEAN?

Based upon the overview of the conditions facing Black youth, we see a necessity for our struggle to be waged on three fronts - the ideological, domestic, and international fronts, all simultaneously and in harmony.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

We must of course, wage a battle of ideas against our oppressors and the dominant American ideology. But we

must also beware the trends of thought that exist in our own communities.

If the despair and frustration among Black youth is to be channeled into a direction that will be meaningful to the advancement of our struggle these three tendencies must be struggled against. The first is right opportunism. Right opportunism will be manifested primarily by middle-class elements in the Black community. Under the guise of nationalism and militancy, they will really be advocating cooperation with the Republican and Democratic parties, big corporate interests, and general "upward mobility" schemes for Black youth. Given the real situation facing Black youth, these bogus schemes can only be seen as confusing, diverting, and merely efforts to promote interests of those middle-class elements. This tendency must be struggled against.

Another tendency seeking to divert the energies of Black youth that must be struggled against is the time that will be pushed by those "Marxists" who run around trying to get Black youth to join white organizations, mouthing empty phrases, and talking about "Black-White working-class unity" with no real analysis or understanding of the depth of racism among the White working class in this country.

Probably one of the most dangerous ideological tendencies that will manifest itself amongst Black youth will be "adventurism". As Black youth react to the situation surrounding them, the absence of guidance and leadership, will lend itself to romantic assaults upon American "State power", as small groups attempt to bring America to its knees. This will only result in the useless death and or imprisonment of many Black youths, who are affected by a great deal of commitment, but

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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



FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN MITCHELL, WHO headed Nixon's campaign, is implicated deeply in Watergate.



NIXON'S ASSOCIATION WITH THE WATERGATE BURGLARS BEGIN WHEN HE WAS vice-president to Eisenhower. They are shown here in 1953.

Bay of Pigs & Nixon

(Cont'd from Pg. 1)

responsibility for the entire mess.

His opponent in the recent election, Richard Nixon, was more than happy, however, to take full credit for the policy that led to the mess.

"The covert training of Cuban exiles by the CIA was due in substantial part, at least, to my efforts," Nixon wrote in his book *Six Crises* a year later. "This had been adopted as a policy as a result of my direct support."

Nixon, as Vice President, had known of, pushed for and supported the invasion plans for over a year. Everyone in the Western Hemisphere knew the invasion was coming, Fidel Castro most of all, but when Kennedy on October 6, 1960, a month before the election and 6 months before the invasion, publicly called for encouraging the Cuban exiles in their anti-Castro activities, Nixon became outraged.

Nixon believed that Kennedy was trying to win votes by coming out for a plan that he, Nixon, should be getting the credit for except that he couldn't talk about it because it was supposed to be secret. He decided to take the path of lying about it.

"There was only one thing I could do," Nixon wrote in his book. "The covert operation had to be protected at all costs. I must not even suggest that the U.S. was rendering aid to rebel forces in and out of Cuba. In fact I must go to the opposite extreme: I must attack the Kennedy proposal as wrong and irresponsible because it would violate our treaty commitments."

Nixon, then, by his own admission, went on national TV and told the American people that to support an invasion of Cuba was "a shocking and reckless proposal" that would "violate five treaties between the U.S. and Latin America as well as the United Nations Charter." He later bragged about this lie as a "patriotic act."

THE WATERGATE BOYS

Who was carrying out the illegal operation that Nixon was lying to protect "at all costs"?

The man in charge of the actual invasion, under the code name of "Eduardo" was Everette Howard Hunt, Jr. One of his planning aids, who used the code name "Macho," was Bernard L. Barker. A high-ranking CIA official and one of the organizers of the invasion was James McCord. Frank Sturgis, Virgilio Gonzales and Eugenio Martinez were some other operatives involved in the Bay of Pigs.

12 Years later, caught once again in the dead of night, this time with surgical gloves on their hands and surveillance equipment around their necks, they had blown it a second time. The effect cannot yet be measured, but though no lives were lost, the repercussions could turn out to be as deep as were the echoes of Playa Girón.

Once again everyone blamed someone else, and a line was drawn between those who would be protected and those who would be thrown to the wolves. 12 years before, Nixon had lied barefaced to the American people in the patriotic interest of his election. It is not unreasonable to ask if he has been lying again. In his next book, will Nixon brag about how he covered up for the Watergate invasion to protect "national interests."

NIXON'S ADVICE IN 1961: INVADE

Just before the election in 1960, when Nixon was bitterly attacking Kennedy for supporting a plan that Nixon himself had created, the present President of the United States made his own counter-offer about what to do about Cuba: "What can we do?" he told Kennedy in a TV debate. "We can do what we did with Guatemala."

Nixon, who was Vice President when we did what we did with Guatemala, knew very well what that was: the CIA in 1954 organized a coup

against the democratically elected president of Guatemala, replacing him with an Army Colonel who promptly denied illiterates (70 percent of the population) the right to vote, returned a quarter of a million acres of nationalized land to the United Fruit Company of the United States, and took back a million acres of land that had been distributed to the peasants. This was Nixon's "moderate" suggestion for Cuba.

In April, 1961, after the Bay of Pigs disaster, President Kennedy invited Nixon to the White House and asked him "What would you do now in Cuba?"

Nixon's answer, as quoted in "Nixon: A Political Portrait" by Earl Mazo and Stephen Hess, shows us there never was a difference between the old Nixon and the new. "I would find a proper legal cover and I would go in," he told Kennedy.

He then suggested, lawyer that he is, three possible legal justifications for a U.S. invasion of Cuba:

1) "A new definition of aggression, based on the premise that Soviet-bloc equipment was used by the Castro forces and that we had an obligation to see that the Freedom Forces were at least equally supplied.

2) "Send American forces in under our treaty right because of the potential threat to Guantanamo Base;

3) "Send American forces in to protect the lives and rights of the several thousand American citizens still living in Cuba."

It is interesting to speculate whether, had Nixon won the election in 1960 and carried out his plan, a generation of American youth would have grown up under the influence of "The War in Cuba."

Nothing is
Permanent
But Change

Cop Kills Brother

YOBU NEWS SERVICE
GASTONIA, N. C.—A coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide and set a white cop free in the killing of brother Larry Robbins.

In a not unsurprising decision, the jury exonerated Gastonia patrolman David Hamrick of any wrong doing, despite the testimony of an eye witness to the crime who stated that Hamrick had shot the brother in cold blood while the brother had his arms out stretched on the hood of his car. The shooting occurred after brother Robbins ran a stop sign and was pursued by Hamrick. Brother Robbins got out of the car offering no resistance and spread his arms on the hood so that the officer could see that he had no gun.

Nevertheless, he was shot in the back of the head.

At this time it is not known what if any response was forthcoming from the Black community. But the message is unmistakably clear—police in Gastonia, as in other communities have been given a

license to murder Black folk. It goes without saying that Black folk should take heed and prepare themselves accordingly.

Gastonia's Black community was quite concerned and the court proceedings were well attended by Blacks. Hamrick had the support of several police organizations, the Klan and the great majority of the white population of this mill town of 35,000.

Words From Our Readers:

Latin Activist Discovers AFRICAN WORLD

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I send you power plus respect and love as a Third World Sister. Pleasure plus understanding have prompted me to send you this message. I am a Latin sister in the struggle, the struggle for the Island of Puerto Rico.

I am part Indian, part Black and part Spainard as all Puerto Ricans are, whether aware or not.

I saw a brother on the train reading the paper, "THE AFRICAN WORLD", I asked him to give me the address for subscription, but instead he saluted me with power and gave a copy to me.

I had been aware of the struggle of my African brothers and sisters, but I had not had the good fortune to run across a paper.

I also write to tell you your article in Vol III, No. II Page 6 was hellified. I agree totally with you on this point, and if I may be allowed to add, this reinstatement of the death penalty by these fascist pigs and all their puppets, can only cause deeper problems for our people, all of the 3rd World People, who are being formed, or being killed for their struggles and beliefs.

So understanding what must be done, I send you power and say let the truth keep flowing. Our peoples have been asleep too long, their time is coming.

Revolution is the only solution,

Here I close, waging struggle, Power before Peace, Yours in the struggle,

Margaret

Oil Crisis Worsens

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

The oil crisis is becoming more critical in America despite presidential claims to the contrary. America's petroleum products decreases are forcing many independent dealers out of business. Many

car owners who once could save some pennies at a discount gas dealer will be forced to shop at the major gas stations like Exxon, Gulf, Standard Oil, etc.

The discount stores that relied on supplies from larger gas companies have, for the past week or so, been receiving calls saying its all over for now. They have gone dry!

The situation is helped along a little by Arab guerrillas. Viewing the oil situation on the international scene we find that the guerrillas, being well aware of the critical hold they have on the American oil supply, have the full intention of using that hold for their interest and gain.

Recently in Beirut, Lebanon, two 100,000 barrel oil tanks were blown up at an American owned refinery. A Maoist Lebanese group claimed responsibility and vowed to keep up the attacks.

There were 18 tanks electrically charged to go off but the Lebanese government were able to salvage 16 of them. The refinery is owned by Mobil Oil and Caltex. Temporarily, a report said, all pumping and loading operations have been halted.

The Lebanese Revolutionary Guard claimed responsibility and pledged to strike at "all imperialist and reactionary bases in the Arab world."

They said the attack on the refinery was "intended as a blow to the unholy alliance between the United States, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon" and that the oil "feeds imperialism and goes into planes and other destructive weapons with which the United States is generously supplying the Israeli enemy."

South Carolina Textile Strike In 3rd Month

NEW YORK - Over 700 textile workers are moving into the third month of their strike against the Oneita Knitting Mills at the company's two plants in the neighboring rural towns of Andrews and Lane, South Carolina. Only 10 percent of the textile industry in the U.S. is organized, so the outcome of this strike is extremely important.

The workers won union representation with the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) in November of 1971 and went out on strike January 15 of this year when Oneita refused to bargain. The union, based largely in the South, has 175,000 members out of 800,000 textile workers in the South alone. In the Carolinas, where approximately half of all textile mills are located, union organizing is negligible.

The two Oneita mills are located in Williamsburg County, one of the most poverty-ridden areas in the nation, with the highest unemployment rate in the state. Some 85 percent of the workers at Oneita are women; 75 percent are black.

Women workers average between \$1.60 and \$2.00 an hour and have an average take-home pay of \$49.50 a week, without regard to seniority. Many workers live in unpainted shacks - heated in the winter by pot-bellied stoves - where families are cramped into three or four rooms. The homes are inheritances from the days when most of the workers were croppers on nearby tobacco plantations.

"Working conditions are like the 19th century," said Carmela McCutchen, a rank-and-file leader of the strike.

She pointed out the workers have no seniority, no protection from layoffs, no pensions, no medical benefits, and no safety protection.

The company's demands in contract negotiations illuminate its refusal to bargain seriously with the union. Oneita is demanding the right to unilaterally grant or refuse wage increases and to discharge workers who don't meet production standards.

It insists upon the exclusive right to transfer workers from one department to another, and it has proposed a seniority system whereby the company has the final say in determining layoffs and promotions.

In addition, the company introduced a new demand during recent negotiations for a point system in which workers would be docked one point for an absence, even if excused. If a worker accumulated 18 points in a year, the penalty would be firing.

Despite Oneita's continued refusal to bargain and attempts to spark violence on the picket line, the strike remains solid with the support of the overwhelming majority of production workers.

Oneita is a small, family-owned company. Originally from Utica, New York, the company moved south to take advantage of the cheap labor and the virtual absence of unions.

Although the strike has cut severely into production with only one shift of scab workers, Oneita has the advantage and is under pressure from larger textile companies determined to keep the textile industry unorganized. The textile giant,

just look at the record. In the past ten years, an average of only three one-hundredths of one percent of working time was lost due to labor strife. Our worker productivity rate is another source of pride—it ranges 14-25% higher than the national average.

Our average working week is 41.2 hours. And our "right-to-work law" insures the right to work regardless of membership or non-membership in any organization.

So consider locating in South Carolina. You'll be able to do business painlessly here.

For more information, send for our new brochure called "South Carolina: Resource For Industry." Write: J. Bonner Manly, Director, State Development Board, Dept. 74A, P.O. Box 927, Columbia, South Carolina 29202.

We don't have labor pains.



South Carolina has the lowest work stoppage rate in the country.

THE THREE MONTH-OLD ONEITA KNITTING MILLS STRIKE IS PUTTING A DENT IN South Carolina highly publicized claim of unorganized workers.

Burlington Mills, for instance, has 150 plants of which only one is organized.

"Oneita is confident they can demoralize the workers. The company has the power structure behind it. The South is unorganized and they always have the threat of moving away," a union spokesman said.

Blacks, and particularly Black women, have been very active in the Oneita strike. The percentage of Black workers in the South Carolina textile industry leaped from about 3

percent in 1960 to nearly 25 percent today. The transformation of the workforce is due largely to the influx of heavy manufacturing industries, runaways from the North which have moved to the South to take advantage of cheap labor. The heavy manufacturing industries have opened up more skilled jobs for white workers, leaving the lower-paying, unskilled jobs in the textile industry to Black workers.

But the employers did not find a docile Black workforce,

grateful for higher wages. Instead, Blacks, with the experience of the civil rights struggle behind them, have taken the lead in recent organizing drives in the Carolinas.

Taxed, But No Vote

YOBU NEWS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. - Taxation without representation is a common cry of the oppressed. Two hundred years ago the Boston Tea Party was a famous act protesting this unfairness. But Washington, D.C. residents showed on April 15, their disgust with their inability to be represented.

Around 250 residents of the nation's capital united to demonstrate their desire for home rule. There were songs, speeches, and 19 wooden crates were dumped into the Washington channel.

Participants say the rally symbolized "the fact that D.C. Residents pay taxes but lack voting representation in Congress." The demonstration took place on April 15, the regular date due for income taxes.

Among the speakers was the veteran civil rights activist, Julius Hobson. He boldly asserted, "I will not pay D.C. taxes any longer until I can vote." He later admitted that he expected to be pursued for his unpaid tax.

D.C. councilman Jerry A. Moore, Jr. expressed his disgust at the lack of home rule; "I am an appointed city councilman, but if I had my way I'd much prefer you elected people in office," he said.

The rally was sponsored by the organization called Self-determination for D.C. One wonders how much longer predominantly Black D.C. will be forced to silently support this system.



ONEITA WORKERS, WHO ARE SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT Black women, stage a march to dramatize their strike 700 workers

are on strike at two of the company's plants in neighboring rural towns of Andrews and Lane, South Carolina.

SPECIAL SECTION



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67 Black Colleges Meet in Greensboro

National Black College Conference Maps Out "Survival Strategy"

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

"Black schools must be saved because of the potential which they represent to our future." With that idea as a central motive, over 320 Black students from our 65 Black colleges and universities gathered at A&T State University on April 6 to map out a massive, intensive national strategy to "Save Black Schools."

The conference participants quickly dispensed with defeatist "there's nothing we can do" attitudes and a host of other dead end rhetorical arguments, and moved on to serious planning sessions for a concerted national strategy beginning with local solidarity Days on each campus before the end of this term.

The discussions and planning sessions were enriched by speeches from Dr. Herman Branson, president of Lincoln Univ.; Dr. L. C. Dowdy, president of A&T; and Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University. The entire three-day gathering was filmed by "Black Journal" TV cameras to be aired in the fall when many of the planned activities will be the most intense.

The conference detailed a series of local and national activities to be carried out over the next 12 months designed to bring the problem of the survival and transformation of Black schools before the entire Black community to be faced and dealt with.

The first of the "build-up" activities is the campus Solidarity Day, and Fort Valley State College (Ga.) was the first school to implement that beginning stage of activities. On April 18, a capacity crowd of over 1,500 people gathered in the school's auditorium for the day-long session.

No one had to convince Fort Valley students of the seriousness of the crisis facing Black colleges. This past summer a



OPENING SESSION OF NATIONAL SAVE BLACK SCHOOLS CONFERENCE AT A & T STATE University. Shown are Earl Picard, SGA President at Southern University (New Orleans); Dr. L. C. Dowdy, Chancellor of A & T; Marilyn Marshall, SGA President-Elect at A & T; Nelson Johnson, Chairman of the NSBS Steering Committee; and members of the A & T choir. (YOBU Photo).

group of whites filed a suit in federal courts calling for immediate steps to remove the racial identity of the college by "whatever means necessary." The plaintiffs in the suits (who included white faculty members at Fort Valley) asked specifically that busing be considered as a means to force integration.

Among those who participated in Save Black Schools Solidarity Day at Fort Valley were Frank Martin, national head of the Fort Valley Alumni Assoc.; Ben Brown, Black member of the Georgia State legislature and a member of the legislature's committee of Education; Thomas Dortch, head of the Atlanta NAACP Youth Chapter (the Atlanta NAACP chapter was recently suspended by Roy Wilkins for refusing to press for forced

integration); and Nelson Johnson, YOBU National chairman and national chairman of the Save Black Schools Project.

Solidarity or Save Black Schools Emphasis Days are already in progress on Black campuses throughout the country.

The plans worked out at the A&T conference are to be coordinated nationally by an 18-member steering committee. In addition to Johnson, other national officers include Earl Picard (Vice Chairman), SGA President of Louisiana Southern Univ.-New Orleans, and Donald Issac (treasurer), SGA president at Washington (D.C.) Technical Institute.

CONFERENCE ANSWERS SKEPTICS
For those who continue to view efforts to preserve and transform Black colleges as

hopeless or insignificant, the conference provided a number of responses.

Owusu Sadaukai pointed out, "Admittedly Black colleges have fallen far short of their potential and in many ways seek to duplicate the same processes and value systems as their white counterparts. However, they represent the best potential that Black people have for an education in this society."

Sandra Neely, SGA president at Bennett College commented that, "Academic debates over whether or not Black schools are worth saving are of little value. It seems clear that the Black community - workers, welfare mothers, etc - should be the ones to make that decision. But if we don't build a massive, powerful movement to preserve these institutions

involving all segments of the community, then there will soon be nothing left to debate."

A sister from Tennessee added, "At its base, at the root of this effort must be the ultimate will and desire to control these institutions, their curricula, and their ideology."

Dr. L. C. Dowdy of A&T provided another response which needed no elaboration. He simply pointed out that in 1972 two Black colleges - A&T and Howard Univ. - had graduated more Black students than all the colleges in the states of New York and California combined!

The enthusiasm with which students participated in the conference was a crowning testimonial. Conference planners had expected approximately 200 representatives from 50 schools. But that many people had already arrived by 4 a.m. the morning before registration started. The fact that most schools brought along meticulously researched materials combined with the fact that hardly anyone missed sessions was further proof of widespread determination.

COLLECTIVE NATIONAL APPROACH

The Save Black Schools theme is not a new one. For several years struggles have been waged in countless locales around the preservation of Black institution. But the current effort is the first such successful coming together of Black students on a national level and resulting in such planning and coordination.

The national structure and coordination serves to maximize the impact of the effort. It is, of course, dependent upon strong local thrusts.

For more information contact the National Save Black Schools Project, P. O. Box 20826, Greensboro, N.C. 27420. Or call Nelson Johnson or Mark Smith at (919) 273-1798.

Focus on Black Community

The National Strategy-Essential

The initial National Save Black Schools Strategy was developed by a national steering committee from 19 Black colleges and YOBU. The strategy was then submitted to the National Conference where it was thoroughly discussed, modified, and finally adopted. This is that plan.

THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

The question of the existence of Black colleges and universities is really a question of whether there is a useful function that these institutions can serve with regards to the authentic interests of Black people.

Because Black people are a part of this complex society and because we accept that Black colleges or universities ought to be a function of the interests of Black people, then part of the answer grows out of an analysis of the tendencies and direction of the society as a whole and, of course, the probable fate of Black people within this society.

The remainder of the answer grows out of an analysis of the potential of Black colleges and universities to change.

Both the question of the nature and direction of the society as a whole and the potential of Black colleges is analyzed in more detail in the preceding section of this paper. However, the summary conclusion of that analysis can be stated briefly as follows:

Because of the external and internal contradictions of this society there will be a growing economic crisis, growing unemployment, and growing militarization. From the interest standpoint of the society (more properly the ruling class of the society) there will be a rapid reduction in the need for large numbers of formally educated Black men and women. Because of the racism, the tendency will be toward the denial of the right of Black people to obtain a formal education.

This tendency is already clearly manifested in 1) the tremendous number of Black youth harassed, suspended, or expelled from junior and high schools (within the integrated setting); 2) the reduction of grants, scholarships, loans and special programs for Black college students attending predominantly white institutions of higher learning, and 3) the accelerated attempt to phase out Black colleges all together.

The Black college represents a real potential for Black people and we believe that an aroused Black masses can bring about basic changes in the present form and orientation of Black colleges.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

It is the basic assumption of the National Save Black Schools Project that Black people should work to preserve the right of our people to an education, as well as struggle to define the nature and quality of that education. This struggle will have to take place on several fronts simultaneously. We recognize the need for struggle within the high and junior high schools, the need to struggle to establish or maintain control over the educational process of Black students attending predominantly white colleges and the need to struggle to preserve



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NATIONAL SAVE BLACK SCHOOLS PROJECT

P. O. Box 20826

Greensboro, N. C. 27420

(919) 273-1796

April 23, 1973

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

I think we made tremendous progress at our National Save Black Schools Conference held recently in Greensboro, North Carolina. Three hundred and twenty-one (321) delegates were present, representing sixty-seven (67) Black colleges.

The seriousness and the dedication reflected at the Conference is a positive indication of our ability to abandon the "fun-oriented student mentality" and confront boldly and objectively the urgent question of the future of Black institutions of higher learning.

The Conference was an essential step in the overall thrust to consolidate a base of understanding among Black students as a point of departure toward building a mass movement in the Black community to support the preservation and development of Black colleges. Specifically the Conference sought the following:

- to establish and clarify the fundamental reasons why Black colleges should be preserved
- to outline and approve a specific strategy to be employed in the quest to preserve and change Black schools
- to establish the organizational infrastructure to implement the agreed upon strategy.

I believe that we accomplished these objectives. I believe that it is clear that only a mass movement of the Black community can offer any enduring expectations for the preservation and alteration of Black schools. Any strategy must, therefore, be rooted in the masses of people of our community and reflect the authentic interests of the people.

Our immediate task is to carry out the first step of building that mass base by organizing the support of all the Black students on your campus. You should be well along in planning the Save Black Schools Solidarity Day on your campus. This event should take place between April 25th and the end of your school year. If you need a speaker or assistance in planning, contact the National Save Black Schools Project Office at the above address and number.

We look forward to receiving a report from you on the Save Black Schools Solidarity Day. In the meantime, please stay in touch.

For our people,

Nelson N. Johnson
Chairman, National
Steering Committee

THE BEGINNING POINT

If the essential element of our strategy is to organize the national Black community to a point of conscious support for Black colleges, then we must identify key components of our community and focus on one as a point of departure. For purposes of organizing around the question of education in general and the preservation and development of Black colleges in particular the following groupings within the Black community can be made:

- Black students at Black colleges
- Black students attending predominantly white colleges
- Black high and junior high school students
- Black alumni and Black professionals
- Black working masses (both those working and those who would be working if they could find a job)

We believe that mass support for Black colleges on the correct basis must first be organized among ourselves, that is, those of us who are now attending Black colleges. Once a strong base of support is developed on every Black

college campus in the country (there are more than 120) then we can launch out into the other sectors of our community. Although some work will be going on simultaneously in each of the identified sectors of our community our initial focus should be Black students attending Black colleges.

1. Organizing Black College Students

A. Pre-National Conference

Between the months of December and April, nineteen (19) Black colleges came together to form the National Save Black Schools Project. The Project established a National Steering Committee as the work organ of the Project.

At least one person on the National Steering Committee was located in each state with two or more Black colleges. The Steering Committee undertook the following tasks:

— to study the question of Black colleges, develop a clear position on the question and begin to outline a strategy to combat the destruction of Black colleges.

— to contact every Black school in the country to arrange discussion with the leadership (SGA or otherwise) and to set up a state meeting of Black student representatives to collectively analyze the problem.

— to plan a national conference which would bring together leadership elements from all Black colleges in the nation to discuss the question, approve a national strategy and to set up the organizational apparatus to begin work.

b. The National Conference

The National Conference was held April 6-8, 1973. The conference was successful in that 67 Black schools were present; serious discussion took place; a national strategy was approved; and a national organizational apparatus was set up.

C. Post National Conference

Immediately following the National Conference and no later than the end of this school term, each campus is to hold a Save Black Schools Solidarity Day. The Solidarity Day is to be designed to mobilize the students on campus for a day of rallies and workshops. The day is to be used to:

— examine the basic fundamental questions involved in the effort to destroy Black colleges

— explain the national thrust of the National Save Black Schools Project, especially the National Conference and the strategy

— develop a local work agenda for each school

— involve Black leaders in the surrounding Black community.

II. Local Summer Work: Research, Training, Establishing Contacts

The summer Save Black Schools work will focus on four areas. First, each campus should set up local summer work committees. Much of this can be done during Save Black Schools Solidarity Day on each campus. Each campus should have the following work committees:

A. Research Committee

The Research Committee should gather any and all information concerning the

and re-define traditional Black institutions of higher learning. We also see the efforts to establish independent educational institutions from kindergarten to the university level as a necessary and legitimate endeavor.

We believe that these various fronts of activity around the education question, if done properly, are complementary rather than contradictory. It is with this assumption of complementary struggle on several fronts that the question of the future of Black colleges is engaged.

It is our further assumption that the only source of power capable of preserving and changing Black colleges is the masses, the rank and file Black people in the national Black community. Any strategy, therefore, to preserve and develop Black institutions in the authentic interests of Black people must be rooted in the people. That is, only a conscious demand from Black people as a whole represents any enduring expectation of preserving and developing Black colleges.

Black people will only come to the aid of these institutions

in mass if they can see where the existence of the institutions can and will benefit them. By benefit, we do not mean abstract bourgeois imagery, but concrete benefits to the welfare mother, the Black textile mill worker, the Black farmer, the Black service worker, and so forth. If the possibility of benefits, directly and indirectly, cannot be shown to Black people, then Black people cannot be expected (and shall not be asked) to support Black colleges. Therefore, a program for both the preservation and constructive change in Black colleges must be developed.

The mass support of Black people must be the essential element of our strategy. However, we recognize and support legal efforts to counter attempts to phase out our schools. We also recognize the usefulness of utilizing inside political contacts. Both the legal (courts) and the political (elected and appointed officials) might be useful, but both must be viewed as tactical, short range, holding actions. The only enduring power will be that of an aroused, conscious Black people.



WELL OVER 300 STUDENTS ATTENDED THE THREE-DAY CONFERENCE. BEFORE THEY left they had agreed upon a concerted national strategy to persevere and transform Black Colleges.

operation of the college. This would include state plans to reorganize educational systems, NAACP plans, the local developmental plan of the college itself, etc. This information should be used to help formulate the local strategy and it should also be forwarded to the national office to help formulate national strategy.

B. Training Committee

Each campus should have a team of four to seven people who make a conscious effort to work with all organizations on campus. This team should seek to clarify what the issues are with regards to Black colleges and spell out to groups both the local and national strategy. This same team should also establish contact with all Black organizations in the area and begin discussions on the future of the college.

This contact with organizations should be used to 1) develop a broader understanding of what the college could really do in relation to the Black community, 2) lay the foundation for support for the college. Labor groups, tenants unions, welfare rights groups, as well as the professional groups should be consulted. C. Material Development Committee

A team of people should be designated to write up materials to be used to get a message over to our people. Such material should be simple enough to be understood by the average man or woman; it should also be accurate. The material should be well prepared and present a clear body of thought. The topic can be suggestive of the audience the material is prepared for.

Examples are: Black col-

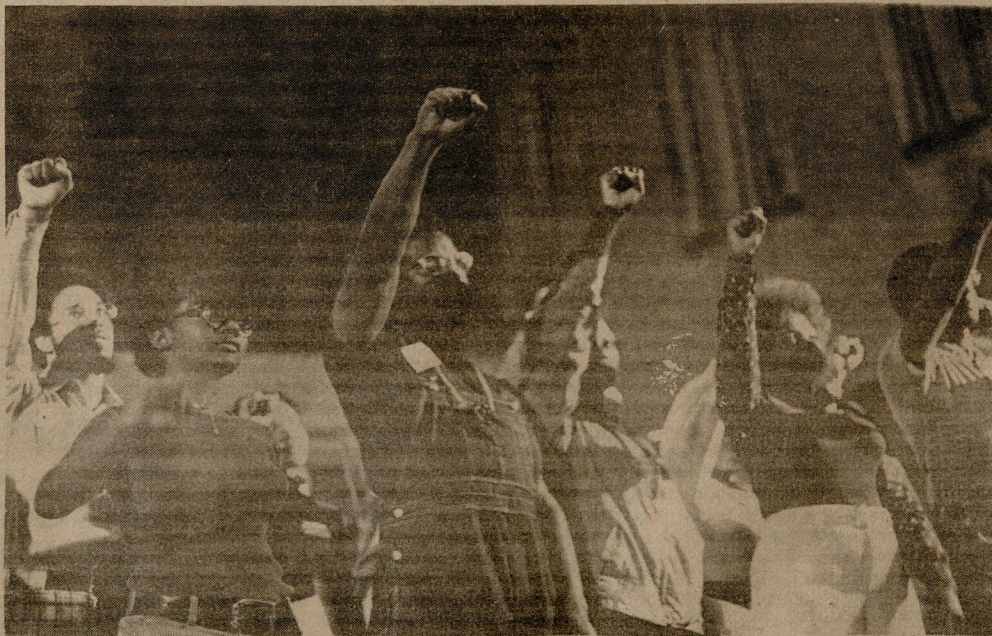
leges and the Welfare Question, Black Colleges and the Labor Question, Black College and Africa, the Community and the College, etc. Short papers and leaflets should be developed for all sectors of the community and all occasions. D. Fund-raising Committee

Each school should establish a fund-raising committee to raise funds to contribute to the maintenance of the national effort and to carry out local work. The fund-raising committee can employ the use of local talent, athletes, professional entertainers, etc. Each campus has been asked to make the theme of its homecoming "Save Black Colleges Homecoming" in order to emphasize the situation and to use the occasion to sponsor a benefit for the Save Black Schools Project.

III. National Summer Work

READ THE AFRICAN WORLD — Participate in the Pan-African movement.

Send your subscription NOW—Only \$5.00 annually.



THE SPIRIT SHOWN AT THE CONFERENCE MUST NOW BE TRANSLATED INTO HARD WORK.



PRIOR TO THE SAVE BLACK SCHOOLS CONFERENCE THE national steering committee put in long hours of preparatory work.

Four national committees are being put together to work with the local committees. There will be national research, training, material development and fund-raising committees. Each of these committees will work to coordinate the efforts of the local committees.

In some cases, the national committees will sponsor small summer conferences. For instance, the research committee could sponsor a small conference with Black educators, national welfare, tenants, and Black labor organizations. The national research committee would differ from the others in that it would be working toward the development of a Save Black Schools Document, which would outline our basic conceptions of what Black colleges can and should be at this point in history.

IV. Fall Work: Penetrating Our Community

The fall will be a time to complete consolidation of a base of understanding among Black students and begin rapid penetration of the other sectors of the community. The contacts made and other work of the various local and national committees would have detailed how this process if to take place.

At this point a National Save Black Schools Emphasis Week is set for October of this year. Every opportunity will be used this fall to bring the message to

the public, including football games, homecomings, conferences, house-to-house work, etc.

V. Spring Work: Vocalization of the Will of the People

Once Black people understand the real potential of Black colleges and the need to our people, we believe ways can be devised to bring the impact of the will of a determined people to bear on this question. It is premature to attempt to spell out the details of this process as much depends and will be worked out in consultation with other groups and organizations.

We think, however, that the spring, summer, and fall of 1974 should be a time that the Black community will rise up in mass to make its will known with regards to the question of education for Black people and the future of Black colleges in particular.

NOTE: On some campuses student governments are doing an excellent job of carrying out the work of the project. There are, however, some campuses where the student government associations have been unwilling to seriously address and work on this question. The National Steering Committee feels that it is the right and responsibility of those students who are willing to work to push their student governments. If the SGA does not respond, then groups should be organized to work in spite of SGA.

Schools Attending The Conference

Following is an incomplete listing of schools which were represented at the National Save Black Schools Conference. The listing does not include groups from predominantly white campuses, representatives from other organizations, and schools whose delegates attended but did not fill out official forms.

Morgan State College, Morris College, Morristown College, Norfolk St. College, Alabama A&M University, Allen University, University of Arkansas A&M, Benedict College,

Bennett College, Bethune Cookman College, Bishop State Jr. College, Bowie State College, Cheyney State College, Claflin College, Coppin State College, District of Columbia Teacher's College,

Delaware State College, Dillard University, Federal City College, Fisk University, Florida A&M, Friendship Junior College, Grambling College,

Howard University, Huston-Tillotson College, Jackson State College, Johnson C. Smith University, Kentucky State University, Lane College,

Lincoln University, Livingstone College, Jarvis Christian College, Manhattan Community College, Medgar Evers College, Morehouse College,

Hampton Institute, Philander Smith College, Richmond College, Shaw University, South Carolina State College, Southern University-Baton Rouge,

Southern University-New Orleans, Southern University-Shreveport, St. Paul's College,

Tennessee State College, Texas Southern University, Tougaloo College, Virginia College (Lynchburg), Virginia State College, Virginia Union University, Washington Technical Institute, Winston-Salem State University, Wilberforce University, Xavier University.

Black Colleges Historically

The Heritage We Must Recognize

"To look at the education of a society is to look at a mirror of that society itself."

The history of Black people's efforts to obtain a meaningful education in the United States is a long one — a history to remember; a history to be proud of. Our legacy stretches from the early Black graduates of white schools and the work of Booker T. Washington and the African Methodist Episcopal Church through the recent movement towards independent Black educational institutions. But the most profound effect upon the state of education among Black people in the United States has unquestionably been made by the traditional Black colleges.

It is those schools that must have produced most of the Black lawyers, doctors, and teachers. The two Black medical schools, Meharry and Fisk, have trained more Black physicians than all of the white medical schools combined. For many years, in fact, traditional Black colleges were the only avenues of higher education open to our people, and in most ways they have served us well. They continue to be an invaluable resource for the education of some 170,000 Black students from all over the country, especially those who come from working-class backgrounds.

Education serves two purposes for a society: it transfers skills and scientific knowledge to younger generations, and it also passes on the history, the culture, the philosophy and values which that society holds.

There, in the schools, one can find an accurate reflection of a nation's strengths and weaknesses, its priorities, and its problems. And the United States is no exception. But in a society which contains great inequalities, in a society where there exists a wide gulf between rich and poor, different groups of people will ordinarily be given the quantity and quality of education necessary for them to fulfill the role which the society has destined for them.

It is only logical then that a society with rich and poor will have schools for the sons and daughters of the rich, and schools for the sons and daughters of the poor. "To look at the educational system of a society is to look at a mirror of that society itself." And in America, which for

hundreds of years has maintained a double standard for Black people, it is only logical that educational opportunities for our people would suffer.

DID YOU KNOW THAT....

Up until 1800 most slaves were taught to read and write? Although that may be surprising, it is consistent with the fact many slaveowners saw educated slaves as more efficient laborers. During the early 1800's, however, laws were passed in almost every state in the South making the "education" of a black man or woman (simple reading and writing) a crime. The reason for the turnaround? The widespread introduction of the plantation system with its need for more slave labor and the rise of slave revolts were combined to convince slaveowners that it was both unprofitable and unwise to allow Black people to be educated.

It has certainly been a long way from 1860 to 1973 for Black education. And one-room Ashmun Institute (now Lincoln University) is a far cry from today's modern campuses and million-dollar computer buildings. But the thread that ties them both together is struggle: the struggle of the institutions to survive and grow, the struggle of Black youth to secure an education, and at times the struggle of those schools' progressive students against some aspects of the institutions themselves.

ONCE UPON A TIME....

Some people thought that the answer to "the problem" for Black people was "an education." That claim has been repeated lately; perhaps some still believe it. But we have seen that the inadequate educational opportunities available to Black people are not so much the cause as the result of our status in America. Let us remember that the vast majority of young brothers and sisters never go to college. Most go straight to jobs from high school, or into the military. And this is not because the majority of Black youth is "lazy" or "unintelligent", or "unambitious" — those explanations are obviously absurd. The real explanation is that South Carolina needs more Black textile workers than Black doctors. And it gets them — because it has distorted and suppressed the education of Black people — even made it unpleasant — almost since they were born. There

is no one at high school graduations who points to one brother saying: "you five will make denim for J. P. Stevens," or "you three will spend 3 years in the Air Force," or "you two will go to S. C. State and Benedict." It is much more complicated than that; but the result is the same.

We must always keep this in mind, because we can never view the plight of Black colleges in a vacuum. The present crisis in Black education did not produce itself; it is a part of the larger struggle that Black people face — the struggle to survive and better our lives.

STEP BY STEP....

The crisis of Black colleges is not a new one. In "A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER...."

The movement towards the incorporation of state-supported Black schools into the regular university system is taking place for three reasons.

First, the use of political consciousness among Black college students in the last ten years has made Black colleges a clear and present danger to the tranquility of the American status quo. Black schools, untampered with, provide an atmosphere in which serious students and faculty can come together to work out solutions to some aspects of our oppression in the United States — solutions which have, in the past, included radical action — sit-ins, demonstrations, etc. The rise of Black consciousness in recent years has made it only too clear that Black institutions have the potential for developing skilled people committed to bringing about a kind of change unacceptable to governmental decision-makers. These "hot heads" must be cooled down.

The second impetus to the merger movement is the need to maintain the imagery of black-white unity. The fantasy of a unitary society is quickly shattered at the sight of two separate educational systems — one black, one white. As in much of the recent government-instigated integration, the needs of large corporations are active behind the scenes. The industries which are increasingly moving South need fairly peaceful race relations (and a "progressive" image) to operate smoothly and profitably).

Third, many state legislators are looking at the excellent plants and facilities which Black colleges have built up over the

years. They are calculating their savings from not having to build new facilities for existing and planned predominately white universities.

If anyone doubts these trends and motivations, look at West Virginia State. Look at Lincoln University in Missouri. If, as some people say, there is no real threat of a white takeover of Black schools, look at Delaware State. To those who think that the future of their predominately Black school is unaffected by "University" status, be warned that the stage is set, even if the play hasn't started yet. Arkansas and North Carolina are two examples. Louisiana may soon be another.

In fact, these institutions have been in a crisis throughout their history. It is only recently, however, that the severity of the threat has become known to the Black community. While Black schools have grown step by step in size and structure, so, too, has grown the possibility that many Black schools may soon cease to exist as we know them.

The first threat to Black colleges is the rising cost of education in America. Most predominately white universities, even the most heavily endowed, are feeling the pinch of steadily rising costs and steadily decreasing resources. Black colleges, like Black businesses, must operate much closer to the "profit" margin than their white counterparts. Therefore, the economic pressures which operate on all institutions hit Black institutions twice as hard.

Secondly, traditional sources of students, faculty, and funds are more and more difficult to tap, first because of the greater financial need of Black institutions and because of stiffer and stiffer competition from predominantly white institutions as they accept more Black students and are forced to fund and staff programs for them. Thus, Black schools are forced to compete (both academically and financially) for potential students and faculty who once would have wound up at those schools almost automatically. That competition in itself is a difficult task.

The most serious challenge to the existence of Black schools, however, comes from the government itself in a number of ways.

Black schools, again like all colleges in the country, have become increasingly dependent on state and federal government funds

for their survival. Since many of the remaining Black institutions are public, they obviously are dependent on state funds — and therefore state political whims — for their survival.

In addition, however, public and private institutions (black and white) depend on federal funds for a large portion of their revenue: construction of dormitories, classrooms, and laboratories, expansion of libraries, student loan funds, work-study funds — all these are provided by the U. S. Government.

Obviously such financial support gives the government a certain amount of control over the future and direction of Black schools.

The most immediate (and obvious) threat to the existence of public Black schools emanates from the merger-incorporation movement of the last five years. Black schools play an integral part in the life of the national and local Black communities. Despite their admirable past, however, their highest value lies not in what they have been, but in what they can be. They can make a leap from their past contributions to a new, and higher contribution in the new and higher level of struggle in which our people are engaged. And the powers-that-be have recognized the same potential; that is why they have laid plans to nip that potential in the bud.

More than a factory for "professionals," more than an employer, more than a basketball team, Black colleges can serve our educational needs in their fullest sense; they can transmit skills to our younger brothers and sisters; they can also give them the values, the history, the culture, and the philosophy necessary to fight our oppression rather than submit to it. This is their promise.

But it is a promise that will go unfulfilled without the strength of the entire Black community; that is why we must prepare strategy. Unless we both criticize the faults of our schools and demand their preservation, they are doomed. Legal battles alone will not save them, deals in smoke-filled rooms won't either. If our education is important to us, and Black schools are important to our education, then we will have to plan and struggle.

"To look at the education of a society is to look at a mirror of that society itself."

Early Design for Black Colleges

Education for the "Talented Tenth"

PART II

Black land-grant schools were not set up for the same purposes as white land-grant schools. As a matter of fact, their ideological and programmatic thrust was developed by the Conference for Education in the South.

Organized by Dr. Edward Abbott, an Episcopal clergyman of Cambridge and William H. Sale from Virginia, the conference first met on June 29, 1893. Its first meeting was attended by fourteen white ministers, nine white presidents of Black colleges, and several representatives of northern funding sources, all who supported segregated education with an industrial education program. The Conference met six times between 1893 and 1914.

At its first Conference it was agreed that the masses of Blacks would receive an agricultural and industrial education to make their labor more productive and profitable to industrial and agricultural capitalism. They felt that after the Civil War Blacks were educated to fulfill positions they were not about to receive. Courses, such as Greek, Latin, the Scriptures, World History, logic, grammar, sociology, political economy, chemistry, algebra, and psychology were educating Blacks out of their societal position as laborers.

Thus at the second Conference William H. Echwin told Blacks to face realities - avoid social questions, leave politics alone, continue to be patient, live moral lives, live simply, learn to work and work diligently. Balwin had some stock and invested his money in the railroads. Cheap Black labor was needed for the further expansion of his lines.

With the thrust being toward the utilization and exploitation of Black labor, someone had to keep these Black workers in line and they also had to have someone for the workers to aspire to be like.

By the third Conference it was decided that certain Black colleges would be made strong for the purposes of training ministers, physicians and lawyers. These institutions would be assigned the task of developing a strong professional class that would be responsible for raising the moral and physical standard of the race generally.

It should now be clear why such schools as Howard, Fisk, Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman have evolved to produce certain persons for our communities.

Other Black schools, private, were pressured because of their financial condition into becoming state supported agricultural, industrial, mechanical and normal (teachers) colleges. Thus the beginning of

The recently concluded conference convened in Greensboro by the National Save Black Schools Project produced several outstanding significant research documents in addition to mapping and launching a nation-wide strategy to attack the problems faced by Black schools.

Because we think it is an extremely important work the AFRICAN WORLD will serialize until its completion the following research-analysis article on Black Colleges.



THE DUAL LEGACY OF BLACK COLLEGES IS represented on the one hand by the many positive contributions to the education and development of the Black community, and on the other hand by their continued perpetuation of many things of your A&T's, A&I's and AM&N's. The capstone of these schools were Hamilton and Tuskegee.

Consequently, there has evolved two types of schools in the Black community. Those responsible for developing a Black petty-bourgeoisie that works to control the Black community for the whites.

Conversely, the second type of schools are those responsible for training Blacks for agricultural and industrial related jobs. In addition these schools like the ones above would instill pro-white attitudes; thus making them more amenable to cheap labor needed by white industrialist in the South.

For example, capitalist like Caroline and Oliva Stokes, Collis P. Huntington, William H. Balurin, Andrew Carnegie, John Wanamaker, Robert C. Ogden, George Eastman, John D. Rockefeller and Julia Rosenwald were the most prominent supporters of industrial education.

As a result of their effort, finances went into the development of Hampton, Tuskegee, and other such schools, while Howard, Fisk and the other non-industrial rated schools received limited aid and support.

The political expression of these efforts in the Black community was Booker T. Washington, whose political subservience was geared towards the development of Black economic control in their communities.

Moreover, by the last ten years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of this one, one could discern the develop-

ment of an urban Black petty-bourgeoisie. In 1900 there were four Black owned banks with total capital amounting to \$94,605.61. Black insurance companies were emerging while Blacks had more than \$500,000 invested in undertaking establishments.

Also, Black physicians and surgeons increased from 909 in 1890 to 1,734 in 1900, and dentists from 120 to 212.

Similarly, Black clergymen increased from 12,159 in 1890, to 15,528 in 1900, while teachers and professors rose from 13,100 to 21,267.

To insure the furtherance of its class interest, this class began to struggle against those who believed that Blacks should have an industrial-related education. The tendency of the little bourgeoisie is to become a big bourgeoisie. However, racism sincerely restricted the growth of this Black petty-bourgeoisie. To camouflage their class interests this class stressed the educational improvement of all Blacks while calling for a "talented tenth" to lead them. The Black professionals and educators began to stress that industrial education offered no panacea in a period of rapidly changing technology.

However in 1917 the U.S. Bureau of Education published a report prepared by the Phelps-Stokes Fund that called for:

1. Immediate improvements of public schools for Blacks by increased financial contribution from southern municipal, county, and state governments.

2. Strengthening of industrial and agriculture education at Black state institutions, particularly in land grant colleges.

3. Improved teacher-training program and movement towards payment of equal salaries for Black and white teachers with equal training.

4. Revision of college and university curricula away from traditional liberal arts models, especially those that

which are diametrically opposed to the true interests of the Black community-witness ROTC programs. Thus Black colleges must undergo transformation if their survival is to be important to our future.

emphasize the classics, with increased attention to the natural and social sciences.

5. Elimination of inefficient private Black institutions, particularly those that called themselves "colleges" and universities, but were doing substandard work and did not have the facilities to merit foundation support.

6. Close coordination of the activities of all foundation and church boards involved in Black education.

7. Closer association of southern white educators and government officials in planning the future of Black education.

This report was disturbing to the petty-bourgeoisie because it implied that most Black schools were inferior. At the same time it gave white southerners greater influence over the policies and operation of Black schools. However, this report became the model for schools in the South, but World War I prevented the report from being implemented immediately. After the war Black educators began to stress recommendation one, three, and four, which resulted in pressures for the improvement of state supported colleges by providing more funds for libraries and laboratories.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund provided fellowships for Black teachers to do graduate work at white schools, since Black schools were not accredited for M.A. or Ph.D. programs.

In 1917, there were 625 private institutions in which most of the students were doing work in academic or trade schools, but in which 1,538 students were carrying some college levelwork. Not one of the colleges or universities, public or private, was accredited by a regional or national association.

However, through the implementation of the Phelps-Stokes plan between the mid-twenties and World War II, several things happen that affected the status of Black schools:

Between 1917 and 1949 the number of Black schools declined from 653 to 105.

1. Policies for private institution, initially established by the church were placed in the hands of foundations.

2. Selected small church-related schools were pressured into merging to form foundation-funded secular institutions.

3. Other such schools were helped to get state subsidy or completely taken over by the state.

4. Pressure was exerted to "rationalize" Black education; as a result the number of Black schools declined from 653 in 1917 to 105 in 1949. College enrollment went up during this period from 2,641 to over 60,000.

5. In 1949 a United Negro College Fund was established to coordinate appeals to the public for twenty-seven private institutions that had won accreditation from regional bodies.

6. Another forty schools were left to struggle for survival without official approval or organized philanthropic sanction.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation were also created during the mid-twenties. They set up a system that created at four centers strategically placed throughout the South institutions of higher standards. These institutions were to offer courses to distinguished Negro scholars and to prepare the potential leaders of the race.

The centers were the Atlanta University Center in Georgia, Dillard University and Flint-Goodrich Hospital in Louisiana, Fisk and Meharry Medical School in Nashville, Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Part III Next Issue.

Died One Year Ago

Kwame Nkrumah-A Great Leader

By Maina-wa-Kinyatti
PASOA National President

Kwame Nkrumah cannot die as long as in Africa and elsewhere, resolute peoples unite to bring the eternal sun of freedom to the oppressed.

Kwame Nkrumah, homage to you, to your work!

Africa will remain grateful to you and will achieve your noble ideals.

Ahmed Sekou Toure

Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah was born on September 21, 1909 in Nkroful, Ghana. Like many of the world's leaders, he came from a poor and humble home, and only rose to fame after much toil, hardship and difficulty.

All his life, he upheld the unshakable spirit of uncompromising struggle against the enemies of Africa - imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and devoted the whole of his life to the liberation struggle for the masses of Africa at home and abroad. But now he is no longer with us.

His death 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, he was our father, teacher, leaders, comrade and mentor. He was the symbol of the iron will and unshakable revolutionary force of our liberation struggle.

For us in PASOA, the death of Osagyefo Nkrumah means more than sentimental emotionalism. For he was our great inspiration and revolutionary symbol. His life was a shining example of what we want to be - a shining example of revolutionary heroism, militant pan-African solidarity, total dedication and self-sacrifice to the African Revolution and socialism. Ever since his student days, he, like us in PASOA, pledged to fight for total liberation of the Motherland. He was in the forefront in the student movement in the Americas and

later in Europe.

Unlike many of us, he gave up the luxuries of Ph.D's in order to pursue the noble cause of revolution in Africa and the world. As he has put it so clearly:

"I am not interested in material gain or privilege position; my first duty is to return to Africa and join in the struggle for her liberation from tentacles of imperialism..."

With his good education, Nkrumah could have allowed himself to live out his life in comfort and luxury. He could have looked forward to rapid ascent within the African comprador bourgeois class, but unlike many of us, he refused to compromise his principle for material gain.

Unlike us, who are active in the student movement in a period when a large segment of our continent is "politically free", Nkrumah could only dream of a free Africa. The entire continent was under imperialist and colonialist domination from Capetown to Cairo and from Nairobi to Dakar.

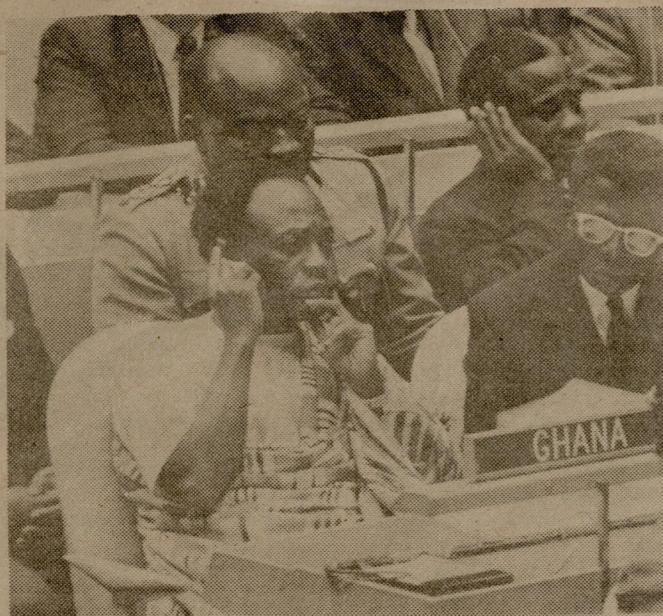
Nkrumah was not afraid to challenge them. He stated clearly that:

"The right of a people to govern themselves is a fundamental principle, and to compromise on this principle is to betray it."

Nkrumah never compromised over this principle. He committed himself to the African Revolution so that the hungry may be fed, the thirsty given drink, and the naked clothed - and to bring about the economic well-being of the masses of Africa.

Upon his return to Africa in 1947, Nkrumah chose the path of "Independence in poverty rather than riches in slavery." This is clearly expounded on the political platform of the Convention People's Party (CPP) which he founded and led:

"To fight relentlessly to achieve and maintain independence for the people of Ghana."



UNDER NKRUMAH, GHANA WAS THE FIRST OF THE WAVE of African nations to achieve independence in the early sixties.

to promote the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people; and to work with other nationalist democratic and socialist movements in Africa and other continents, with the view to abolishing imperialism, colonialism, racism, and all forms of national and racial oppression and economic inequality among nations..."

The imperialists thought that the CPP platform was nothing more than the paper work which is so common to most of African political parties. However, they had miscalculated and misunderstood Nkrumah and his party's ideology. Nkrumah has always been a man of positive action, a man of iron will and unshakable determination.

In 1957, he led Ghana into independence. But Nkrumah saw and realized right away, that Ghana's independence will be meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa. With this in mind, and with the help of the masses of Ghana, he began to lay the groundwork for total liberation of Africa and her Islands.

Amazed and dumbfounded by Nkrumah's commitment to the African Revolution, the imperialists in Ghana and the world began to plot against him and his government. In 1964-65 fiscal year they sabotaged the price of cocoa in Ghana, then turned around, using their paid Ghanaian traitors, and accused him and his government of economic mismanagement and corruption. Soon after that, they decided that "Kwame Must go". First they tried to remove him through assassination, but when that failed, they decided to overthrow his government.

This traitorous mission was accomplished by Ghanaian traitors on February 1966. This clique of traitors represented the interests of a handful of the most corrupt, and reactionary elements of the Ghanaian intelligentsia and the comprador bourgeoisie. In his book, "Dark Days In Ghana," Nkrumah put it this way:

"The only Ghanaians to benefit from the sell-out and the surrender to imperialism have been the bourgeois elements and a small number of hoarders and profiteers determined to cash-in on the free-for-all. For the ordinary men and women of Ghana it has meant a return to all the exploitation and uncertainties of colonial days."

At any rate, after the overthrow of Nkrumah's government, these Ghanaian traitors and their imperialist masters continued to bombard the masses of Ghana and Africa with anti-Nkrumahist propaganda; but they forgot that the masses of Ghana and Africa have come to know better who their friends and their enemies are. The masses of Ghana and Africa know that Nkrumah was their real friend.

While we pay a great tribute to Osagyefo Nkrumah, the Great Leader of Africa, we want to make it crystal clear that we in PASOA, will dedicate our revolutionary commitment to his great ideals, and we will try to fulfill his noble dream - the Liberation of Mother Africa.

We will work as hard as he did; we will commit our time, energy, sweat, and blood as he

did for the total destruction of imperialism and neocolonialism in Africa and the world.

The African Revolution is not impossible but dialectically possible. For our Revolution is, to be sure, blessed with a good deal of historical, dialectical and scientific justification. With this in mind, our revolutionary duty, therefore, is not to be guided by emotionalism or defeatism, but to be able to project, dialectically, the lesson of historical materialism and the realities of the present to resolve the ideological conflicts between the masses of Africa and their oppressor-imperialist enemy.

This is our commitment, this is our duty. We are aware that the revolutionary struggle is not like going to a wedding ceremony; it is not a commitment of a few hours or a few days. It is a struggle to which it is necessary to commit one's life.

The masses of our people are aware of this historical fact, and from the mountains and valleys washed with the blood of our fallen heroes, they are organizing and preparing for the final struggle, under the banner of one who taught us to be valiant and iron-willed, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.

3 Die : Youth Framed

SUMMERVILLE, S.C. - An S.C. coroner's jury recently ordered that 21-year-old Bro. Elijah DeLee be charged with involuntary manslaughter in the death of three Black children Feb. 20.

The three were killed in an automobile accident in which the van that they and 27 others were travelling in ran off the road and struck a tree.

All were on their way to a day care center run by Victoria DeLee, a well known civil rights activist and mother of Elijah.

Young DeLee, who was driving, has been under intensive care in a hospital in nearby Charleston, suffering from a ruptured spleen.

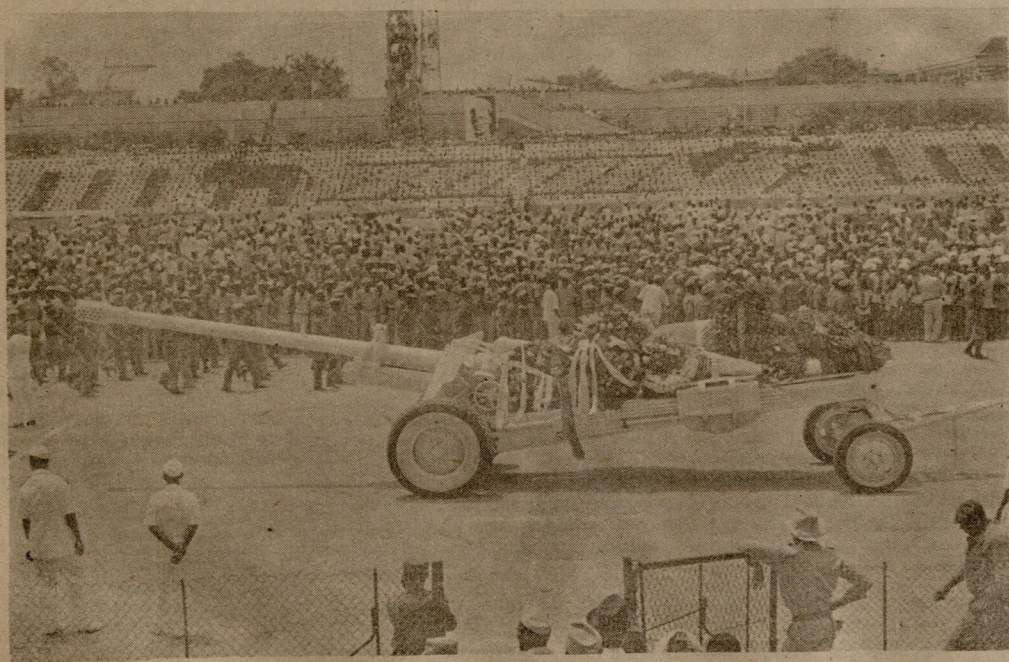
The suspicious accident came after Sis. DeLee had received several threatening telephone calls.

Mrs. DeLee has been active in civil rights activities in Dorchester County and had recently helped to organize a boycott of the county high schools.

Two other mysterious "accidents" involving cars and vehicles belonging to the day care center had occurred the day before the fatal crash.

At the constant urging of Mrs. DeLee, state and federal authorities announced intentions to investigate the incident. Neither have yet to release findings, and local Blacks have expressed concern that indifference may lead to no investigations at all.

After the mysterious crash, Blacks charged foul play in the tragedy and have likened it to the 1964 church bombing which killed four Black girls in Birmingham, Ala.



CAISSON BEARING CASKET OF DR. NKRUMAH IN A STADIUM IN GUINEA AS THOUSANDS attended the funeral commemoration. Guinea military units pass in Review.

From YOBU

International Affairs

Pamphlet Series

Mozambique Since 1920

The International Affairs department of YOBU has prepared a series of original pamphlets dealing with a wide range of topics of significance to the struggles of oppressed people throughout the world. The AFRICAN WORLD will carry excerpts from each of these pamphlets in upcoming issues.

PART I

Revolution is a process, not an event. The development of revolutionary activities follow definite steps in its' development in both form and content.

The initial stage is marked by a high level of "spontaneity" or unplanned activities. This element represents the stage of consciousness in an "embryonic form." The oppressed by even engaging in minor revolts show a positive example of the awakening of the consciousness to a certain extent. The importance of this early activity was to show that the oppressed were losing their fear of the system as being all powerful, and they also began to see the necessity for collective resistance, while abating slavish submission to the power of the authorities.

In the case of Mozambique, which shall serve as a case study for the development of resistance leading to armed struggle and then to social reconstruction, the resistance in this country began with the activities of an organization called the African League. The African League began in 1920. Among its goals was the national unification of the area under Portuguese domination and the unity of oppressed people everywhere.

Other organizations like the African League began to develop and crystallize until the beginning of the regime of Dr. Salazar in Portugal. Salazar wished to set up Portugal as a corporate society, subordinated by industrial development and disciplined labor of the "inferior" race" (Salazar's own words). plans into operation he placed a screen of silence around Portugal and its' so-called empire.

While Portugal was under

this "screen of silence" Salazar used his internal army, the State Security Police (PIDE) to destroy all the nationalist organizations in the Portuguese territories. The African League as well as other nationalist organizations were banned and broken up in 1929.

This repression on the part of the Portuguese did not deter the African on the course of freedom. Africans in Mozambique began to organize on three levels: the first group was composed mainly of intellectuals. The intellectuals rejected the Portuguese notion of "national unity" between Portugal and her overseas provinces. This action on the part of the intellectuals was an important step in the liberation of the "colonized spirit." For the colonial process to function, it has to do so within a certain sense of security, which will serve as a psychological climate favorable to its justification.

The expression of the liberated colonized spirit took the form of cultural expression following three main themes: 1) Reaffirmation of Africa as their mother country and cultural heritage; 2) the call to revolt of Black people all over the world; 3) the sufferings of ordinary Black people throughout Portuguese Africa.

The second group was composed of secondary school students who formed an organization called NESAM. Through this organization the students tried to build a sense of pride in their African heritage and establish a sense of Mozambique nationalism. A vital aspect of the development of the national liberation struggle is to bring the consciousness of the negative values encultured into its people, and struggle to defeat the effects.

The culture of colonized people suffers the disastrous consequences of being in a state of subjection. The decolonization of a people's culture will mean ridding oneself of the sum of acquired habits, of uncontrollable behavior, a way of thinking, which constitutes a sort of

second nature. This way of thinking and acting appears to have destroyed the original personality of the colonized person.

Workers from the urban sectors of Mozambique formed the third level of struggle against the Portuguese. In the earlier phase of workers struggle in Mozambique their action was mainly composed of dock strikes and strikes on farm plantations. This action took place around the years 1947-48. The retaliation on the part of the Portuguese appeared in the form of mass deportation of hundreds of workers from the continental land mass to off shore islands, where they could be kept under close watch.

This action did not curtail the labor organizing in Mozambique. There were two important events which took place in Mozambique, between the years of 1956-60. The first was the shooting of 49 African dock workers, in 1956. The second was the killing of over 600 Africans in the city of Mueda.

The massacre at Mueda ended all hope of peaceful settlement, and showed Africans that peaceful resistance was futile. The tight network of PIDE established the climate for the creation of an underground organization. Due to the state of communication in Mozambique, three groups began to develop in different sections of the country.

The first group with overt aims for independence was founded by Mozambique workers in Salisbury in 1960, the Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENAMO).

The following year, (MANU) the Mozambique African National Union was formed at Mombasa.

And in 1961 workers from Tete district who were working in Malawi started the African Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI).

To meet the growth of political awareness in Africa, Portugal in 1961 began to step up its policy of assimilation with the establishment of multi-racial schools. The programs of these schools were designed to increase Portugal's control over the masses of Africans by increasing the number of assimilated Africans, who would go through daily contact with other officials and would not be able to part from the bad colonial habits.

These colonial habits would become part and parcel of his daily milieu, thereby making him unable to define himself as part of the African revolution. This is shown in the following interview with a member of FRELIMO (Front for the



FRELIMO LIBERATION FIGHTER. IS ALSO AN INSTRUCTOR for youth in Mozambique.

Liberation of Mozambique) which will be discussed in further details:

"When I was in Mozambique under the domination of the Portuguese colonialist, I did not understand anything about politics. The Portuguese fascists tell our people that we are 'Portuguese,' and due to the lack of political education, some of us are deceived by the colonialist maneuvers and try to behave like 'Portuguese,' to become 'civilized', which means in Portuguese propaganda, to eat with the knife and fork to have the same kind of furniture in our houses, to wear ties, polished shoes, etc. Some of us are caught by these maneuvers and even despise our traditional culture.

The lack of political education is responsible also for the passiveness of our people in the face of colonialist exploitation and oppression. I remember when I was working in a certain public office, I was entrusted with writing down the salary sheets for every worker. My boss told me to write down \$300 as the salary of each worker. However, after receiving the money from the Treasury, he paid us only \$150. Every six months he would buy each of us a pair of shorts and a shirt in cheap material to account for the balance of our wages.

One day, I asked him why he did not pay us the full amount we were entitled to, and what was done with the difference? My boss looked at me angrily and said: "Why you ask that? What does it have to do with you? Do you want the workers to revolt as is happening in Rhodesia? Be careful, if you go on asking questions, I'll denounce you as a subversive

and I'll have you arrested."

And me, this Poor Black boy, from fear of being arrested, from fear of losing the miserable salary I was receiving, I shut my mouth.

But that was before the Revolution. Today I don't fear anything. Today my eyes are open. Thanks to the political education I received, I am able to define and characterize exactly the exploitation I was subjected to and to fight for its end."

Africans dedicated to the liberation of Mozambique, cared little or nothing for Portugal's new policy, because they knew that the real question was "Who controls what?" In the case of Mozambique the answer reflected the day to day oppression of Mozambicans.

The solution to the problem stated above lay in the creation of a vehicle designed to establish and defend the principle of self-determination of Africans, this vehicle came to be known as the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). On September 25, 1964 the Central Committee issued the following statement:

"In your behalf, FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed uprising of the people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism to achieve total and complete independence of Mozambique. Our struggle will cease only with total annihilation of Portuguese colonialism...The armed struggle we proclaim today, whose objective is to destroy Portuguese colonialism and imperialism will permit us to install in our will permit us to install in our country a new, popular social order....."

MOVING?

To AFRICAN WORLD Subscribers:

When you move or change addresses, please drop us a card giving BOTH your former address and your new address. Do not assume that the post office will automatically forward your papers to you.

Such a notification will enable us to continue sending your newspapers without interruption.

Thank-you
The Staff

More Portuguese Troops in Mozambique

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Early last week, the commander in chief of Portuguese military forces in Mozambique, East Africa, announced plans to increase the number of combat troops waging war against the Black people of that country. He stated that at least 10,000 more soldiers will be brought in, making a total of 60,000 battle forces.

The announcement followed a report that three Portuguese military planes had been shot down inside of four days. Full-fledged warfare is no longer an expectancy for the

Brothers and Sisters struggling to survive Portugal's version of European imperialism; full-fledged warfare is today's reality.

Magee Trial an Example

Super Secure Courtroom Trials

By Reggie Major

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. - The recently completed trial of Ruchell Magee was one of the most complex and expensive trials in American history.

Its inconclusive ending has spawned countless newspaper editorials extolling the virtues of the American court systems.

The same editorials had been written nine months before, following the acquittal of Angela Davis. Then as now, there is another side to the editorial comment.

The events of Aug. 7, 1970 - for which both Magee and Angela were tried - actually began the transformation of American courts into military bastions.

Judges all over the country have begun to carry guns. Elaborate security arrangements are being made for particular trials (including Angela's and Ruchell's). And, most importantly, traditional court practices have begun to be modified in the name of security.

The San Francisco Bay area now has three super secure courtrooms, complete with metal detectors, bulletproof glass and one even has a county jail fortified against jailbreaks by assault.

In San Rafael, \$300,000 was spent on such additions. Similarly, in San Jose, where Angela Davis was tried, there is a courtroom security complex surrounded by a 10 foot high fence that is monitored by cameras, spotlights and other electronic devices. All that cost California taxpayers about half a million dollars.

Magee was tried in a like setting, and brought to and from the courtroom in an army helicopter. Estimates on the cost of his trial range from \$5,000 to \$7,000 per day.

The point simply is that the concept of a fair trial in America has been expanded since Aug. 7, 1970, and now includes armed force as part of the standard trial procedure.

ONE STEP BEYOND

If this were not enough, however, the presiding judge in the Magee trial, Judge Morton Colvin, went one step further.

Judge Colvin maintained that security directed against potential disruption was also necessary to insure both a fair and preservation of orderly judicial processes.

In practice, this theory meant that the phalanx of riot-equipped police searching all who entered the court became particularly alert whenever a large group of Blacks entered.

Judge Colvin ordered one group of Blacks removed for simply standing up when Ruchell entered. Throughout the trial - attended daily by this writer - the judge referred to disturbances which were actually figments of his imagination or justification for more judicial repression.

Magee, for example, was cited once for creating a "disturbance" because he laughed at remarks made by one witness. At another point, spectators innocently left the courtroom before the jury did. Judge Colvin considered that a "demonstration."

All this helped to limit the attendance, and in more ways



THE ELABORATE SECURITY PRECAUTIONS AT THE trials of Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee and countless others is making court rooms look like armed camps. Shown is fleet of

police cars outside courtroom in Burgaw, N. C. during trial of Rev. Ben Chavis.

than one, the Ruchell Magee trial became a secret trial.

Many of the serious issues affecting the trial were discussed in the judge's chambers. And many of these discussions were sealed from the record so that diligent newsmen could not discover what had been said.

Newspaper coverage was all but non-existent. National wire services virtually ignored the trial, except for the opening day, the closing deliberations and an interim appearance by former U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark.

The alternate press, which included the Black press, was considered second class news people and restricted in the ability of its reporters to come in and out of court.

Ruchell Magee was and still is prevented from speaking directly to the press. Court orders allowing his access to the news media have been entered, but have been frustrated every step of the way.

ONE MORE CHANCE?

Ruchell Magee is scheduled to be tried again, although there is some reluctance on the part of the attorney-general of California to expose his office to further litigation.

Some explanation of that reluctance was hinted at by Moses Shepherd, the Black juror who held out and prevented Magee from being convicted of kidnapping, as he commented on the evidence produced by the state.

"Out of all those guns that people handled that day (Aug. 7)," said Shepherd, "it's strange to me that there were no finger prints. I believe there were (some finger prints), but I believe the finger prints were suppressed because they weren't Magee's."

"Some of the evidence didn't show up," he continued. "Why?"

"And (Dr. John) Manwaring (the doctor who performed the original autopsy on the bodies of the four who died August 7), giving one type of autopsy

report and changing it to another one; altering exit wounds to read entry wounds; and altering entry wounds to read exit wounds - What was going on? Why would an expert trained in that field make that

kind of mistake?"

"What dreadful crime the oligarchy has committed that they fear the voice of one man?" was the question asked by Ruchell Magee in July, 1972.

Tenants Lobby in D.C.

YOKU NEWS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. - Lobbying efforts are currently in effect in the District of Columbia around the issue of rent control.

Because the District has no City Council it has to take its city-wide problems directly to Congress, which aggravates local efforts, because the Congress is usually flooded with national issues and takes little time dealing with the District.

Therefore, it came as some surprise that lobbying efforts

have already begun. Congressman Fauntroy is leading the

effort for passage of a bill which would restrict landlord rent increases on tenants. Several months ago with the lifting of the wage-price freeze and introduction of Nixon's Phase III governmental plan, landlords went on a rampage.

Tenants also went on a rampage in retaliation and everybody is legally maneuvering to reach a solution or agreement that will satisfy the tenants and the landlords.

Fauntroy spoke on April 16, before the District House Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Charles Diggs. His appeal is that for the sake of the tenant there be a return to the Phase II governmental plan which restricted landlords to 3 percent increases. He is also introducing a bill calling for a return to yearly leases which have been replaced by month-to-month leases. This is another move by the landlords which place tenants on pretty shaky ground when agitating for reform within a tenants organization.

There has been the establishment of numerous building tenant organizations headed by a larger structure, the Washington Area Tenants Association (WAFITA) headed by Brother Ernie Withers. Bro. Withers urged all localized organizations to be present at the House building to lend support to the effort.

The landlords have organized themselves also into the Building Owners and Management Association (BOMA).



THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF DECENT HOUSING FOR BLACK PEOPLE. All over the country Black tenants are struggling for better living conditions and less inflated rents.



Basic Supplies For Creative School Work

We have continually stressed the need for supporting the creative development of our children. The following list will greatly facilitate your work with children and put you in the position to support their activities when imaginations start to fly.

Fasteners:

white
rubber cement
wallpaper paste
scotch tape
masking tape
duct tape
straight (common) pins
safety pins
stapler (short & long arm)
paper clips
thumb tacks

brass fasteners
metal rings
string
yarn
wire
rope
plastic clothesline
ribbon
thread & needles
nuts & bolts & washers
nails & screws

Containers:

plastic bags
paper cups, flat & conical
cartons (egg, milk, etc.)
jello molds
muffin tins

buckets
bottles
pots & pans
jars
cans

Kitchen stuff:

baking soda
food coloring
vegetable oil
rubbing alcohol
aluminum foil
sugar
corn starch

salt
flour
vinegar
soapflakes
glycerin
wax paper

Counting & ordering things:

seashells
peas, beans, seeds, macaroni

stones, rocks
spools

Recording stuff:

paper (white drawing, newsprint, oaktag, brown paper roll, construction, maila, bogus)
pencils (black & colored)
felt pens (wide & fine tipped)
old newspaper & magazines
chalk (white & colored)
pasticene

file cards
tempera paint
paint brushes
grease pens
plaster of paris
crayons
erasers
clay

Building stuff:

wood (sheets & scrap)
cardboard (tri-wall & thinner, ... such as shirt cardboard)
fabric (old sheets, bedspreads, clothing, rugs; felt, leather burlap, cotton, etc.)
styrofoam (packing material)
tubes (metal, cardboard, plastics)
metal
plastic

chicken wire
toothpicks
popsicle sticks
tongue depressors
broom handles
canes, dowels
pipe cleaners
sugar cubes
pegboard
masonite
screen

Household stuff:

dustpan & brush
matches
all kinds of household waste (packing materials)

broom
candles
sponges
rags

Tools:

knives, forks, spoons
hammers
scissors
wrenches
sheets of glass
C-clamps

matt knives
pliers
hand drill
files
strainer
kitchen utensils
screw drivers

Upon His Release From Jail

Press Statement by RNA President Imari Obadele

On August 18, 1971, at 6 a.m. a force of 40 FBI agents and Jackson city policemen surrounded the Republic of New Africa (RNA) Government House in Jackson, Mississippi and ordered the five men and two women occupants to come out within 75 seconds. The occupants, who were all asleep, could not come out in time and the police force opened up with gun fire and tear gas. The occupants made their way to an emergency passage under the house. In the exchange of gunfire one policeman was killed and two others were wounded.

Simultaneously another force of policemen surrounded another house on another street and arrested RNA President Imari Obadele and three other persons. All eleven people were charged with murder, treason, assault, and conspiracy. Police later said that the heavily armed contingent had raided the two houses to serve a warrant on one brother - a brother who was not at either location.

Recently RNA President Obadele was released from jail after being held for nearly two years without a trial. Following are portions of an eight page press statement Bro. Obadele made upon his release:

I have invited the press to this meeting to comment on my release. It is also an attempt to end the confusion about the nature and goals of the RNA work in Mississippi. By way of summary I would simply say that the nature of our work is legal and peaceful and that the major goals are three: one, to win the acquittal of Brothers, Hekima, Offogga, Karim and Addis of the RNA-11, and other unjustly jailed New Africans; second, to carry off a Reparations Election and build New Communities, and third, to gain the independence of the Kush District and other areas by plebiscite.

Finally, I want to urge those white Mississippians who believe in justice and have no fear of the free, peaceful competition of ideas to stand up boldly now in opposition to those whites who are bent on violence and oppression.

Now, my release from jail after almost 20 months especially the decision of the state court and prosecution not to proceed to trial against me at this time - is a clear victory for black people and for those whites who are supporting the RNA-11 campaign for justice. Our fight is far from over, but we already owe a great deal to the "Black Mississippians for Justice" - all of the workers as well as the leaders.

For us in Mississippi this small sign in Jackson is important. It is the mark of civilized people that where differences exist as great and as serious as those between the Republic of New Africa and the United States, we reach for

peaceful methods of settlement.

With respect to the Republic of New Africa it is important to note three key facts. First, RNA citizens have been constructed into a nation not just by our heritage but by our history as a kidnapped people brought to America and held here against our will, and by oppression and segregation. Second, the RNA Government of elected officials result from a legitimate act of self-determination and is founded upon and protected by the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment.

Third, RNA citizens are not United States citizens and owe allegiance to the Republic of New Africa, not to the U. S. That makes us "foreign." U. S. Chief Justice John Marshall long ago ruled (Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia, 1831) that "nations" not owing a common allegiance are foreign to each other."

What is at issue is the land. The RNA, as a nation, has land in Mississippi and elsewhere; some of it is occupied by the U. S., and the U. S. claims sovereignty over all of it. So do we. But this matter of contested, coincident sovereignty will be settled by the coming Plebiscite. That is a peaceful, legal method.

In the meantime the issue of sovereign immunity and our status as foreign officials have been raised in United States courts in Brother Hekima's appeal; they have been raised in my own state pre-trial motions, and they will be raised in the federal cases. At the same time the existence and operation of the RNA Government are political facts beyond dispute. This is a crucial point: whatever the status of the land, the RNA Government exists. It becomes, therefore, a matter of utter contempt - contempt both for the processes of U. S. courts and for U. S. law - for sheriff's deputies, FBI agents, marshalls, policemen, jailers, or anyone else to pursue a policy

of harassment against RNA officials, or to assault, offer violence to, or imprison such officers. The officers of the RNA Government are protected by the Thirteenth Amendment by the United States code, and by international law.

A major portion of RNA energy will be spent in freeing Brother Hekima through your courts and with Hekima, Brothers Offogga, Karim, and Addis, and all the other RNA prisoners as well.

In a very real sense the justice that Brother Hekima and the RNA-11 receive or do not receive in Mississippi is a further measure of whether the United States, which talks so much about law and order, is itself an outlaw and terrorist.

If it is forgotten in Mississippi, the world knows that the United States has violated treaty after treaty with the American Indians and now calls the Indians at Wounded Knee criminals; that the United States is even now violating its treaty obligations with the United Nations by importing chrome from Rhodesia; that the United States has ignored its international obligations to uphold UN resolutions on Vietnam and Israel, and that the Attica Massacre and the war against the unjust imprisonment of black freedom fighters from Baton Rouge to New York City represent flagrant breaches of the international law obligations which rest upon the United States by virtue of her role in the international piracy that was slavery.

All this is bandit behavior. Can the United States really believe that a world under law can exist in which the world's most powerful nation obeys only the international law that it likes and obeys its own law only sometimes and when those involved are white? Can the United States or Mississippi believe that they may inflict terror upon the RNA and remain uncondemned while asking the world to condemn other people's terrorism?

Is Nixon Planning Visit?

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Is President Nixon interested in attending and possibly addressing the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) 10th anniversary meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, next month?

This question came up during hearings before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa last week.

David Newson, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, denied that such plans exist, but did not rule out the possibility that President Nixon would go to Addis Ababa if an invitation were extended.

Asked by Congressman Charles Diggs of Michigan if an invitation had been solicited, Newson only said, "It (the OAU meeting) is a very important anniversary and it is

very much in our minds and in our planning."

"We have received no invitation or indication that any non-Africans would be invited," Newson added.

President Nixon has declared his intentions to visit Africa at some point, but no immediate plans were known to Newson.

Soon after the end of U. S. involvement in Vietnam the White House announced that President Nixon was contemplating a trip to Africa in the near future.

Diplomatic sources in Washington indicated that plans for Nixon were very pre-mature at this stage.

"There are whispers about it here," said one source, "but nothing has been said or confirmed from the continent."

The Kunene Dam Project A Mini Cabora Bassa

The Cabora Bassa Dam is the most notorious construction project in Southern Africa. White settlers are investing hundreds of millions of dollars into the dam construction which when completed is hoped by the Europeans to attract enough new white settlers into the area to provide a buffer against African freedom struggle.

But as we will note in the following article Cabora Bassa is not the only such project in Southern Africa. The Kunene Dam Project, between Namibia and Angola is really a mini-Cabora Bassa.

From "Namibia-Today"

It appears that companies involved in the construction of the "mini-Cabora Bassa" dam situated between the frontiers of Angola and Namibia wish to keep secret the fact that they have tendered for work on the provocative colonial project for fear that they will ultimately become a target for solidarity campaigns in the same way that firms taking part in the Cabora Bassa have done.

In 1963, an agreement was reached with Lisbon for the building of the Kunene hydro-electric scheme and other agreements were subsequently signed in May and June 1967 where by apartheid South Africa agreed to buy the major part of electricity out put when the scheme was complete - probably in 1975.

Viewed through African spectacles, the Kunene dam scheme is not a harmless project for it has the calculated intention of buying political loyalty crippling politico-military resistance and bringing more European settlers in Angola and Namibia respectively - "In order to balance the population scale" in favour of white supremacy.

Starting on the Nova Lisboa plateau the river Kunene flows towards Caluque in the south of Angola where it swings to the west and thence to the stormy Atlantic Ocean.

Technically, the Kunene hydro-electric scheme is small when compared to the dam at Cabora Bassa in Mozambique but it will, according to available data, cost twice as much, 612 million dollars (332 million for the Namibian section).

The financiers - on paper - are fascist Portugal and South

The financiers - on paper - are fascist Portugal and South Africa but evidence indicates that major international consortiums in the so-called free world are largely and deeply involved but wish to keep their participation as secret as possible.

Based around a large dam at Caluque in Angola and a hydro-electric power station on the Namibia side at Ruacana Falls, the project includes 27 minor but significant constructions up-and-down-stream.

The first, at Gove in the Portuguese dominated territory was scheduled for completion last year. A pumping station for irrigating the northern region of Namibia (Ovambo-land) is to be constructed at Caluque too.

The canal system which has been under construction for years now is nearing completion although the date is still not fixed. The canal will terminate at Oshakati, an administrative and business centre in the northern portion of Namibia.

Theoretically, the Ruacana part of the scheme - which is a major one, will start production in 1975 (like Cabora Bassa but still subject to guerrilla activities and successes in battle).

The Ruacana hydro-electric scheme, according to the president of the South African Atomic Power Commission, "is to cater for Namibia's major electricity needs until the end of the century."

On the Portuguese-held side however, sources say that around 300,000 hectares are to be irrigated and fertilized in Angola. The Portuguese colonial authorities envisage the setting up of "experimental" farms on 225,000 hectares near Catembulo in the near future for raising cattle and have beef for export purposes while deriving cheap labour by employing Africans on a semi-slavery basis with meagre salaries.

As for providing electric power, Angola - when things are in full swing - will soon have an excess.

Though whites residing in the construction area in Angola are estimated at 92,000 at present, this number is bound to go extremely up when

500,000 whites come "to stay" in the area in accordance with long term colonial strategy.

In order to keep a close watch on the restless, dissatisfied and angry local populace in the area, the Portuguese supremacists are envisaging the resettlement of Africans in "strategic" villages heavily guarded by the army.

A number of these "aldeamentos" have already been erected in certain parts of war-torn Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Reading, seeing or hearing what is occurring between Angola and Namibia, one is led to believe that the rape of Africa is merely becoming more distressing for the Kunene basin area was a paradise. Almost a million herdsmen and farmers practising traditional methods of farming were peacefully co-existing there but the white settlers under the auspices of their colonial kith and kin "are seeing, coming and conquering" once more and the Africans are again forced to make room.

Though the river Kunene scheme dates back to 1926, nothing concrete was done until the nationalists in Angola started their war for uhuru in 1961.

Then the colonial twins felt the need for combined action in the Kunene region and the scheme was therefore reconstituted.

It is however no surprise that although preliminary arrangements were made almost a decade ago the scheme has not yet been completed.

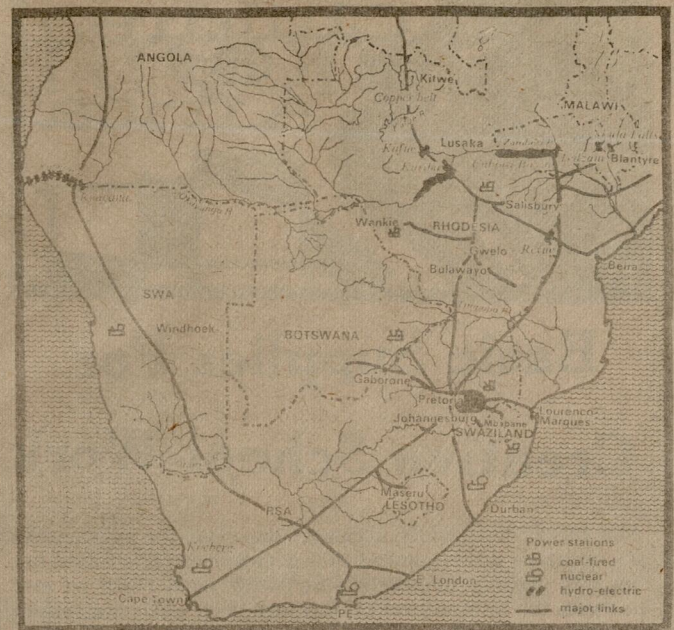
Armed struggle by African people in Angola and Namibia is hindering construction plans. No African labour is to be used in construction work on the dam because of the fears of the influence of liberation movements.

Following the outbreak of the Angolan armed struggle for liberation and similar activities by Namibians, including clashes within a relative short distance from the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme, the South Africans and Portuguese had to stop to re-organize their hold over the region and people in the Kunene basin area.

According to recent reports from southern Africa, no Namibian would again be employed on the Kunene hydro-electric scheme, neither in construction work nor on some of the already completed projects. This must be recorded, stems from the fact that the settler regimes are suspicious of Africans now-a-days.

The Kunene dam scheme plus Cabora Bassa are vivid attempts by a frustrated, desperate minority to strengthen their economic grip over southern Africa. One can rest assured that the future does not look bright for Caetano, Vorster or Ian Smith. In short, it is pregnant with favourable surprises for the onlooker and for the total benefit of the African guerrilla.

Actual and potential power transmission tie-ups in Southern Africa



Battle Reports of the Struggle Inside Namibia

Following is a report of military operations carried out by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia - the military wing of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization). The report was recently released by SWAPO news sources and covers the period from November 1972 until January 1973.

In the Kavango river basin area and the Caprivi regions our fighters continue to expand their areas of operation.

On November 17, 1972 SWAPO freedom fighters destroyed 4 enemy trucks on the road between Ishesha and Malombe; 11 enemy soldiers were killed and 27 others wounded. Then enemy helicopters arrived to evacuate the dead and the wounded to an

air-strip from where they were transported to military hospitals in the Transvaal, South Africa. Some of the survivors told the story to a reporter of the "Durban Sunday Tribune".

(November 26).

On December 3, 1972 - 3 enemy military camps were attacked; 6 military vehicles were destroyed by landmines and more than 60 enemy soldiers were killed or wounded.

On Friday, 26 January 1973 at 7:30 p.m. SWAPO fighters launched an attack on the South African military camp at Kamenga eastern region (Caprivi Strip); 160 enemy soldiers who were occupying the said camp were killed or wounded; petroleum drums exploded in a raging fire, ammunition dump was set on fire, a radio communication tent destroyed, 5 enemy military transport vehicles and six jeeps were destroyed and all the pillboxes around the camp were levelled.

The above mentioned was followed up the next day (Saturday, January 27) by an ambush in which 9 enemy soldiers were killed.



COLONIAL TWIN PROJECT AIMED AT SUCKING IN great wealth and entrenching colonialism deeper in Southern Africa.

Support

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

MAY 26, 1973

Banned in U.S., but Sold Abroad**U.S. Exporting Poisons**

(TNS) - "Since early this year," claims a recent article in *SCIENCE*, the magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, "the U.S. Government has been toying with the idea of giving or selling its surplus stockpiles of Agent Orange, a military herbicide that was withdrawn from Vietnam in 1970 after concern was raised about its teratogenic (birth-defect producing) properties, to Brazil, Venezuela, Paraguay and possibly other South American governments."

According to the article by Deborah Shapley in the April 6 issue, the U.S. Air Force has a surplus stockpile of 2,338,900 gallons of Agent Orange, some of which contains as much as 28 times the maximum acceptable safety limit of dioxin, the most potent chemical known for producing birth defects in fetuses.

BANNED IN U.S.

Agent Orange is made up of two chemicals, 2, 4, 5-T and 2,4-D. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has banned most crop-related uses of 2,4,5-T in this country and may cancel use of it for rangeland.

"Now, thanks to two enterprising businessmen," writes Shapley, "Agent Orange may be used to flood Latin American herbicide markets in the name of international development and improving the U.S. balance of payments." The barrels would be painted

over to conceal their military markings and then sold to Latin Americans for as low as one third the going rate for herbicides.

BEHIND THE SCHEME: A ROCKEFELLER COMPANY

Jerome F. Harrington, president of IRI Research Institute in New York is one of the people behind this scheme. IRI is a non-profit firm, founded with Rockefeller money in 1950. It runs experimental agricultural programs in Latin America. The idea was thought up by Arnold Livingston, the chief officer of a New Gretna, New Jersey firm called Blue Spruce International.

They have been encouraged by the Air Force in their venture, says the article, because the defoliants, 1.5 million gallons of which are in open air lots of Johnston Island in the North Pacific and the rest in Gulfport, Mississippi - are in barrels that are rusting and cost up to \$400,000 a year to maintain. "Hence the hurry," says Shapley.

USE AGAINST INDIANS?

Besides the obvious fact that if Agent Orange caused Vietnamese mothers to bear deformed children, then the same would be true in Latin America, there is another cause for concern. There is nothing to keep reactionary Latin American governments, such as the military regime in Brazil, from using it for the same purpose the U.S. did in

Vietnam, and for which Agent Orange was originally developed in World War II.

"One herbicide expert, who asked not to be named," Shapley noted, "pointed out that the Brazilian government is currently carrying out what in his view is 'one of the largest paramilitary operations against an indigenous people anywhere in the world,' in its efforts to 'open' the Amazon Basin in northwestern parts of Brazil and relocate the native population who live there."

"Agent Orange," this expert said, "is historically suited to the Brazilian's paramilitary operation."



WHILE PRISONS ARE PRODUCING STUDIED ACTIVISTS, they are also yielding a shallow breed of "Jailhouse Revolutionaries."

"Jailhouse Revolutionaries"

The following article, was written by a Black inmate in an Ohio prison. During the last few years we have all become aware that the increased phenomena of political incarceration has accelerated the political awareness and activism of brothers and sisters behind the walls. But brother Darchi Nkimotu is pointing out in his article that this development like everything is dialectical—that there is also a rise in the number of inmates who have adopted revolutionary facades only to drop them when they leave the prisons. Bro. Nkimotu de-

scribes them as "Jailhouse Revolutionaries." The article is taken from "Weusi Haki," an organ of Black inmates in the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility.

By Darchi Nkimotu

The role of the prisoner who considers himself to be a revolutionary is to make revolution. To entail revolution, one must become knowledgeable of the problem, realizing that only thru revolution will freedom be achieved, putting into practice the knowledge gained from political education and making it work to obtain freedom.

The prisoner is one of the most oppressed persons in any collective society. He is that part of society which is most ripe for change. The prisoner who becomes politically educated, (once he is released from the prison) should immediately begin to educate others and hook-up with a revolutionary organization or do things that would bring about revolutionary consciousness among the masses.

Through correspondence for several months with other incarcerated brothers, I have found many brothers who claimed to be "sho-nuff" together and ready. But, looking around for these brothers to put that theory into practice once out of prison seems to be a no-no, they are nowhere to be found. Only in a very, very few cases can it be said concretely that the education received behind bars had really been put into practice in the streets. Well "Practice Is The Criterion For All Truth". Apparently most of these brothers were theoreticians only!

Reasons for this lack of practice can perhaps, be cited in the following:

(1) The wrong idea of what revolution is all about. They read that revolution is armed struggle, and that concept is imbedded in their minds "dogmatically." Upon being released they expect to do this without realizing revolution is a process not a conclusion and that dialectically things do change. But, if they themselves don't change with the changing conditions, the things they see become undefinable. Because there is more to revolution than armed struggle, interest is lost when, all that is seen is the educational and organizational part of the revolutionary struggle. One thinks "this can't be revolution because, ain't no shooting going on, where is the

guerrilla (urban) warfare? Armed struggle is only one part of the revolution.

(2) Another reason is, brothers fail to drop petty bourgeois hang-ups, such as individualism. Brothers come out of prison and go right back into those same reactionary bags they left behind before they went to prison, those same hang-ups they (as revolutionaries) were supposed to have dropped. Dope, male chauvinism, fancy clothes, big cars, disrespect for their own peers (Black people) and numerous other counts among these hang-ups.

(3) Another reason which can be cited, is that all of us are oppressed and are trying to survive. In maximum security, the mental pressure is so great until it forces the prisoner to cling to anything that will keep him together. Any little thing he can hold onto in order to enable him to survive the fascist oppression of the prison system, he will grab to keep his mind intact. Those who have long bits (sentences) to do cling more because they have to resist longer. This explains those who want to be intellectually stimulated (having something heavy to talk about).

There's a list of so-called "subversives" that the C.I.A. has and it contains the names of countless numbers of possible "subversives." Anyone who relates to the struggle, whether they only correspond or they get into revolutionary practices, are put on the list. The pigs know who considers himself to be "a revolutionary."

"Revolution is not a game - once the commitment is made the CIA keeps the person on that Those who are jiving or not for real, will still be listed and subjected to the same harassment, punishment, brutality and murder as those who are sincere."

Prisoners and ex-prisoners should be among the most revolutionary of us all. One who practices theory in jail and does not put or carry it on once released, can truthfully be called a "Jailhouse Revolutionary." Revolution is for real - revolutionary wolf tickets can get you killed for jiving!

A possible solution to the problem can be cited as more in depth political education. For only through being armed with the proper education can we hope to eliminate the "Jailhouse Revolutionaries" and thus bring the revolution closer to our time.

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Struggle in Perspective

(Cont'd from pg. 6)

lack in-depth analysis or understanding of the situation.

If we are to follow a direction serving the real interests of Black people, these tendencies must be struggled against.

STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

Essential to the development of youth organization and movement in this country is the necessity for Black youth to inject themselves into the domestic issues that are affecting the lives of Black people.

Because many Black youth were not of age to understand or participate in the equal-rights struggle, Black power movement, or understand the rich legacy of Black struggles in America, we must recreate the legacy of struggle of our people. An atmosphere of struggle must be created to defeat the current pessimistic, apathetic, and defeatist attitude that exist among Black youth.

Because of the current lack of movement atmosphere in the Black community, it is becoming more obvious that organizing Black youth cannot be done on the old "General Community Organizing" model. Black youth will have to be organized around the specific interests that concern them, and that will require our involving ourselves in their lives.

For instance, Black youth that are workers, will and can be organized around those things that concern them as workers; Student youth, the same situation, veterans and youth in the army, etc. All with the intent of uniting those specific struggles into one youth movement.

A concrete example can be seen in the "Save Black Schools" project, which YOBU is currently working on. The strategy is to organize the various Black Students in Black Schools around the whole question of the destruction of Black Schools, but to take that struggle to a higher level of understanding of the real reasons why that situation exists, and to link that struggle with the struggles in the overall Black Community.

The organization of Black youth cannot end with the struggles around domestic issues, but must be carried to the level of seeing the interrelationship between the domestic struggle and struggles on the international level.

INTERNATIONAL:
It is very important that we take the lead in resisting the efforts of the imperialists to

subjugate the rest of the world. We must turn out simple, easy-to-read brochures and leaflets linking oppression around the world with oppression here — knowing the interrelationship between our exploitation and the exploitation of the world's people. We must organize film showings. We must build demonstrations like African Liberation Day and participate in the ongoing activities of the African Liberation Support Committee. Africa is, of course, primary to our efforts for two reasons:

First, Africa is our homeland. Although our oppressors have attempted for centuries to suppress our consciousness of our African identity, they have not succeeded. The successful African Liberation Day demonstrations are proof of that. Our people are ready to respond to the savage exploitation of our brothers and sisters, if we can only provide an avenue for that response.

Second, Africa is quickly becoming the major battleground for imperialism in the world. As Nixon and Company see Southeast Asia slipping through their bloody fingers, they are determined to protect their huge investments in Africa. In addition the White "radical left" has begun to grab the issue of African Liberation in typically opportunist fashion. We must take the lead in educating and mobilizing our people, lest Africa be used to sweep unsuspecting brothers and sisters into their organizations.

In conclusion, we must remember that all of the advances our people have made were won through struggle. All of the concessions granted in the last 10 years (which are now being withdrawn) — programs for Black students, poverty programs, apprenticeship training programs, were gained through the struggles of students, workers, etc. Many of the mass organizations which won those struggles (such as BSU'S) are now weak and disorganized, so the counterattack meets little resistance.

Not only must we rebuild these organizations, but we must also provide and develop leadership — the missing element in the mostly spontaneous struggles of the Sixties. It is our task to not only organize and struggle, but develop young, committed leadership with a clear understanding of the society and the world — leadership prepared to learn and sustain itself during the long struggle ahead.

Accelerated Action At Wounded Knee

In an exchange of gunfire, two Wounded Knee occupants were hit; one shot in the head is in critical condition. Other related activities throughout the country include the raiding of Indian tribes in Canada by the Mounted Police; six Native Americans were beaten in Montana; Native Americans, walking down streets, are being busted in Los Angeles; and one Native American was beaten and jailed by police, April 16th, in San Francisco with no provocation what so ever.

There are indications around Wounded Knee and Rapid City,

that U.S. forces are being augmented by National Guard troops.

The intensification of armed forces and harassment means the second massacre of Wounded Knee has begun!!

Wounded Knee asks that all AIM representatives, Native Americans and the citizens of this country go immediately to Rapid City to ensure the safety of the people, especially the children inside Wounded Knee.

Wounded Knee has been declared a war zone by the Independent Oglala Sioux Nation.

WORLD VIEW

As workers and students of African liberation our understanding of those factors that shape, influence, and determine the development of the Pan-African liberation struggle must constantly broaden in scope and move to higher levels.

The world struggle between capitalism and socialism has reached such a level that it has become necessary to understand not only the conditions that influence our struggle in Chicago and Gainesville, Mozambique and Angola, Tanzania and the Ivory Coast, Trinidad and Tobago, but also those in China and Vietnam, Argentina and Brazil, Britain and France.

The development of technology and communications, coupled with the development of an exploitative economic system that has reached international proportions has brought about a situation in which events in one country have an effect on events in another, thousands of miles and oceans apart.

If we are to wage a correct struggle our information and analysis must be correct.

The interconnections between the United States and other countries and their relationships to African Liberation must be understood. We must understand the world in all of its interconnections from Los Angeles to Namibia from London to Palestine and from Morocco to the Soviet Union. Pan-Africanists must have a WORLD VIEW.



Azania, also known as the Republic of South Africa is the foremost economic and industrial power on the continent, and the most backward politically. Its system of apartheid maintains the racial and economic oppression of 15 million Africans to the benefit of 3 million European settler colonizers.

Several factors underlie the country's economic advance: rich mineral deposits, including gold, diamonds, uranium, copper, asbestos, manganese, iron, chrome, nickel, platinum, antimony, tin and vanadium; the influx of capital from imperialists countries like the U. S., Germany, Japan, and Britain that stimulated economic progress; the exploitation of African labor.

Azania's apartheid policy of creating "Bantustans" or separate development for the African masses is a crude anti-African attempt to maintain the master-slave relationship that presently exists.

South Africa is the center of resistance to the liberation movements presently going on in Southern Africa, for she needs friendly, capitalists states surrounding her borders. For this reason, the U. S. and other capitalists countries continue to invest in South Africa, in order to make her a sub-imperialist outpost for the economic penetration of Black Africa.