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SPECIAL FEATURE

The Upsurge of Anti-Imperialism In the Black Liberation Movement

THE WEEK of May 21-28, 1972 was very historic in that a new upsurge of anti-imperialism was witnessed in the Black Liberation Movement throughout the U.S. Washington, D.C. was the scene of a massive peace march on May 21 against the war in Vietnam, and on May 27 a demonstration in support of the African liberation movements, and of the people still living under Portuguese colonialism, South African and Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) fascism. Also on May 25-26 the Congressional Black Caucus held a conference at Howard University on U.S. policy in Africa and the Caribbean. All of these mass actions were objectively anti-imperialist, making it even more important that the two struggles be linked together for a broad anti-imperialist front. The two struggles of peace in Vietnam and the African liberation movements would greatly strengthen the anti-imperialist front, and would add further clarification in the linkages of the Afro-American, African and peace struggles.

The conference at Howard University and the march on May 27 displayed two tendencies, the one by people who wanted to help U.S. capitalism in Africa which did not take a clear anti-imperialist position, and the other tendencies of the masses of people who were

objectively anti-imperialist and did not want to be pawns for U.S. capitalism in Africa. Some of the spokesmen in the conference did not see that by encouraging more U.S. investments in Africa could replace European colonialism with American Neo-colonialism, even if Black nationalism becomes the front men for such an investment policy.

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist



African Freedom Fighters

Party of the U.S. reaffirmed the one tendency of anti-imperialism when he spoke at Howard University on May 24. He called upon the audience to analyze the many ideologies which claim to be programmed for African liberation, but do not attack U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism.

In the African-American National Conference on Africa at Howard University, U.N. Ambassador H. E.

Farah from the Republic of Somali, gave the keynote speech by undermining U.S. imperialism. Ambassador Farah cited the fact that Southern Africa led by the Republic of South Africa was the strategic beachhead for the maintenance of Western capitalism over Africa. He also delineated the role of U.S. imperialism and NATO in Africa and exposed the lies of the imperialists which states that the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean is

a threat to the people of Southern Africa. In fact he mentioned that it is the Soviet Navy that has prevented further U.S. aggression in Southern Africa, and it is the Soviet Union and the Socialist Countries that help the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Congressman Charles Diggs Jr. also gave an important speech at the conference by showing the relationship between the re-

pression of Black people in this country and in Africa. He stated that it was the same system which oppressed Black people all over the world. Indicative of the two tendencies was the composition of the conference which attracted Black Americans from the different government agencies, from the large corporations and from many Afro-American organizations. The reactionary tendency of wanting to increase U.S. investments in Africa was attacked by Prof. Robert Rhodes in his presentation to the conference. He outlined how imperialism has never developed any colonial society, but in fact has de-developed those societies. Instead of supporting imperialism he suggested that Afro-Americans support the non-capitalist path of development in Africa which is a path of development which curtails relations with the capitalist countries, and among other things, strengthens relationships with the socialist countries. He mentioned Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria, Egypt, and Somali that have improved their economic development by starting on this path of construction.

The conference ended with a series of resolutions some of which were put forth by Prof. Harold Rogers workshop on "Redirecting U.S.

Pan-Africanism Historical Perspectives Part II

The First Pan-African Congress (PAC) was convened in 1919 at the time of the Paris Peace Conference at the end of World War I. One of the central questions to be decided at the Paris Conference was the fate of Germany's African colonies. W. E. B. DuBois and Blaise Diagne of Senegal refused to sit back and contentedly watch the group of Allied Imperialists (dominated by the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France) determine the destiny of thousands of African people, and so they organized this international meeting of peoples of African descent. The PAC asserted that the League of Nations should be entrusted with the responsibility of providing for the "political, social, and economic welfare" of the Africans, so that "in time, Africa" would be "ruled by consent of the Africans."

Meanwhile, at the Peace Conference, one of history's great tragi-comedies was unfolding: General Jan Christian Smuts, South African Prime Minister, and Pres. Woodrow Wilson, perhaps the most pre-eminent racists of their day, collaborated to devise what became known as the Mandates System. Under its provisions the German colonies were simply divided among the war's victors, including South Africa which acquired Namibia (S.W. Africa) which she claims to this day.

Making "the world safe

for democracy" proved dangerous for the peoples of Africa since it appeared that this "democracy" was to be built by using their backs as a foundation. The Europeans had long been faced with the problem of diminishing profits at home. Colonial possessions, on the other hand, promised huge returns because underdeveloped areas receiving credit for the first time could be charged exorbitant interest rates. These and other factors such as the availability of a cheap labor supply forced to work long hours, gave the monopoly capitalists (banks and industry) a distinct preference for investment in colonial areas. These investments were based on the export of capital rather than goods which meant that Africa's natural resources were being developed while social conditions grew worse. DuBois understood this scheme and called on all progressive peoples to take a stand against it.

After 1919, three other PAC's were called by DuBois in 1921, 1923 and 1927. They were mainly attended by Afro-American intellectuals. The fight for economic, political, and social improvements was intensified however when Africans themselves became involved in the struggle. During the interwar period many changes took place which served to heighten the consciousness of the African people: the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution and Marxist-Leninist thought became increasingly important as anti-imperialist feeling spread among the masses. Instances of armed struggle and strikes became more numerous; national

parties, trade unions, and student associations were organized in reaction to increasing foreign domination. Therefore, when the Fifth PAC was convened at Manchester, Eng. in 1945. African workers, trade-unionists, farmers, and students were in the forefront.

One of the high points of the Manchester Congress was Kwame Nkrumah's Declaration to the Colonial Peoples in which he stated that:

All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic... The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons — the strike and the boycott — are invincible... By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form cooperatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike... you will be using the only means by which your liberties can be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action — the organization of the masses. And in that organization the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!

The delegates also sent greetings of solidarity to "the peoples of India, Indonesia, and Viet-minh under Ho Chi Minh", and "expressed hope that before long the peoples of Asia and Africa would have broken their centuries-old chains of colonialism".

The Manchester Congress, coming as it did at the end of WW II, signaled the beginning of the end of colonialism. The anti-imperialist drive for self-determination nurtured by the Pan-African movement for more than a generation, was to be culminated later in the period beginning in 1957, when all of Africa, save the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa achieved their political independence. ★ ★ ★

The Staff of The African Agenda welcomes your comments and any article that is less than 400 words.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Editor,

Angela Davis is Free! Right On! The fascist forces have suffered a small defeat. I have heard that many European countries fought for her freedom. But I have not heard anything about Africa. Do the brothers and sisters there know about this Black woman, or has the man successfully intererred with our communications again?

Jane Scott
L.A., Calif.



Editor's Reply

Sister Scott,
Angela Davis, the Black woman and communist is perhaps the best known Afro-American in Africa. Many of the liberation movements expressed their support for Angela Davis. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) sent letters of support to Angela and expressed their opposition of her arrest to President Nixon. The South African Communist Party also expressed their support and in their journal, **The African Communist**, they did several stories on Angela Davis. Egyptian and Sudanese women sent strong letters of protest for Angela to President Nixon and held meetings in their countries to discuss the Angela Davis case. All over Africa people were aware of this strong Black communist, and in countries like Tanzania and Guinea progressive people spoke out against her arrest and for her defence. Many Africans are aware of the type of brutality in this country against black people and they were not surprised when she was arrested. ★

Memorial

Wankie, Rhodesia — The world deeply mourns the deaths of the 468 miners killed in the worst mining disaster in 9 years. Criminal neglect and exploitative working conditions are attributed as the causes for this disaster. The mine is owned by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa (a United States and British corporation) and employs 5000 miners, 95 per cent of which are African. This mine is the major supplier of coal for Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

The AFRICAN AGENDA supports the just struggle of the Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) people against Rhodesian fascism and U.S. imperialism.

News Briefs

SOUTH AFRICA — At Turfloop College, an all-Black institution located in Transvaal, South Africa, student council president Abraham Tiro stunned a graduation audience by launching a passionate denunciation of South African apartheid. For voicing his beliefs Tiro was expelled on the spot. When all of the university's 1120 students protested with an eight-hour, sit-down strike over Tiro's expulsion, they, too, were promptly expelled en masse.

OHIO — On May 20 an all-day symposium on Israeli and South African industries was held at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Organized by African, Arab-American, and Afro-American groups, the symposium exposed the racist alliance between the governments of Israel and South Africa, whose ideological compatibilities and military ties have been instrumental in the oppression of Africans. A general boycott against the economies of these two outposts for imperialist expansion was advocated by the symposium.

LONDON — "The time has come to consider appropriate action against members of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), who shamelessly consort with the racist in violation of the Charter of the OAU and its solemn resolutions," declared Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the progressive African National Congress of South Africa. Nzo's remarks were made in obvious reference to the divisive tactics of Malawi's Dr. Banda and the Ivory Coast's Biogny, two African heads of state whose call for a dialogue with the fascist government of South Africa is an infamous betrayal of the interests of the masses of African people.

TANZANIA — Firestone Tire Company, based in the United States, has applied

for a license to build a plant in Mozambique that would produce 1000 tires a day and would begin production in 1973-74, according to reports from Tanzania. Several thousand workers are being projected for the operation of the plant. The Firestone capitalists expect to pay their African employees 20 cents per day, as a livable wage.

BURUNDI—More than 150,000 people are believed to be dead in Burundi, a Central African Republic with a population of three million, five hundred thousand as a result of civil war precipitated by the abortive attempt of reactionary forces to restore monarchy. White mercenaries formed part of the counterrevolutionary army assembled by Ex-King Ntare V, whose plot to overthrow the government of President Michel Micombero had been directed from West Germany, where the monarchist had lived in exile since he was ousted from power in the revolution of 1966. The conspiracy resulted in the death of Ntare, but his traitorous tactics succeeded in promoting a bloodbath between supporters and opponents of the present Administration. At the same time, the situation was violently inflamed by the reopening of tribal differences, a development crucial to the ploys of Western imperialists bent on massive expansion throughout the African continent.



Defeat for the Colonialists



Nino (Bernardo Vieira) (left), one of the founders of the PAIGC and now in charge of the South Front, with Secretary-General Amilcar Cabral. (Photo PAIGC)

The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization has recently returned from holding a special session in Conakry, Lusaka, Zambia, and Addis Ababa. Although the Committee is still holding session, the Committee has already adopted an important decision on one question; the situation in Guinea (Bissau), where an armed struggle is in progress against Portugal's colonial rule.

This struggle, led by the Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), has been going on for nine years and has resulted in the liberation of two-thirds of the country's territory. A special Committee group consisting of Ecuadorian, Swedish and Tunisian delegates was sent to a liberated area to acquaint itself with the situation there. They met the leaders of the Liberation forces and familiarized themselves with the economic and social changes in the parts of the country freed from the Portuguese colonialists. On their return to Conakry, the group's Ecuadorian leader Sevilla Borja declared that they had been deeply impressed by the valiant efforts made by the people of Guinea (Bissau) and their determination to liberate the whole of the country. The group is to submit a detailed report at the U.N.

And how did the Portuguese authorities react to this? They tried to prevent

the U.N. representatives from visiting the liberated areas and for that purpose the 30,000-strong Portuguese army in Guinea (Bissau) was alerted. When it was learned that the group had nevertheless visited the liberated areas, the Portuguese mission at the U.N. could think of nothing better than to deny it. By doing so, Lisbon merely put itself in a ridiculous position. Its control over Guinea (Bissau) must indeed be illusory if anyone can visit it without the knowledge of the colonial authorities.

The members of the Committee naturally refused to take the Portuguese "refutations" into account. It adopted a resolution tabled by the delegates of thirteen countries saying the Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands possessed all the attributes of a legitimate, sovereign and responsible government and recognizing it as the only genuine representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau). The Committee appealed to the U.N. member states to give the people of Guinea (Bissau) material and moral assistance in their liberation struggle. The resolution reaffirms their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

The freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies and the U.N. Committee on De-

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Recommended Books

1. *Liberation Struggle in Portuguese Colonies*, by all Indian Peace Council and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity. A general outline of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies by their leaders. 72 pages. Price \$1.25.
2. *Africa Fights for Independence*, V. Solodovnikov, History of the present economic and political formations in Africa. 150 pages. \$.75.
3. *The Class Struggle in Africa*, S. Amin, General outline of class formations in Africa and the part class places in fighting for African Liberation. 47 pages. \$.35.
4. *Guerrilla Warfare, South Africa Studies 1*. Utilizing their experience the ANC issues at work on their fight against the South African government. Pages 96. \$1.75.
5. *The Third World, Problem and Prospects*, Y. Zhukov. This book discusses the different national liberation movements, ideological problems, the problems of economic independence and socialism, and the national liberation struggles. Pages 276. Price \$2.00.

All of the above books can be ordered from Imported Publications, 1730 W. Arcade Pl., Chicago, Ill. 60612.

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cont. Upsurge

Foreign Policy." These resolutions by Prof. Rogers workshop listed below would be an effective weapon in fighting U.S. imperialism. His workshop suggested: 1) A call to boycott all U.S. corporations engaging in business relations with the Southern African governments. 2) A call to support the stopping of military aid to Israel, South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the South Vietnam puppet government. 3) A call to support the Organization of African Unity, The United Nations, and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization on African Liberation. 4) A call to support aid to African countries coming from the non-capitalist countries. 5) A call to boycott all Black entertainers and other Black Americans going to South Africa.

The African Liberation day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) which organized the May 27 march was a more progressive initiative. Noteworthy was the broad character of the composition of the march which attracted students, workers, and older people. The ALDCC manned by Mark Smith, Owusu Sadaukai of Malcolm X Liberation School, Tim Thomas and others brought together 25,000 Black Americans in support of the African liberation struggle. Speeches were given by Dr. George Wiley from NWRO, Imamu Baraka (Leroy Jones), Cong. Charles Digges, and many more well known Black spokesmen.

The fight for "a piece of the action" or alliance with the imperialist as reflecting one of the tendencies during these mass actions in Wash-

ington was not in keeping with the majority tendency that was anti-imperialist. The statement of the ALDCC on Vietnam which said, in part, "The issue of imperialism in Africa is inseparable from the issue of imperialism in Asia and the Americas, for they are part of the same standing master plan for domination of the resources and labor of the entire world by those who rule the U.S." ". . . we realize as the freedom fighters do that to fight imperialism in Vietnam is to fight it in Southern Africa and we stand firmly with the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese people to rid their land of first, French and now American domination", indicates the progressive character of this new upsurge in the Black liberation movement.

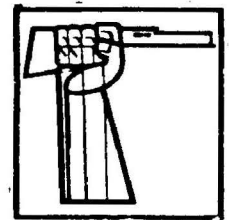
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cont. Colonialists

colonization thus jointly scored a major success in the struggle for the complete liberation of Guinea (Bissau) and the whole African continent from the colonial yoke.

New Times.

★ ★ ★



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