



The AFRICAN WORLD*

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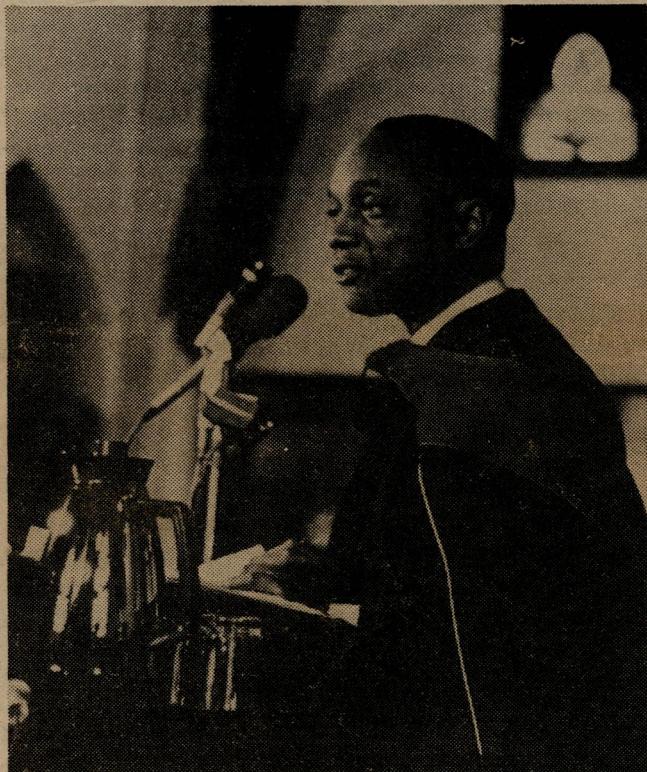
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TWENTY CENTS

Amilcar Cabral at Lincoln Univ.

Revolutionary Honored



AMILCAR CABRAL, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PAIGC gives speech after accepting Lincoln honorary degree. (YOBU Photo)

Afro-Caribbean Movement Hit

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE MOVEMENT IN

ST. JOHN'S ANTIGUA — The Afro Caribbean Movement and its chairman have been the center of a wave of repression. Hundreds of peasants have had their canes unrealed, the sugar factory has been closed, throwing hundreds out of work and leaving an equal number unemployed and uncompensated. Nearly a thousand workers in all sectors of the economy have been laid off for political reasons causing unemployment to rise to the phenomenal figure of over 50 per cent. Peasants have been arrested for picketing the Premier's office; aged workers seeking compensation when they were laid off were beaten by hired agents of the Government. A group of thugs and criminals have been recruited by the Government

called "Special Police." These officially armed thugs and criminals have beaten and pounced upon several citizens; Civil Servants have been maligned and threatened by government ministers on public platform. In this mounting repressive wave the ACM has been the center of all attacks.

On June 14th the police under the leadership of Deputy Chief of Police, James Roberts, raided the Headquarters of the Afro Caribbean Movement taking away a typewriter, books, personal letters and a memorandum from the Movement to its members. Five days later all were returned without any explanation or charges laid.

On June 21st, Bro. Ellerton Jeffers, active member of the ACM, was callously dismissed from the government services

(cont'd on pg. 13)

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Lincoln University, Pa. — The bonds of unity between struggling African people were strengthened once more on October 15th as Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by predominantly Black Lincoln University. The degree, approved by Lincoln's Board of Trustees two years ago and delayed until this year when Cabral could be present, was conferred upon the internationally prestigious African revolutionary by Herman Branson, president of Lincoln, in the school's chapel before an overflow audience of over 600 students, diplomats, and Black activists from around the country.

There was a full day of activities for the participants in the convocation, some of whom came from as far away as California, starting at 11 a.m. with the showing of two films on armed struggle in Africa and "Breaking the Chains of Oppression Through Black Unity," the film about African Liberation Day. Following the film showings, Lincoln students

hosted an African feast, and the day culminated in the awards ceremony shortly afterwards.

After the presentation of the award, Brother Cabral made an address, followed by speeches from Congressman Charles Diggs and Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu Mkuu of Malcolm X Liberation University. Also on hand for the occasion were Mark Smith, YOBU National Vice-Chairman; Imam Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Congress of African People; Ron Daniels of Freedom Incorporated in Youngstown, Ohio; Tanya Russell of the San Francisco-area African Liberation Support Committee; Ruwa Chiri of UFOMI, and Brother Kwame of the Pan-African Congress, USA.

Branson, in opening the program, cited several outstanding alumni as testimony to Lincoln's heritage of producing Black leadership during its 118 year history. Lincoln, one of the oldest Black colleges in the United States, has long had a sizeable number of African students from the Continent; Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, late president of Ghana and worldwide African leader, graduated from Lincoln in 1941; Nnamidi Azikiwe, the first

president of Nigeria, also graduated from the rural Pennsylvania college. Branson mentioned these African leaders and compared Cabral to them, saying that the occasion was an "opportunity to welcome a true soldier for the rights of men." The statement accompanying the degree also praised Cabral, saying that the successes of PAIGC and the Guinean people in their fight against colonialism, although due to the efforts of many people, could be attributed to some extent to the foresight, patience and skill of one man — Amilcar Cabral.

In accepting the degree, Cabral expressed appreciation to the administration, faculty and students of Lincoln for according him the honor, but stressed that the real honor belonged to the cadres of the PAIGC and the people of Guinea-Bissau. He said that he accepted the degree "not for me, but for our people, for our militants, for our fighters. It is a great honor for me to receive it on their behalf. And we think that it represents more responsibility for us, not only for our own people in Africa, but also

(cont'd on pg. 9)



THE WILMINGTON NINE SHOWN HERE ONLY A FEW HOURS BEFORE THEY WERE GIVEN long prison sentences after six weeks of trial testimony in Wilmington, N.C. The brothers are Reginald Epps, Jerry Jacobs, Connie Tyndall, Willie Wright, Jr., Willie Verine, Marvin Patrick, James McCoy, Wayne Moore and Rev. Ben Chavis. (YOBU Photo)



"ON THE GOOD FOOT"

"It's Funky Now J.B."

Baltimore, Md. — "Soul Brother Number 1" didn't quite get over in Baltimore last Sunday night. James Brown, singer, dancer, producer and entrepreneur, entertained almost 9,000 empty seats at the Baltimore Civic Center on October 15th, while over five hundred demonstrators picketed the performance in protest of Brown's endorsement of President Nixon.

Politics are not new to "the king." His acts of political nonsense include the endorsement of Hubert Humphrey for president, touring Africa for the State Department, and giving a soul rendition of "America the Beautiful" on the Johnny Carson Show wearing a jumpsuit he designed himself. Most Black people remember his abortive song "America is my Home" — a pure bomb that he tried to salvage by quickly releasing "I'm Black and I'm Proud." JB topped these efforts stating that "only in America" could a shoe-shine boy like him rise to the top-Lear Jet and all.

But this time Brown ran into a wall of opposition from the Black community as Black Baltimore residents, including State Assemblymen Troy Brailey, voiced their opposition to the increasingly futile attempts by the government and both parties to use Black "leaders" (particularly entertainers and athletes) to sway Black opinion from one ridiculous position to another. The Black community is bombarded daily with some "star" or another urging us to support, follow, believe in, or

mostly buy something or somebody. One minute, it's Flip Wilson telling us, "There's nothing funny about the National Guard, (most of us already know that, blood), and we turn around and Wilt Chamberlain is pushing Vitalis.

The politicians and capitalists of America constantly seek to take the prestige that a Black man or woman has won in our community due to some area of achievement (basketball, singing, etc) and attach that prestige to his product or candidate. Bourgeois Black media sometimes devote all their pages to Wilt Chamberlain's million-dollar house or Walt Frazier's wardrobe. And while some of us drool at the loot that "success" brings, Nixon and McGovern, Chrysler and Ford, Winston and Kool,

are all lining up their stars to say that they are great and their opposition is lousy. "I'm Sammy Davis, Jr. Take it from me — you ought to get..."

But while the Washington Redskins are split right down the fifty yardline about who to support for president, the Black community is paying less and less attention to the statements of manufactured leaders mouthing insanity.

James Brown insisted before his concert that he had a right to make endorsements — he was a "man." He may be. But the Black community showed that it is prepared to retaliate against the millionaire "brothers" who get over by peddling their influence over Black folks. It's a new day, JB. Money won't change you, but time will take you out.

"De Mau Mau" Jailed

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Chicago, Illinois — Recent press reports about a black troupe called "De Mau Mau" in Chicago have been sketchy and vague. Newspapers throughout the nation have carried reports saying the group is Chicago-based, made up of Vietnam Veterans, and had been responsible for the deaths of at least eight wealthy whites in the Chicago area.

Many of the papers carried quotes from Charles Hurst of Malcolm X College in Chicago, who took time out from his campaigning for Nixon to say that some members of the

group had been expelled from Malcolm X College for "beating students." Eight young black men, reportedly members of the group, have been arrested and charged in the series of killings, and police in Chicago say they are trying to pin other "terrible killings" on the group.

Other press reports however, have painted a slightly different picture. Some say the group is an international organization of Black men started in the army from among Black soldiers who bonded together because of the experiences of racism in the military. The organization may number in the thousands, according to the reports, with

Wherever we may be.

Tell the Truth Brother

MOZAMBIQUE — Recently John Gwengwe, the Minister of Transport and Communications from Malawi, was in Mozambique for talks with Portuguese authorities on railway and air transport. The Portuguese gave a cocktail party in honor of the representative from the tiny African nation which cooperates with Portuguese colonialists.

Brother Gwengwe was supposed to have delivered a prepared speech probably saying a bunch of complimentary things about the Portuguese. But during the course of the evening Gwengwe got stoned on cocktails, threw away his prepared speech and proceeded to rap.

He told the Portuguese that they knew full well that Mozambique belonged to African people and that FRELIMO would soon chase them from the continent! He went on, before the astonished audience, to say that Malawi cooperation with Portugal was "sheer flattery."

Needless to say, Brother Gwengwe was immediately dismissed from his job for his "undiplomatic" statements.

11-Year Old is Jailed

MIAMI — When it seems that American "justice" has its rock bottom, a lower, more debased level is opened up. In Miami, Florida, an eleven year old boy, Author Wright, was sentenced to six months confinement for taking two dimes from a classmate in school.

The youth, who had a good school record and had never been in trouble before in his life, actually spent 30 days in confinement before his release was ordered by an appeal judge. A probation officer, of the type Black communities everywhere are plagued with, had requested the confinement even though the youth had a spotless record.

The judge who ordered the sentencing had the apt name of DIXIE CHASTAIN.

African Frogmen Land?

SECHA BA, the magazine published by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa reports that this summer two African frogmen came ashore near a village on the southern coast of South Africa. African villagers fed them, but by the time the police arrived, the visitors had disappeared as silently as they had come. If they came, as it appears, on a mission to aid freedom fighters in South Africa, it marks the revelation of a new level of tactics African people are employing in an all-out effort to rid Southern Africa of colonialism.

members both in active service and discharged. And there are quotes from students at Malcolm X College saying that the brothers under arrest were not "trouble-makers" as far as most students were concerned.

Until more information is known it is hard for most Black people to form definite conclusions about "De Mau Mau." There are probably many organizations and networks of Black people in existence yet unknown to the general public. We are also aware of gross

exaggerations of the press designed to justify some new wave of white repression. The name "Mau Mau" would terrify most whites no matter what the organization was about. Whites still tremble at the thoughts of the original Mau Mau in Kenya who met white violence with equal or greater violence.

One thing however, is certain — because of the alarm and near hysteria of the news reports, the eight brothers in custody stand little chance of getting a fair trial.

Black Controlled Public School Draws Criticism

WORLD

by Vaughn Taplin (Sali)

Buffalo, N. Y. — Efforts have been made by the Buffalo Board of Education and their reactionary supporters to destroy one of the most successful black controlled public schools in the nation. The BUILD Academy which is operated by the BUILD Organization, has received praise from local, state and national figures, and ruthless tactics to eliminate the school is just another ploy by status quo educators to deprive black children of a decent education.

As stated in previous articles, children at the BUILD Academy are performing well above the national norm on standard achievement tests, in addition to other academic achievements being performed at the academy.

BACKGROUND

In January 1969, the BUILD Education Committee introduced the idea for the BUILD Academy. The three parties to implement this idea included community parents, and representatives from the Buffalo Board of Education and the State University College at Buffalo. On January 14, 1969 the three parties signed a Memorandum of Understanding to develop a school whose aim would be "to advance quality

the responsive environment concept, has community and parental input, small classes, many teacher aides and updated facilities, opposed to the antique, Neanderthal techniques of the regular public schools. And, (3) the academy has a dedicated staff headed by Mrs. Johnnie Mayo — all who are interested and dedicated to the education of our youth.

THE PROBLEM

BUILD Academy's current problem stemmed from the opening of this school session. BUILD wanted to expand its program to Woodlawn Junior High and the plan was rejected by the board of education. Afterwards, BUILD established an alternative school — the BUILD Freedom School.

Subsequently, the board of education made cutbacks on teacher aides, faculty, and transportation at the academy and threatened court action on black parents and BUILD officials accusing them of promoting delinquent truancy. This earned the board the wrath of the black community, and a broad cross-section of the black community supported BUILD issuing the following statement:

"We deplore the decision to reduce staff transportation and the ability of the academy to meet the educational needs of



THE BUILD ACADEMY HAS PROVEN THAT A BLACK CONTROLLED PUBLIC SCHOOL provides an excellent education for Black youth. Students here are learning zoology and genetics at the academy.



BUILD'S ADMINISTRATORS INSIST THAT PRIDE, SELF-confidence are as important as scores on standardized tests.

education in Buffalo's Black Community." As the school progressed, blacks would also have more representation in policy making decisions.

At the outset, members of the Board of Education thought that the academy would be a guaranteed failure, and furthermore, that blacks (many who were low-income people) were incapable of running a successful educational institution. If they were proven right, this would dilute the concept of blacks running schools in their own communities and once again prove the age-old theory that "white is right" and that they are the only ones capable of running schools.

The BUILD Academy was a success primarily for three reasons: (1) the academy places a heavy emphasis on Black culture, pride and awareness, unlike the typical public school which gives black youth a Euro-American orientation. This instills confidence, motivation and proper direction in the child's learning process contrasted to the established public schools which ultimately dehumanize black youth, and induces an inferiority complex in them, needless to mention the inferior education that they receive; (2) the academy implements modern teaching

the students and the community it serves. The academy has shown that the community and the people do have the capacity to develop an effective and productive educational process that could and should be a model for the whole city.

We stand behind and with the BUILD Academy, its students, parents and staff to do whatever is necessary politically and economically to see that the Academy continues its successful efforts and its real life story of positive results. Instead of a reduction, we say increase and improve your support, for the future of the community and its people are at stake."

EVALUATION — QUALITY EDUCATION

Trying to stall BUILD's progress, the board of education in a amusing gesture, questioned the quality of the BUILD Academy. Mrs. Mayo, Chief Officer of BUILD Academy, rebutted the board's evaluation request in a public interview insisting that "evaluations cover more than test scores" and that "factors that would shed light on fears, and questions of race, culture, poverty and the academy's performance in relation to the community" had to be considered.

Sister Mayo also stated that, "When we talked about evaluation, I think it came out in the press that the board of education had directed or demanded an evaluation of the academy. The board of education did not make such a demand. We requested that the board of education do a full evaluation of this school. At that time, we suggested that there are many, many variables that are included in teaching a child. We feel that it's not reduced to those results which are on a standardized achievement test. Besides teaching children to read, write and do arithmetic, we're helping to develop their self esteem. We're making them know how to feel good about themselves. We're teaching them about their heritage, which is so important."

Recently, the board of education and BUILD reached a compromise wherein BUILD was allowed to expand its program into 2 seventh grade classes at Woodlawn.

This decision brought about an abrupt reaction from ultra rightwingers. The Concerned Citizens of the West Side, a predominate Italian-American group, obtained a show cause order in the State Supreme Court asking that BUILD be enjoined from operating the BUILD Academy and classes at Woodlawn Junior High. They further accused BUILD of maintaining and promoting segregation and rejecting integration.

Ironically the board of education approved of a proposal to study decentralization of the city schools. But Mrs. Carol Williams who swung the pivotal vote, later remarked that she misinterpreted the proposal and would vote against decentralization next time, implying that it was the same as busing and integration. Another member of the "Genocide Gang" Carmelo Parlato, equated decentralization and community control with anarchy.

It is quite obvious that white racist educators and politicians in Buffalo are envious of the BUILD Academy and other programs that are in the best interests of black, minority and poor children. The fight won't be easy, but those at the BUILD Academy and their allies in Buffalo are determined to provide institutions that will guarantee black children a first-rate quality education — an ample tool that is a requisite for liberation.

Racist Diamond Dealers

South Africa is the world's biggest producer of gem diamonds. Israel is the world's largest diamond polishing center and the United States is the world's largest gem diamond market.

South Africa's diamond industry, which is dominated by the De Beers Group of E. F. Oppenheimer, produced over \$140 million in exports in 1969. In that year, Israeli exports of polished gem diamonds exceeded \$200 million — the largest foreign currency earner of the Jewish state. The diamond industry is the second largest enterprise in Israel, employing over 15,000 primarily skilled Europeans Jews.

The United States accounts for 60 percent of the world's consumption of gem diamonds. There are over 23,000 retail stores in the United States who sell over \$700 million annually in diamond jewelry. Sales have been on the down-trend as American youth — particularly the new breed of "liberated" women — have become disenchanted with traditional commercialization of marriage.

customs, particularly the purchase of a diamond.

The international diamond production and trade is practically monopolized by the De Beers Group through its Central Selling Organization (CSO) in London. The CSO maintains control over the fragile diamond price structure by its iron-grip on the sales of South African, Namibian (South West African) and Angolan gem diamonds. Zionists fear the exposure of Israeli complicity in South African apartheid.

Many of the major contributors to the United Jewish Appeal and purchasers of Israeli Bonds are big diamond dealers and financiers who have heavily invested in the Israeli and South African economies.

At the recent National Black Convention held in Gary, Indiana, a resolution was adopted calling for the dismantling of the Zionist state of Israel and supporting the African and Palestinian liberation movements. Israeli sympathizers later forced some members of the Congressional Black Caucus to water down the text of the resolution.



MRS. JOHNNIE M. MAYO
CHIEF OFFICER

SISTER JOHNNIE MAYO, CHIEF OFFICER OF BUILD ACADEMY, has been in forefront with racist board of education over community school.

The POINT of PRODUCTION

For much too long those who have worked, those who have toiled in the fields, the mills, and the factories that have built this world have not been those who have benefited.

The truth is sometimes slow in coming, but more and more the men and women who find themselves at the cutting edge, at the point of the production of the food, the clothes, the automobiles, the steel of the world are standing up and asking themselves "What is the point??!!"

Garbage Workers Stage Sick-Out in Galveston

Galveston, Tex. — While international imperialists and their lackeys murder and rape the people and resources of the world, American domestic capitalists continue to lead the world in devising methods to insure their interest.

Recently Galveston city officials went all out to defeat a Union led sick-out by the city's garbage workers. The sick-out was called in protest of the city effort to force a revised retirement program on the employees without their consent.

The Union Local 656 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees affiliated with AFL-CIO was trying to get the proposed 1972-1973 five per cent per employee wage increase to go directly as take home pay. The city, however, wanted 3½ per cent to remain in the city treasury and be considered as the employees contribution to their retirement program. Therefore, only 1½ per cent of the 5 per cent increase would be reflected in take home pay.

To get this scheme over the city went into the home of the employees to get to their wives. They told them that if their husbands did not accept the new plan that he would lose his job.

But the bigger lie came when the city tried to make its proposal look better than the Union's. That was without considering that the Union had called for a study and report of the retirement program by a local university economics professor.

At first glance the city's proposal looks better. But let us add more facts and look again. There are 26 pay periods per year. Subtract the yearly totals and there is a \$75.15 difference. Multiply 26 times \$8.79, which is the employee contribution to the pension plan and the figure is \$228.54, a difference of \$153.40.

The employee knows exactly where his \$22.54 is and how he can get it back.

However, that is only a small part of the issue. Last year the employees contributed \$137 thousand to the city's \$97 thousand. Under that plan employees with yearly incomes less than \$7800 paid 3½ per cent to the pension. Those above paid 3 per cent. The Union says it represents nearly 260 employees who are below the \$7800 per year.

Over 70 per cent of the 600 city

employees in Galveston are Black. The rest are Chicano and white. Under the old plan retired employees could collect full benefits after 25 years of service or reaching 65 years of age. The Union has proposed that that be reduced to 20 years service and 72 years old. The city rejected it.

Full monthly pay is only \$129 to \$134 a month. Average rent in Galveston is \$90 per month. Most retired city workers are forced to get parttime jobs or get on welfare. Less than 19 per cent of the employees reach the maximum retirement plan. Most retire disabled or die from the strenuous work.

Union officials want to wait until the study is completed. Then let the employees have a vote on the plan and go from there.

The city has declined that offer and one for federal mediators to enter into the negotiations. Last year was the only time the city would allow a vote. But they added city employees who were not in the retirement program. The additional 100 plus number distorted the vote of the others to a point that the Union and other employees would not accept it.

Whether the issue will be settled soon to the advantage of the employees is doubtful. The city has announced it may enforce a rule that any employee absent for three consecutive days without permission will be replaced. Galveston does not allow employees to strike — that is why the Union decided on the sick-out.

All other attempts to get through to the city have failed. A letter was sent by registered mail to the City Manager, John Unverforth, inviting him and other city officials to hear the report on the study. Unverforth announced he had not been invited to the meeting.

Union officials question the intent of the city on the entire issue. The city said that is intended to contribute of the 3½ per cent, only enough to make the program viable, and that the high rate of turnovers would automatically save money. The funds saved, the low amount paid out, and the money collected from interest would soon allow the city to cut its contribution to a minimum, if any.

A big question is where is all the money going. Not to the workers is certain.

Harvard Decides to Support Portuguese

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Cambridge, Mass. — Stephen Farber, an administrative assistant to Harvard President Derek Bok, has prepared a 19-page report which takes the position that Gulf Oil's investments in Portuguese held areas of Angola are not, if withdrawn, large enough to bring about any "major change in Portuguese policy."

Harvard University owns 703,000 shares of Gulf stock. Last year, numerous Black students and members of the Pan-African Liberation Committee had a largely supported protest against Harvard's holdings in Gulf. Massachusetts Hall, a key administrative building housing the offices of President Derek Bok, was taken over by students last spring to dramatize their demand for Harvard to divest of its holdings in Gulf. Many demonstrators and their supporters felt that Harvard was, through its holdings, indirectly responsible for the slaughtering of innocent African men, women and children.

However, the Harvard Board of Overseers and President Bok decided to keep its shares of Gulf stock. Instead it sent Stephen Farber on a month-long fact-finding mission to

Portuguese held areas. This was done supposedly to "help determine future actions as a responsible Gulf shareholder."

Farber's report goes to great pains to justify Harvard's continued investment in Gulf. He argues that even if the school were to sell its stock and force a Gulf pullout from Angola, there would probably be no "major change in Portuguese policy."

This line of reasoning ignores the fact that changing Portuguese policy was never an objective. The purpose is to defeat Portugal. The pressure put on Harvard was done with this end in mind.

Farber also maintains that Gulf's total payments to the Angolan government from 1957 to 1972 amounted to 35.6 million. This information is contradicted by reliable and informed sources which point out that Gulf provides from 30-40 percent of Portugal's annual \$220 million colonialist defense budget for maintaining its hold over the territory in Angola. Possibly, Farber didn't want to admit that Gulf spends millions of dollars each year to house, feed, clothe, and equip thousands of the Portuguese soldiers who protect Gulf Oil holdings in Angola.

Harvard's position is made equally clear when Farber calls on the Portuguese Governor — General Rebocho Vaz, to back up his claim that the government's colonial policies would not be changed by Gulf's withdrawal.

However, the Governor-General does indicate how a withdrawal of Gulf would be another step towards the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. The loss of Gulf reviews would present, Governor-General Vaz says "more difficulties in balancing the colony's budget."

This statement reveals two important things: First of all, the Governor-General would not have said "more difficulties and second, that a difficulty in balancing the colony's budget could very well be a key factor in guaranteeing the type of continued internal strife needed to defeat an enemy supported by the western powers.

In any case, it is obvious that Harvard has chosen to both side with Portuguese colonialism and attempt to intellectually justify that decision.

At least through the student protest, Harvard, in this case, has been prevented from running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.

Black Trade Unionists Organize Ongoing National Coalition

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Black trade unionists, reacting to the decision of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to remain neutral in the Presidential campaign, are forming a permanent national organization.

The organization, called for by over 1200 Black union members and leaders at a meeting in Chicago last week, will initially concentrate on registering Black voters.

It has been reported that the organization would be made permanent "to deal with the peculiar problems of the Black trade unionists."

Spokesman for the newly formed group Mr. William Lucy stated, "It's obvious that the AFL-CIO is not doing its job for Black workers. The federation may consider the problems of poor Blacks, but it doesn't understand those problems."

The Chicago meeting elected a five man steering committee to draft a constitution for a group to be called the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The coalition will conduct a membership drive to enlist Black union members throughout the country, Mr. Lucy said. It will also embark on an intensive effort to organize poor Blacks.

There are about 2 million Black members of trade unions. The total number of Blacks in the work force is estimated at 9.8 million.

In addition, certain goals of the new coalition which will deal with matters of particular concern to Black workers were stated. The coalition will play an active role in bringing more Black workers into the trade union movement. It will prepare a "positive" program for raising the percentage of Blacks in construction jobs, a task that has not been adequately performed by the labor federation. The coalition would also serve as a link between the trade union movement and the Black community.



BILL LUCY, OF STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, speaks at Chicago meeting.

Rhodesian Spies

President Kenneth Kaunda told a mass rally in Zambia recently it was necessary to set up a one-party system in Zambia to combat "enemies" in the surrounding white-ruled states. He said recently five Zambians had been caught spying for Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal. Kaunda accused these countries of also stimulating a "rumor mongering" campaign to the effect that savings of private citizens in

Zambia would be confiscated to pay for the building of the Tanzam railway, which is largely being financed by China. Kaunda also spoke of tightening measures against thieves.

By the time the fool has learned the game, the players have dispersed. — African Proverb.



BLACK PEOPLE, LONG TENANTS IN RUN-DOWN AND unkept buildings at ridiculous rents, are beginning to strike back.

Thousands March For Fair Housing Projects

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Washington, D. C.—On Monday, October 16, thousands from around the country met in Washington, D. C. This was not, however, simply another of the mass demonstrations which have become a common occurrence in the nation's capital. The march was directed against the controllers of the country's money — the Office of Management and Budget.

The demonstrators were those who illustrate a major contradiction in American society. They were the dwellers of urban America, the National Tenants Organization — those forced to live in slum housing because ghettos are profitable. They were Blacks caught in the double trap of being forced into poor housing and then of being punished for being there.

The decrepit housing conditions of Blacks in America is no secret to anyone with eyes. It is not surprising then, that tenants, like prisoners, welfare mothers, students, indeed, all facets of Black society, are fighting the contradictions that are the realities in the so-called "land of the free." The existence of slums and the oppressive relationship between landlord and tenants is the same throughout for Blacks in America. Despite the fact that Blacks receive no services, and no maintenance for the sub-standard housing, they are expected to pay rent. For the landlords who live and breathe the profit-making doctrine of American society, the situation is ideal. Landlords receive something for nothing. They demand rent, yet provide no property upkeep services, nor property repair for residents.

A typical example of the conditions which resulted in O. M. B. day march can be seen in the nation's capital — the model of the American way.

In 1969, public housing tenants began a rent strike against D. C.'s National Capital Housing Authority to protest its failure to provide adequate maintenance services. At that time, the purpose of the strike was to force N. C. H. A. to

upgrade the standards of its properties. Shortly after the strike, NCHA admitted that it bordered on bankruptcy. It had a deficit of eight million dollars. However, National Capital Housing Authority's bankruptcy was not completely the result of the strike. In a September, 1972 meeting called by striking D. C. tenants, Mr. Banks, director of NCHA, admitted that even if tenants had paid all of the rent they withheld, NCHA would still be unable to provide adequate housing maintenance.

Why was NCHA unable to do its job of maintaining public housing? The answer is again to be found in the tactics and attitudes of America toward the Black and poor. The national agency, Housing and Urban Development, controls NCHA's money. For the past years HUD has been cutting NCHA's funds. In a meeting at the HUD building in Washington, D. C. this past September, a HUD assistant director admitted that the cutting of NCHA funds was a form of punishment given to NCHA because it had not performed its maintenance duties. As YOBU tenant worker, Terry Day, explained: "If the reason NCHA cannot provide adequate maintenance is because of lack of funds and HUD further cuts NCHA's money, then HUD perpetuates the problems by making NCHA even more unproductive."

In the 1973 Fiscal Budget HUD will cut NCHA's budget from 14.6 million to 10 million dollars.

Despite the confession of Mr. Banks, NCHA's director, that the payment of back rent would not solve his problems, he still claims that he will provide no services until he has received the 2 million dollars tenants owe. In order to obtain this money, NCHA used the tactic of mass blackmail. NCHA threatened the eviction of 4,000 tenants. Beginning in 1970, NCHA took tenants to court for non-payment of rent. The response of the tenants was a logical one. They received no services and therefore felt that

LOS ANGELES, Cal. (AANS) — The state's new plan of using a computer to audit alleged cases of welfare fraud has been described as a "lot of mess" and a project aimed at gaining political ground for Gov. Ronald Reagan by a welfare rights representative.

Mrs. Catherine Jermamy, the western regional representative of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), also reported that the plan was being enacted in such a way as to take an unappropriately heavy toll on the state's minority of Black recipients.

The new plan, called the Income Clearance System, uses the state's Human Resources Development agency (HRD) to match reported income through outside work with check stub receipts. Spokesmen for the HRD have claimed that over \$40 million fraud in the Aid for Dependent Children program alone has already been uncovered.

However, Mrs. Jermamy pointed out in a telephone

interview that the entire system was miscalculated. According to the Los Angeles resident, since paychecks are usually issued bi-weekly and income reported monthly, there is always at least one week of pay missed by monthly reports.

"That doesn't indicate fraud," she said, "that means it's just two different ways of reporting the information."

The most tragic thing, she reported, was that in "499 of every 500 cases," eliminations were only temporary.

Mrs. Jermamy said that this new action was part of an overall plan to distort the realities and actions of welfare activity in the state. She pointed out, for example, that although many reports implicated Black welfare recipients as the principal problem, most of the welfare recipients in the state — at least 60 per cent — were white.

She said that because the Black welfare recipients, who are by and large concentrated in three of the state's 58 counties, were the most vocal and most active organizers, they were receiving the brunt of the punishment.

As examples, Mrs. Jermamy told of many instances where women are still forced to track down delinquent fathers and sign criminal complaints against them before getting on welfare, even though such

prerequisites have been forbidden by federal law since 1970.

She also stated that many times, women in rural areas, with many children, no babysitters and no transportation, are being eliminated from welfare roles because they cannot report to register for work.

Mrs. Jermamy revealed that her group had proposed a more constructive approach to the welfare problem through establishment of adequate training and creation of jobs. She said most of the recipients, contrary to popular notion, wanted to get off welfare, and go to work "to reach their maximum potential of self-support."

But rather than programs of child care, family planning assistance and training, as had been proposed by the group over the past two years, the Reagan administration, in order to "make the figures look good," had instituted the current plan.

"It's just a lot of mess," she said. "They're taking some statistics and twisting them around and trying to say that people are committing fraud when in fact they are not."

"If the welfare department and the HRD center's figures don't match, then you can't call that fraud," she explained. That means, you fire some of your staff."

Food Stamp Denial

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Washington, D. C.—The United States food stamp program, a carry-over from the days of the depression, is not operational for poor Black people. Requirements for eligibility cut out most poor people. Today's recipients must meet most of the following requirements to get the food stamps: they must work for low wages, must be either employed part-time or unemployed, must be on welfare, get a small social security or some other kind of pension check, must live in a city or county that has a food stamp program and finally in most cases, must cook food at home. Folks who need stamps must also register for employment before they receive aid.

Apply this situation to countless other cities of America and the reason and rational for OMB day is obviously clear.

Despite the fact that official administrators claim they have developed a "new formula" to provide for public housing, no money has been committed to the program. The spokesmen for HUD and OMB refused to do anything about the question of deferred maintenance. However, the organization of tenants provides a force with which the landlords and their lackies must deal. The National Tenants Organization will continue its push for public housing subsidy and adequate housing maintenance. Tenants have proved themselves unwilling to accept oppressive living conditions any longer. Indeed, if the limits of tyrants are prescribed, by the endurance of those whom they oppress, then the day of the landlord may soon end.

Secondly, persons out on strike needing supplemental food assistance are also required to register for work. This means that low paid workers will not be able to challenge the owners of large and small businesses for better working

conditions. The government and owners of production would continue to starve workers and force them to accept unjust working conditions. The government would always use repressive measures such as refusal of food stamps whenever strikes occurred. Those hurt most would be the poor and strikes would be made ineffective.

The Agriculture Department sells food coupons to recipients who may buy all or part of the coupons. They are taxed for stamps according to net monthly income and family size. The income limits are worked out by the State and approved by USDA. Most of the recipients cannot afford to pay for all or part of the stamps out of the meager assistance they receive. Even though the flat grant method of paying welfare recipients has been instituted, recipients have to pay the same amount now as they did when they were receiving more money. Thus, the same amount for stamps will be coming out of smaller checks.

Furthermore, the government does not allow people with food stamps to purchase goods from other countries in order to make sure the monies are used to support the American economy. Also, with food stamps, needed household items cannot be purchased. Soap, toilet tissue, disposal diapers, etc., cannot be bought with stamps, regardless of the fact that recipients have paid money for the food stamps.

The majority of the workers in this country cannot afford the high cost of food, as well as the total cost of living. The high food cost coupled with the low food supplements on the part of the Federal government are creating increased anger on the part of the people. Frustrations will continue to mount as the poor get poorer and the contradictions within this so-called rich society continue to rise.

Nothing is
Permanent
But Change

More Than "White News"

As the 1972 presidential campaign proceeds to its logical conclusion, more and more information hits the street every day (particularly in the Washington Post) about the nature of both candidates and of this government in general. We have recently included in the AFRICAN WORLD several articles ("Nobel for Nixon", for instance) that may seem, like the Nixon Scandals, like "white" news to some readers, seemingly unrelated to our major purpose of reporting, analysing, and furthering the African Revolution.

We feel, however, that incidents such as the Watergate Bugging and the Republican Party's more adventurous schemes recently revealed are of tremendous long range significance to our people in this country.

The Watergate Bugging incident was the first major revelation of extra-legal campaign techniques on the part of the Government-Republican apparatus. In its wake came more disclosures about funny money in the "4 More Years" campaign - \$50,000 checks on the golf course, suitcases full of money coming from Mexico, ex-CIA'ers-turned-White House aides-turned burglars, etc. And try as he might, George McGovern couldn't provoke the slightest flicker of outrage from Middle America on a scandal that would have ruined many past American presidents.

Nixon, of course, was shrewd enough to know that his people would not be too upset. That is why he could afford to risk being caught - no one cared much anyhow.

But it soon became apparent that Watergate was just the beginning. The Washington Post has revealed that, among other things, John Mitchell was in control of a one million dollar kitty to be used to smear, infiltrate, and discredit Democratic candidates.

Now, as far as we are concerned, the Democrats have been bankrupt and discredited for some time now. But, two things about this situation are significant: first, the methods Nixon employed - forged letters to the press - provocation designed to cause dissension among the Democrats - deliberately provoked confrontation with policemen - have all been used against Black organizations before, but never on so large a scale.

If the United States Government would do that to its rival-brother party, imagine what they have done and will do to our political movements. The second point is no more surprising, nor less significant, than the first: the vast majority of Americans are not the least disturbed by the tactics used by Nixon. Again, if they don't care about Humphrey, Muskie, or McGovern - how fast will they jump to our defense??

We should be aware of the growing fascist character of this country - the naked unity of business, government, and political party - the tolerance of the average Euro-American. The Committee To Re-elect the President has not used any new tactics, but quantitatively their scope, arrogance, and cunning are staggering.

The tactics of the American ruling class - politicians, and the apathy of the average American are cold reminders to Black people that we must build organizations tightly and competently; and that our struggle can expect to receive little or no support within this country outside our communities - that our victory must be hard fought and self-made.

THE STRUGGLE IN PERSPECTIVE

by NELSON N JOHNSON
YOBU National Chairman

What Happened to the "Revolution"?

Several years ago the college campuses of this country were ablaze with revolutionary fervor, or at least what many people thought was revolutionary fervor. Growing out of the earlier civil rights activities of the sixties, Black students were at the "media" forefront of a drive to revolutionize this society. Unlearned in the science of revolution, charged by a combination of repression, idealism, and youthful energies, Black students set out to bring America to her knees.

While the idea and the motive of the thrust was well intended for the most part, there was a tremendous lack of understanding of the real ways of the world. The rapid rate of blackening and revolutionizing everything, the notion that the U.S. was up against the wall and the belief that a copy of Mao's Red Book, a hand gun and a loud line would finish her off, were soon to give way to a more sober reality.

In fact, the twin strategy of cooptation and repression were employed with such skill that many young Black youth were dazzled at what happened. The question that we should all ask ourselves is what did happen? Where are things now and what should Black youth be doing?

In retrospect, the activities of 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1970 were an expression of the anger and displeasure of the people. What was not so clearly expressed was the values of the people, ultimately, the values of the people are what they believe about themselves; their fundamental conception of right and wrong is the force that determines whether a people can sustain themselves in the face of stiff opposition.

The tragedy of building take-overs, confrontations, and shouting sessions was that they gave the illusion of power but never processed the internal values and discipline to withstand and organize systematic opposition. The student or campus movement is what Chairman Mao refers to as a

"paper tiger." As a result of our activities in the late sixties, Black youth and students find themselves either coopted or repressed out of business. For some, the Agnew-Nixon inflamed repression which began a couple of years ago caused them to be literally wiped out - shot and killed. While some were being killed, a few other Blacks (not unlike the Black election year run-boys of the democratic and republican parties) were around to pretend that everything was finally opening up for the race.

The do-your-own-thingism, degenerate practices and customs of the white culture began to penetrate our communities more and more under the banner of integration. So, today the youth movement, like the revolutionary struggle of Black people all over the country, is scattered, confused and disorganized.

With many of our brave brothers locked up or killed and others wiped out by integration, dope, poverty programs, public administration positions, or Black studies jobs, the question of what to do is again raised.

With the idea of an instant revolution shattered, with the romanticism of Africa gone, with our Blacker-than-thou egos deflated, we can find the hope of building a movement on a solid foundation.

Realizing that there are no magic solutions or pleasure routes to our revolutionary objective, we can undertake the painstaking steps of building viable institutions and organizations.

This time we must not downplay values. In fact, our institutions should have those values of sharing and basic dignity at its core. Our institutions should sustain us in the decay and corruption of present day America. We must not allow ourselves to become infested with the corruption of the dominant society. We must maintain our cultural identity and dignity amidst the Watergates and other corruptive practices in America.

For Black youth, students and non-students alike now is the time to build a solid organization and a principled unity, all rooted in fundamentally different values from our oppressors.

Third Year

With this issue THE AFRICAN WORLD begins its third year of publication. We feel that we have come a long way since the first issue of what was then the SOBU Newsletter appeared in October, 1970. Hopefully you, too, have seen progress in both the format and the content of this paper. YOBU is dedicated to the task of doing all that is humanly possible to bring to our readers relevant news from the entire "African World." And if we are to be successful, we must have greater support from those who feel that the paper is valuable and needed. Because of the uncompromising stance we have taken on many matters of principle only a very limited amount of resources have been available to the paper. Thus, we take this opportunity to appeal to our readers to help us keep the paper going and growing. You can help by encouraging your friends to subscribe and by helping us to reach other possible sources of financial support-for instance, getting schools, bookstores, and organizations to subscribe in bulk.

Our readers can also be of valuable assistance to us by sending in news articles or by giving us tips concerning possible stories. With the help of African people throughout the world we hope to continue to serve the interests of the worldwide African Revolution.



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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



Judge Martin Wilmington Nine Given Long Prison Sentences

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Burgaw, N. C. — On October 17, the jury in Burgaw, N. C. delivered the predictable verdict in the case of nine Black men facing charges stemming out of the Wilmington, N. C. "rebellions." After six weeks of testimony it took the jury of ten whites and two Blacks less than 90 minutes to bring back a verdict of "All defendants guilty on all charges." Previous issues of the AFRICAN WORLD have documented the intensive and fanatical efforts on the part of the state of North Carolina to jail Rev. Chavis and young members of his church in Wilmington.

The nine brothers, all under the age of twenty-two, except Chavis who is only 24, were convicted on the charges of "burning property with an incendiary device" and "conspiracy to assault emergency personnel." The charges arose out of violence in Wilmington which has continued sporadically for nearly two years. The situation had been touched off when Wilmington officials sought to suppress Black student dissent in the racist public school system of Wilmington. Violence quickly spread to the Black community as white vigilantes, with little hindrance from the police, conducted numerous shooting raids into Black neighborhoods. Several people, Black and white, have been killed during the months of white-led violence.

When the specially-imported judge, Robert Martin, issued the sentence of 29-34 years for Ben Chavis and 23-31 years for the other defendants, he ended one of the most political trials in recent North Carolina history. At the conclusion of the trial, one of the many Black people who had come from throughout the state to attend commented, "The judge was probably the most prominent state's witness."

Toward the end of the marathon trial, the prosecution and judge used nearly every underhanded tactic known to "white justice." On Monday, October 16, the prosecutor took approximately seven hours to present his weak summation of the case. He constantly played upon the emotions and prejudices of the jurors. At times,

when he wanted to thoroughly amuse the ten white jurors, he would use the word "cracker" loud and clear as if he were speaking in the words of the defendants. In reference to an unrelated incident in which whites fired into a Black church and the defendants allegedly returned some of the gun fire, he said, "If Ben Chavis would shoot a gun from inside a church surely he would commit these other acts." He did not mention the vicious capabilities of white police forces who would conduct an armed attack upon a church.

Playing upon the deep-seated white belief that most Black people are naive and politically unaware, he asked how could Black youth talk about things like "imperialism" and "bourgeois aspirations" if they were not under the evil influence of men like Rev. Chavis. The prosecutor probably revealed the true nature of the state's efforts when, at one point after talking for several hours, he stopped, looked at the clock, and braggingly asked, "Have I set a new record yet?" Indeed, he will probably get a raise, a promotion, and a special pat on the back from the governor for his efforts.

In attendance on the Monday the state's prosecutor was delivering his marathon summation, were members of the North Carolina Black Assembly. The newly-formed assembly, responding to one of the state's most blatant cases of courtroom lynchings committed itself to actively involving itself in the Wilmington cases. The seriousness and ability of the assembly was evidenced by the bus and car loads of assembly members who attended trial sessions on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

But if the prosecutor proved himself to be a true representative of American justice, the judge rivaled him for sheer blatant bias. On the next day (Oct. 17), he took nearly seven hours to deliver a rambling, incomprehensible charge to the jury. On numerous occasions he had to be corrected by the lawyers for sheer factual errors. He revealed that he had little or no grasp of the evidence that had been presented as he rambled from one incident to another with absolutely no chronological order whatsoever. The day before, he had given

UNITED NATIONS REPORT

by Winston Berry (AWA)

The Ugandan Crisis Was Made in Britain

United Nations (AWA) — Gen. Idi Amin, in expelling the 55,000 Asians from Uganda, has come up against British resentment. He was supported by Britain when he ousted Pres. Milton Obote from office in a coup during January, 1971. When he halted the nationalization of industries that Obote had initiated in his socialist program, the British again nodded their approval.

But now, in expelling the Asians (who are legally British citizens), he has unwittingly challenged Britain's two-class citizenship — one for whites and

the other for non-whites.

Speaking for Britain, here before the United Nations General Assembly, Sir Alec Douglas-Home squealed in anguish when he denounced Amin's decision to give the Asians 90 days in which to leave.

"This is an outrage against standards of human decency, in the face of which this assembly cannot remain silent," Sir Alec cried. "These Asians had their homes in Uganda, some of them for generations. They are now being ejected and stripped of their belongings and their savings accumulated over many years.

"The government of Uganda is responsible for the proper treatment of those who have lived in that country for many years, and putting them into 'camps' is contrary to all accepted standards of civilized behavior."

Sir Alec insisted on calling those selected for expulsion "Ugandan Asians," when in fact they were "British-Asians," as the Africans here have pointed out.

They were brought to Uganda toward the end of the last century as laborers in the construction of the Kampala-to-Mombasa railway. Even then they were given the status of "British subjects," while the Ugandans were called "British-protected persons."

There were 2000 Asians in Uganda by 1900. Practically all of the Ugandan trade and commerce was in their hands. Since then the Asian community has grown to 65,000. They became the means by which the British kept the Ugandans out of the economic life of the country — except as producers of the raw materials.

In 1972 the Asians controlled 90 per cent of Ugandan trade and commerce. This, is a country of 10 million, was bound to attract an unfavorable reaction.

Nor was Amin's action the first time Uganda took note of its Asians and their questionable role. "The pressure among Africans became so great that in 1946 and 1947 there were serious riots in my country in protest against this British policy of systematically keeping the Africans out of the economic life of the country," Ambassador Grace S. Ibingira told the Assembly.

And how did the British react to these signs of discontent? Mr. Ibingira said the British, "instead of looking at the root of the problem, reacted by imprisoning the leaders of the riots and suppressing their activities."

Again in 1959, an African boycott of Asian businesses, Mr. Ibingira pointed out, "almost paralyzed the economic life of the country." In 14 years the British (who were colonial administrators in 1959) had learned nothing, just as in 1946, when they locked up the leaders

Bond has been set for the defendants pending an appeal of the case. But the forces of repression won court battle number one and it is likely they will be even more "pepped up" to continue the railroad effort in the appeal case.

of the boycott and suppressed their activities.

When independence came on Oct. 9, 1962, the 65,000 Asians in Uganda were given the opportunity to declare Uganda citizenship. However, only 10,000 became citizens, while the overwhelming majority insisted upon clinging to their British passports.

Pandit Nehru, who was the Indian prime minister at that time, and his daughter, the present prime minister, Indira Gandhi, "urged these British nationals to identify themselves with the country of their habitual residence, Mr. Ibingira recalled.

Typical of the African reaction to Uganda's moves to take over control of its trade and commerce was the statement from Nigeria. Foreign minister, Dr. Okoi Arikpo, told reporters that Britain's move to bring the Ugandan Asian affair to the UN was not "helpful," since it was an internal matter. Dr. Arikpo granted Uganda full rights to take steps to control her economy, although he might not agree with the method employed (he was referring to the 90-day ultimatum and some of the mechanics of the exodus). But he made it plain that he favored the right of the government to act, and thought it was moving in the right direction.

Sir Alec should recognize that the plight of the hapless Asians is one more responsibility of British imperialism and colonialism. They brought the Asians to Africa, they reaped the benefits of the Asians' activity. Through a racist approach to the Africans, the British encouraged the Asians to retain British citizenship rather than accept a citizenship of the land of their birth.

What Uganda's action amounts to is the rejection of a time bomb left by the British, and the British are treating it like a hot potato. But the Ugandan Asian crisis was made in Britain by British policies, and it will have to live with the results.

The Wealth Of Africa

United Nations (AWA) — The deteriorating condition of the environment remains a pressing concern to many people in the developing and developed world. The drive towards greater industrialization has resulted in increased levels of poison, endangering large areas of the globe.

In his address to the General Assembly, the foreign minister of Zaire, Karl-i-Bond Nguza, made an interesting assessment of the significance of increased industrialization for the West and for Africa:

"We know that in your super industrialized societies, you have works of art constituted by your monuments, your cathedrals, your castles. We say that we have our own monuments, which are masterpieces of nature. These are our rivers, our mountains, our volcanoes, our lakes, our plains, our animals. We say that in view of the degree of pollution of industrial societies, we might one day become the last refuge of natural nature."

Identity and Dignity in Struggle

The speech made by Brother Amílcar Cabral upon the acceptance of the honorary degree awarded him by Lincoln University. The speech entitled "Identity and Dignity In the Context of the National Liberation Struggle." What follows are the introduction and Part I. THE AFRICAN WORLD is grateful to Brothers Cabral and Gil Fernandez of PAIGC for making a written version available to the Lincoln YOBU unit.

INTRODUCTION

The people's struggle for national liberation and independence from imperialist rule has become a driving force of progress for humanity and undoubtedly constitutes one of the essential characteristics of contemporary history.

An objective analysis of imperialism in so far as it is a fact or a "natural" historical phenomenon, indeed "necessary" in the context of the type of economic-political evolution of an important part of humanity, reveals that imperialist rule, with all its train of wretchedness, of pillage, of crime and of destruction of human and cultural values, was not just a negative reality. The vast accumulation of capital in half a dozen countries of the northern hemisphere which was the result of piracy, of the confiscation of the property of other races and of the ruthless exploitation of the work of these peoples will not only lead to the monopolization of colonies, the division of the world, and imperialist rule.

In the rich countries imperialist capital, constantly seeking to enlarge itself, increased the creative capacity of man and brought about a total transformation of the means of production thanks to the rapid progress of science, of techniques and of technology. This accentuated the pooling of labour and brought about the ascension of huge areas of population. In the colonial countries where colonization on the whole blocked the historical progress of the development of the subjected peoples or else changed them radically in the name of progress, imperialist capital imposed new types of relationships on indigenous society, the structure of which became more complex and it stirred up, fomented, poisoned

or resolved contradictions and social conflicts; it introduced together with money and the development of internal and external markets, new elements in the economy; it brought about the birth of new nations from human groups or from peoples who were at different stages of historical development.

It is not to defend imperialist domination to recognize that it gave new nations to the world, the dimensions of which it reduced and that it revealed new stages of development in human societies and in spite of or because of the prejudices, the discrimination and the crimes which it occasioned, it contributed to a deeper knowledge of humanity as an entirety, as a unity in the complex diversity of the characteristics of its development.

Imperialist rule on many continents favored a multilateral and progressive (sometimes abrupt) confrontation not only between different men but also between different societies. The practice of imperialist rule — its affirmation or its negation — demanded (and still demands a more or less accurate knowledge of the society it rules and of the historical reality (both economic, social, and cultural) in the middle of which it exists. This knowledge is necessarily expressed in terms of comparison with the dominating subject and with its own historical reality. Such a knowledge is a vital necessity in the practice of imperialist rule which results in the confrontation, mostly violent, between two identities which are totally dissimilar in their historical past and hostile in their different functions. The search of such a knowledge contributed to a general enrichment of human and social knowledge in spite of the fact that it was one sided, subjective, and very often unjust.

In fact man has never shown as much interest in the understanding of other men and other societies as during this century of imperialist domination. An unprecedented mass of information, of hypotheses and theories has been built up, notably in the fields of history, ethnology, ethnography, sociology, and culture concerning people or groups brought under imperialist domination. The concepts of race, caste, ethnicity, tribe, nation, culture,

identity, dignity, and many other factors have become the object of increasing attention from those who study men and the societies described as "primitive" or "evolving."

More recently, with the rise of liberation movements, the need has arisen to analyze the character of these societies in the list of the struggle they are waging, and to decide the factors which launch or hold back this struggle. The researchers are generally agreed that in this context culture shows special significance. So one can argue that any attempt to clarify the true role of culture in the development of the (pre-independence) liberation movement can make a useful contribution to the broad struggle of the people against imperialist domination.

In this short lecture, we consider particularly the problems of the "return to the source," and of identity and dignity in the context of the national liberation movement.

One might go as far as to suggest that culture is one means of collecting together as a group. Indeed one weapon in the struggle for independence.

PART I

The fact that independence movements are generally marked, even in their early stages, by an upsurge of cultural activity has led to the view that such movements are preceded by a "cultural renaissance" of the subject people. One might go as far as to suggest that culture is one means of collecting together a group, indeed one weapon in the struggle for independence.

From the experience of our own struggle and one might say that of the whole of Africa, we consider that there is too limited, even a mistaken idea of the vital role of culture in the development of the liberation movement. In our view this arises from a fake generalization of a phenomenon which is real but limited which is at a particular level in the vertical structure of colonized societies — at the level of the elite or the colonial diasporas. This generalization is unaware of or



CABRAL EMBRACES A YOUNG MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA chapter of the Congress of Africa People after the youth presented funds to PAIGC from the group. (YOBU Photo)

ignores the vital element of the problem: the indestructible character of the cultural resistance of the masses of the people when confronted with foreign domination.

Certainly imperialist domination calls for cultural oppression and attempts either directly or indirectly to do away with the most important elements of the culture of the subject people. But the people are only able to create and develop the liberation movement because they keep their culture alive despite continual and organized repression of their cultural life and because they continue to resist culturally even when their politico-military resistance is destroyed. And it is cultural resistance which, at a given moment, can take on new forms (politics, economics, army) to fight foreign domination.

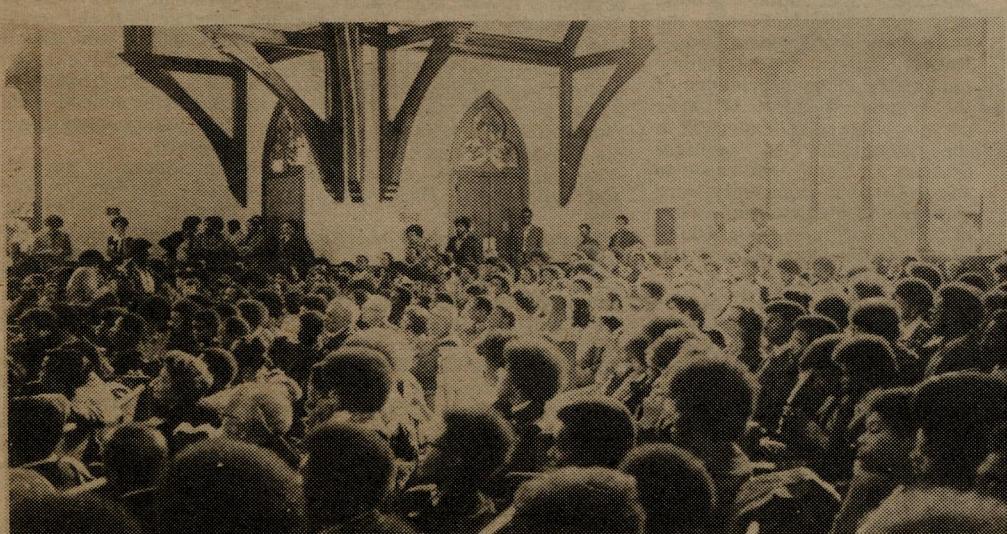
With certain exceptions, the period of colonization was not long enough, at least in Africa, for there to be a significant degree of destruction or damage of the most important facets of the culture and traditions of the subject people. Colonial experience of imperialist domination in Africa (genocide, racial segregation and apartheid excepted) shows that the only so-called positive solution which the colonial power put forward to repudiate the subject people's cultural resistance was "assimilation." But the complete failure of the policy of "progressive assimilation" of native populations is the living proof both of the falsehood of this theory and of the capacity of subject people to resist. As far as the Portuguese colonies are concerned the maximum number of people assimilated was 0.03 percent of the total population (in Guinea) and this was after 500 years of civilizing

influence and half a century of "colonial peace."

On the other hand, even in the settlements where the overwhelming majority of the population are indigenous peoples of the area occupied by the colonial power and especially the area of cultural influence is usually restricted to coastal strips and to a few limited parts in the interior. Outside the boundaries of the capital and other urban centers it only leaves its mark at the very top of the colonial social pyramid — which created colonialism itself — and particularly it influences what one might call the "indigenous lower middle class" and a very small number of workers in urban areas. The influence of the colonial power's culture is almost nil.

It can thus be seen that the masses in the rural areas, like a large section of the urban population, say, in all, over 99 percent of the indigenous population are untouched or almost untouched by the culture of the colonial power. This situation is partly the result of the necessarily obscurantist character of the imperialist domination, which while it despises and suppresses indigenous culture takes no interest in promoting culture for the masses who are their pool of manpower for forced labor and the main object of exploitation. It is also the result of the effectiveness of cultural resistance of the people, who when they are subjected to political domination and economic exploitation find that their own culture acts as a bulwark in preserving their identity where the indigenous society has a vertical structure, this defense of their cultural heritage is

(cont'd on pg. 14)



CABRAL AND PAIGC WERE HONORED IN THE CHAPEL ON THE CAMPUS AT LINCOLN. Between 500-600 people filled the auditorium. (YOBU Photo)

Guinea-Bissau Struggle Recognized as

Cabral and PAIGC Honored

(cont'd from pg. 1)

for you here, our brothers and sisters..."

Cabral continued to emphasize the importance of the PAIGC to the struggle for the liberation of Guinea-Bissau from Portuguese rule: "In our country, we don't believe in the capacity of one man to liberate his country. It is the job of all the people — and naturally, among these people there is a vanguard. The vanguard is our African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

"What we are doing has been possible because our people understand very well their own interests, and because our cadres — the principal militants of our fight, have been able to do their job — to accomplish their duty facing history."

Cabral then introduced two comrades from the PAIGC who accompanied him on the historic occasion, and greeted representatives of the governments of Senegal and Tanzania, saying, "We are really very encouraged in our fight by the help — the support — given to us by our African brothers."

The leader of Guinea-Bissau's revolutionary party then delivered a prepared speech entitled "Identity and Dignity in the Context of the National Liberation Struggle." (The text of Brother Cabral's speech appears elsewhere in the AFRICAN WORLD).

Next to speak was Congressman Charles Diggs. He, too, touched on the recurring theme of the day — that it was the People of Guinea-Bissau who were in fact being honored. About them he said, "In the face of seemingly invincible odds they are engaged in a liberation movement which is serving as such an inspiration for all the independent movements of white-ruled Africa as it now surges toward victory. "The bulk of Bro. Diggs' speech was devoted to a discussion and condemnation of the U. S. racist-support-ins, imperialist policy in Africa. About the ability of Africans in America to change U. S. policy toward Africa Diggs said, "Black

Americans can be a vital part of the struggle against colonialism in Africa, because as 25 million strong, we should see to it that U. S. foreign policy stops underwriting colonialism in Africa."

The same people who oppose the liberation of Black people right here at home support colonial repression abroad, Diggs continued. He also spoke briefly about the visit to Guinea-Bissau last year by 3 members of a special mission of the UN Special Committee on Colonialization, the visitors saw the work of PAIGC in building school and hospitals and otherwise engaging in the social reconstruction of their liberated zones. The Black chairman of the U. S. House Sub-Committee on Africa ended on an optimistic note. He said that each time a man or woman stood up and resisted domination, as in the case of the brothers and sisters of the PAIGC, "he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope — a current — that in so many instances has swept down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

The last speech of the day was made by Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu Mkuu of Malcolm X Liberation University, and Co-Chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee. After greeting Brother Cabral and the guests gathered there, he surprised the audience by saying there was both a positive and negative aspect to the award being presented. He continued, "It is incumbent on all of us to be aware of the negatives at the same time we congratulate ourselves on the positives." His meaning soon became clear: "If Lincoln University gives Amilcar Cabral a Doctorate Degree today and then on career day you invite Gulf Oil to your campus or Dow Chemical Company, or Polaroid, then as far as I am concerned, the degree to Brother Cabral becomes a hypocritical gesture."

Sadaukai continued by blasting the U. S. for giving direct and indirect aid to Portugal in its colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and for its continued genocidal war in Vietnam. So



AMONG THOSE SEATED WITH BROTHER CABRAL DURING PRESS CONFERENCE were: Owusu Sadaukai, Imamu Baraka, and Mark Smith, YOBU Vice-Chairman. (YOBU Photo)

despite the somewhat "liberal" nature of some internal American policies, "the little things they allow us to do become a joke in comparison to their real program. It is therefore our responsibility to expose this hypocrisy at every turn," he said.

Brother Owusu said, however, that exposing the U. S. must be accompanied by "ongoing and programmatic support" for the PAIGC and revolutionary organizations struggling for freedom in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa as well. In this connection he suggested for such action several things: a "sizeable monetary contribution," donating medicine and other material necessities and demanding that representatives of such companies as Gulf Oil be expelled from Black College campuses. But ultimately, Sadaukai said, "our major contribution may be in our ability to heighten the struggle against racism and imperialism in this country, and our ability to link up this struggle with the one that Brother Cabral's people are now waging in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands."

MXLU's Mwalimu Mkuu then outlined to the enthusiastic audience several tangible steps for Lincoln University to take and in concluding, Sadaukai addressed Cabral and the other representatives of the PAIGC saying, "we say to you, 'Luta Continua'; we say to you 'Viva PAIGC'; we say to you 'Venceremos,' and we say to our brothers and sisters from here — we shall struggle, we shall win, and long live the African Revolution!"

Following Bro. Owusu's speech three presentations were made to Bro. Cabral; Matt Thompson, president of the Lincoln Student Government, Richard Traylor of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Congress of African People and Sadaukai presented contributions to the PAIGC on behalf of their respective organizations.

At a press conference following the award ceremony, Cabral announced the completion of elections for the National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau.

In response to a question from an African diplomat present, Cabral stated that admission to the U. N. was not an immediate priority for the PAIGC. The National Assembly has to meet, be explained, and then his party is first interested in recognition from African governments.

The entire convocation whose details were handled by the Student Government and various fraternities and sororities in cooperation with the Lincoln campus unit of YOBU, was impressive in its display at international solidarity and dedication. Beyond the granting of an honorary degree, October 15th, in the woods of Pennsylvania, Pan-Africanism was in action.



OWUSU SADAUKAI PRESENTS BROTHER CABRAL A CHECK FOR \$2,200 ON BEHALF OF the Boston Branch of The African Liberation Support Committee. (YOBU Photo)



UPON RECEIVING THE DEGREE CABRAL SAID, "I ACCEPT THIS HONOR FOR THE PEOPLE of my country-our fighters." (YOBU Photo)

WNJR Radio Points Up

Realities of Community Control

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD

by Thurman White

"There is a clearer feeling in Newark, than any other city I have ever been in, of Colonialism. Newark is a colony. A bankrupt ugly colony, in the classic term, where white people make their money to take away with them."

Imamu Amiri Baraka

Newark, N. J. Recent events in Newark, N. J. concerning radio station WNJR and its format change in community affairs programming have stirred much controversy in this city. And while a large number of Black and Borriquen people in Newark have protested and are continuing to protest this blatantly racist rip-off of generally positive community-oriented programs from the radio airwaves, many people in the community have failed to see the specific connection between this recent controversy and the quality of life in general in Newark. Despite the unprecedented effort of Newark's non-white community towards achieving self-determination in 1970 by electing a Black Mayor and three Black city councilmen, to this day, 1972, no fundamental power relationships have been altered in this city—Blacks and Borriquens remain, essentially, powerless in Newark. The vacant lots, the wretched housing conditions, the staggering unemployment, the poverty in the eyes of the children-future of our nation, the increasing number of junkies, the racist police and their brutality, the poor quality of education in the city's schools, the withholding of the more than \$5.6 million appropriation for the city's Model Cities program, and finally, the dropping of the community's programs from the WNJR format, all testify to this sobering reality.

Fundamentally, the point is that the inherent contradictions of racial and class exploitation and oppression of Africans throughout the world render the modicum of political power Blacks have achieved in this city meaningless. And if history is any indication, this will remain the case. The implications are clear: Black people in Newark and the other "Newarks" of America can, on

the basis of their numbers alone, gain some limited degree of political control over certain

institutions within their communities. But in the context of American capitalism and racial oppression, what does this political control mean without the necessary economic and social transformation that is essential to the development of institutions and programs to serve the real needs of people of African descent in this country???

Indeed, a look at the recent controversy over community radio programming in Newark gives us an insight into this fundamental contradiction.

On September 11, 1972 radio station WNJR announced that henceforth it was "changing (sic) its community affairs programming format," removing all previous community-oriented programs from the air and replacing them with a one-hour "community-oriented program, "Fact and Opinion," Monday - Thursday evenings. WNJR is currently managed by a three-man interim board of directors —two Blacks and one

white. The station manager is white. The decision for changing the community affairs programming format was highly arbitrary and to date, the station's management has not offered the Newark community any explanation as to why the change has been made, though one Black member of the station's interim board, Dr. John Alexander, has sided with the community and supported its protests.

Organizations and programs affected by the format change include the NAACP, the Newark Senior Citizens Council, African Free School, Newark School, Central Ward Civic Association, the New

These organizations have spearheaded the community's protests against the radio station's programming changes which have included mass demonstrations, and picketing at the radio station in Union, New Jersey (FCC guidelines state that a radio station must broadcast over 50 percent of its programs from the city of its license. WNJR is licensed in Newark, a predominately non-white city, yet the station is located in Union, a predominately white suburb, in clear violation of the guidelines!); at the home of William Rolley, the white station manager of WNJR; and at the corporate offices of Frank Hubert, the

In an advertisement placed in the local daily, The Newark Star-Ledger, the community organizations had this to say about the rip-off of their programs:

"...WNJR and stations like it feed our communities and our children monotonous music, skimpy news, and very little relevant programming. The only thing our children can aspire to are songs about drugs, getting high, abnormal love affairs, with nothing about what's going on and what needs to be done to better our community.....

We are protesting not only against racism and racism involved with removing all

UMBASI

gation of the apparent discriminatory practices of the station. Newark Mayor Kenneth A. Gibson has written and asked the Federal Communications Commission to investigate the controversy stating that the current WNJR radio issue constitutes a potentially explosive situation" and that the station's policy changes have caused "mass confusion" in the Newark community.

To be sure, Mayor Gibson's letter is an understatement for the WNJR controversy has created a tense situation in the Newark community as once again, Blacks and Borriquens are faced with their virtual powerlessness in this city. After years of struggle, hard work, and organization, Black people in Newark had begun to develop a significant community input on radio station WNJR only to

have their efforts negated by racist whites and Black lackeys. But again, the WNJR issue points to the fact that real and meaningful community control in Newark, despite the election of a Black mayor and city councilmen, remains an illusion at best. Hopefully, as more and more Brothers and Sisters come to this realization, this kind of basic contradiction will begin to heighten the level of conflict of interest between the African

colony in Newark and white power, increasing the level of political awareness among Africans and calling our attention to the need for continuing struggle on all fronts — political, economic, social-cultural — to achieve self-determination and insure our welfare.

Blacks & Whites

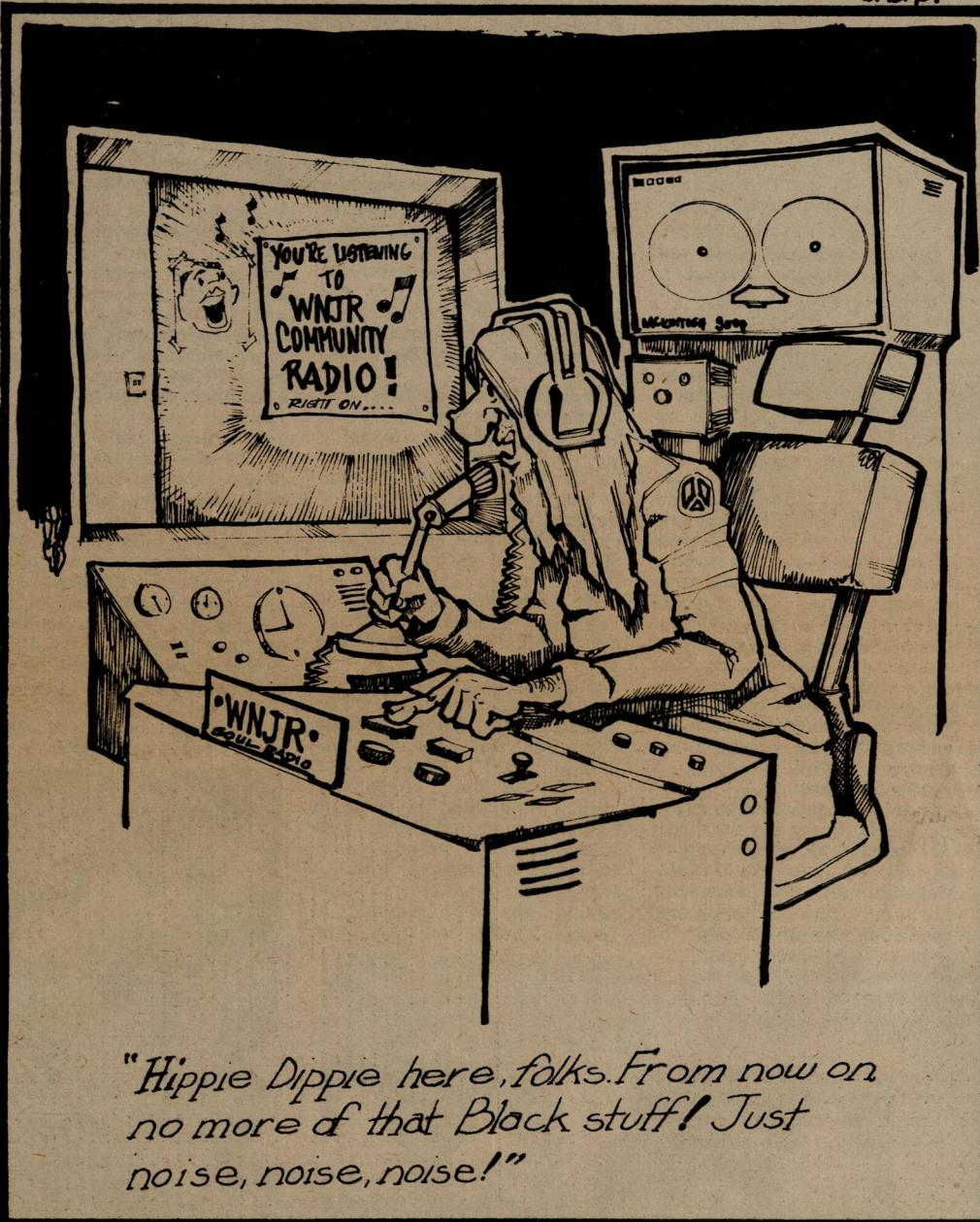
Clash At Sea

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Three men were seriously hurt and thirty-three others injured in a racial clash aboard the USS Kitty Hawk off the coast of Vietnam.

The Kitty Hawk, a carrier commissioned in 1961, is manned by 4,900 officers and enlisted men and armed with missile launchers. Operations on the carrier were reportedly not affected by "the incident" as the Pacific Fleet Command termed it, when they offered no explanations or reasons for the fight. The Navy did promise its usual investigation, but there is confusion over when that will take place. In the meantime it is business as usual as the ship remains on duty at its Pacific position.

The U. S. Navy has had a historical conflict with the Black Community. Traditionally, Black men allowed to enlist in the Navy were basically limited to steward jobs. In 1971, figures were released showing 518 Black naval officers among 77,000 and 29,660 Black enlisted men as compared to 556,605 whites. In that same year, in an attempt to begin to legitimize its internal racist practices, the U. S. Navy launched a five-year propaganda and recruitment program designed to establish a representation of Blacks comparable to the 12 per cent population figure. But Black men aboard the Kitty Hawk, many of whom may have enlisted because of the Navy's popular slogan, are now aware that racism affects Blacks in the Navy too.



Well, a city drug program, OYE, a Borriquen cultural organization program, "Black Newark," of the Committee for Unified Newark, "The Federation Speaks," of the federation of Afro-American Policemen, United Community Corporation (UCC), the city's anti-poverty agency, "The Mayor Speaks," Organization of Negro Educators, Newark Pre-School Council, Action Now, Community Information and Referral Service, and the Central Presbyterian Church. Ironically, at the very time the station announced its new format change, this board cross-section of community organizations was negotiating with the station's management for the creation of a community policy board and were not even informed before hand of the station's intention to change its format.

"other" Black member of the station's interim management board in downtown Newark. Other community protest activities have included a listener boycott of WNJR, letters of protest to the FCC, and boycotts of station advertisers.

In addition to the format change, WNJR has been charged with racist policies and practices by the community organizations. Not to mention the clear violation of FCC guidelines, the station has a racist employment policy evident by the fact that WNJR has only one Black employee in advertising and sales, only one Black in an administrative office capacity, and ironically enough, a white disc jockey with a prime time show. All this in the face of a predominately Black and Borriquen listening audience!!

legitimate community opinion from WNJR, but also against the pattern of paternalistic mediocre broadcasting that has set in on so-called "soul stations" around the country. Are the Black and Puerto Rican communities to be continually insulted by programming that imagines that all we can do is wiggle our backsides and chuglug brew?"

Since September 11, despite increasing pressure from the Newark community, radio station WNJR has maintained its new programming policies. Only time will tell if the station will maintain its present policy in the face of the demands of the community: (1) Re-instatement of the community's programs; (2) Creation of a community policy board at the station; (3) An end to WNJR's FCC violations; and (4) An investi-



Children Of Africa

Steps in Beginning A Child Care Center

The mechanics of setting up and operating a child care center need not present a lot of hassles if careful thought and planning go on before the project is begun. We'll assume that some type of contact has been made with the community and that the need for a day care facility has been established. There are several immediate concerns that must be considered. These include state and local laws and regulations (health and zoning regulations, fire and safety rules, building codes, teacher certification), building, funds, staff, equipment and supplies, and curriculum.

The first things to deal with are the regulations governing day care. A lawyer can be helpful at this point, particularly if you decide to incorporate your center. Also he can help solve any legal problems that may come up.

Once you've cleared the legal hurdles, the next step is to find a suitable location. Some possible sites include church basements or educational buildings, community centers, vacant houses and empty stores. Ideally the site should be close to the families you are serving. You should also consider outdoor play space either adjacent to the building or in the neighborhood of your location.

Consider parents, retired teachers, college students when looking for your staff. Try to get community people to teach lessons (carpenters can teach woodworking, the church organist can help with music, a store owner might help with math). A good teacher is not necessarily one with a college degree; more important is someone who is interested in the well-being of the students and is willing to put in the long hours that are necessary to make the center successful.

Money problems won't be solved easily. Large grants will be hard to come by; most of us will have to rely on chicken dinners and car washes to pull us through. Federal and state funding possibilities could be explored. Local community resources — church groups, social organizations, fraternities and sororities, local businesses — should be contacted. Have a list of needed items available; some folks who cannot donate cash may give equipment, food, paper and other supplies, or volunteer their time and skills. A fee can be charged for each student, but this should be kept minimal so as not to present undue burden. Start a support group to continuously sponsor fund-raising projects to provide a regular source of funds. Talk with other centers to find out how they raise their money.

There is no need for an elaborate classroom, expensive toys or manufactured teaching aids to insure quality learning. Classroom equipment can be built (get parents, volunteers, even the kids to help), investigate using new building materials (cardboard is cheap and sturdy), good toys can be made from all kinds of scraps. Check newspapers and print shops for free paper; make your own paste, play and paint; read up on creative activities using what others would consider "junk."

The most important item to get together is the curriculum. We have a responsibility to our children beyond babysitting. Foremost in operating a center should be our commitment to produce young brothers and sisters who are proud of our heritage, dedicated to the struggle and equipped with learning skills that will encourage them to question, explore and experiment. Talk to kindergarten and first grade teachers and find out what they are doing in their classroom. Develop your own materials that are meaningful to young Black children. Only by developing an aware, self-respecting, hardworking generation of youth can we assure ourselves of a meaningful future as a people. Starting a quality child care center is one step towards this goal.

South Africa Withdraws From UN 4th Committee

United Nations (AWA) — South African prime minister, Balthazar Vorster, has withdrawn his country's delegation from the UN's Fourth Committee. The move follows the Committee's grant of observer status to African liberation movements.

Vorster said that because of the Committee's decision to "allow terrorists as observers" to participate in its work, South

Africa's delegation did not take part in the proceedings. Replying to Vorster's charges, Abdul Rahim Farah, head of the Special Committee on Apartheid, said, "in our view, the biggest terrorist of all is South Africa. Every act which the South African authorities take is an act of terrorism against the oppressed people of South Africa."

New Behavior Controls For Houston Schools

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

Houston, Texas — The Houston Principals' Association took steps last week to move more security and disciplinary procedures to the city's schools, reflecting a growing trend in the nation's schools, particularly those which are predominantly Black. In a statement released to the press, the HPA announced its intention to impose tighter regulations and security measures "for the protection of the professional staff of the schools as well as to decrease the number and severity of losses due to theft, burglary, vandalism and arson."

The school system in Houston, like that of other large systems, is increasingly plagued with the problems of the society — problems created by the oppression and exploitation of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Ricans, Indian and Chinese communities whose youth now form the majority of the public school population in most large urban centers. In addition, the irrelevant and distorted "education" thrust upon Black students increases their contempt for the school system and their disregard for rules and regulations designed to let that system function smoothly.

The Houston Principals also announced that they, like authorities, in other schools and countless prisons around the country, will turn to drugs and other psychological methods of suppressing the rebellion of Black students. A task force is investigating "behavior modification of students" for eventual adoption in Houston schools; the administrators, increasingly frustrated by the ineffectiveness of conventional repressive tactics, are looking to brain washing for "innovative pro-

grams of discipline."

As an example of their "innovation" in other areas, the principals upheld the long bounty tradition of Texas by announcing a \$1000 reward for information pertinent to the alleged assault of a white teacher at Terrell Junior High School, a Houston school under the "crossover plan." Like others in the category, Terrell has a predominantly Black student body and predominantly white faculty.

America's public schools, particularly high schools, have become a storm center of political dissent and activity; increasingly also, they are affected with crime, drugs, and other social problems of the

Black community. Some Massachusetts systems are even considering South African-type photo ID's for students. And the Houston Principals' Association reflected both the repressiveness and the hypocrisy of the county last week as they said, "It is the desire of the Houston Principals' Association membership to establish a humanistic ideal which will reduce the incidents of aggressive acts, vandalism, the appearance of prohibited weapons in the schools, assaults on and injury to both school personnel and students, or any other such acts of violence which interrupt the educational program and distract from the learning situation."

More Behavior Controls

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Since African people are among the least wanted inhabitants of the United States, it is no doubt that we are continually being used as guinea pigs in experiments by white scientists seeking knowledge about the effects of diseases, the plantation of human organs, and the secrets of behavior control.

It was learned last week that the Senate Appropriations Committee was studying a proposal that would call for experimental brain surgery designed to alter human behavior, specifically to control violent behavior (whether justified or unjustified).

This proposal is contained in the proposed budget of the National Institute of Neurologi-

cal Diseases and Stroke.

The process for altering human behavior involves an operation in which electrodes are implanted in the brain "for diagnosis and therapy of organic brain diseases associated with violent behavior." The operation is called an amygdalotomy and "destroys part of the almond-shaped nucleus in the temporal lobes of the brain."

The key elements of the new operation, namely behavior control, is very similar to the lobotomy which is already used in some prisons, particularly in California.

Such experiments are often conducted using Blacks without their permission. Particularly in so-called "charity" or country hospitals and family planning centers.

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N.C. Black Assembly Convenes in Rocky Mt.

SPECIAL TO YOBU

Rocky Mount, N. C. — A significant stage in the development of a strong, viable state-wide Black political organization was reached here Saturday (October 14) when representatives from ten of the state's eleven Congressional Districts met to convene the initial session of the North Carolina Black Assembly. This historic meeting culminated nine months of organizational activity throughout the Black Communities of North Carolina that brought the Black Assembly into being.

This period began February 26, 1972 with the first Black Political Convention that brought 600 youth, working people, professionals, political organizers and Black public officials to Shaw University to elect delegates and to draft resolutions for the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., March 10-12, 1972. The meeting of the Black Assembly completed the logic of that first state convention which passed resolutions covering the major aspects of the Black condition, but made no provisions for implementing them.

The representatives from the various districts of North Carolina were the products of several months of extensive and intensive organizational work. This work dated back to July 22, when the second North Carolina Black Political Convention called for the creation of a N. C. Black Assembly as a permanent state organization to operate under the guidelines of the National Black Agenda.

This organization would be the spearhead of a new independent mass political movement within this state as part of a greater national effort of Black people.

PROGRAMS FOR ACTION

In the area of programs and projects the Assembly voted to accept a draft proposal outlining a course of action which includes the coordination of statewide thrusts in the areas of education, criminal justice, welfare rights and the development of an assembly newsletter.

The two most discussed areas were criminal justice and the development of a statewide newsletter. The proposal which now represents the position of the Assembly stated, "At this time, the State Assembly will not be able to launch a large educational, criminal justice and welfare campaign on a coordinated state level. The assembly can, however, begin to stimulate activity in all of the areas...on local levels throughout the state. We can build those scattered efforts into a strong state movement if we can provide a constant source of information and direction about what is really happening in our communities. A state wide North Carolina Black Assembly Newsletter would serve this purpose."

While discussion had focused on criminal justice as a project area, Brother Nelson Johnson took occasion to present to the body some first hand information concerning the "blatantly racist" and irregular proceedings in the case of Ben Chavis and the "Wilmington 10" who were being tried in Burgaw, N.

C. Johnson described this case as "reaching a new level of injustice" in the way that white-controlled court system deals with Black people, particularly politically conscious Black men and women. After the Assembly received and discussed this case, the members pledged full and active support to Bro. Chavis and the other brothers being tried. But the Assembly went a step further, and mobilized to have visible presence at the trial proceedings on Monday and Tuesday. The Assembly people including young and old pledged themselves to go back home and work within their communities to bring some people to Burgaw. This development is indicative both of

TAKING CARE OF WORK

Bro. Nelson Johnson, acting coordinator of the Central Committee (the work center of the Assembly) and National Chairman of the Youth Organization Black Unity, chaired the meeting in the absence of the chairman, Owusu Sadaukai. Johnson gave an overview of the work throughout the state. His report as well as those of the district chairmen reflected an objective optimism based on work already done and a realistic assessment of the capabilities and potentials of those actively working to build the assembly.

Reverend Clarence Gray, chairman of the First District, reported that initial steps and requirements of the Assembly had been met at the District Convention and he emphasized that the convention's "consensus was to move towards

THE AFRICAN WORLD, OCTOBER 28, 1972



PART OF DISTRICT CAUCUS OF THE FIRST MEETING of North Carolina's grass-roots Black Assembly.

reducing factions within his district." Ray Spain, chairman of the Second District, reflected that the next step must be building the county units of the district as completion of the work towards bringing the second district up to full representation (22 seats) in the Assembly.

The reports from other districts reflected that full representation had not been reached but there is a sincere desire to bring each county into the work of the Assembly. District conventions had been held in all but three of the districts, according to the reports.

The district reports also reflect an expectant unevenness in organizational development not only across districts, but also within the districts. This is apparent in the Sixth District. Bro. Dalibi Mai Galaba, Chairman of the District Steering Committee reported that, "Although work is being done to build the county units in Guilford and Alamance Counties, Rockingham County is underrepresented at the state and district level. Their county convention is to be held in the next few weeks." Mai Galaba also reported that elected representatives "were enthusiastic and serious about working to build the Assembly."

The structure calls for a 206 member assembly elected from district conventions every two years as well as the allotted eighteen members to the National Black Assembly. The State Assembly is responsible for implementing programs and policies on national and state levels.

The structure also calls for a small state executive committee, composed of two representatives for each district, the national representatives and the officers of the Black Assembly. The executive committee meets quarterly to give refinement to policies and programs within the guidelines of the Assembly.

Day-to-day operation and coordination of the state office is invested within a central committee. The elected officers of the Black Assembly and a coordinator include: Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University, Chairman; N. C. State Representative Joy Johnson, First Vice Chairman; Mrs. Alice Ballance of Bertie County, Second Vice Chairman; Joy Kincaid of Morganton, Secretary; Charsie Hedgepeth, Durham, Treasurer; and Nelson Johnson, coordinator of the Central Committee. The Assembly exhibited its confidence in these choices in that they were all unanimous choices by acclamation.

The structure also called for a District Executive Committee as the coordinating committee for the entire district. It is responsible for developing and implementing policy at the district level as well as implementing policies and pro-

grams from the State Assembly.

The county organizations elect representatives to sit on the District Executive Committee and districts elect representatives to sit on the State Assembly based on their percentage of the total Black population. The smallest levels and basic work units of the Assembly are the county organizations by whatever name they choose to call themselves. It was noted that some districts already have functioning countywide organizations that could choose to work with or within the N. C. Black Assembly.

Soul Delight?

YOBU NEWS SERVICE
St. Petersburg, Fla.—In St. Petersburg, a new Black Company, Soul Delight Products Inc. will be pushed into Black communities across the country.

"Soul Delight" says Marvin Davis former N.A.A.C.P. Florida field director, "is the first and only Black firm organized on a national basis with the primary product brand label." "Soul Delight's" canned products are certainly easily identified because of their bright red, black, and green label, which is directed towards the Black consumer.

"Soul Delight" represents the first breakthrough by a black company into the highly profitable and closely held Florida citrus processing industry.

Founder and President of the company, Marvin Davis of St. Petersburg, Fla. remarked, "The Black consumer has been more or less overlooked as far as products being directed towards him because it was believed that he constituted a small portion of the total profits market." But now Davis and others like him have realized the tremendous profits that can be made from the Black consumer. The Black consumer now spends approximately \$46 billion annually and "Soul Delight" felt that it should take the lead in tapping these resources.

A "unique approach" to marketing in the business world being used by "Soul Delight" is by working through that which the Black consumer is involved in, black religious groups, fraternal and civil rights groups.

On Thursday, October 12, there was a national premier showing in Tampa at the Holiday Inn Motel (East). Among persons invited were owners of major food chains; College and School officials; buyers for major supermarkets; officials from procurement offices of federal agencies; members of the citrus industry; Black manufacturers; civic leaders and the news media. What next?

TO OUR READERS & FRIENDS

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Economic and Racial Tranquility Unreal

Exposing Myths About Jamaica

The following article was submitted to THE AFRICAN WORLD by Brother Horace Campbell, a Caribbean native:

"Jamaica is one of those terrific funfilled vacation spots that offers boundless beauty and exotic excitement. So if you are looking for a paradise on earth — Jamaica is definitely where it's at!"

BLACK AMERICA MAGAZINE — APRIL 1971

The above view of Jamaica as an island paradise is strongly held by many Americans, black and white. This view is reinforced by the glossy ads of the Jamaica Tourist Board with the high pressure advertising in North America and Europe. Jamaica is presented as an island of racial tranquility, economic progress and a haven for foreign investors.

This view however, denies the reality of the mass deprivation, social unrest and political repression which exists in Jamaica. With the National Motto of "Out of Many One People," the Jamaican ruling class tries to deny the historic development of Jamaica with its racist development and exploitation by the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

If one places Jamaica in its proper historical perspective, then it will be easy to understand the basis of current deprivation and alienation of the masses of Jamaicans.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Jamaica were the Arawaks, American Indians related to tribes still found in Guyana and the north coast of South America. The first European invaders were the Spanish who came to Jamaica in 1494. Through a system of forced labor they quickly annihilated the Arawaks, and by 1660 when the British took Jamaica the Arawaks, who originally numbered about 60,000, had disappeared.

The Maroons, who tried to recreate African life in the hill country of Jamaica, harassed the British for seventy-six years.

The African slaves who were brought by the Spaniards to replace the Arawaks escaped to the hills to become the legendary Maroons who successfully carried out revolutionary guerrilla warfare against the British for over one hundred years.

Sugar cultivation and the plantation system enhanced the economic importance of Jamaica as a British outpost. The large sugar plantations absorbed Africans who were brought to maximize profits in the plantations. Jamaica not only absorbed slaves, but was a center for re-export to other British and Spanish colonies.

Katherine Norris in her book on Jamaica asserts that "until the trade became 'illegal' in 1807, over one million slaves were brought to the island in all, 200,000 were re-exported and 800,000 remained to replenish the island's own labor force on the plantations; by 1834 the date of Emancipation, the slave population was no more than 320,000, a figure which indicates that conditions did not favor a long life for an African."

While slavery in Jamaica and in the New World started out as an economic phenomenon, it

rapidly became racist as all white labor was withdrawn from the fields, leaving blacks to be identified with slave labor and white to be linked with property and domination.

The history of Jamaica was, however, dominated by numerous uprisings, and Maroons Wars against the system of slavery. The Maroons, who tried to recreate their African life in the hill country of Jamaica, harassed the British for seventy-six years. With nocturnal raids on the large plantations and also acting as a haven for escaped Africans, the Maroons were successful in undermining the suzerainty of the British on the island. "In one war 300 Maroons held an army of 15,000 for five months." The British eventually signed a peace treaty with the Maroons so that they would not provide a haven for the escaped slaves. True to the duplicity of the British, more than 300 Maroons were shipped to Nova Scotia, Canada in 1796 from whence they were shipped to Sierra Leone.

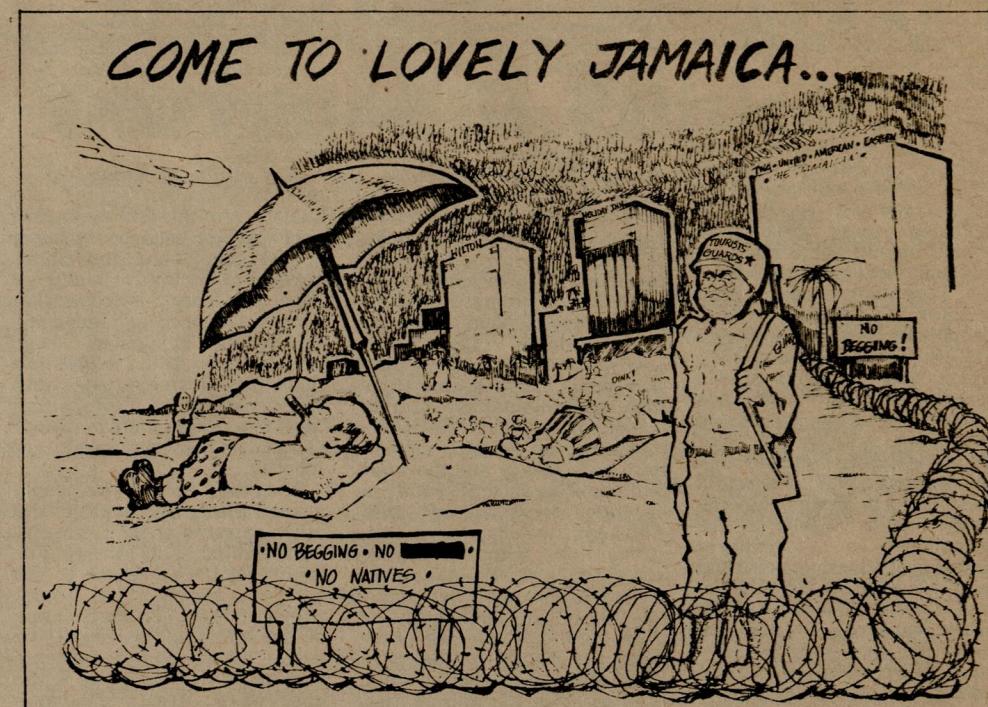
By the end of the 18th Century the decline of the sugar industry, and the pressures of the revolutionary movement in Haiti had serious effects on Jamaica. In 1838, slavery was abolished in Jamaica and other British territories. The Africans who had abhorred the horrible system of slavery started to leave the plantations to establish themselves as independent peasants. Most of them ran off to the hills and squatted on Crown lands where they managed to cultivate enough food for their own small needs.

The free laborers preferred to work their own holdings rather than on the estates, and this brought about a crisis in the plantation based economy. Chinese and Indian immigrants were introduced to remedy the labor shortage, but their numbers were relatively small. By 1861 the continued deprivation of the peasants and exploitation by white planters led to skirmishes and finally open rebellion in Morant Bay in 1865, led by patriots Paul Bogle and William Gordon.

The white power structure ruthlessly crushed the revolt led by Paul Bogle. The British Government placed the island under complete control of the colonial office. This move ensured future domination of the island's economy and politics in the hands of the white oligarchy.

The development of the banana industry had serious effects in the Jamaican scene. While the export of bananas surpassed the production of sugar as the major export crop of Jamaica, it created serious dislocation of the rural peasantry. Most of the people either joined the urban unemployed or migrated from Jamaica. Between the 1880's and 1920 net emigration amounted to about 146,000.

In 1938 Jamaica, and the rest of the Caribbean, was rocked with the masses of people rising up against the economic oppression of the British and the class-color exploitation which existed in Jamaica. The background of this turmoil was the economic and social problem which had largely existed since the days of slavery. The top layer was a white ruling class, owning most of the land, dominating the economy, and setting all social and cultural standards. This class felt itself



to be British and supported the English institutions and patterns of behavior. With the help of the brown-skinned middle class the Europeans effectively controlled the island. Promiscuous relationships between white slave owners and oppressed African women had been so common during slavery that by 1820 the number of mulattoes outnumbered the whites. The descendants of these mulattoes represented the hard core of the middle class, which included a small number of Indians and Chinese. The middle class was strongly influenced by the British orientation of the plantocracy and went to great lengths to assimilate British characteristics.

While segregation was not enacted into law in Jamaica (unlike in the United States with the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896) positive discrimination was built into the society. European standards of beauty set by the white upper class made light skin and European features a status symbol. To have kinky hair was to have 'bad hair.' An African with money was socially acceptable, but only if he hated himself completely. The African with money tried to compensate by adopting an exaggerated British accent and wearing a formal dark suit in the hottest weather.

The widespread and prolonged exploitation of the masses of the African population who comprised more than 70 per cent of the population led to the revolt of 1938. Every Parish was affected. The masses attacked the foundations of British Colonialism and its lackeys. They blocked roads to stop the transportation of goods. They cut telephone wires, broke down bridges, buried cane, destroyed banana fields and on several occasions ambushed police with nothing but sticks and stones. K. W. J. Post in his study of the 1938 protest rightly postulated that "Given arms, ideology and different leaders the story might have been quite a different one; it is instructive to remember that only five years before, the Communist-inspired peasants in Cuba had set up their own independent Soviets."

The question of leadership is of crucial importance here. The leadership which emerged out of the popular revolt of the 1938

debacle was to become the articulators of the petit-bourgeoisie and thus entrench themselves in politics for the next 30 years. The 'leaders' who identified with the masses continued in their historic role of identifying with the masses when it suited their interests and at the same time outdoing the whites in their hatred of the masses.

The emergence of Bustamante and Manley as national leaders came directly after the 1938 revolt. Their rivalry dominated political life and thwarted the revolutionary aspirations of the masses. Their rivalry also laid the basis for

the kind of fratricidal struggle which exists in Jamaica today.

Bustamante, a populist of mulatto heritage, began his career in 1938 and built a major union and political party out of the remnants of the 1938 protests. Manley, a successful lawyer and former Rhodes Scholar, brought together small groups of activists and intellectuals to form his own party. In the early years his party had a platform of land reform, socialism and national independence. However, in its quest for political power, Manley's party quickly dropped its radical

(cont'd on pg. 15)

Caribbean Rumblings in St. John's Antigua

Cont'd from pg. 1
on the uncorroborated and unsupported evidence of a Minister of Government. The charge itself was groundless. On Wednesday, July 5th, the police headed by Assistant Superintendent Thomas Jarvis, carried out a search at the home of Bro. Tim Hector, while he was away in Barbados managing the successful Leewardwindward combined Youth Cricket Team. Bro. Hector is the Chairman of the Afro Caribbean Movement. The policemen were allegedly searching for seditious publications. Nothing was found at Bro. Hector's home and no charges were brought against him. Just sheer harassment is their disapproval after a white Texas vacationer shot five black people killing one, Ickford Henry.

On September 13, Bro. Tim Hector received a letter transferring him to the Ministry of Education to do undisclosed "Special Duties." This transfer took effect as of September 14. He is the second person over the last couple of days to receive such letters. Mr. Lloydston Jacobs, sympathizer of the ACM was transferred to the Ministry of Education after teaching at the Grammer School for some twenty years. He is also to perform "Special Duties" until further notice. Such "Special Duties" are no doubt menial duties.

The Government hopes to reach the ultimate in repression by railroading a Public Order Act through Parliament. By this means they will detain Bro. Hector and other members of the Movement, workers, farmers and youths, civil servants, opposition politicians and any or everybody opposed to the neo-colonial evils of the Walter regime.

In spite of this ever-mounting wave of repression, workers, farmers, students in school and Civil Servants have separately protested in the streets against the Walter neo-colonial regime the worst and most repressive government in the Eastern Caribbean.

Role of Culture And Identity In National Liberation Struggle

cont'd from pg. 8

further strengthened by the colonial power's interest in protecting and backing the cultural influence of the ruling classes, their allies.

The above argument implies that generally speaking there is not any marked destruction or damage to culture or tradition either for the masses in the subject country or for the indigenous ruling classes (traditional chiefs, noble families, religious authorities). Repression, persecution, humiliation, betrayal by certain social groups who have compromised with the foreign power, have forced culture to take refuge in the villages, in the forests, and in the spirit of the victims of domination. Culture survives all these challenges and through the struggle for liberation blossoms forth again. Thus the question of a "return to the source" or of a "cultural renaissance" does not arise and could not arise for the mass of these people, for it is they who are the repository of the culture and at the same time the only group who can preserve and build it up and make history.

Thus, in Africa at least, for a true idea of the real role which culture plays in the development of the liberation movement a distinction must be made between the situation of the masses, who preserve their culture, and that of the social groups who are assimilated or partially so, who are cut off and culturally alienated. Even though the indigenous colonial elite who emerged during the process of colonization still continue to pass on some

element of indigenous culture yet they live both materially and spiritually according to the foreign colonial culture. They seek to identify themselves increasingly with this culture both in their social behaviors and even in their appreciation of its values.

In the course of two or three generations of colonization, a social class arises made up of civil servants, people who are employed in various branches of the economy, especially commerce, professional people, and a few urban and agricultural landowners. This indigenous lower middle class which emerged out of foreign domination and is indispensable to the system of colonial exploitation, stands midway between the masses of the working class in town and country and the small number of local representatives of the foreign ruling class.

Although they may have quite strong links with the masses and with the traditional chiefs, generally speaking they aspire to a way of life which is similar if not identical with that of the foreign minority. At the same time while they restrict their dealings with the masses they try to become integrated into this minority often at the cost of family or ethnic ties and always at great personal cost. Yet despite the apparent exceptions they do not succeed in getting past the barriers thrown up by the system. They are prisoners of the cultural and social contradictions of their lives. They cannot escape from their role as a marginal class, a "marginalized" class.

The marginal character of their role both in their own

country and in that of the colonial power is responsible for the socio-cultural conflicts of the colonial elite or the indigenous lower middle class, played out very much according to their material circumstances and level of culture but always resolved individually never collectively.

It is within the framework of this daily drama, against the backdrop of the usually violent confrontation between the mass of the people and the ruling colonial class that a feeling of bitterness or a frustration complex is bred and develops among the indigenous lower middle class. At the same time they are becoming more and more conscious of a compelling need to question their marginal status, and to rediscover an identity.

Thus they turn to the people around them, the people at the other extreme of the socio-cultural conflict — the masses. For this reason the "return to the source" seems even more urgent than the serious isolation of the lower middle class (or native elites) and their acute feelings of frustration as is the case when African diasporas are sent to countries with colonial or racist traditions. It comes as no surprise that the theories or "movements" such as Pan-Africanism or Negritude (two pertinent expressions arising mainly from the assumption that all black Africans have a cultural identity) were propounded outside black Africa. More recently the Black American's claim to an African identity is another proof, possibly rather a desperate one, of the need for a "return to the

Citizen Body Moves



YOUNG PEOPLE LEARNING AT BUILD ACADEMY.

BROTHER CABRAL EXHIBITED HIS VERSATILITY AS A revolutionary leader when he surprised the audience by delivering his 45-minutes speech in English (YOBU Photo)

source" although clearly it is influenced by a new situation: the fact that the great majority of African people are now independent.

But the "return to the source" is not and cannot in itself be an act of struggle against foreign domination (colonialist and racist) and it no longer necessarily means a return to traditions. It is the denial, by the lower middle class of the country, of the usurped supremacy of the culture of the dominant power over that of the dominated people with which it must identify itself. The "return to the source" is therefore not a voluntary step, but the only possible reply to the demand of concrete need, historically determined, and enforced by the inescapable contradiction between the colonized society and the colonial power, the mass of the people exploited and the foreign exploitative class, a contradiction in the list of which each level of society or indigenous class must define its role.

When the "return to the source" goes beyond the individual militant and is expressed through "groups" or "movements," the contradiction is transformed into struggle (secret or overt), and is a prelude to the pre-independence movement or of the struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. So, the "return to the source" is of no historical importance unless it brings not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people, who are struggling not only against foreign culture but also on the broad front of foreign domination. Otherwise, the "return to the source" is nothing more than an attempt to find short-term benefits, knowingly or unknowingly a kind of political opportunism.

One must point out that the "return to the source," apparent or real, does not develop at one time and in the same way in the heart of the indigenous lower middle class. It is a slow process, broken up and uneven, whose development depends on the degree of acculturation of each individual, of the material circumstances of his life, on the forming of his ideas and on his experience as a social animal.

This unevenness is the basis of the split of the indigenous lower middle class into three groups when confronted with the liberation movement: a) a minority, which, even if it wants to see an end to foreign domination clings to the dominant colonialist class and

openly opposes the movement to protect its social position; b) a majority of people who are hesitant and indecisive; c) another minority of people who share in the building and leadership of the liberation movement.

But the latter group, which plays a decisive role in the development of the pre-independent movement, does not truly identify with the mass of the people (with their culture and hopes) except through struggle, the scale of this identification depending on the kind or methods of struggle, on the ideological basis of the movement and on the level of moral and political awareness of each individual.

(cont. NEXT ISSUE)

Ugandan Peace Talks

YOBU NEWS SERVICE
Mogadiscio, Somalia—As fighting near the borders of Tanzania and Uganda ceased, the prospect of a meeting between the heads of the two powerful east African nations came a little closer to reality.

Gen. Idi Amin of Uganda and Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania, may meet in Somalia if they both accept Maj. Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre's invitation to attend celebrations in honor of his country's revolution three years ago.

If the two men do meet and agree on peace terms to bring about a further settlement between the two nations which suffered eight days of border disputes, it will signal at least a small compromise of attitudes for both men. Pres. Nyerere has refused to recognize the government of Amin since the Uganda coup in which the progressive former President, Milton Obote, was overthrown.

And the proposed meeting may suffer a set-back if Gen. Amin continues his unpredictable tactics.

Recent reports state that since preliminary peace talks started, Amin has instructed his foreign minister to obtain written explanations from Tanzanian officials concerning the border conflict. Such a request is likely to receive a cold reception in Dar es Salaam.

Most observers feel that the heaviest burden for a possible lasting peace settlement rests on Gen. Amin.

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Hastings Banda Must Dribble or Shoot

SPECIAL TO THE AFRICAN WORLD
by Malik Chaka — African Affairs Correspondent Third World Media News

The sharpening of the struggle for the consolidation of national independence gained by the majority of African States in the late 50's and early 1960's and the continuing battle to free Africa from the scourge of settler regimes and European colonial domination has accentuated the antagonistic contradictions between the forces of reaction and revolution on the continent.

The forces of revolution are led by the people and the parties of Tanzania, Guinea and Congo-Brazzaville. Their position is not based on rhetorical adhesion to abstract principles, but it is rooted in the decision to take the path of socialist development and to provide rear bases and militant support to the liberation movements fighting to regain control over Africa's natural and human resources. This has resulted in continued threats, attempted subversion and actual physical aggression from the European outposts on the continent.

The revolutionary forces are opposed by the leaders and privileged sectors of those countries which have sought to replace the chains of colonialism with the tighter chains of neo-colonialism. This has resulted in puppet leaders becoming proponents of dialogue with South Africa. One of the strongest supporters of dialogue has been Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the despotic President of Malawi.

Banda, who speaks no African language, returned to Nyasaland, now Malawi, after forty years of wandering in America, Britain, and Ghana, at the request of young leaders of the Nyasaland Congress Party. He was asked to return, because Nyasaland lacked a leader of the stature of Nyerere or Nkrumah to lead the struggle.

Banda successfully led the fight against the hated Central African Republic combining Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. He was arrested for his militant leadership and overnight became a hero to the African masses in and outside of Malawi.

Banda betrayed the trust of the African masses before independence with his trip to Lisbon to beg use of the fascist controlled port of Beira. This was further compounded by his personal desire to extend the borders of present-day Malawi to the boundaries of the old Malawi Empire covering among other areas, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

His turn to the right and his reaction became fully known to the world as a result of a speech of July 21, 1964 at the OAU Heads of State meeting in Cairo. In this speech, Banda announced his decision to trade with the racist regime in Mozambique. This statement was met by shock that crystallized into anger. After the meeting, eight sovereign African States decided to boycott Malawi tobacco. With this move, Malawi became the political leper of Africa.

Upon his arrival home, Banda immediately moved on his cabinet and accused its members of subversion. This unfounded criticism caused the resignation of three ministers and the removal of three others by Banda.

The opposition was forced into exile in Zambia and Tanzania.



HASTINGS BANDA, PRESIDENT OF MALAWI.

Since the consolidation of his personal dictatorial power, Banda has moved closer to the white fascist regimes of Southern Africa by exchanging diplomats with Pretoria and by the stationing of a Portuguese military attaché in Zomba, Malawi's capital.

A look at Malawi's trading partners confirms the picture of the neo-colonial state. Among the chief suppliers and customers are the USA, Britain, Japan and South Africa.

Banda has steadily moved Malawi into the orbit of the white dominated South and betrayed the masses of Africa. He has refused the Tanzanian offer of the port of Mtwara and instead uses the Portuguese controlled port of Beira.

These traitorous acts have turned progressive Africa against the neo-colonial puppet regime. On many occasions Banda has heaped abuse upon the progressive African state of Tanzania and upon FRELIMO, the National Liberation Front leading the struggle to regain Mozambique.

Recent reports in the Rhodesian, Portuguese, South Africa and Zambian press indicate that Banda might now eat his harsh words. He turned on his Rhodesian masters and banned the "Rhodesian Herald" in Malawi. His turnabout is a reaction to the Herald for reporting that FRELIMO is allowed a transit base in Malawi. This base is not a result of Banda's commitment to African liberation. It is a striking example of FRELIMO's power to extract favors and privileges from the puppet regime.

The July 8 issue of the "South African Star" alleged Malawi is a transit stop for future guerrillas going for training in Tanzania and a way station for supplies destined for FRELIMO camps in Mozambique. The racist newspaper reported "... where FRELIMO is concerned, he (Banda) is forced to walk a tightrope. He is well aware that the Mozambique guerrillas could easily cut Malawi's three trading lifelines to the outside world."

These reports are given further substance by reports in the Tanzania and Zambia press. The May 8 issue of the Tanzanian government "Sunday News" reported that traffic between Mozambique and Rhodesia to Malawi is under constant danger from guerrilla fire and land mines. This has

political cook book

'Everything is Political'

In a society that is torn by race and class conflicts, which find themselves expressed in an oppressor and oppressed relationship between members of that society, there can never be peaceful co-existence between the two. Sometimes the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed is open conflict. Other times the conflict is not so noticeable. But the fact remains: there is always conflict, and always a need for change.

The slogan, "Everything is political", only expresses the reality that in a situation that demands change, there is no neutral ground. One is either for or against oppression. One is either for or against change, and those acts that serve to promote or inhibit change are political acts. Our actions either politically support change of the status-quo or politically inhibit changing the status-quo.

Many times people say, "I'm not doing anything for the struggle, but neither am I doing anything against it. I'm just not involved."

Again, the reality of the situation is that the status-quo is what maintains the oppressor's exploitation of the oppressed. Therefore, to not take a position against the status-quo is to take a political position in opposition to an oppressed people's need for change, by supporting the status-quo.

In other instances, we sometimes like to define the things we do as "personal" and not political. But what we do personally demands a political decision on our part. For instance, we sometimes, "personally" would like to go to a movie or a dance. But if there is a meeting we could be attending, studying we could be doing, or work to be done in the community, our decision to do one or the other becomes political. We make the political decision to do that which either promotes or retards the people's need and ability to change their oppressed condition.

"Everything is political," then becomes understood in terms of the many "personal" things that we do day-in and day-out. Our smallest choices become political decisions. Especially, if we have come to understand that "it is the little things that we do today that will determine what will or will not happen tomorrow."

The Real Jamaica

(cont'd from Page 13)

stance and purged the leftist elements of the party. Today Manley's party is successfully controlled by the petit-bourgeoisie, as is the other party

After it was clear to the British that Manley and Bustamante were safe leaders who would articulate their grievances through British channels, the English sent out the Moyne Commission, which suggested the granting of Universay Adult Suffrage. In spite of the fact that the vast

forced the Portuguese and Rhodesians to send armed escort convoys out with supply trucks and travelers. The May 30 issue of the "Times of Zambia" published an article subtitled 'Rhodesia and South Africa Keep An Eye On the Sick Man Of Africa.' The sick man is none other than the sorely pressed Portuguese in Mozambique.

The article by Colin Legum, a veteran political analyst, describes Rhodesian fears of the FRELIMO offensive in Tete Province, home of the Cabo Bassa Dam. The Tete province is sandwiched between Zimbabwe and Malawi. Legum reports increased apprehension from the Portuguese's Boer and Rhodesian settler allies about the over-extended Portuguese ability to stop the FRELIMO offensive. The visit of Desmond

majority of the people were granted a share of the political process, the upper echelons of society still did not reflect the racial composition of the country.

Jamaica was granted political independence from the British in 1962. They assumed the usual trappings of independence; flag, anthem, national motto, etc. However, this independence did not change the stratified class — color historic continuum. The national motto was the tool by which the bourgeoisie hoped to muzzle the

Donelly, a former British Labour member of Parliament and supporter of Portugal, underlined the Portuguese plight. Donelly accessed the situation as dangerous and saw the possibility of Portuguese control crumbling. This would facilitate the launching of armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

Banda is caught between the reactionary racist regimes of the South and the revolutionary aspirations of the African workers and peasants embodied in the forward thrust of the National Liberation Movements. He cannot continue to walk a tightrope. In Africa, it is becoming increasingly clear, "You are either part of the problem or part of the solution." The African masses in arms, united by a clear ideology are the solution.

aspirations of the masses for self-respect and decent livelihood. The motto - "Out of Many One People" sought to perpetuate the myth of Jamaica as a multi-racial society where everyone lived in harmony. This myth is designed to justify the exploitation of the African population at the hands of Europeans and their light-skinned lackeys. The figures of 1960 census show quite clearly the racial composition of Jamaica. 76.8 percent of the population are of African descent, 14.8 are Afro-European or colored. The rest are mixtures of Europeans, 0.8 percent; Chinese, 3.1 percent; Indian, 1.1 percent and other racial types. As the figures show, Jamaica is a black society where Africans preponderate. However, the ruling class tries to siphon off the legitimate claim by the masses that Jamaica should reflect its true image as a black society instead of that of a "discrimination-free" "multi-racial" society.

Cont'd NEXT ISSUE

Forward ever,
Backward never!
—CPP

White Convicts Burn Black Inmate in N.C.

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

RALEIGH, N. C. — On October 11, a Black inmate was burned to death in a cell at Central Prison in Raleigh, N. C. Charles C. Richardson is the second Black inmate to die mysteriously in Central Prison in the past six months. The AFRICAN WORLD received a letter from a Black inmate in Central Prison offering an explanation of the murder. Following is that account:

"Several weeks ago, Black inmate, Charles Richardson, was moved by prison officials to an isolated cell in the west wing of Central Prison. He was moved after he suffered a brutal, racist-inspired attack at the hands of white prisoner elements. Today, Brother Richardson is dead.

"On October 11, at approximately 11 a.m., Brother Richardson's cell was firebombed. Other prisoners confined near the area of the Brother's cell report that the cell to which he was confined was completely engulfed with a red-hot, roaring ball of fire, after several white prisoners, having literally flooded the isolated solitary cell with paint thinner, lit the brother and his entire cell afire.

"Prison officials have accused two white prisoners with the racist-inspired fire death. Also a third white prisoner has been accused of having paid the other two whites to murder Richardson. Actually, prison officials had "assigned" at least one of these white prisoners to the "painting detail" in the area of Brother Richardson's death-trap cell just prior to the attack. Thus, the reality of the situation is that prison officials themselves are obviously trying to hide the facts surrounding this Black man's murder.

There are four main points to be considered. First, prison officials had moved Brother Richardson to an isolated, solitary confinement cell on H-cell block at Central Prison after this brother was viciously assaulted by white prisoners. Second, prison officials placed flammable liquid in the hands of racist white prisoner elements. Third, prison officials also permitted these white prisoners to go up into the fifth-floor area of Brother Richardson's isolated cell under no staff supervision whatsoever. And fourth, Brother Richardson could not

Guerillas killed

YOBU NEWS SERVICE

KAMPALA, October 14, 1972—A military spokesman has reported that guards shot and killed 35 prisoners while putting down a revolt at an army camp in Northwestern Uganda. It is believed that most, if not all, of these prisoners were part of the captured guerilla units which became very active in September.

General Amin, the president of Uganda, has accused former Ugandan President Milton Obote of organizing guerilla units to participate in the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Amin. Obote is now living in Tanzania.

Recently, Amin demanded the return of Obote from Tanzania to face trial for murder.

The military spokesman did not indicate when the killings took place or the reasons for the prisoners revolt. Of some 50 prisoners who revolted at Kijaru, 35 were killed, eight were recaptured and the remainder escaped, according to the military spokesman.

possibly have been isolated and attacked at all if the prison officials had not set up all the pre-conditions for a successful white-racist, terror murder, and then turn their heads while the actions took place.

"Black inmates at Central Prison are very vigilant of the prison staff's use of racism to continue the repression of Black inmates particularly, and continue to oppress other nonwhites as well as poor white prisoners generally. The prison officials are also aware of the increasing unity and quickening political consciousness among Black inmates who are in the vanguard of the prison movements throughout this nation. Perhaps, prison officials are trying to provoke a racial crisis in order to violently crush Black solidarity in captivity by letting loose an "official" blood-bath of white terror. But however likely that may be, after viewing Charles Richardson's violent cold-blooded death even from that perspective, it still remains crystal clear to all concerned here that the white, racist inspired murder of not one single Black man, woman, or child shall go unavenged.

Tanzania African National Union

Below are the guiding principles of the Tanzania African National Union. We reprint them as an example of the aims of one progressive African Political Party.

And from the Tanu Creed, therefore, are the principal aims and objects:

1. To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;
2. To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
3. To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;
4. To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;
5. To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;

6. To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;

7. To see that where possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

8. To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;

9. To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;

10. To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination bribery and corruption;

11. To see that the Government co-operates with other States in Africa in bringing about African Unity;

12. To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

WORLD VIEW

Any student of revolution understands that our ideas must constantly be extended and enriched to reflect the movement of revolutionary struggle. As we reach higher levels of understanding, old ideas must give way to new ones.

Further study has taught us to see the theory "land is the basis of revolution" in a new perspective.

A study in political economy points to the fact that land is the basis of revolution where it exists as the essential means of production. Since some parts of the world are in accordance with this condition, land is the basis for struggle. But where land or feudal relations have been replaced by capital relations then this theory no longer applies. What we have done is not to abandon this theory but to give it its proper place. The axiom, "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions," is now being applied. There can not be, then, any universal statement without first analysing specific concrete condition." This change represents our continued growth and development in our attempt to wage a successful struggle. In order to wage that struggle, we must have a World View.



Located in southeastern Europe, Greece covers an area about the size of New York State. The estimated population is 9 million, of whom 93% of the people are of Greek national background. Turks, Slavs, Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians and Vlachs make up the remaining 7%.

Although only 28% of the land can be cultivated, almost 60% of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The two most important industries are textile manufacturing and food processing. Mining employs more than 20,000 workers, as deposits of iron ore, bauxite, magnesite, chrome, nickel, salt, and manganese are found. With few raw materials except cotton, Greece does not lend itself greatly to large-scale industrialization.

Greece's economy was shattered during the fighting, both external and internal, during WW II. Massive injections of U. S. capital has helped it to get back on its feet. Greece's membership in the European Economic Community and NATO has determined the direction of trade.

Despite the fact that it is currently ruled by one of the most ruthless and fascist military dictatorships in the world, it maintains close ties with, and is supported by the U. S. The U. S. maintains that Greece is a part of the "free world," meaning that Greece is open to U. S. free trade, capital investment and exploitation.