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AFRICAN AGENDA

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April, 1972

Monthly 10 cents

AFTERMATH OF THE BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION

The Black Political Convention which met in Gary, Indiana this past March, was a progressive step toward Black Liberation. Mayor Hatcher's keynote address deserved special attention because of its discussion of foreign corporations and their operations in different countries, especially in Africa. He pinpointed the important role of U.S. monopolies in the war in Vietnam and in the U.S. society by saying, "Our participation in that atrocious war is not an unfortunate mistake on the part of the American ruling class. Rather it is part and parcel of an economic policy to make the world safe for American corporate penetration and to fill the coffers of the corporate treasuries." In line with Mayor Hatcher's speech, the tentatively proposed National Black Agenda demanded "that the U.S. government withdraw all corporations, military bases, communication facilities and other institutions which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of Africa and the 'Third World'."

The central question put before the convention by Mayor Hatcher's speech, and as reflected in certain sections of the Black Agenda, was the role U.S. monopolies are playing in robbing people of their resources and labor power, and in re-

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SALUTE TO ANC 60 Years of Struggle! 1912 - 1972

The African National Congress of South Africa, since its inception on January 8, 1912, has maintained absolute dedication to the struggle for the liberation of the Black people of South Africa. The history of ANC is one of millions of courageous men, women, and young people who, despite brutal suppression by the government forces, organized and engaged in various forms of struggle to achieve their just goals. Overcoming setbacks, ANC has raised the people's struggle to progressively higher levels.

In the face of being banned as illegal in 1960; being victimized by a wave of repressive, racist, and unjust laws; having many of their leaders and comrades imprisoned, tortured, and killed; and having to operate under extremely difficult conditions in terms of logistics and communications, the African National Congress has succeeded substantially in leading a united front of all anti-

racist and democratic forces in South Africa against the oppressive minority government and its racist policies. For the last ten years ANC has been able to wage armed struggle, and have successfully defended themselves against South African troops in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

In support of ANC the March 24-25, 1972 conference, "United States and Southern Africa" convened by the United Church of Christ Council For Social Action and the African Heritage Studies Association voted overwhelmingly to support the recently established ANC office in New York. The resolution called on all organizations and individuals in attendance to do the same.

The Staff of the African Agenda calls on all freedom-loving people to join us in our salute and continuing support of the African National Congress, and its just struggle for the liberation of the South African people.

Azores Agreement

The Nixon administration in a move consistent with U.S. domestic and foreign policy reached an agreement with Portugal to provide that country with \$436 million, more than two years support for Portugal's colonial, racist wars in Africa. In exchange the U.S. is to receive certain landing and fueling rights in the Azores Islands off the Coast of Morocco, known to many as "the world's biggest gas station."



Add to this the fact that Nixon, Kissinger and the other boys in the band have given this sum at a time when this country is suffering from one of the worst balance of

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SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIEF FUND

See page 2

AFRO-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

See page 3

cont. Azores Pact

payments situations in its history. It is clear that the US government, committed to imperialism and supporting colonialism in Africa, is determined to prop up the present Portuguese regime and its barbarism at whatever-cost-necessary.

Specifically, the U.S. will provide Portugals sagging economy with: \$15 million in PL 480 agricultural commodities (2 years); \$1 million in educational development programs; \$5 million in drawing rights for nonmilitary excess equipment (like school buses for troop transport); \$400 million in Export-Import Bank loans; the loan of a hydrographic vessel (no cost); and the wavier of Military Advisory Assistance Group (MAAG) payments (\$350,000) for the US MAAG group stationed in Portugal.

As part of the generalized pattern of imperialist penetration of Africa, the joint Portuguese-South African Cabora Bassa and Cunene dam schemes in Mozambique and Namibia are efforts at building giant hydroelectric and irrigation complexes entailing the forced removal of large numbers of the local African population and replacing them with indigent white settlers. These are attempts to summon extensive amounts of West European finance capital to assist U.S. capital in shoring up the failing Portuguese presence in Africa. It should be remembered that since 1969 the U.S. government has: sold 707's to Portugal for troop transport; given \$2½ million annually in direct military aid to Portugal; sold five Bell helicopters to the Portuguese for use at the Cabora Bassa Dam site in Mozambique; provided training of Portuguese armed forces in US Vietnam-style tactics (bombings of civilians, population resettlement, strategic hamlets, and napalm); and finally permitted the sale of herbicides by US companies to the Portuguese government costing from \$57,330 in 1969 to \$220,320 for the first eleven months of 1970 (these herbicides have only been used in Africa).

RHODESIA: Let the Facts Speak

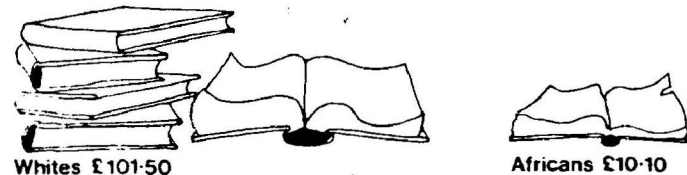
Land.

By the Land Tenure Act of 1970, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



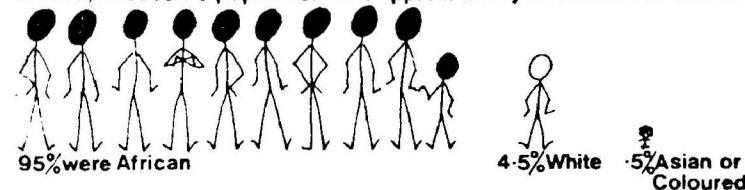
Education.

In 1969, per capita expenditure in schools was:



Population.

In 1970, Rhodesia's population was approximately 5.2 million. Of these:



ATTENTION! ATTENTION! Southern African Relief Fund

The idea of exile and dispossession may seem distant to some. Yet, it is a bleak reality for far too many men, women, and children. These are the victims of the White Southern African fascist regimes (Republic of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe). In an attempt to meet the needs of these people, members of the Ohio University community have organized The Southern African Construction Relief Fund. Money from this fund will be used for medical supplies, educational materials, clothing and food. There is an urgent need for your support of these people who refuse to submit to unjust domination in their own homelands. We know that this will work, not only toward the freedom of people from Southern Africa, but towards that of all people living under oppression.

Checks should be made out to:
SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIEF
mailed to:

Mr. Cosmo Pieterse
38-004 North McKinley
Athens, Ohio 45701

WHAT'S ON THE AGENDA?

In the May and June issues
of the **African Agenda**
A Two-Part Series On
PAN-AFRICANISM

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

April 2, 1972

Wilkins in South Africa

Dear Editor,

I'm sure that I'm only one of many Blacks throughout the world who are extremely disappointed and disturbed that Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, publicly defended United States business involvement in South Africa in March of this year while visiting Johannesburg, South Africa. At a news conference Wilkins said, "How many black jobs would be lost if General Motors went back to Detroit, if John Deere and Chase Manhattan pulled out? ... As American business participation is backed by American cash and know-how, it's only fair that blacks should have equal opportunities in accordance with American principles. Changes should be made legally. I am not advocating the violating of laws." (*New York Times*, March 28, 1972, pp. 1, 5)

Perhaps Wilkins is not aware that U.S. corporations are operating in South Africa (and elsewhere) for profit and expansion of U.S. economic control, *not* for the purpose of providing jobs and benefits for the indigenous South African people.

What would happen if the U.S. corporations pulled out? Realistically, they won't pull out voluntarily, because American corporations can exploit Black laborers in South Africa at a much more profitable rate than they can Black laborers in America. If, however, the U.S. corporations do pull out, a substantial part of the economic foundation that is supporting the racist minority government there will cease to exist, thereby weakening the power of the South African regime. This would be a step towards breaking down the controls over the lives of the 15 million Black South Africans, and a help to their just struggle for self-determination.

D. Wilson
Atlanta, Ga.

NEWS BRIEFS

CHICAGO — Public outrage over new efforts of U.S. finance capital to bolster South Africa's sagging economy brought the African-American Solidarity Committee and a broad-based coalition of progressive groups before the steps of Continental Bank here on March 27. The demonstrators were protesting Continental Bank's 'deal' with the infamous, apartheid government of South Africa, whereby the Chicago money barons agreed to loan the reactionary, ruling clique in Johannesburg \$48,600,000 for the purchase of diesel locomotives from General Motors. Another partner in this scheme was the U.S. Export-Import (Exim) Bank, which guaranteed the credit to South Africa for a 10-year period. Since Exim Bank is an arm of the U.S. government, its participation must be regarded as a blatant attempt by the Nixon Administration to reverse international trade sanctions against South Africa's racist regime.

LONDON — Kwame Nkrumah is reported to be dying of cancer in a sanatorium in Hungary. The Ghanaian government has been asked to allow Nkrumah to return home for the remaining months of his life.

NEW ORLEANS — On March 21, the first cargo of Rhodesian chrome ore imported into the U.S. since the lifting of a six-year ban, was boycotted by Black students and dock workers at the New Orleans port. The International Longshoremen's Association refused to unload the ore. Members of the Operating Engineers Union unloaded the ore with the help of hired workers.

UNITED NATIONS — Dr. Ralph David Abernathy of S.C.L.C. on March 25 told a special session of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid that Southern Africa is a crisis of racist oppression openly aided and abetted by political, military, and economic interest of the United States.

UGANDA — General Amin of Uganda on March 28 expelled the Israeli military mission and embassy officials from the country for their "undesirable activities". It is ironic that the Israelis acting as agents of the U.S. imperialists in Africa were the very same people that helped General Amin into power and overthrew Obote.

BOSTON — Spearheaded by the Pan African Liberation Committee, Harvard's Black students, faculty and members of the Boston Black community are demanding that the Harvard University Corporation sell all 683,778 shares of its Gulf Oil holdings and distribute the money so as "to correct injustices caused by Harvard in the Cambridge community". They, recently punctuated 500 Black crosses around the Harvard campus memorializing the deaths of Africans at the hands of Portuguese colonialism, Gulf imperialism and Harvard University racism.

AFRO-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

One of the major components of the strategy of U.S. imperialism today is the promotion of the more retrogressive aspects of nationalism. Many of the current leaders of the Pan-Africanist movements have misused the progressive anti-imperialist tradition of the past to pursue a pro-imperialist policy. Just as there are two tendencies in petty-bourgeois nationalists at home (the progressive fight against national, racial, and class oppression, the Malcolm X tradition, and the reactionary fight for special privileges), there are also two tendencies in all "Pan" movements (Pan-Slavism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Africanism), such as the progressive fight against foreign oppression and the reactionary fight for "a piece of the action" from the imperialist powers.

In the United States today, it is becoming increasingly difficult for many elements in the middle strata to maintain their democratic sentiments as national and social tasks merge into a single whole. The petty-bourgeois elements should fight for their future as workers of the brain rather than their temporary role as servants of international reaction. They must be given ideological direction from the advanced elements among the workers. The petty-bourgeois class has little future under imperialism. Hence, the petty-bourgeois demo-

crats in the Black community would be promoting their long range interests if they aligned with the Black workers, the only consistent democrats. However, the vacillating nature of this transitional class (petty-bourgeoisie) makes it increasingly necessary that the leadership in the anti-imperialist front against renewed reactionary assaults upon Africa, come from advanced Black workers, and mobilize the masses from below to ensure the consistency of the movement. Moreover, deeper alliances should be formed with the progressive movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity Liberation Committee since many pseudo-liberation movements are being created by reactionary forces to split the anti-imperialist front.

Today, these two tendencies are reappearing in new forms. Sometimes they are in the guise of progressive slogans of the past to cover up the reactionary substance of the programs of many of the new leaders. In fact, this facilitates the penetration of U.S. capital into Africa with the aid of petty-bourgeois nationalists at home and in Africa. *The export of capital is the economic basis of neo-colonialism.*

There is growing differentiation in the political positions in the Afro-American Liberation Movement with respect to the African Liberation Movement. The Afro-American Liberation Movement is struggling internally to sustain its progressive character during this pivotal moment in the general crisis of world imperialism.

Historically, the Afro-American Liberation Movement has manifested two tendencies. The first and strongest is the national democratic struggle against national, racial, and class oppression (the civil rights movement). The second is the nationalist struggle for a separate state within this country or in some foreign land. These two tendencies were paralleled in the international arena in the divergent positions of W.E.B. Du-

cont. p. 4



FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS

by A. Lerumo
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OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY



Fifty Fighting Years traces the Party's history from early origins as a left-wing within the predominantly white labor movement into a fighting vanguard of national liberation and a leading component of the World Marxist movement.

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The African-American Solidarity Committee seeks to inform interested individuals on social and economic developments in Africa. Anyone interested in the committee should write to the above address.

cont. Convention

tarding social and economic progress in Africa. The spirit of the Black Political Convention was against U.S. monopoly investment and exploitation in Africa. However, certain separatist elements among the leadership and delegates of the convention put forth separatist programs which would include Black investment in Africa under the guise of "Black Capitalism" or "Black Socialism". These elements, which did not support Hatcher's speech, are aiding U.S. imperialist interests and are a threat to Africa's economic independence.

These separatists who encourage Black investment in Africa are being used as tools for the U.S. capitalists. The capitalist class in the U.S. already gets 29 of the 35 most valuable minerals needed for U.S. industrial production from Africa. These same U.S. imperialists are building manufacturing plants and exploiting the cheap labor in Africa. An example of this exploitation of African labor is the building of the Ford assembly plant in Zaire (Congo-K) that will employ 4,000 African workers at less than a tenth of the wages that are paid to Detroit workers. Needless to say, the move of the Ford plant from the Detroit area will mean unemployment for the people there.

The export of capital to Africa by U.S. corporations has increased over 900% from 80 million dollars in 1960 to over 995 million dol-

lars of direct investment today. This has increased the economic dependence of Africa on the U.S. capitalists. Already the African countries' debt to the U.S. imperialists is over 60 billion dollars.

The separatist elements at the Black Convention who encouraged Black investment in Africa, and who are not supporting progressive African organizations like the Organization of African Unity and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, may be unconsciously or consciously furthering the aims of U.S. capitalism in Africa. The real task that Afro-Americans face is how to bring pressure on U.S. corporations in Africa through boycotts, strikes, organized campaigns, letter writing, etc., thereby paving the way for true economic independence for African countries. This is the question posed by Mayor Hatcher and one that should concern all Afro-Americans today.

cont. Relations

Bois and Marcus Garvey on African liberation. DuBois focused on the national democratic struggle of Africans against foreign oppression. Garvey took the position of setting up a Black nation in Africa, presumably drawn up from existing territories. Both of these movements were under petty-bourgeois leadership.

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