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# AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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## Editorial

### Racism and the United Nations

The United Nations General Assembly designated 1971 as the "International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination". During that year the UN made the practice of racism and racial discrimination an international crime, and reaffirmed that colonialism and apartheid were international crimes against mankind. These UN directives are especially important for people living under the yoke or influence of capitalism and colonialism. —

Today the U.S. ruling class is the ideological and material leader in supporting racism in the world. The historical policy of overt genocide and racism against the American Indians, Black, and Spanish speaking nationalities, and the latest racist imperialist war in Vietnam by the U.S. qualifies the U.S. as one of the countries that should be indicted by the UN for committing acts of racial discrimination and genocide. Furthermore, the U.S. provides moral and material support for South Africa, Rhodesia, Israel and Portugal to continue their racial crimes against African peoples. The Socialist and "Third" countries have condemned these practices.

With the U.S. suffering setbacks around the world, and the Socialist world growing stronger, and with the liberations movements marching to victory in Southern Africa, racism and genocide as practiced by the capitalist world and their puppets will increase against oppressed people.

However, the UN directives set the stage for oppressed people to intensify their struggle against capitalism and racism. One of the ways that this can be done is by developing and encouraging proletarian internationalism, a unity of the total working class. More importantly, in order to stop the Nixons and Vor-

sters, the White working class and progressives must fight racism, U.S. and Western chauvinism much harder than has been done in the past. Only if Whites take the fight against racism into their own communities will the UN directives on racism be truly won.



### Under Racism, Man Either Becomes Less Than A Man, Or He Must Fight

by President Julius K. Nyerere

(Following is a short summary of an address given by the President of Tanzania before the commemorative session of the 25th anniversary of the U.N. — Ed.)

The purpose of the United Nations is the preservation of peace. But no one has ever suggested that this means the preservation of evil. On the contrary, the Charter of the U.N. makes it clear that peace can only be maintained on the basis of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

The task of the U.N. is thus much more than the prevention of violence between men and between nations. It has to pro-

mote justice and human equality. And it has to fight against the forces of injustice and inequality.

In particular, the U.N. has to act against the forces of racialism and colonialism. For these represent the kind of tyranny and oppression which deny all hope to men, and which therefore force them to express their humanity through violence. A man can change his religion if he wishes; he can accept a different political belief—or in both cases give the appearance of doing so—if this would relieve him of intolerable circumstances. But no man can change his colour or his race. And if he suffers because of it, he must either become less than a man, or he must fight. And for good or evil, mankind has been so created that many will refuse to acquiesce in their own degradation; they will destroy peace rather than suffer under it.

That is the position in southern Africa now. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa — now being imposed also in Namibia — and the colonial oppression of Portugal in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea (Bissau), have goaded the people to desperation.

### Lack of Action Precipitates Fighting

Until now, we have not acted in support of our verbal condemnations of *apartheid* and colonialism. We have given the peoples of southern Africa no hope of change. So they have begun to take up arms in their own defence, in defence of their manhood and their right to a life which is more than brutal existence. Yet so far the fighting is more a warning to the world than a real threat to the power of their oppressors — although it has certainly frightened them.

### Africa Cannot Survive Half Slave, Half Free

(continued on page 4)

# The Nationalities Question and Black Liberation

December 22, 1972 was the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a multinational state which was once called a "prison of nations". Hence it is appropriate that we look at and study the first state in history that has concretely practiced equality among nations and nationalities. The people of the U.S. are also living in a multi-national state, and should heed well the historic experience of the USSR if we wish to go forward as a nation-state at this most critical juncture in our history, a juncture in which the capitalist mode of production in this country is on a descending line of development. In this context, a new dimension must be given to the nationality question since such a descending line of development presents us with new questions on the problem of oppressed nations and nationalities. Such a descending line of development portends the increasing exclusion of sizeable proportions of the Black population and other oppressed peoples from a productive life. Such a descending line of development can lead to a local variety of apartheid, nay more, genocide. This type of descending line of development has already caused a profound crisis in bourgeois democracy not only in this country but throughout the imperialist world. As Lenin said, "the several demands of democracy including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a small part of the general democratic now general socialist world movement. In individual concrete cases the part may contradict the whole. If so, it must be rejected."

Hence, the question we must ask ourselves is the following; can we as Black people continue to advance our national democratic movement (the fight for jobs, peace, etc.) without contravening the working class movement? Firstly, we are an oppressed nationality, not a nation since we don't have a common territory and a common economy. We have been integrated into the economy, but we do live in separate communities, have a different psychological makeup, and a somewhat different history from other nationalities in this country, resulting in the emergence of an Afro-American national culture. The paradox of the whole situation (a paradox not generally known outside this country) is that the elements of a democratic, working class culture are more pronounced in the Afro-American nationality than in any other nationality. This is a product of a concrete historical movement. Just as the movement to complete the bourgeois democratic

revolution in Russia is intertwined with the proletarian revolution, so the fight to extend national rights to Black people in this country is intertwined with the struggle for advanced democracy in this country. Advanced democracy is the transitional form to the social revolution, provided that ideological relations are brought into the general democratic movement, the peace movement, and the trade union movements via mass political education of workers.

As a result of a century long struggle, since emancipation, the Afro-American nationality has become the most consistently democratic nationality in this country, more developed in its working class consciousness than the White workers of the oppressor nation, i.e. the U.S. The very opposite happened in the Soviet Union where Lenin led a continual, unremitting struggle against the various forms of chauvinism among the Russian people. Moreover, the objective fact that Afro-Americans may be the most highly proletarianized nationality on the planet, except for the socialist countries, has undoubtedly contributed to an instinctive working class outlook.

This is especially evidenced in the overwhelming influence of Black arts, music and literature on the mass culture; Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison among others. Although they were not conscious social realists, they had more pronounced elements of working class themes than the Hemingways, or Sinclair Lewis, etc. Moreover, the most advanced form of Afro-American music, popularly known as jazz, is probably the most advanced working class cultural production in the Western world in the twentieth century. It is not purely western music but has elements of African, European, American Indian and Asian themes as a result of the conscious efforts of its leading spokesmen (Thelonious Monk, being one of the high priests and also a former member of the French underground during World War II, fighting Nazism). Hence, it is an advanced form of international culture, i.e. working class culture where the best of Afro-American national culture is retained, its democratic and socialist content, despite Frank Kosky's effort to identify it with Black nationalism.

It is in this context, that the nationalities question must be posed. Posing of the question as integration vs. separation is a petty bourgeois posing of the question, since neither alternative is tenable under capitalism. Integration in this country is a form of bour-

geois cosmopolitanism (a disguised form of social chauvinism), and separation is a form of petty bourgeois nationalism that splits the working class. Hence, both positions are nationalist positions and are not mutually exclusive; they are two sides of the same coin. The slogan on the left, integration, is a centrist position if it does not combine the struggle for advanced democracy. One of its components is the fight against racism with ideological struggle to prevent this slogan from being reduced to a mere liberal credo. Lenin duly observed that the evasiveness of the Mensheviks, Trotsky, and Martov on the nationality question, objectively supports social imperialism. The ruling class intends to integrate the middle-strata of the Black community, some labor aristocrats, while separating a sizable proportion of the Afro-American community from the dominant socio-economic processes of this country (Apartheid??). This is not internationalism; this is cosmopolitanism, national nihilism.

Apropos petty bourgeois Black nationalism, we hold to Lenin's view, that, in all national movements, there should be a maximum of democracy and a minimum of nationalism. Many so-called Black nationalists who consistently fight against oppression are really national democrats. Many of them are opposed to the national nihilism implicit in our national variety of the liberal credo, and reject the rampant racism and great power chauvinism that literally infects this country. This "nationalism" of an oppressed people is not to be equated with the virulence of American nationalism. Any person who attacks petty bourgeois nationalism without attacking great power chauvinism with greater pungency is a chauvinist himself and is strengthening imperialism. After all, the sins of right opportunism produced the left sectarianism in a minor section of the Black liberation movements.

Finally, as Lenin said, "that is why, in this case, it is better to overdo rather than underdo, the concessions and leniency toward national minorities. That is why, in this case, the fundamental interest of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we never adopt a formal attitude to the national question, but always take into account the specific attitude of the proletarian of the oppressed (or small) nation toward the oppressor (or large nation)."

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## News Briefs

Ohio — The Southern African Relief Fund in Yellow Springs, Ohio which reflects the same spirit as the African American Solidarity Committee recently gave several hundred dollars to the African National Congress of South Africa. The Relief Fund has also collected several hundred pounds of clothing which it will send to one of the liberation movements in Africa as an expression of solidarity and friendship. On Nov. 10 SARF heard Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, A.N.C. representative to the U.N., who thanked the Yellow Springs community for their contributions to the A.N.C.

New York — A united front of progressive organizations recently announced the U.S. campaign to contribute \$50,000 to the building of the Nguyen Van Troi Children's Hospital in Hanoi. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, representing over 200 million youth from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, the U.S. initiated the campaign on a world scale as an expression of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. The May and September 1972 issues of the *African Agenda* explained the relationships between the developments in Africa and those in Vietnam. For further information and the sending of contributions, write to:

U.S. Nguyen Van Troi Hospital Committee  
29 West 15 Street — 7th Floor  
New York City, N.Y. 10011

## RACISM AND ZIONISM

The expansion of contacts between the ruling quarters of Israel and the South African racists is common knowledge. Less known is the story behind these long-standing ties.

The Jewish community in South Africa, which now numbers about 120,000, crystallized against the background of rampant racism. For a long time the South African government pursued a policy of whipping up anti-Semitism, restricting Jewish immigration and barring Jews from government service and the ruling political parties.

But for all that, enterprising Jewish businessmen, taking advantage of the still more oppressed status of the African population, managed to build up sizeable fortunes. A rather powerful stratum of the Jewish bourgeoisie emerged and established itself in the

engineering, food and garment industries, as well as film-making. At present the community is headed by diamond king Harry Oppenheimer.

Ideologically and politically the Jewish population is mainly under the control of the South African Zionist Federation, founded in 1895, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, established in 1912, also Zionist-led.

In 1948 a wholesale exodus to Israel began and since then proportionately more Jews have left South Africa than any other country. Many Jews with a South African background now occupy prominent posts in Tel Aviv, among them Foreign Minister Eban and World Zionist Organization President Pincus.

Roughly at the same time the South African Zionists and the government began to draw closer together. The

authorities lifted the ban on the admission of Jews into the Nationalist Party and gave them access to high posts in the state machine. For instance, the President of the Johannesburg United Hebrew Congregation, Dr. Percy Yutar, was appointed Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal in 1960. In 1963-64 he represented the prosecution in the trial of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress.

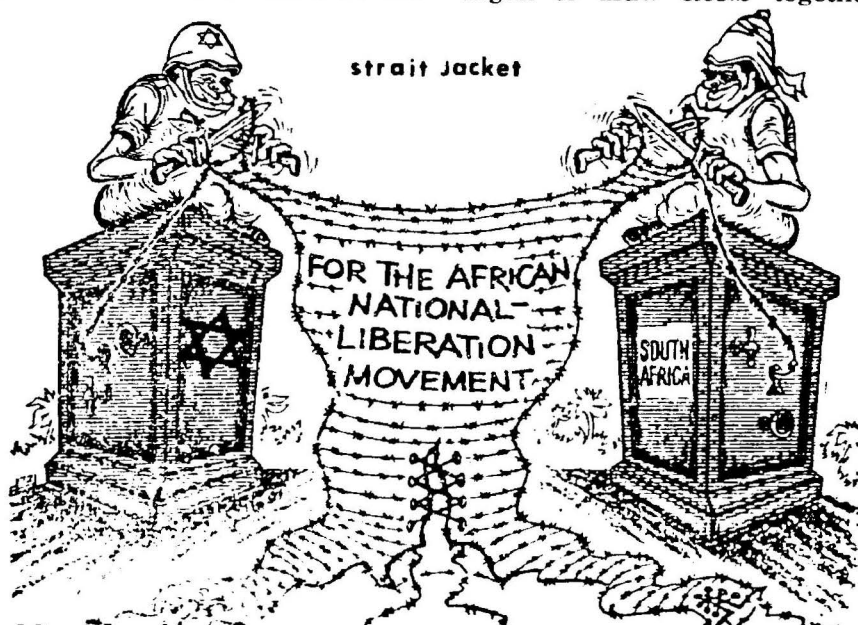
As they drew closer to the racist government, the Zionists became in effect its accomplices in the pursuance of the policy of apartheid, although at first they donned the mask of "non-involvement" in politics. Speaking at a conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London, the South African Zionist M. Weller said that the Jews as a community had decided to take no stand on the native question and were concentrating on helping Israel. Yet it was enough for Rabbi Andre Ungar, who was in charge of the Port Elizabeth Progressive Jewish Congregation from 1954 to 1956, to criticize apartheid to be removed from his post and deported from the country. Later the Zionists openly sided with the racist regime. Even at the time of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 which shocked the whole world a spokesman of the Jewish Board of Deputies openly declared: "The majority of us are supporting the Union government's policy in connection with apartheid."

The South African Zionist organizations act as a link between the South African and Israeli rulers. In recent years their influence on the government has notably increased. In particular, the Israeli aggression of 1967 brought Tel Aviv and Pretoria still closer together. For instance, Prime Minister Vorster gave official blessing to financial support of Israel and allowed "volunteers" to travel there for work in civilian and military institutions.

According to the journal *Africasia*, Israel plans to increase its exports to the South African Republic to \$20 million in 1973. Special emphasis is being placed on expanding contacts between the two countries in the military sphere. The South African racists are receiving from Tel Aviv Arava aircraft and UZI automatic weapons which are used against African patriots. And Pretoria proposes to supply Israel with tanks.

In response to the establishment in Israel of a society of friendship with the South African Republic, a South Africa-Israel friendship society has been set up in Pretoria. One of their avowed aims is discussion of problems relating to joint defence and promotion of co-operation in combatting Communism.

(continued on page 4)



## Recommended Books

1. *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism* by V. Lenin. A study of the national question, the question of the right to self-determination, and other important questions which are important for Black Americans and other people to understand. Price: \$1.85
2. *Man Who Cried Genocide* by W. Patterson. An important book by a famous Black liberation leader who charged the American government with committing genocide against Black Americans. Price: \$2.95
3. *Objective Justice*; (Quarterly Magazine Covering United Nations Activity Against Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism,) by the United Nations. An excellent publication covering the thinking of progressive peoples on racism and colonialism. A United Nations publication. Price \$1.25 quarterly. Special issue Vol. 3 No. 1 1971

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(continued from page 1)

If the right to self-determination existed for Tanzania, then it does exist for southern Africa. And if it does not exist for those peoples, then it does not exist for us either. This is recognized both by South Africa and by Tanzania. It is the root cause of the conflict between the free State of Africa and the *apartheid* regime of South Africa. For *apartheid* is the modern form of slavery — and Africa can no more survive half slave, half free, than could the United States of America. Our efforts to build non-racial societies are made more difficult because of *apartheid*. Conversely, the example of our freedom and our efforts in support of human dignity is a continual irritant to the slavemasters of South Africa and Portugal.

This is why talk of a non-aggression treaty between South Africa and Tanzania is such nonsense. Our conflict is about *apartheid* versus humanity and about our right to freedom. For racialism is itself an aggression against the human spirit, as colonialism is the result of past aggression against a people and a territory. We in Tanzania and the other peoples of Africa, have been and still are the victims of those aggressions. It is impossible for us to sign a non-aggression treaty with aggression itself. No country which considers itself a friend of Africa should try to persuade any African State to sign such a treaty with the murderers of our humanity. For an African Munich would no more bring peace than did the Munich of Europe in 1938. It would be a betrayal and as such it would weaken the struggle for justice everywhere. But ultimately it would not succeed in preventing the people from fighting for their freedom.

### No Peace Without Justice

The issues of southern Africa have been discussed so often that some Members of the U.N. express boredom, and ask why the matter is raised yet again. But the peoples of southern Africa are

not bored by their oppression; they are suffering it. They are not tired of repeating that they are oppressed, because their repetition is a cry for help.

The issue in southern Africa is one of principle. It does not allow for compromise, because compromise on a matter of human rights is a denial of those rights. Certainly I do not claim that Tanzania is faultless, or that offences against human rights never take place in my country. But it is one thing to try, and fail, and to try again. It is an entirely different matter to base the whole structure of your society on the denial of human rights. With a society of that kind, we compromise at our peril. For, ultimately, humanity will not be denied.

The prime function of the U.N. is to establish and to maintain peace. We know that there can be no peace without justice. The greater the movement for justice, the greater the chances for peace. I ask that all Members should work for peace in southern Africa by acting for justice now.

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(continued from page 3)

The Zionists also act as a Trojan horse for the racists in independent African countries, where they advocate a "dialogue" with the South African Republic. They have gone so far as to claim that *apartheid* plays a progressive role inasmuch as it gives an impetus to the development of African liberation movements by awakening a striving towards national self-determination.

However, the close ties between Israel and the South African Republic are not only a matter of the spiritual kinship and mutual sympathy linking the Zionists and the racists. They represent a political, or, to be more exact, a military-political alliance forming part of the global strategy of imperialism aimed against the liberation movements.

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