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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

Vol. 2, No. 4

April, 1973

Monthly 10 cents

Editorial

Black Americans and other progressive people must pay attention to events in the Middle East and support the just cause of the Arab peoples against Zionism which seeks to colonize Arab lands and act as an outpost of U.S. imperialism. The British and U.S. created state of Israel is often portrayed as a small country that has developed itself along the principles of "self-help" and "self-determination". The "Zionist model" that is currently being advertised in Africa and in the Black community in the U.S. as a model of development is another plan for the imperialist powers to further exploit Arab and African peoples and their resources. One aspect of the Zionist model advocates that all people of Jewish background ban together in the defense of Israel both morally and economically, and if possible to settle in Israel. This model has dangerous implications for Black Americans who would like to "help" Africa based on using Israel as an example of development.

Currently, the U.S. is trying to enlist certain Black Americans to invest or to settle in Africa with the full financial backing of U.S. corporations. The strategy is to use Black Americans as agents of U.S. capital penetration in Africa to counter the growing anti-imperialist sentiment among African leaders. This strategy, which is often called "Black Capitalism" in the U.S., is now being advanced by the U.S. government as a new type of "Pan-Africanism". General Amin of Uganda who recently has been encouraging Black Americans to come to Uganda, has also announced that Nixon is his "best friend". The plan of the U.S. imperialists is to use Uganda as a bridgehead of reaction against the progressive government of President Nyerere of Tanzania.

The "Zionist model" and Zionism must be strongly condemned by Black Americans and all progressive people. The Arab people who have been pushed off their land in the name of Zionism merit our full support. The recent Israeli raids in Lebanon further highlight the fact that imperialism

and their Zionist puppets will stop at nothing to weaken the Arab liberation movements. Black Americans must not only support the African liberation movements, but also the resistance movements of the Arab people against Israeli aggression.

Israel's African Fiasco

Israeli diplomats in Africa may be finding themselves out of a job. In the past nine months five African countries have broken off diplomatic relations and all forms of co-operation with Israel. Tel Aviv has had to close down its embassies in Uganda, Chad, the People's Republic of the Congo, Niger and Mali. For the leaders of these countries saw that Zionism was as dangerous to the Africans as to the Arabs, that Israel was an instrument of imperialism in Africa and its so-called aid was a means of interference in her peoples' affairs. The Cairo newspaper *Al Gumhuria* predicts that the example of these five will be followed by many other African states.

As far back as 1960, the famous "Year of Africa," Israel's then Premier Ben Gurion said outright that "Israel was the chief bulwark of the West in Africa" and stressed the importance to the "free world" of Israeli influence on the newly-independent African nations.

The Israeli leaders took on this function the more readily as it fitted in admirably with their own schemes. What they wanted was to isolate the Arab countries of the continent from "Black" Africa, deprive them of the support of African public opinion, entrench themselves in the rear of the Arab world.

Launching its African drive in 1960, Tel Aviv was pretty successful at first: within a few years it had co-operation agreements with 21 African countries and embassies in 31. Israeli "advisers" of every description poured into Africa; hundreds of Africans were sent to study in Israel. There are some 40 joint Afro-Israeli companies which Israel supplies with the necessary equipment and technicians. Despite relatively modest official African aid approp-

riations — only 4.8 million dollars a year — Israel is vigorously pursuing economic and trade expansion in Africa: it is financing hotel construction in Kenya, Tanzania, the Ivory Coast and Nigeria, is involved in the valuable-timber industry of Zaire and Gabon, is prospecting for oil in Ghana, Gabon, Madagascar. . .

Where does the money for it all come from? Under the headline "Israeli Trojan Horse in Africa" the Ghanaian *Evening News* writes that the answer is not far to seek, it is neo-colonialism: forced gradually out of Africa, the imperialists are trying to return by the back door.

Operating in Africa under Israeli signboards are American, British, West German firms. There is American capital, for example, in the Israeli Solel Boneh company, which does construction work in various African countries; and Common Market monopolies are involved in Amron Electronics, which sells radio equipment in West and Central Africa.

According to Leopold Laufer, author of a study called "Israel and the Developing Countries," the United States helped with Israeli "youth programmes" in the Central African Republic and Dahomey, while Britain and West Germany co-operate actively in practically all Israel's economic undertakings in Africa.

"Economic aid" is often used as a cover for subversive activity. With the help of Western intelligence services Israel has set up a big spy network in Africa. Besides his official duties, well-nigh every Israeli expert, teacher and businessman there performs functions of an espionage and subversive character, which in some cases are in fact his main job.

Wherever troubles and fratricidal conflict have developed in Africa, Israeli agents have, it has subsequently emerged, had a hand. The American magazine *Africa Report* writes that Israel is particularly active in the countries just south of the North African states, working to prevent any unity between Arab and non-Arab Africans. The "Biafra" rebels, the secessionists in the Southern Sudan, and so on, all had the support of Tel Aviv.

(continued on page 4)

The Creation of a Zionist State

The American media gives very little information about the so-called "Middle East Crisis". In order to understand the charges and countercharges, it is necessary to look at the historical roots of the problem. The first thing to clarify is that the Palestinian people are not "anti-Jewish" (the term anti-semitic does not make sense here since the Arabs are also a semitic people). Jewish people have lived in the Middle East for thousands of years. These same "oriental jews" suffer a second class status at the hands of their Zionist brothers in Israel. The Arab people are against ZIONISM.

Zionism has always been a reactionary nationalist movement led by the European bourgeois and petty bourgeois Jews. The World Zionist Organization was founded in Basle in 1897. The Basle Congress (1897) clearly stated the goals of Zionism: "The object of Zionism is the establishment for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." The congress went on to outline the following plan:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the COLONIZATION of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

As early as 1896, Herzl, a Zionist leader, stated that the Jews in Palestine "should form a part of wall of defense in Europe and Asia an outpost of civilization against barbarism." At that time there were only 17,000 Jews in Palestine. The Zionists began to immediately work on their four point program. They entered into lengthy negotiations with the various European governments. At one point, the Zionists seriously considered the British offer to settle in Uganda. Palestine was at that time part of the Turkish Empire. During World War I, Turkey was an ally of Germany; the Arab peoples aligned with the British to overthrow the Turks. But the British had no intention of letting Palestine become independent. In the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the British stated, "His Majesty's government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that NOTHING SHALL BE DONE WHICH MAY PREJUDICE THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF EXISTING NON-JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN PALESTINE of the

rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Later the League of Nations assigned most of the Middle East to England and France as "mandated" territory. Needless to say no Arab representative agreed to this arbitrary transfer of Palestine to British hands (with plans to eventually be transferred to the Zionists), but then they were deliberately *not* consulted. Balfour, the British foreign minister stated in 1919 that "In Palestine we do not propose even going through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country." Thus dismissing with a word 97% of the population.

In the thirties under the British mandate, the underground activities of the budding Zionist army greatly expanded. During that period guns were collected (illegally through the British army) and the underground railroad to bring illegal Jewish immigrants to Palestine was established. The Palestinian people responded to British colonialism and its support of Zionist activities. In the cities, workers went on long strikes and began to organize the peasants in the countryside. In 1937 this general uprising amongst the people forced the British colonialists to appeal to "friendly" Arab leaders to stop the strikes and violence. Portions of the bourgeois and feudal leadership amongst the Arabs collaborated with the British by spying and forming "peace teams" to attack rebel forces. World War II (1939) brought this revolutionary thrust of the Palestinian workers and peasants to a halt. However some of the reactionary Arab leaders led by Hajj Amin al-Huseini collaborated with the Nazis in an attempt to rid themselves of the British.

By 1946 the Jewish population had grown to 650,000 and they were in possession of 5.6% of the land. The Arab population was 1,293,000 and they owned over 90% of the land. It was at this point in history that the United Nations tried to resolve the problem in the Middle East. In 1946, the Soviet Union demanded at the U.N. that British troops withdraw immediately from Palestine and that the Palestinian people be given their independence. There was some reluctance on the part of some Arab states to help push the issue and the UN decided not to consider the question that year. In the 1947 session of the UN the Soviet Union again accused England of colonialism and demanded Palestinian independence. They urged the formation of a unified bi-national Palestine.

The partition plan called for the creation of a "Jewish State" to occupy 56% of the land with a population that would be 498,000 Jews and 497,000 Arabs. The Arab state was to occupy 43% of the land with 10,000 Jews and 725,000 Arabs. The Palestinian people now supported by the

Letter to the Editor

Dear Editor,

I have read very little about the Arab liberation movements in the Middle East, and the nature of their struggle. Where can I find some information about these groups and the type of struggle they are waging against the Israeli aggression.

In Struggle
Wali Sadike, New York

Editor's Reply:

The Palestinian resistance against Israeli aggression is being waged principally by five organizations which form the Palestine Liberation Organization, the steering body for the movements. Al Fateh, led by Yasir Arafat (also the leader of the PLO), is the largest of the five organizations of Fedayeen — Arabic for self-sacrificers — as the liberation fighters call themselves. The second largest is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine under the leadership of George Habash. The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine is the third group headed by Nayef Hawatmeh. The fourth group, Saigua, is based in Syria. The Arab Liberation Front is in Iraq and the smallest of the five groups.

The military sections of these organizations and the Palestine Liberation Army of the PLO maintains forces in Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan and represents an armed fighting force of over 50,000 men and women. Further information can be obtained from the Arab Information Center, 405 Lexington Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017 or from Fateh, P.O. Box 5427, Beirut, Lebanon.

Arab States rejected this partition plan. They pointed out that the UN had no right to arbitrarily violate the wishes of two thirds of the country, and that the partition violated the UN principle of the right to self determination.

Having won a victory in the UN, the Zionists immediately confirmed Arab fears by waging a war in 1948-49. They attacked defenseless villages, drove thousands upon thousands of Arabs off their lands and more than doubled the size of Israel indicated in the UN plan. In 1956 and again in 1967 the Zionists invaded more Arab territory. They have been successful in their 1897 goal to drive the Arab people off the land and establish a Zionist state. These wars have created hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees, crowded into camps struggling to regain their land.

Israel is the "front man" for Western imperialism in the Middle East and Africa. Their expansion is a threat to all progressive forces on the African continent.

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News Briefs

New York — In an attempt to preserve U.S. imperialism's hold on Arab oil, three Arab leaders have recently been appointed to the Arabian-American Oil Co. Board of Directors. The three are Prince Saud al Faysal, Deputy Minister of Petroleum, Shiek Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Minister of Petroleum, and Dr. Abdul Hady Taher, a governor of Petromin, the Saudi-Arabian national oil company.

The present oil crisis in the West necessitates that U.S. imperialism stabilize its relationships with the conservative Arab governments, and invite conservative Arab leaders to play a small part in collective exploitation of Arab resources and people.

New York — Roy Innis, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, recently returned from Uganda and announced plans to bring Black Americans to Uganda to fill technical and aid posts vacated by expelled Asian workers. Uganda, under the leadership of General Amin, is viewed by the U.S. capitalists as a country which is ripe for Afro-Americans' Black capitalist schemes, and as an area from which to launch aggression against the progressive government of President Nyerere of Tanzania. Recently General Amin announced that President Nixon was his "best friend" and "... one of the most brilliant leaders in the Western World".

The Fuel Crisis and The Middle East

Karl Marx once said that the social metabolic process is a process of connected exchange. Truer words have never been stated. This is doubly so in dealing with the so-called fuel crisis which directly relates to the Middle East, a source of 75% of known oil reserves in the world. In the colonial and semi-colonial past, the super exploitation of this area had resulted in super profits for a few oil magnates and an occasional Arab feudal chieftain but very little benefit for the rank and file Arab or Iranian. As we enter a new era of international relations in which a small group of imperialist nations can no longer dictate their will to the world, Arab oil can become a lubricant par excellence for economic independence.

The so-called fuel crisis is not the result of an absence of fossilized energy, but the absence of means of payment by major imperialist countries due to their loss of arbitrary control of the currency reserves and price formations in the Middle East. The historic pattern of unequal relations of exchange between the imperialist countries and the newly emerging nations is coming to an end, but not without a struggle. The class struggle is taking the form of determining the character of the ownership of natural resources in the Third World, who owns the resources of the Third World, and how these production relations are used for purposes of social development. In addition, interimperialist contradictions are rising among the major powers over these fundamental questions.

The two alternative forms of transfer of ownership to Arabs are participation agreements versus nationalization decrees; the first emphasizes private ownership of the oil resources; the second, state control. Both positions constitute an effort on the part of Middle Eastern states to seek out forms of transition to economic independence. Even conservative Arabs and Iranians are becoming nationalists.

However, we contend that the participation agreements entered into by the conservative states, Saudi Arabia and Iran principally, will not lead to economic independence, but to the transformation of these states from raw material appendages of the imperialist countries to a part of the structure of metropolitan countries (as predicted by Tyagunenko in his article in Feb., 1972 *World Marxist Review*). In a word, they will be choosing the capitalist path of development.

Sheik Yamani of Saudi Arabia personifies the conservative approach when he "called for participation because the alternative notion conflicted with our way of thinking and our economic system." As Yamani said, he wants to squeeze the goose without cooking it. However, with the absence of domestic socio-economic reforms, Saudi Arabia would have to export its surplus capital to acquire equity (ownership) in industry in the metropolitan countries; initially Saudi Arabia will acquire 25% ownership, which will gradually increase to 51% ownership since capital outflows are debts on international accounts. The balance of payments crisis would be even more horrendous than it is if such outflows are not allowed. Some publicists recommend that the oil-producing nations become patrons of development in other developing areas.

Iran also sought participation rather than nationalization. Iran, however, went much further than Saudi Arabia, demanding that oil firms sharply increase their daily production or leave when their contracts expire (see *Wall Street Journal*, January 24, 1973). Iran demands that oil production be raised in her country from 5 million barrels a day to 8 million. The Western oil companies strongly objected. It seems that the so-called fuel crisis was contrived by monopoly capital arbitrarily restricting production to inflate prices. The abruptness of the takeover by conservative

Iran irked the Western oil companies intensely.

It seems that some Iranians have studied in the Oil and Gas Institutes in the Soviet Union. By the middle of March, 1973, Iran had placed the decisions of the international oil consortium under direct management control of the Iranian Government with the Western consortium becoming a service company. Iran also received assurances from West Germany and Japan that they will provide expansion finance if Iran commits herself to sell the increased oil output to them without going through the Anglo-American firms. Ultra-imperialism is still a counter-revolutionary nation. Contradictions among imperialist powers are still with us.

An April, 1973, *European Affairs* article stated that it was inconceivable that Europe and Japan would protect an Anglo-Saxon oil monopoly, especially France whose position in the Middle East had been continually weakened in the post war period. Europe receives 75% of its oil supply from the Middle East, Japan 90% compared to U.S. 27%. Japan has no oil reserves. France has dissociated itself from a pro-Israeli policy; she has undertaken a fervid courtship of conservative Arabs, in an effort to recoup her political losses resulting from her intervention in the Arab-Israeli war of 1956.

The model for progressive nationalization of oil resources took place in Iraq, the fourth largest producer of oil, who nationalized the International Petroleum Company in June, 1972. Two weeks after signing a Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Iraq joined a National Front with Baath (Nationalist) Party to consolidate their nationalization. Much of the oil will be marketed in the socialist countries combined with a trebling of production to meet the needs of Western oil companies which were cutting back production (40% between January and May of 1972) to undermine the financial basis for the progressive program of socio-economic reforms undertaken by the Iraqi government. The presence of new markets in the socialist countries and India prevented these acts of economic aggression (boycott of supplies) from succeeding, as occurred in Nkrumah's Ghana with the consequent fall in cocoa prices. India helped to develop the oil deposits by using the instrumentality of their state-owned Oil and Natural Gas Commission. A three part agreement among the Soviet Union, Iraq, and India transferred technicians to the Middle East to train the Iraqi peoples in the production and marketing of oil. Iraq will pay for the Indian technical assistance by marketing some of the oil in India. Moreover, the Soviet Union constructed a pipeline across Egypt from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

(continued on page 4)

4 Recommended Books

1. *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics*, by Human Lumer. An excellent book on the role of Zionism as an agent of U.S. imperialism. International Publishers, N.Y., Price, \$2.45.
2. *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, by V. Lutsky. A short history of the major events in the Middle East through World War II. Imported Publications, Chicago. Price, \$2.25.
3. *Caution: Zionism!* by I. Ivanov. A good analysis of the main features of contemporary Zionism and its collusion with U.S. imperialism. Imported Publications, Chicago. Price, \$1.50.
4. *The Arabs in Israel*, by Sabri Jiryis. A short history of the Arab people in Israel from 1948-1966. The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, Lebanon. Price, \$2.00.
5. *International Affairs*. Monthly journal of commentary and analysis of world affairs. Imported Publications, Chicago. Price, \$5.00 a year.

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The AFRICAN AGENDA is published by the African American Solidarity Committee. All correspondence should be sent to P. O. B. 1941, Chicago, 60690 Ill. Subscription price for the U.S. and Canada: Regular mail one dollar per year. Bookstores and organizations that order a bulk number of 10 or more are allowed a special discount of 40%. Foreign price: Please include one dollar extra per year to handle postage. The African American Solidarity Committee seeks to inform interested people on the social, political, and economic developments in Africa. Anyone interested in the Committee should write to the above address.

Harold S. Rogers Editor
Bert Phillips Art Editor

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(continued from page 1) FIASCO

Last May Uganda uncovered a plot to overthrow President Idi Amin which had been instigated by Israeli intelligence. Israeli propaganda had talked no end about the "equal co-operation" with Uganda and the "disinterested" assistance that country was being given. But after Uganda, incensed at Tel Aviv's actions, broke off relations with it, this "disinterested generosity" took the form of a \$20 million list of claims presented to it by Israel.

The exposure of the "quiet Israelis" in Uganda, the Johannesburg *Star* was obliged to admit, had sullied Israel's reputation in the eyes of other African states.

But no less than by its subversive activities Tel Aviv is compromised in the eyes of the Africans by its ever closer ties with their worst enemies, the colonialists and racists. The Israelis sell arms to the Portuguese colonial army, send instructors to take direct part in operations against the guerillas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and co-operate closely with the Portuguese security services. Shortly before his tragic death the other day, the leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, Amilcar Cabral, stated that "Israel's actions are not confined to supplying the Portuguese with weapons to kill our people. Israel is also trying to sabotage our fight by using individuals from our country who call themselves 'patriots' but in fact are Portuguese agents: these men are sent to Israel and afterwards smuggled into our ranks."

Israel's alliance with South Africa is common knowledge. Leaders of both admit their "traditional ties." South Africa has an internationally significant Jewish community and prominent Israeli figures were born there, among them Foreign Minister Abba Eban, President of the World Zionist Organization Louis Pincus and Israeli Ambassador in Britain Michael Comay.

It is not fortuitous that the "unrepentant nazi" Vorster and Golda Meir are both in the same camp, that of Africa's enemies. To quote the journal *African Communist*, "the Republic of South Africa in the south, the state of Israel in the north (are) the twin armed juggernauts of imperialism, united to throttle the African revolution."

So that the action of Uganda, the Congo, Chad, Mali and Niger in breaking off diplomatic Progressive opinion in the African and Arab countries has welcomed it. The Israeli expansionists African schemes are falling through.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman announced on January 14 that Tel Aviv was planning to extend its programme of aid to African countries. But it would be naive to imagine that that will enable it to improve its political position in Africa (From NEW TIMES No. 4, 1973)

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(continued from page 3) FUEL CRISIS

nean to cut the transportation costs of Iraqi oil in lieu of the closed Suez Canal.

It was not only the backing of the Soviet Union that allowed Iraq to consolidate her nationalization process, but also the backing of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization representing 50 countries which met in Bagdad to mobilize public opinion against the united attack of international imperialism on Iraqi nationalization. Iraq has set a historic precedent viz, the signing of agreements of association with the CMEA countries (the Socialist Common Market) although she is not a socialist country. Mr. Penzin in his article "Oil and Independence" *International Affairs*, October 1972, described Iraqi nationalization as a link in the chain of the anti-imperialist struggle and concluded that the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation placed Iraq at a new level of international relations.

In conclusion, we can say that a new international division of labor based on mutually beneficial ties, growing at twice the speed of old plunderous relations, are creating new opportunities for the advancement of the non-capitalist road of development via the anti-feudal national democratic front. The alternative to such an anti-feudal democratic Middle East is the creation of a series of military-feudal bureaucratic states that would have to aggress upon each other. Moreover, the whole structure of inequality in exchange is being smashed. This will result in Arab money becoming "the number one problem of the world monetary system during the next decade" i.e. if the Arab states remain at the feudal stage of development. Don't bet on it though. Finally, the freeing of all oil resources and other natural resources from all forms of foreign control is now becoming a general principle of international law. Socialist countries own no basic means of production outside their respective countries even when they give extensive financial and technical assistance.

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