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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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★ Special Issue Devoted to African Liberation Day ★

African Liberation Day! Our Responsibility

During the month of May many people in the U.S. and throughout the world will hold rallies and demonstrations in solidarity with the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity and with the African liberation movements. May 26 was officially proclaimed African Liberation Day by the OAU.

African Liberation Day is especially important in light of the fact that U.S. imperialism has just suffered a big defeat in Viet Nam which has forced U.S. foreign policy to undergo some modifications with respect to its policy toward the African countries. Africa is increasingly becoming the area of major attention for the U.S. imperialists because of the vast amounts of oil, gold, and other natural resources the cheap labor force, and the profit made from the export of capital. Already there are over 300 U.S. corporations in South Africa. U.S. policy in Africa has, in the last three years, become much more aggressive. The U.S. government supports economically and militarily the Portuguese colonial aggression (as with the 436 million dollar Azores Agreement), underwrites the Israeli national budget (the Zionist state represents U.S. aggressive policy in the Middle East against Arab and North African countries), and supplies NATO arms to South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to suppress the national liberation movements in Southern Africa.

In order to express true solidarity with the 10th anniversary of the founding of the O.A.U. and to support the African people in their fight against exploitation and oppression, Black Americans and other progressive people must fight against Nixon's attack on labor and domestic programs and demand that:

- 1) U.S. workers boycott South African

- goods in the U.S. and U.S. corporations that have investments in South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, and the other Southern African countries; 2) Support the O.A.U. and the African liberation movements by giving material and moral support; 3) Publicize the struggles of the African liberation movements and the nature of U.S. imperialism in Africa; 4) Demand that the U.S. renounce the Azores Agreement and the supplying of NATO weaponry to Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and 5) Support the Palestinian people and the U.N. resolution on the Middle East which calls for the withdrawal of Israel to its pre-June 1967 borders.

True support and solidarity for the African people can only come when all people unite to fight capitalism at home and abroad. Anything less than this will surely aid the enemies of the African people.

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and African Workers

On May 25-27, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) will hold their second annual convention in Washington D.C. The CBTU will mainly be concerned with the Nixon Administration's budget cuts, and their present attack on the labor movement. The Staff of the *African Agenda* and the African American Solidarity Committee join all progressive forces in support of the thrust of this convention.

At this time in history, we must fight against the attack to destroy the labor movement in the U.S. and support the rights of the working class in the rest of the world. In South Africa, the Black

working class has no trade union rights and are not allowed to form trade unions of their choice. The Black South African is not allowed to bargain collectively with their employers and are discriminated against in the skilled job categories. Seventy per cent of the Black South African working class is classified below the poverty level of 80 dollars per month; they do not receive any type of workers' compensation. Over 300 U.S. corporations are in South Africa; these corporations support the South African government's policy of apartheid. The only trade union organization which speaks for the Black workers, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, has been banned from South Africa. African workers are specifically excluded from the definition of "employees" and are thus deprived of the right to register their trade unions.

In light of these facts we call upon the CBTU and other unions to:

- 1) support the right of all South African workers to organize themselves into trade unions and to engage in collective bargaining directly with their employers;
- 2) refuse to handle goods from South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Portuguese colonies in Africa (the International Longshoremen Association-AFL-CIO has set a good example by refusing to unload Rhodesian chrome shipments in certain cities in the U.S.);
- 3) organize boycotts of U.S. corporations that have investments in South Africa until the South African government changes its apartheid policies;
- 4) demand that the bans imposed on the African political organizations in 1960 be lifted; and
- 5) speak out against technicians or any skilled manpower going to South Africa.

★ ★ ★

The Anti-Imperialist Front and Black Workers

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam has led to the intensification of her expansionist activities in other parts of the world. Two of the most important fronts in the anti-imperialist struggle — fronts that will increasingly dominate the headlines in the newspapers — are Africa and the Middle East. The political positions of progressive Americans, including Afro-Americans, will be severely tested over the next few years as the Arab and African liberation movements deepen their unity. Ideological clarity on these questions is a necessity if we wish to advance further our struggle for democracy in this country and peace overseas. One cannot have a progressive domestic policy while supporting the expansion of U.S. imperialism overseas.

The *African Agenda* has emphasized that the fight of the U.S. working class for immediate gains and the Afro-Americans for equal rights cannot be posed in a way that would thwart the general social development of the national liberation movements in Africa. In a word, we cannot support the extension of capitalism into Africa without supporting the *actual re-colonization of Africa*. Just as classical colonialism was a transitional stage to neo-colonialism, neo-colonialism will become a transitional stage to actual re-colonization by the transport of surplus unemployed labor in metropolitan countries to African countries. This new stage of neo-colonialism can be rebuffed by creative political, economic, and, yes, military measures undertaken by the Africans. For the past two hundred years, every period immediately following an economic crisis in Western capitalism occasioned a mass upsurge of immigration of unemployed workers to "virgin land" with its concomitant genocide of the indigenous population of that land (this was duly noted by Pletnev in *International Migration and the World Economic System*).

We are now in the most profound socioeconomic crisis in our national history. This is a world-wide crisis. There is an inflationary binge taking place in South Africa as well as rampant structural problems in the state of Israel — South Africa and Israel being the two gendarme nations that are trying to roll back the African liberation movements. Some progressive Africans suspect that an African "Munich" is brewing on the Zambian and Tanzanian borders involving the possibility of Israeli-style invasions of independent African nations. Nixon's doctrine proposes that other nations take on police responsibilities in the world in addition

to promoting tribal and national strife among Africans while pushing forward white settlement colonies in Africa. Workers of all races must oppose this.

The demands of American workers for a pay raise does not take precedence over the social development of the world. We must go beyond economism and put these economic demands forward in a non-reformist manner. As No. 53, 1973 of the *African Communist* states, "The world must understand the gravity of the situation on the Zambezi River, for it is here that the shape of Africa tomorrow is being decided. Is Africa to be a collection of client states of the imperialist powers, policed by the forces of Israel and South Africa, her material and human resources looted for the benefit of hangers-on?"



Imamu Baraka said that the moderate Negro is the person who goes to work in the "white boy's factory". Black workers will have to replace these charlatans who are attacking the concept of the anti-imperialist front. These varieties of chauvinism support the expansion of capitalism and imperialism. They are a part of the imperialist front. Lenin described this phenomenon in another period of history when he stated, "But what we Europeans (the U.S. did not have extensive neo-colonies at that time), the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the world's people, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism call colonial wars are often national wars, or national rebellion of these oppressed peoples. One

of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates capitalist development in the most backward countries and thereby extends and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and tantamount to European (sic. American) chauvinism in practice." (Vol. 23, p. 78).

The Africans and Arabs with the assistance of the socialist countries are going to repel this effort at re-colonization. Black workers must support this effort with petitions, boycotts, and sympathetic strikes as was done with the Rhodesian chrome shipment. The anti-monopoly struggle in this country is an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle overseas. The export of capital (investments in Africa) is the economic basis of neo-colonialism contributing to a slow down in the rate of development of our country. Progressive Blacks may have to convince the white working class that racism, great power chauvinism and nationalism are against their immediate economic interests. Workers are going to lose their jobs!! Especially Black workers since most of the exported jobs are semi-skilled and unskilled. Presumably, the white emigrants will become the labor aristocracy as they are in South Africa. Premier Nguabi of Congo-Brazzaville has admonished African statesmen about this possibility of the crystallization of a small section of privileged workers who work against the interests of the masses of working people.

Premier Nguabi's insight attests to the fact that the African liberation movement is at a new stage where the resolution of the national question of African liberation requires a resolution of the social question of the path of social development. These two questions cannot be separated. Black workers must oppose the capitalist path of development and neocolonialism which will lead to military bureaucracy. We must support the path of development that is and was supported by progressive leaders; namely, Du Bois, Ho Chi Minh, Castro, Sekou Toure, Nyerere, Allende, Kim Il Sung, Indira Gandhi, Cabral, Nasser, Nguabi, and other progressive leaders; the non-capitalist path of development which will promote social progress.

★ ★ ★

The African Agenda needs funds. Please send all financial contributions to our mailing address.

Racial and Political Repression in the U.S.

(The following are excerpts from the keynote address delivered by Angela Davis at the founding conference for a National Defense Organization against Racist and Political Repression. The conference was held in Chicago from May 11-13, 1973.)

Throughout the history of this country, the heaviest burden of repression and suffering has been borne by peoples of color. Even when the brunt of the repression shifts to countries outside U.S. borders, Black, Brown, Red and Yellow people still find themselves under attack.

The ideology of racism has been systematically used to justify this subjugation. Moreover, racism has been invoked historically as an efficient tool of division. It has been used to divide peoples of color among each other — we remember, for example, that Black Buffalo soldiers were sent to attack the Indians. By systematically imposing racist attitudes on the majority white worker and farmer population, racism has been used to sever peoples of color from those who would otherwise be their natural allies.

In exploring the first two eras of the history of this country, we have seen that repression is not new to this country. Repression is invoked both here and abroad whenever large numbers of people begin to democratically assert their collective will and thus have to be suppressed if the old ways of oppression are to continue to prevail. Repression is used both by the owners of wealth and the state which reflects their views, for the purpose of quelling and eliminating real and potential opposition to the oppressive status quo.

If we examine the background of the present era, we discover that since the United States became an imperialist power, there have been many new developments. Over fifty years ago, the Bolshevik Revolution removed one-sixth of the world's land mass from foreign domination. After the second World War, we witnessed the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Bulgarian and Cuban revolutions. In Eastern and Central Europe, fascism was defeated and the socialist camp began to grow tremendously. Today, one-third of the people of the world are no longer within the orbit of imperialism. When the heroic Vietnamese people tied down the U.S. military apparatus for a dozen years and finally expelled it from South Vietnam, an extraordinary victory over imperialism was achieved.

The physical and ideological strength of all the socialist countries have changed



ed world relations. This change has made it possible for national liberation movements to realistically push on towards victory. Consider Africa, for example. As Amilcar Cabral himself pointed out, before he was assassinated, this change in the world relations, this growing strength of socialism, has allowed the movement inside Portuguese Guinea to reach a point where the freedom fighters are on the verge of defeating the colonialists. This new shift in world relations allows countries in this very hemisphere to seek real paths of self-determination. Chile, Peru and now Panama can thus stand up to the colossus of North America.

We are facing a new historical situation. The ruling class of this country finds itself in a new era, an era in which they are confronted with rising threats to their power. It is within this context that we should try to understand the fascist seed contained in the presently existing repression.

The ruling class is being thrust into a desperate situation. Their options abroad have been severely limited. Internationally, U.S. corporations can no longer plunder, exploit and oppress at will. People's movements resist their presumptuous incursions. The severe crisis of their currency — the U.S. dollar — is yet another symptom of the decline of their global influence. But the fact that U.S. corporations can no longer call all their shots abroad should not lead us to conclude that they have given up the game. On the contrary, their strategy is to resort to all the dirty tricks they can contrive. They not only utilize the military apparatus. They call upon the conspiracies and sabotage operations of the CIA and other official conspiratorial agencies.

The corporations and their protectors in government are now engaging in open alliances with the most racist, the

Strategy for a Black Agenda

by
Henry Winston

(The following article is from a forthcoming book listed in the Recommended Books section on page 4. The article has been edited for this publication. Ed.)

Colonial Thesis

Of course there are many similarities between the oppression of the Black minority in the U.S. and of present and former imperialist-controlled colonies. But in terms of strategy for the Black liberation movement in the U.S., the differences in status outweigh the similarities in oppression.

In colonially-subjugated countries, the people's movement emerges in the struggle for independence from foreign domination of the country and its economy. When independence is won, the economy of the country, depending on circumstances, comes either under the control of the people or of the national bourgeoisie allied with neo-colonialism.

But can the struggle against racist oppression in this country enable either the Black bourgeoisie or the Black masses, a minority within the country, to take control of the state and the economy? Even to ask the question suggests the absurdity of the "Black colony" or "Black capitalism" concept.

Those who use the colonial theory as the basis for advocating "Black capitalism" do so in order to give the word "capitalism" a revolutionary sound. In fact, placing "Black" next to "capitalism" is supposed to cancel out the negatives that people now associate with capitalism. Even to get the ear of the Black masses, any proposed solution to the hard fact of oppression must at least appear to have revolutionary potential.

At a time when the people's anti-imperialist movements all over the world — from Hanoi to Santiago — find that even independence does not mean liberation unless a non-capitalist, socialist direction is taken, it is ironic that some in the Black liberation movement who consider themselves revolutionary, propose "Black capitalism" as the solution to oppression.

Those who talk of taking over the economy of the ghettos either through "Black revolution" or "Black capitalism" as the solution to oppression.

Those who talk of taking over the economy of the ghettos either through "Black revolution" or "Black capitalism" fail to understand the funda-

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4 Recommended Books

Angola in Arms, Information organ of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Distributed by the Liberation Support Movement Information Center, P.O.B. 338, Richmond, B.C. Canada. Price, \$3.00.

Mozambique Revolution, Official organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Dept. of Information, P.O.B. 15274, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Price. \$5.00 per year.

PAIGC Actualities, Quarterly English edition of the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau. Distributed by the Liberation Support Movement. Information Center, P.O.B. 338, Richmond, B.C. Canada. Price, \$3.00 per year.

Strategy for a Black Agenda, by Henry Winston. An excellent book on issues that are affecting African and Black Americans. International Publishers, N.Y., June publication. Price, \$2.25.

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Harold S. Rogers Editor
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most fascist regimes abroad. Take, for example, the growing ties with the Vorster regime in South Africa. Consider, again, the projected dismantling of an Akron, Ohio Firestone rubber plant, the laying off of its predominantly Black workers and the erection of this plant in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique where African workers will be paid a mere 20 cents a day.

Is it not possible to say that a ruling class willing to support fascism abroad will not find it difficult to resort to fascist tactics at home — especially if it is a question of rescuing themselves and their profits. The rulers are desperate . . . because their profits are indeed being threatened abroad. They have decided to try to compensate for these losses by turning on working people and poor people here at home. As with any escalation of domestic oppression, Black, Brown, Red and Yellow people will suffer hardest and longest.

This desperation is the content of the wage freezes — wage freezes complemented by price-gouging of consumers. This is also the meaning of the budget cuts — the elimination of any pretense at welfare, the dismantling of the so-called poverty programs, the cuts in medical assistance, financial assistance for students, etc., etc. These things are simply unprofitable for the capitalist — controlled economy. This new drive profits . . . is being pursued at the expense of working people.

Already, the material base for fascism has been established. We should remember that in 1935, George Dimitrov noticed that when the options of the class in power begin to drastically diminish, these “. . . imperialist circles attempt to shift the entire burden onto the shoulders of the workers.” They need fascism for this reason . . . in order to carry out an intensification of exploitation. For in order to do this, it is absolutely essential to eradicate all existing channels through which resistance may be expressed.

The Nixon administration, acting for the big corporations, is moving in this direction. They recognize that in the recent presidential elections, 87% of all Black people who voted, voted *against* Richard Nixon. They know that there is a tremendous potential for resistance. There have recently been massive demonstrations against the budget cuts,

high prices, wage controls . . . throughout the country.

More and more people are beginning to move towards far more radical solutions than the replacement of one government administration with another. More and more people are going to refuse to be silent. They will refuse to accept their assigned places in Nixon's new majority. They will refuse to shoulder the imperialist burden.

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mental difference between the position and demands of a colonial people and those of the oppressed Black people in the U.S.

When freed of imperialist control, the colony has the possibility of developing a separate, viable economy on its territory. But the ghetto enclaves across the country cannot form the basis for a viable economic life apart from the nation's total economy — either on a capitalist or a socialist basis.

Unlike colonies, the ghettos scattered across the country have no economy and territory that can be separated from the monopoly-controlled economy dominating every nook and cranny of the country — including the ghettos. Moreover, unlike colonies, there are no riches in the form of oil, minerals and agricultural products to be extracted from the ghettos.

Overlooking the history of capitalism in this and other countries, the advocates of “Black capitalism” pursue the illusion that the white monopolists will share their control of the country's economy with Black capitalists. This is particularly strange since any would-be Black capitalist can recount the difficulties he faces in even trying to get a loan from the Small Business Administration.

Black business has always been marginal — even within the ghetto. And capitalism in its present stage takes the form of giant conglomerates that increasingly devour *all* small business. Any possible “enrichment” for Black business lies not within monopoly's strategy of perpetuating the ghettos — but within a people's strategy: an anti-monopoly movement in which the primary force is the working class, Black, white, brown, yellow and red, together with the Black liberation movement as a whole.

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