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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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National Movement In Solidarity With Africa

The African-American Solidarity Committee publishers of the AFRICAN AGENDA, along with FREEDOMWAYS magazine, and AFRO-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, recently sponsored a planning meeting to build for a Sept. 28, 1973 conference in solidarity with Africa and the national liberation movements. The following press release describes the activities of the first planning session. Any organizations or individuals interested in the conference or helping in building for the conference should write to the AFRICAN AGENDA.

On June 16, 1973 over seventy-five Black people from throughout the country met in Chicago to chart the course for the establishment of a movement which will be directed towards building anti-imperialist solidarity with the struggles for national liberation on the continent of Africa. The meeting established the day of September 28, 1973 for a conference to draw some 2000 Black Americans together to further the cause of anti-imperialist solidarity with Africa. The meeting appealed . . . "to Afro-Americans of all strata, especially working people, to join in our efforts to do preparatory work for the anti-imperialist conference to be held in September." The meeting represented a wide range of organizations from the Black community. Included were, Seafarers Local 777 Chicago, Peoples college, Nashville, Society of Ujamma, South Bend, Communist Party, Berkeley California Black Caucus, Southern African Construction, Aid and Relief Fund, Ohio, U.S. Steel Workers union local 65, DuSable Museum, Chicago, African Information Service, N.Y., Change Inc. Dayton, Black Labor Conference, St. Louis, Young Workers Liberation League, N.Y., Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionist, Horace Mann Bond Center, Washington, Independent Service Employees Union, Chicago, Organization of Black Students, Chicago, Cleveland Committee for African Affairs, and the National Organization Against Racist and Political

Repression, N.Y. (Partial list of organization).

Sharon Cunningham of the African American Solidarity Committee of Chicago welcomed the participants and urged a serious and businesslike approach to the meeting. James Steele of Athens, Ohio, presented the preamble to the temporary draft call for the September conference by citing the fact that the Nixon Administration, in the same heathen manner that it acted in Southeast Asia, actively supports and finances the aggressive policies of a whole group of reactionary fascist governments which have counterposed themselves to the continent-wide movement for liberation and independence among free-



dom loving people. Steele noted the new aims of U.S. imperialism with regards to Africa is represented by the 220% increase in U.S. investment in Africa in Nixon's first four years in office. Robert Rhodes, professor of political economy at Ohio University in presenting the Call to the Sept. conference urged that a movement be developed to "reaffirm our support of the inalienable rights of the people of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Zimbabwe to self-determination and freedom." Professor Rhodes further called for support of the United Nations declarations against colonialism, racism and apartheid, . . . as being violative of generally recognized principles of international law."

Harold Rogers, editor of the monthly bulletin, AFRICAN AGENDA, and professor of history at Antioch college, presented an overall analysis of the African Liberation struggle, citing the increasing rate of exploitation of African workers and the increased investment of European powers and the U.S. in Africa. Mr. Rogers urged a fight in the U.S. to expose and reverse the plans of imperialism to "resettle the permanently unemployed from the capitalist countries in Africa." Mr. Rogers urged a fight in the U.S. to expose and reverse the plans of imperialism to "resettle the permanently unemployed from the capitalist countries in Africa." Mr. Rogers cited the Cabora Bassa and Cunene dam projects being built in Mozambique and Angola as laying the base to further the development of the colonial situation that already exists in these Portuguese territories.

A lively discussion followed touching on topics related to all spheres of the problems of building such a movement. Antar Mberi, nationally known Afro-American cultural figure and poet, urged a struggle to combat the export of imperialist culture to Africa — he cited among other things the recent movie Super Fly TNT. Jarvis Tyner, National Chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League called upon the meeting to build in such a way that people could clearly see their own self interest in allying with the anti-imperialist movement on the continent of Africa. He urged "the most popular, the most broad-based movement possible."

Franklin Alexander presented the plan for action to build the movement and for the Sept. conference. He called for the establishment of committees throughout the country that would circulate the Call to the conference and would build local actions against col-

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A Call To Action

The following temporary draft call (Part 2) was read and discussed at the June 16, 1973 planning meeting.

The proposed anti-imperialist conference will be national in form and anti-imperialist in content, thereby combining the interests of the national struggle of Afro-Americans for our just democratic rights with the international struggle of all colonial peoples for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

THE PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF THIS ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONFERENCE WILL BE:

TO GALVANIZE the support of progressive Afro-Americans to join and add to the world wide solidarity for the liberation of southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau from direct colonial rule, to demand that U.S. imperialism suspend its support of the fascist states of the Republic of South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

TO REAFFIRM our support of the inalienable right of the peoples of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Rhodesia to self-determination and freedom.

TO CALL FOR Afro-Americans to support the resolutions of the United Nations declaring colonialism and racism as being violative of generally recognized principles of international law. **FURTHER,**

WILL AGITATE against the failure of the U.S. government to conform with sanctions imposed on illegal regimes by the United Nations.

WILL INSIST that our government renounce relations promoting inequality among nations and peoples.

WILL STRUGGLE for the promoting of mutually beneficial ties between U.S. peoples and African nations and peoples.

WILL SUPPORT the United Nations resolutions on the non-use of force to resolve interstate disputes, while recognizing the right of colonial peoples to struggle by any means necessary, including armed struggle, to gain their freedom from colonial slavery.

WILL DEMONSTRATE how southern Africa is a key link in the global strategy of U.S. monopoly to reverse the gains of the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; how such a reversal in the fate of non-white peoples overseas will inevitably result in the reversal of many

gains in the Black liberation movement in the United States; to show how one of the major components in this global strategy is the proliferation of a series of gendarme (military police) states, e.g., South Africa, Portugal, and Israel; to clarify the inter-connection between the Zionist policy of Israel and the apartheid policy of South Africa.

WILL SUPPORT efforts of Africans and Arabs to unify their actions against attempted recolonization of Africa; to clarify to Afro-Americans the scheme of neo-colonialism, abetted by some Afro-Americans to engineer a split between northern and southern Africans, Black Africans and Arabs, Muslims and non-Muslims.

WILL LINK our struggle with the anti-apartheid movement that was formalized in the conference in Lusaka, Zambia, May 3-4.

WILL ENCOURAGE Afro-Americans, especially working people, trade unionists, and other strata into the world wide anti-apartheid movement by concrete actions of material and moral support, e.g., **BOYCOTT ACTIONS, SYMPATHY STRIKES, PROTEST MARCHES, PETITIONS,** to oppose recent efforts of the Rhodesian government to implement South African-style apartheid; to force our government to abide by the United Nations resolution against apartheid.

WILL OPPOSE United States efforts to expand military assistance to gendarme nations; will oppose the escalating arms race in developing areas, especially Africa, as a detriment to their efforts at national reconstruction; to organize political actions against the infamous Azores Agreement; will oppose efforts of U.S. monopoly to introduce the Guam Doctrine into Africa — a doctrine that envisages the promotion of tensions among African states up to and including fratricidal wars; to support the OAU in its mediatory role in interstate disputes.

WILL ESSAY to show how the anti-monopoly struggle for jobs in this country is interconnected with the anti-imperialist struggle; against the export of neo-colonial capital to Africa under conditions of plunderous exchange; to reinforce the efforts of the OAU by concerting our actions with the actions of Africans opposing aggressive capital; to support the efforts of the rank and file Black workers in their struggles against the export of jobs by multi-national corporations; how runaway plants will disproportionately affect the economic fortune of Black labor, youth, and poor whites in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.

WILL INFORM the Afro-American

The Auction of Sister Africa by

Antar Sudan Katara Mberi

WANTED —
black gold to enhance the refineries
of a neo colonial society

WANTED —
20 million black people
to carry the white man's burden
free of charge
for the next 400 years

WANTED —
tools for the oppressors
to cleanse the land
till the field
to carry the yoke
and turn the wheels
of unmartyred death

WANTED —
beasts of burden
rewards:
free food
housing
clothing
and free ascension
into the one and only
white man's heaven

WANTED —
firm legs
strong chests
fat butts, big breasts
all black
like the rest

WANTED

community about Africans' struggle against economic annexation via technological neo-colonialism.

WILL SUPPORT the United Nations apartheid resolutions stipulation against the emigration of skilled foreign workers into southern Africa.

WILL FIGHT against all colonization schemes to settle overseas workers in Africa.

WILL SUPPORT the withdrawal of U.S. investments from South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, and Israel; to show the connection between the appropriation of tax monies for military neo-colonialism overseas and the cutback in major social programs at home.

WE MUST FIGHT BACK AGAINST MONOPOLY ON BOTH FRONTS!

(continued on page 4)

The Plot Against Amilcar Cabral

This article outlines the actions of the major participants in the plot against PAIGC and Amilcar Cabral which culminated in his assassination on January 20, 1973. The facts are taken from a reprint from *Afrique-Asie*, the only international newspaper allowed by Guinea to conduct an investigation on the spot. This reprint was published in English in *Southern Africa*, Vol. VI, No. 5, May 1973.

Due to the fraternal support of the government of the Republic of Guinea, PAIGC fighters have the free use of a rear base in Guinea-Conakry, and services, residences, and harbor facilities for their flotilla in the capital of Conakry. On the evening of January 20, 1973, Joaquim Chissamo, a member of the Executive Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was giving a talk at the PAIGC training center in Conakry. A large number of the PAIGC fighters and leaders were at the meeting. However, Cabral and his second in command, Aristides Pereira, were not there. Cabral and his wife, Ana Maria, were attending a reception at the Polish Embassy. Pereira was at his office where Cabral was to return at 11:00 p.m.

As Cabral and Ana Maria were approaching their house on the return drive from the reception, he was suddenly blinded by car headlights in the night. Surprised to recognize a Party jeep, Cabral got out of his car and asked what was the matter. Three armed men climbed out of the jeep and demanded that Cabral follow them at gun point. The apparent leader of the action was well known to Cabral. He was a PAIGC veteran and former navy commander. Inocencio Kani. Cabral called for the personal guard posted nearby at the house. But there was no guard. Nabonia, one of Cabral's personal guards, had conspired with the traitors. When Cabral refused to be tied up, fear and dismay swept Kani's face. Ana Maria was witnessing the whole scene from the car. He hesitated a moment, then raised his gun and shot Cabral practically pointblank in the liver. As Cabral collapsed, Kani disappeared for a moment, probably to inform accomplices that there was a turn of events. It was later exposed that orders had been not to murder Cabral, but to kidnap him and take him to the Portuguese authorities in Bissau. Meanwhile, Cabral tried to rise from the ground and talk to the other two men, "Why comrades? If there are differences, we must discuss them. . . The Party has taught us. . ." Kani reappeared and ordered the men, "Finish him off, quickly." A brief burst of fire. Cabral, hit in the head, fell back dead. Ana Maria, powerless and ter-

rorized, was taken to the "Montanha", the PAIGC prison. Mamadou N'Diaye, chief of the prison guards, was also in on the plot. While several prisoners who were involved in the sedition were set free, Ana Maria and other loyal leaders were locked up. Meanwhile, Pereira had been tied up and transferred to a boat at the harbor. Inocencio Kani also arrived at the harbor and verified that orders had been carried out. The harbor service men did not move to stop them because they knew them well. The flotilla reached open sea.

The Scheme is Foiled

While events were underway in the city and at sea, a group of conspirators turned up at President Sekou Toure's office. Mamadou "Momo" Toure, one of those who worked out the minute details of the plot and who had been freed from prison that night was the spokesman: "We came to inform the supreme leader of the Revolution that we have now assumed the responsibility for the struggle. Cabral had to be removed, even at the price of his life, to save our country. Grassroots militants and commanders on the interior front have appointed me to take command of PAIGC". The President was not tricked by this move. His first reaction was to order the harbor officials to cancel all departures. He was told that the PAIGC flotilla had already left. He ordered them to be chased. The capital was cut off with remarkable speed. The troops on the border were on the alert. The traitors were apprehended within hours. Pereira was freed as were Ana Maria and the other loyalists.

Testimony of the traitors revealed conclusively that the conspirators were completely manipulated by the Portuguese agencies, and that "Momo" Toure was, in all likelihood, their envoy in Conakry. A Portuguese operational group of four superior officers was in charge of organizing and controlling the conspiracy. Originally, "D"-day was scheduled for December 15, 1973, but had to be changed because of Cabral's trip to the OAU meeting in Accra, Ghana and uncertainty about the date of his return to Conakry. The plot was in the making from 1971.

Basically, three groups took part in the execution of the conspiracy at different levels. The first group was made up of former militants of PAIGC from the pre-revolutionary period who were recruited by the Portuguese secret service in Bissau while in prison. Their leader was Rafael Barbosa, former president of PAIGC. "Momo" Toure played a principal role in this group. The sec-

ond group were corrupt elements of PAIGC who had grown weary of the war and were easy prey to be recruited by the Portuguese agents. Among these were Inocencio Kani, N'Diaye and Nabonia. Members of these two groups were promised powerful positions in a forthcoming "autonomous" Guinea under the following terms: first, that PAIGC be suppressed; second, that Cape-Verdeans be left out of the nationalist movement since Portugal had to maintain the Cape Verde Islands as a strategic base; and third, that Mulattos be alienated from the movement. These "divide and conquer" tactics were accepted by the power-hungry traitors.

The third group was made up of African specialists in counter-guerilla activity trained in the best NATO centers. They had infiltrated PAIGC posing as deserters from the colonial army.

The tragic loss of Amilcar Cabral was the result of this Portuguese-conceived conspiracy. The liberation movement of PAIGC against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism grew and matured from this grave experience and continues today, stronger and more revolutionary than before.

Difference In The African National Revolution

The African liberation movement in Africa of the African people is an inalienable component of the three world revolutionary currents. Having won political independence, the majority of African countries (41 countries) have entered the second stage of the struggle for economic and social emancipation.

The African countries that are struggling for the two fold stage of economic and political development can be subdivided into three groups. Countries that are pursuing a non-capitalist road of development or socialist orientation such as Tanzania, Egypt, Guinea, Somalia, Algeria, Peoples Republic of the Congo, countries that have embarked on a capitalist path of development such as the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia etc.; and those countries which are living under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism Rhodesia, (Zimbabwe) and South African facism. The different stages of the national revolution in the countries that are pursuing a non-capitalist path of development and the current armed struggle in the territories still under colonial domination is probably least understood today. The national liberation movements of MPLA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, ANC in South Africa, FRELIMO in Mozambique, SWAPO in Namabia, ZAPU-ZANU in Rhodesia, are fighting against

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Recommended Books

1. *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, by Henry Winston. An excellent book on issues that affect Africa and Black Americans. International Publishers, N.Y., Price, \$2.25.
2. *Basic Facts on The Republic of South Africa and The Policy of Apartheid*, by the United Nations. United Nations Sales Section, N.Y. Price, \$1.50.
3. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, by Walter Rodney. A good discussion on the economic, social and cultural features which have assisted the process of underdevelopment. Published by Tanzania Publishing House, POB 2138, Dar-es-Salaam, and by Bogle L'Ouverure Publications, 141 Colder-shaw Rd., London W13. Price, \$1.50.

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Harold S. Rogers Editor
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National Movement

porations and local and state government policy of importing chrome from Zimbabwe, the runaway shop phenomenon, such as the Firestone rubber plant in Akron, Ohio that is moving to Mozambique, and the struggle to win U.S. trade unionists to the fight for the rights of South Africans, Zimbabweans, and Namibian workers to trade union representation."

The meeting ended by forming a national steering committee of 23 people of broad organizational representation. The meeting further urged all to seek the closest ties with the builders of the second annual African Liberation-Day celebrations.

(continued from page 2)

A Call

WE WILL EXPRESS SOLIDARITY with the efforts of independent African states to maintain their economic independence via the policy of the non-capitalist road of development.

WE WILL BUILD A MOVEMENT to thwart the efforts of our nation to attempt to economically annex newly freed African states.

We appeal to Afro-Americans of all strata, especially working people, to join in our efforts to do preparatory work for the anti-imperialist conference to be held in September of 1973.

We see this initiative as the beginning of a continuing effort to bring clarity and decisive militancy into the growing sentiment of Afro-Americans for the broadest anti-imperialist unity, for solidarity, peace, freedom, national independence, and democracy throughout Africa.

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Difference

national independence. The two fold stage of trying to fight for their political independence and their social and economic emancipation at the same time characterizes the current African liberation movement mentioned above.

This simultaneous struggle has made the character of the African liberation movement much different from the earlier African national revolution - the fight for social and economic liberation is an attack on the internal multi-form social-economic structure that exists in the colonial countries.

This fight against the local capitalist, petty bourgeois and pre-capitalist formations along with the fight against colonialism and imperialism has taken the form of national reconstruction programs, in the liberated areas of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola. PAIGC has established a political structure in the liberated areas that include a 120 man national assembly with regions and districts run by a government that has been elected by the people even though independence has not been granted. In spite of the war new social institutions, schools, industry, medical services and co-operative forming have been established in which the new national structure is already functioning. Similar types of national reconstruction programs are in existence in the liberated areas of Mozambique and Angola.

While the countries that are pursuing the non-capitalist path of development, have already achieved the first stage of the African revolution and are now trying to lay the economic and social bases for a Socialist society the struggle for a socialist society via the non-capitalist path of development which is a mixture of state regulated capital, both foreign and local and state control of the private sector of the society. These societies are characterized by a state economic plan, which includes planned industrial development along with co-op agricultural programs and the studying of Marxism-Leninism. The transformation of the local capitalist and feudal elements and the curtailing of capitalist activity in the country is most evident in these societies. The non-capitalist path of development is often times for the young African countries difficult but the determining factor of their development will depend on to what extent they develop a worker-peasant base and leadership in the country and their relationship with the Socialist countries, since today as Lenin indicated no country can come to socialism without the help of the socialist world.

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