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### African Agenda, September 1973

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# AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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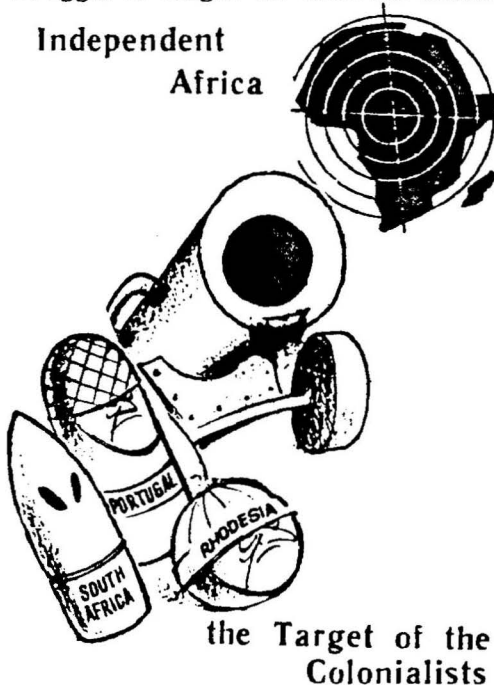
## Afro-Americans in Anti-Imperialist Solidarity with Africa

### Editorial

The first National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation to be held on October 19, 20 and 21, 1973 in Chicago will be an historic event. For many years, different organizations in the U.S. have expressed their solidarity with African liberation and with the forces of progress in Africa. These different actions of solidarity on the part of many Afro-Americans have played and still are playing an important role in forging together the legitimate feelings of Afro-Americans in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Africa. One of the purposes of this conference is to bring together all the forces in the Black community, labor, church, civic, student, community, political, social and cultural organizations into a common united front in support of liberation and progress in Africa as well as in America. In the past on different occasions, we had marches and rallies in support of African liberation and we have raised money and food for the famine in West Africa. What is needed now is a united on-going movement that has a strong program that every organization can become a part of in the battle against imperialism.

The conference attempts not only to unite organizations and individuals around some basic on-going programs and actions, but also to initiate actions that are national in character and anti-imperialist in content. Solidarity with Africa means fighting in the U.S. for the end of imperialism, apartheid and colonialism in Africa. Concretely, this fight can take many forms such as boycotts and demonstrations against U.S. investments and corporations in Southern Africa, and the fight for jobs and industry to stay at home instead of going to Africa to super-exploit the labor force and natural resources there. This conference seeks to develop a move-

ment that calls for the end of imperialism and colonialism in Africa while at the same time opposes the reactionary domestic policies of the Nixon Administration such as the cutbacks in social programs, wage freeze and price inflation, Watergate coverup, etc. Anti-imperialist solidarity means fighting against imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, the major enemy of humanity and all forms of neo-colonialism and colonialism while recognizing that this struggle is fought on different fronts.



On many occasions African leaders such as President Toure of the Republic of Guinea, President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania and President Ngoubi of the People's Republic of the Congo and other leaders of the African liberation movements have defined the major enemy in Africa and the world as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This conference will define anti-imperialist actions that truly express solidarity with Africa. The re-

sponse around the country to this conference has been tremendous, indicating wide-spread recognition of the importance of this conference and the need to come together to build a decisive anti-imperialist movement.

The third most important aspect of this conference will be to acquire clarity of what is really happening in Africa and the special role that Black Americans can play in support of the African peoples in their fight against imperialism. The difference between the countries that are pursuing the non-capitalist road of development such as the revolutionary governments of Tanzania, Guinea, People's Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Algeria, Egypt, etc. and the countries that have taken the capitalist path of development such as Liberia, Ivory Coast, Malawi, etc. is an important difference that Black Americans must be aware of if we are to build an anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. If capitalism has not lifted us from discrimination, poverty and the slums of the U.S., how can it "help" African countries which have been subjected to years of colonialism and exploitation? We have to be aware of the attempts of U.S. imperialism to spread confusion among our people and to recognize the new advances of U.S. imperialism in Africa. This conference will give us a chance to discuss and clear up the ideological confusion that has been spread by the imperialists and their agents.

At this significant time in history when U.S. imperialism is suffering setbacks in the world, but has stepped up its aggression in Africa and repression at home, Afro-Americans must commit themselves to organize and lead a united mass movement *against* imperialist reaction and *for* peace, freedom and progress. The staff of the *African Agenda* urges Afro-Americans of all walks of life to join us in Chicago to build an on-going movement in solidarity with African liberation.

## Growing Role of Workers in African Liberation Movements

The National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation is being convened at a very propitious time since Africa is definitely high on the agenda of world politics at this moment in history. In fact, the convocation of such a conference in the United States will give the Afro-American working masses and other strata an opportunity to catch up with the mounting international movements in solidarity with African liberation. However, our belated entry into the worldwide anti-imperialist movement gives us reason to pause and reflect to ensure that our positions, programs and proposals are in conformity with the needs of African liberation at this time.

We have repeatedly reiterated in the pages of the *African Agenda* that African liberation is at a new stage where national, class and social questions interpenetrate each other. Abstract self-determination (a slogan of the general democratic stage) is not enough, since even President Nixon supports self-determination of a sort in Africa. Even Premier Vorster of the Republic of South Africa supports abstract self-determination in the Bantustan reservations. We will have to support the forms of self-determination that will benefit the working masses of Africa. In giving serious consideration to these social questions, we will *not* be taking initiatives outside Africa to determine the character of *their* movement (social chauvinism), since many African spokesmen have already made these interconnections: Alfred Nzo of the ANC, Samora Machel of Frelimo, President Ngouabi of The People's Republic of the Congo, etc.

African liberation movement is the growing role of the working class in the growing role of the working class in the anti-imperialist front. In three countries, Guinea, Tanzania and The People's Republic of the Congo, workers play an important role in the party and government: Democratic Party of Guinea, Tanganyika African National Union of Tanzania and the Congolese Workers Party respectively. In other countries with national democratic ruling parties, the role of the working class in the national democratic front is constantly being heightened, e.g., in the Algerian National Front, in the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in the Arab Republic of Egypt and Somalia. Moreover, the underlying theme in the three important confer-

ences on Africa this year (the Lusaka Anti-Apartheid Conference in February, the Oslo Conference of International Experts for the Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in April and the General International Conference of World Trade Union in Support of Black Workers in Southern Africa) was the mobilization of support not just for formal independence, but also for economic independence. All three conferences opposed the migration of skilled workers from metropolitan countries to colonial and neo-colonial territories. Moreover, the United Nations General Assembly has already passed a resolution (November, 1971) opposing the export of labor to Southern Africa.

Labor in the United States, especially Black labor, must join the worldwide movement against the migration of labor into South Africa. This migration of surplus unemployed workers from the metropolitan countries is an important part of the beachhead strategy of international imperialism in Africa. It is a twentieth century Plymouth Rock scheme, to expand the western world, the social substance of the program being to extend apartheid beyond the bounds of South Africa, possibly beyond the bounds of Southern Africa into newly-independent states, such as Tanzania and Zambia.

The *Wall Street Journal* laid out in brief the substance of this strategy. It indicated that it would be preferable for capitalist industry to move into Africa, Asia and Latin America to relate to cheap labor rather than for cheap labor to migrate to the United States and Western Europe. Already Western Europe has a foreign migratory labor class amounting to 13 million workers: Turks, Yugoslavs, Algerians, Greeks, Italians, etc. As with Black workers in this country, they are disproportionately ensconced in base industries, paid below their value, and provide the material underpinning for a labor aristocracy in the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, etc.

We will have to see the strategy of extending apartheid in the light of this overall world strategy, what Alfred Nzo of the African National Congress and President Ngouabi of the Congolese Workers Party called the extension of the labor aristocracy to Africa. The political underpinning for such a strategy.

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### LETTER OF PROTEST TO:

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General  
United Nations  
United Nations Plaza  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

AS BLACK CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES who are mounting a massive people's movement in our country in anti-imperialist solidarity with African liberation,

WE STRONGLY PROTEST AND CALL UPON YOU TO PUBLICLY CONDEMN the outrageous murder of more than ten (10) Black South African miners Tuesday, September 11, 1973 by Republic of South African police at the Western Deep Levels gold mine in Cartonville, South Africa.

FURTHER, OUR NATIONAL CONFERENCE AS A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION with its wide and varied sponsorship among Black United States citizens (sponsors enclosed) protests the continued assistance and bolstering by our own United States government together with United States multi-national corporations of the fascist, apartheid, white minority ruled government of the Republic of South Africa.

It is well known that the Harry Oppenheimer who is president of the Anglo-American Corporation, owner of the gold mine where the above mentioned murder occurred, has argued and contended that the ultimate corrosion of apartheid will come with growing trade and investments in the Republic of South Africa. Such fallacious arguments stand barren in light of this most recent brutal massacre. Such multi-national corporations are guardians of this wretched policy.

FINALLY, WE CALL UPON YOU TO ACT on the above in keeping with the United Nations actions based on the premise of self-determination, independence and the elimination of apartheid contained in the United Nations charter and Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

National Steering Committee,  
National Anti-Imperialist Conference  
in Solidarity with African Liberation

cc:  
Henry Kissinger  
Congressman Charles Diggs  
African National Congress  
of South Africa



## Which African Liberation Movements?

We have discussed specific African liberation movements in the pages of the *African Agenda* many times. The African American Solidarity Committee has always singled out six organizations as playing a leading role in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and fascist white minority rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). These six organizations are the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Mozambique; South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia; African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in Guinea-Bissau; the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); and the Peoples' Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

We single out these organizations because they are waging struggles which have the support of their peoples; their programs outline clear strategies for the defeat of imperialism. These organizations are waging a two-fold struggle of fighting for their political independence as well as for their social and economic emancipation. (AFRICAN AGENDA, JUNE, 1973).

This two-fold struggle is necessary because the policies of imperialism have changed since 1960 when over 15 Afri-

can nations won their political independence. Today African peoples face a united and coordinated offensive which utilizes new strategies of domination and is led increasingly by US imperialism.

The inroads of neo-colonialism in many African countries not only temporarily set back the technological and social progress of millions of Africans but has allowed the imperialists to increase their support to Portugal, South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Israel. The neo-colonialist policies of imperialism which call for the domination of African states economically, socially and politically invariably retards and hampers the social progress of the newly independent countries. Neo-colonialism ties young states directly to the capitalist system which maintains unequal relations between states and operates solely to increase the profits of the imperialist powers.

The African peoples still living under Portuguese colonialism and the apartheid rule of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have carefully studied their enemy. They know that in order to be victorious they must struggle against all efforts to split their peoples.

Imperialists promote ethnic conflicts; we have only to remember Biafra for example. The six organizations mentioned above not only refuse to base their movements on a single ethnic group, but they actively fight to mini-

mize ethnic differences in their day to day work. MPLA has members of different ethnic in all parts of their liberated zones. These guerillas speak different languages and cultures throughout Mozambique and help minimize ethnic differences.

In order to defeat imperialism, a political as well as a military struggle must be waged. PAIGC has liberated 2/3 of their country; MPLA, SWAPO and FRELIMO have liberated 1/3 of their land. All three organizations have programs of national reconstruction which has set up schools, health centers, and economic programs designed to allow people to give up the cash capitalists. Under PAIGC's leadership, a National Assembly was recently created in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands which will proclaim its statehood this fall in spite of the brutal murder of Amilcar Cabral.

Imperialists will support narrow nationalism; movements that are interested only in their immediate interests. The six organizations we support see their struggles as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The events surrounding Cabral's murder are a recent reminder (*African Agenda* June, 1973) that imperialism is trying to subvert the progress of African liberation. The Portuguese hired killers under the guise that they would grant

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## Update of the National Conference Developments

The National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with Africa will convene on October 19, 20, 21, 1973 in Chicago. The conference site will be at Dunbar Vocational High School, 3000 S. M. L. King, Jr. Drive. The conference fee is five dollars (\$5.00) for employed adults and two-fifty (\$2.50) for students and unemployed. This conference is being called at a time when progressive forces around the world are dealing staggering setbacks to imperialist expansion. Members of the African liberation movements, and international guests exemplary of the struggle against imperialism are expected to attend the conference.

The conference Steering Committee has tentatively approved nine workshops. Several sub-workshops will be developed under each heading to encourage broader participation. These workshops will address themselves to the problems of colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid in Africa. The workshops are:

1. African Liberation Movements.

2. Republic of Southern Africa, Apartheid, Immigration, and Deportation.
3. Worldwide Support of African Peoples and the Role of the United Nations.
4. Education, Culture, Media and Propaganda.
5. Oil, Palestine and the Middle East.
6. Special Role of Labor in An Anti-Imperialist Front.
7. U.S. Economic, Political and Military Policy in Africa.
8. Nixon's Domestic Cutbacks.
9. Roads of Development of Independent Countries.

Other details on the conference are listed below:

1. The National Conference headquarters and office is located at 811 W. 63rd st., rm. 213-215, Chicago 60621; phone (312) 994-6967. Requests for information should be directed to this office. Several sub-committees have been formed in Chicago to han-

dle conference details: publicity, registration, housing, finance, sponsors, arrangements, and people's rally.

2. All People's Rally. A mass political and cultural gathering is planned for Saturday night at 8:00 p.m. the 20th of October at Dunbar Vocational High School. The rally will focus on the gains that have already been won by the anti-imperialist forces and express our solidarity with new struggles that are being waged.

Harold Rogers, editor of the *African Agenda* who recently returned from Africa with Angela Davis said, "There is a lot of support for the Conference from the African Liberation Movements and from people in the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Guinea." The *African Agenda* and the Steering Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity With Africa appeals to Afro-Americans of all strata to convene in Chicago Oct. 19, 20, and 21 to develop strategy and tactics to fight and defeat imperialism throughout the world.

independence to Guine-Bissau, but not the Cape Verde Islands. None of these six organizations actions indicate that they will make deals with imperialism and sell out the world struggle for imagined shortrange advantages. All support the struggles of the Indo-Chinese peoples, Latin American peoples and the struggles of workers in capitalist countries. All understand that the success of their movement in Africa depends a great deal on the world wide support they receive, especially from the socialist countries.

### Recommended Reading For The Conference

6. *Asia and Africa, Fundamental Changes*, Parlov, Imported Pub.: Chicago, Ill.
2. *In the Eye of the Storm*, Basil Davidson, Doubleday & Co.: New York, 1972.
7. *Revolutionary Paths*, Kwame Nkrumah, International Publishers, New York, 1973.
8. *Return to the Source*, Amilcar Cabral, African Information Service: New York.

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Harold S. Rogers ..... Editor

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is right social democracy in Europe and the United States. Right social democracy puts the immediate interests of a section of its national working class ahead of the long range interests of general social development. It is a form of nationalism, of social chauvinism. In the colonial struggle, right social democrats play down the question of the struggle for power by Blacks in Southern Africa and over-emphasize the struggle for immediate gains, ignoring the dictum of Karl Marx that one step toward the seizure of power is worth more than a thousand programs. Of course, Karl Marx was not denying the need for political programs as steps toward the seizure of power!

If we Afro-Americans see the strategy of extending apartheid as a labor question in addition to a military strategic question, we will be confirming and supporting the position taken by the anti-apartheid conference in Lusaka which, recognizing this strategy as a world-wide strategy, and passed a resolution opposing apartheid not only in Southern Africa but all over the world. Some Afro-American leaders are supporting these neo-colonial schemes, desiring to recruit some Black Americans to the labor aristocracy at the expense of the Afro-American community as a whole. The *Wall Street Journal's* editorial (July 13, 1973) implicitly recommended that some Black African workers be recruited to this category of skilled worker at the expense of other African workers who will be increasingly super-exploited and many permanently unemployed. ANC predicted that if such a policy were successful, Southern African Blacks will suffer rates of unemployment up to 40% by the 1990's. Even the conservative newspaper, *African Confidential*, had these admonitions to relate: "A number of prominent men on both sides of South Africa's white political divide have warned that increased pay for Black workers (and the increased productivity that must go with it) could lead to a shortage of jobs for the steadily increasing Black work-seekers." (*African Confidential*, July 10, 1973, p. 5)

The South African liberals' strategy, the so-called Verligte Solidarity (Enlightened Solidarity) seems to be a grotesque analogue to the pluralist models of U.S. liberals in the 1960's

wherein some Blacks receive formal representation in the front as the lesser of two evils. ANC and the African Communists with good warrant see this strategy as an effort to split their movement. We Afro-Americans, must not support this maneuver.

The "dialogue" strategy (South Africa entering into relations with independent African states) was a part of this comprehensive politico-economic strategy and would have been successful if the neo-colonialist regimes that supported such a strategy could have stabilized their power. Fortunately Ghana, Nigeria, Camerouns, Chad and many other African states have rejected the regimes that supported "Dialogue with South Africa" and replaced it with the anti-imperialist strategy of positive neutrality.

The role of African workers and peasants has been pivotal in breaking these strategies of "international reformism" recognizing that the movement for insignificant reforms will split the African liberation movements. Economism is no more applicable to Africa than it was in Russia in the days of Lenin. The most signal recent setback for international reformism was the recently established Organization of African Labor Unions (OALU) created on the initiative of the OAU. This continental federation now represents 13 million workers as a result of a reunification of African workers after a split had been engineered by the AFL-CIO in the early sixties. OALU attended the Geneva conference and took many initiatives that attest clearly to the fact that African organized labor is on the liberation scene to stay.

The struggle in the United States is also moving to a new stage. The leading expressions of this movement have been the annual African Liberation Day demonstrations led by African Liberation Day Support Committees and various and sundry strike and boycott actions in opposition to violation of UN sanctions by the U.S. governments. Now there is a proposed conference (the date of which has been changed to October 19-21 in Chicago) to bring together labor, church groups, youth, political, community and other civic organizations to create an on-going anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with Africa in the United States.

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