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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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From Dar-es-Salaam To Raleigh, N.C.

Commentary

The Sixth Pan African Congress recently held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania from the 19th to the 27th of June, and the march held in Raleigh, North Carolina on July 5th sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), merit our special attention. Both of these historic events signifies the growing anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist activities of progressive forces in the U.S. and in the rest of the world, and the importance of building a United Front in this country against repression. In both events, the activities stress the nature of the class struggle in the world as opposed to the nationalist concepts of a few who would relegate the struggle to a racist struggle of Black against white.

At the Sixth Pan African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam, 500 people representing over 60-odd African and other states and organizations discussed going beyond nationalism to the fight against colonialism, racism, Zionism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism. The Congress discussion centered around the speeches of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and the President of Guinea, Sekou Toure. These speeches made up the temporary draft that is printed in this issue of the *African Agenda* which became the "General Declaration" of the Congress.

The Congress affirmed the position of Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, the leader of the previous five Pan African Congresses, who at that time advanced a position of anti-colonialism, to a new level of social and political reality. This Congress, over the objections of certain members of the U.S. delegation, reached the conclusion that today's realities are that a class struggle

exists between the forces of Socialism and Capitalism, and that all progressive forces have a duty, especially the people of African descent in the Capitalist countries, to fight against imperialism and racism in their countries in alliance with other forces. The historical forward march of Socialism was also stressed by the African delegates which indicated the growth, development, and influence of the non-capitalist road development in Africa, socialist reconstruction, and the strength of the world socialist system.



Rev. Ralph Abernathy
and Angela Davis

The conclusions reached in Dar-es-Salaam were reinforced in Raleigh, North Carolina. Ten thousand people came to hear Angela Davis (NAARPR), Rev. Ralph Abernathy, President of S.C.L.C., Raleigh's Mayor Clarence Lightner, Jose 'Che' Velasquez, of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, Rev. Ben Chavis and Charlene Mitchell of the (NAARPR) and many others. The march took place to protest the extreme repression of the minorities, the poor, and the people's

movement in North Carolina.

North Carolina is the No. 1 disaster area in the country in terms of racial injustice. "About one-third of the people in the country on death row are in North Carolina's Central State Prison (121 persons are on death row across the nation), and the vast majority (27 out of 41) of those on death row in the state are Black," observed Charlene Mitchell, executive director of the NAARPR. North Carolina is also a leader in the creation of so-called "behavior modification centers" such as the proposed construction of the Federal Center for Correctional Research in Butner, N.C. Therefore, North Carolina is symbolic of the most repressive institutions against people in this country.

The lessons to be drawn from these two events are reflected in the differences in the period of the 1960's and today. The march in Raleigh is very significant in light of the fact that Watergate has exposed, to some extent, to the American people the machinery of corruption and political and racial repression operating in and under the Nixon administration. Because of Watergate there is more of a need to stop the fascist and racist plans of the Nixons and their capitalist sponsors. We need a thousand Raleighs to expose and defeat national, state and local attempts to silence people who speak out against racist and political repression. Raleigh proved the importance of the United Front in our fight against repression. Today's political and racist repression is of a much broader character than it was in the 1960's.

Today a United Front must be built in all form of struggle that includes communist, Christians, independents, trade unionist, nationalist, and pro-

(Continued on page 8)

Let My People Go

(The following abridged speech by Rev. Ralph Abernathy was given at Raleigh, North Carolina, July 5, 1974.—Ed.)

To my dear sister, Angela Davis, and to all my blue-eyed and brown-eyed soul brothers and sisters. On my march from Egyptland to Canaan, I have come again to the mountain of Raleigh to say a word to the Pharaohs of this state. The word is simple and the word is plain: let my people go. On my way to Canaan standing on the banks of the Jordan, a Jordan that is drying up, a Jordan that is running dry, I come again to Raleigh, North Carolina, one of the most repressive states in the United States of America; a state that has on death row now almost as many individuals as the other forty-nine states have combined; a state that has in prison almost as many prisoners as all of the other states combined. This is Egypt's land. There are Pharaohs in this land. I've come on this fourth of July to speak to the nation to say to Richard Millhouse Nixon, let my people go.

I don't know about you, but I'm tired of marching. I've been marching for the last twenty years. I marched in Birmingham, Alabama when Angela was a little girl in elementary school. And I've come here today to march with my white brothers and sisters who have the courage to march with me; to march in the bosom of the Right of White People's Organization of North Carolina; to march in the presence of the Ku Klux Klan; to march with my Communist brothers and sisters; to march with my Red brothers and sisters; to march with my Brown brothers and sisters; to march because the same foot of iron oppression that seeks to keep me down as a Black man is seeking to keep us all down whether we be Christian or Communist. And they're going to warn us. They want to tell us that something is wrong with some people because they're Communist. Well I want to tell you right now, if that trickster Richard Millhouse Nixon can go to Russia and sit down and talk to the head of the Communist Party; it's with pride, it's an honor for me to march with Angela Davis.

I've been incarcerated thirty eight times. And everytime I go to jail, I find that these jails are running over with young able-bodied Black men and women. Seventy per cent of the people in jail today are young, able-bodied Black men and women; not because we commit more crimes, but simply because there is something wrong with this system, a system that denies necessities to the masses in order to give

luxuries to the classes; a system that talks about free enterprise. Hell, we ain't got no free enterprise except for the poor, and we have subsidized socialism for the rich. The rich of this nation today are subsidized. You can call it whatever you want to. They receive a handout from the government; they receive aid from the state.

I'm sick and tired of our people dying on death row. We have come to North Carolina to tell the nation, and to tell the governor to free our people. The real criminals in America are not in jail. The real criminals in America are on the outside. If I had my way I would take a flight this afternoon to New York City and there I would arrest Mr. Law and Order himself. I'm talking about Mr. Mitchell, the former Attorney General. And then I would take a ticket on the first train back to Baltimore where I would pick up Spiro Agnew. For these are the criminals. Then I would make my way out to Friendship Airport and I would get me a 747 jet and I would land in Sacramento, California and there I would arrest the notorious movie star known as Gov. Ronald Reagan. I would come on back to Charleston and there I would pick up Sen. Strom Thurmond. Then I'd make my way to the Dulles Airport in Washington D.C., and I'd move over to Penn. Ave. and make my way down to 16th Street where there's a house that they do not call the Black House for it does not represent Black people. They do not call it the Brown House, for it does not represent Brown people; they do not call it the Yellow House for it does not represent Yellow people; they do not call it the Poor House because they are not concerned about the rights of poor people. I'd make my way to that house known as the White House, and there I would issue a subpoena and I would arrest the most notorious criminal in America, Richard Millhouse Nixon. There is a warrant I want to issue for his arrest today.

I bring an indictment on behalf of 10,000 people who are here assembled in North Carolina today, in Raleigh, the capital city. I bring an indictment against the President because he refuses to feed the hungry; he refuses to house the ill housed; he refuses to educate the uneducated. Yet he's concerned about the crisis in the Middle East and won't even solve the problems right here in the deep south. Richard Millhouse Nixon has made only one promise that he kept and that was to take crime out of the streets. He took the crime out of the streets and put it in the White House.

Brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen, we must make it powerfully clear in Raleigh today that we are not



REV. RALPH ABERNATHY

afraid. Surely they killed Mama King in Atlanta the other day. I said then that it's part of a conspiracy, a conspiracy that was started a long time ago. A conspiracy that killed John Fitzgerald Kennedy, that killed Robert Francis Kennedy, that killed Martin Luther King, that killed Malcolm X. And they said Ralph Abernathy you are on the list. I'm ready because I'm dying everyday. They're paying off individuals, people in high places are behind this conspiracy. Well, I want you to know right now you may kill my body but you can't kill my spirit. Because I woke up this morning with my mind staid on freedom. There is something in my heart, there is something in my bosom that tells me to take my people on across this Jordan. I'm not afraid of dying because I'm in the process of dying now. I don't want to stay at home and celebrate the fourth of July eating the pig.

As I made my way up the street to this platform, I observed a marker that said that one of the great presidents of these United States was born not too far from here. President Jackson your nation is still not doing right. Your nation is still mistreating people and killing them and brutalizing them it is still not living out its creed.

But I come as a full fledged American. I fought for this country during World War II. I pay my taxes, I'm a taxpaying citizen. I believe in nonviolent resistance; I believe in achieving our goals to freedom through fighting nonviolently. But I want to tell the nation right now that there will be no peace in the streets of America, there will be no peace in our homes, there will be no peace anywhere in America until liberty and justice is a practice for all citizens in America. I'm on my way to freedom's land. Some may be

(Continued on page 8)

Unity—The Key Against Racist And Political Repression



(The following abridged speech by Angela Davis was given at Raleigh, North Carolina, July 5, 1974.—Ed.)

Sisters and brothers, a few months ago when the North Carolina Alliance invited the National Alliance to participate in organizing for this demonstration some people said the movement was dead but what are they talking about when 5,000 people come to Raleigh. They said people are tired of demonstrations and they weren't going to take to the streets anymore to fight against the perpetrators of racism and repression.

You see they wanted those sisters and brothers in the death house in Central Prison to think that there was nobody left to restrain the hand of the executioner. They wanted Rev. Ben Chavis to think that there was no one left to stand up with him and help him fight down those who want to send him to prison for 262 years. And they want the Wilmington 10 to think that there was no one to stand together with them; and they wanted sister Marie Hill to think that she would have to spend the rest of her life behind bars here at Raleigh's Central prison. They wanted the Tuscorora 50, Chief Clarence Brooks to think that there was no one left to stand with them. They wanted Donald Smith, Jim Grant, C.K. Raven and Charles Parker to think that there was no one to stand by their side. They wanted all the sisters who have been sterilized in this state, all the young Black women, to think that their cause was a lost cause. They wanted people of the state of North Carolina to think that the movement had abandoned their fight for freedom. Sisters and brothers how wrong, how wrong they were.

Let's talk about how we're going to help our sisters and brothers achieve their freedom. I think first of all we want those in Washington D.C. and Atlanta, Georgia to know that we are gathered here today, and sisters and brothers I was told that we are 10,000 strong! We are gathered here today, 10,000 strong in the name of Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr. and we are determined to crush the racism which in the last analysis was what killed her. We are gathered here today in the name of her fallen son Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and we are gathered here in the name of Malcolm X and George Jackson. We are gathered here in the name of Brother Campos who died for the cause of Puerto Rican independence. We are gathered in the name of Francisco Martinez who was assassinated in Denver, Colorado only a few weeks ago. We are gathered here today in the name of the brothers assassinated as a result of their leadership in the struggle at Wounded Knee. We are here this afternoon in the name of all of those Black, Brown, Red, Yellow, and white sisters and brothers who have fallen victims of the racism and oppression of those who constitute the ruling class of this country.

We've learned some very important lessons from our history. We've learned that if we want to be strong we have to use the only weapon which the people, who are politically and economically powerless, hold within their hands. We pledge that though we are politically powerless our will to struggle is fierce. Although we may be poor materially we are very rich in spirit and in our determination to fight for our freedom. So today sisters and brothers look all around you, who do you see? You see Black people, Black people by the thousands, you see Puerto Ricans, you see Chicanos, you see Indians, you see Asians, and you see white people. I know that in Washington D.C. at this very moment they are trembling. They are trembling because they see working together, holding hands in unity, ministers and communists. Because here's a minister (pointing to Rev. Ralph Abernathy—ed.) and here's a communist right here (Angela Davis pointed at herself—ed.). They see workers and they see students holding hands together; they see Nationalists and they see church people; they see trade unionists and they see progressive independents; they see members of social clubs and they see sisters and brothers from the ghettos, the barrios, and the reservations all over this country. So I think we can say that our weapon is unity.

Sisters and brothers when you have a weapon, and if that weapon is going to be effective you need a battle. And so we are saying that our weapon is unity and our battle is the organized mass people's struggle. We don't think it's going to be easy. If you could see for yourself, they have tried their best to sabotage this march. They didn't want to see us here this afternoon. They know how important we are when we are united, when we are organized, and when we are struggling, Richard "I am not a crook" knows it. What we have to talk about doing is consolidating that unity. Making that unity as firm as a rock, organizing that unity. When you go home on those buses this afternoon you ought to start organizing yourselves. Because once we have succeeded in bringing organization to our unity once we have built the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression into an organization of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands there ain't no doubt in my mind that it won't be long before there won't be no more death penalty. It won't be long before all the sisters and brothers who are unjustly incarcerated are walking free to struggle right here with us in the streets. After many months of struggle we are going to be able to say that there is amazing power in unity. Where there is true unity every tactic used to disunite us is only going to serve to unite us more firmly.

When we win all these victories we're not going to stop to celebrate because those victories are fuel for more struggles and more victories. We're going to keep on struggling; we're going to keep on marching; we're going to keep on demonstrating; we're going to do everything in our power until every single political prisoner and victim of racism and repression in this country is set free, is set free, is set free!

A Call For Solidarity With Puerto Rico

The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization has supported "A Call to a National Demonstration at Madison Square Garden on October 27, 1974 in Support of the Independence of Puerto Rico" made by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee to all progressive people in the U.S. For further information write to: CPRD, P. O. B. 1240, Peter Stuyvesant Station, N.Y.C. 10009.

Anti-Imperialism And The Sixth Pan-African Congress

(The following draft of the "General Declaration of the Sixth Pan African Congress," reflects the basic spirit of the congress held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.—Ed.)

Historical Background

The Pan African Movement was born, historically, to promote freedom and justice for black men and women. It was led by the logic of that demand to struggle against colonialism, oppression, and racialism. That, in its turn, requires the unity of Africans including those people of African descent outside Africa.

We pay tribute to the efforts made by the Pan African Association under the leadership of Henry Sylvester-Williams in organising the 1900 Pan African Conference. We also pay tribute to the special contribution made to this movement by Dr. William DuBois, having been the moving spirit behind the first, second, third, fourth and fifth congresses, for he was then himself responsible for initiating and leading all the Pan African Congresses between 1919 and 1945.

Past congresses had to be held outside Africa. For in this continent there were until 1917 only two states in which black people were rulers as well as ruled.

The tone of the demands expressed at these meetings changed over the years, but the demands have been consistent.

The first five congresses could only be held because they were promoted and attended by concerned individuals. Some of the participants had the backing of trade unions or political or social organisations. But the status of black people in the world was such that the individuals could only be representatives in the sense that a suffering and aware man or woman can always speak for others in the same condition. These men and women acted because they could no longer accept without protest the almost sub-human status which had been assigned to them by the world's dominant political and economic forces.

The Fifth Pan African Congress echoed the experiences of the African masses in the struggle they had been waging against colonialists ever since the second half of the 19th century; their spontaneous rebellions, their first guerrilla fighters, their soldiers used as cannon fodder in the imperialist armies, their peasants evicted by foreign settlers; their mining, railroad, dock and agricultural workers, whose strikes had defied the colonial administrations and the capitalist companies, particularly between the two world wars.

The Congress Appeal to colonial peoples ended with the words: "Colonials and oppressed peoples of the world unite" and advocated joint action by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of colonial territories, using all possible means, including violence, to liquidate the colonial system immediately and completely.

After Manchester, the action of the peoples pushed history along the path of independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that the fifth congress constituted a high point in the development of the political leadership of the African liberation movement.

The achievement of the first independences and the nationalist activity generalised throughout the continent allowed for the holding of two important Pan African Conferences in 1958: the First Conference of Independent African States, held from 15 to 22 April, and the All-African Peoples' Conference, from 5 to 13 December, in Accra, capital of Ghana. Both Conferences were sponsored by the independent Government of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

The All-African Peoples' Conference declared "that the struggle for the liberation of Africa is a task of the Africans themselves" and it called on "the workers, peasants and other sectors of the exploited masses as well as on the intellectuals, to join forces in common action for the final attack against discrimination and racism".

The year 1960 has been called the Year of Africa. Numerous countries obtained political independence, an unquestionably important step for the liberation movement and African unity. The birth of the Organization of African Unity in May 1963 was a major factor in the implementation and development of Pan Africanism in that hereafter Pan Africanism became a truly continental movement.

Although the Pan African Movement was originally confined to black people, our particular struggle for dignity has always been one aspect of the worldwide struggle for human liberation. That is why if we react to the continued need to defend our position as black men by regarding ourselves as different from the rest of mankind, we shall weaken ourselves, and the racialists of the world will have scored their biggest triumph.

Contemporary Pan Africanism

Contemporary Pan Africanism is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favorable for the progress of the revolutionary

forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of a new strategy so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently draw up the appropriate tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolutionary building a new society.

This is the paramount criterion we must continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, the Pan-African movement must essentially be a dynamic force for liberation of the colonized peoples as well as for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses.

It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonized peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

The historical context in which this Sixth Pan African Congress is taking place is indeed radically different to that which prevailed in 1945, when the Manchester meeting was held. After the Second World war, a vast and vigorous socialist camp emerged in the world, constituting a powerful force against imperialist claims to world domination.

On the other hand, the struggle between imperialist powers weakened the very foundations of the colonial powers. New nations, especially in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, have achieved independence, paving the way for a staunch community as expressed in the non-aligned movement and the O.A.U. and other regional and international organizations.

In certain capitalist countries the advanced sections of the working class have gained in class consciousness and therefore constitute natural allies in the struggle against the common enemy: Imperialism.

Pan-Africanist movement must consider the most radical methods of putting an end to foreign domination, liquidate the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and zionism, by the common

actions of the peoples of Africa, peoples of African descent and all people of the world.

African development demands that Africa must be free from economic exploitation and political and cultural domination by capitalist powers, in order to ensure its presence as a factor for the enrichment of mankind. Domination imposed on a people, or foreign occupation of any part of mankind, however small, at the expense of human dignity, has always been a source of world conflict.

Whatever progress is achieved on the African continent will reinstate both Africans and black people in the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe; just as the progress made by black Americans against the many forms of social and human alienation is an important contribution to the African continent. Our present task is to show unfailing vigilance towards any ideology which, while professing Pan Africanism, conceals the interests of the imperialist powers with a view to making us accept the philosophy of submission to foreign interests on the basis of skin colour.

We must finish once and for all with all obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy's methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation and racism. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of domination the myth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was intended to be anti-racist. While Pan Africanism was born as a movement of rebellion, it can only undertake its programme of liberation if it becomes a revolutionary liberation movement of our times, that is, if it analyses and clearly defines its aims, determines its means and engages in consistent action.

Skin colour, be it black, white, yellow or brown, is no indication of the social class, ideology, nature, behaviour qualities or abilities of men or peoples. All human races and religions are fraught with contradictory interests. Most important for us must be our common historical destiny as a consequence of having been unjustly treated by exploiting powers. We must therefore define ourselves not in terms of skin colour, which is a static element, but solely in terms of our aims of progress, which are dynamic, just and noble.

Revolutionary Pan Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the

class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.

We must never forget that the imperialism we are fighting, the imperialist which nearly exterminated us in Africa and is still daily committing crimes of genocide here, was not generated through the internal historical process which took place in Africa. Imperialism was generated by capitalism and it therefore concerns the entire world. If it is to be effective, the liquidation of imperialism, that is, the liberation of the peoples, must be general. The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our fighting solidarity has been forged in the support for the heroic peoples of Indo-China, struggling against U.S. imperialism; in the support for the Palestinian people and our



President Julius K. Nyerere

Arab brothers struggling against Israeli aggression and the annexation of land by force; in the support for the workers and the discriminated minorities in North America, in particular for the struggle of Black people for the destruction of the bourgeois society which oppresses both whites and blacks, in the support for the peoples of the Caribbean and in the first place the brother peoples of Puerto Rico and the French colonies; in the support for the peoples of Latin America, in their struggle against oligarchic reaction and facism, and in the first place for the Chilean people, in the support for the struggling peoples of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at this time of the great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent

blows that the African Peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. It is evident that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, are imposing their independence on the Portuguese colonialists by the force of arms.

We are convinced that revolutionary Pan Africanism will step up its support for the rapid and total liberation of the African continent from the colonialism and racism in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia so called "French" Somaliland, the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles, Reunion, the so-called "Spanish" Sahara, the Canary Islands, etc....

Our fighting solidarity has invariably manifested itself in our support for the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who defend their inalienable right to the full exercise of their national sovereignty, the effective control over their natural resources, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises to safeguard these resources, and the adoption of the social and economic system they deem most suitable to their development, against pressures, threat, aggression of all kinds by imperialism.

New Perspectives

Revolutionary Pan Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

1. To put an end to Foreign domination in Africa by destroying the bases of the last colonial and racist regimes; because for as long as part of the African continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether or not of African descent, will be jeopardised.
2. To get rid of neo-colonialism since it hinders the overthrow of the last colonial regimes as well as the achievement of African unity, and in as much as it represents concrete instrument of imperialist oppression of our peoples.
3. To liquidate foreign military bases in African States as a contribution to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Africa.
4. To consolidate the unity between the peoples of Africa and of African descent and all peoples.
5. To appeal to all the progressive forces in Africa and in the world to give political and material aid

(continued on page 11)

U.S. Miners Against Apartheid

In late May, members of the United Mine Workers of America reacted angrily to news that the Southern Company plans to import 2.5 million tons of South African coal into the United States over a three year period. The Southern Company's plan jeopardizes the jobs of 8000 Alabama miners. Southern is a holding company for twenty-five other companies including Alabama Power Co., the Georgia Power Co., the Mississippi Power Co. and the Florida Power Co. Its officials claim that they cannot buy low sulfur coal that meets the 1975 air pollution control requirements and that scrubber systems and other technology do not exist. However this equipment has been installed elsewhere.

The truth is that 2,045,500,000 tons of low sulfur coal and 33,000,000 of strippable low sulfur coal exists in Alabama alone. The Southern Company could have it if it is willing to pay the price. As one company official stated, "They probably don't want to disrupt the decent prices they get for about 90 per cent of their coal by being forced to bid higher for the last 10 per cent. By going outside and buying South African coal they keep their regular supply and prices stable."

The UMWA District 20 has organized a massive effort to block this coal import. They have called upon local union officials of the International Longshoreman's Association whose members would unload the coal at the Mobile docks to join the boycott. In addition they have approached Gov. George Wallace and state legislators asking that they refuse to allow the coal to enter the state operated docks.

The strong stand taken by the UMWA in opposition to the South African Coal strengthens the broad coalition of labor, church, and social groups opposed to South Africa's policies. UMWA members are concerned not only about their jobs but also with the slave labor conditions of Black African miners.

Miners in South Africa are unorganized, earn \$3.00 per day without benefits and live in concentration camp conditions separated from their families. The UMWA has joined with other American unions and international groups to condemn the racist policy of apartheid and to show their solidarity with South African workers.

The unity of this action by Black, Chicano and white workers helps strengthen the growing world opposition to the racist policies of South Africa and her spiritual and economic ally the United States. A petition specifically demanding the expulsion of



South Africa from the United Nations which will increase the alliance between American workers in this country and the oppressed Black workers in South Africa is presently being circulated by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 405, N.Y.C. 10010. For more information concerning the petition contact the New York Office or the African Agenda.

Part Two

Who Is The Enemy And What Is The Enemy? What Are Our Objectives?

(The following abridged speech is by Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.). The first part of the speech appeared in the April-May, 1974 issue of the African Agenda.)

Today we are all linked in solidarity in a liberation struggle against oppressors who have the same colour, but tomorrow there will certainly be different social personalities to be preserved. And the evolutionary process of mankind through which differences are obliterated cannot but bring about an even greater mingling of the now antagonistic ethnic groups in the United States. America has its own life, just as Angola and Mozambique have their own life. Although we have to identify with each other as black men in defending our values, I cannot conceal my sometimes ill-founded concern at the way some of our brothers from the other side of the Atlantic have a messianic desire to find a Moses for a return to Africa. For many this theory is certainly out of date.

But I should like to return to the question of knowing who is our enemy.

As stated previously, according to my understanding the first reactions against a system of oppression stem from the way one lives, from the way one feels this oppression. I cited the case of South Africa.

I do not wish to ignore at this moment the pressure that is exerted on the liberation movements to maintain so-called *black purity*. The case of America, where the racial struggle is the most apparent to the blacks, is often cited. What I am saying should not be taken as criticism of our brave black American brothers, who know better than anyone how to orient their struggle, how to envisage the transformation of American society so that man will be free there.

But allow me also to reject any idea on the transformation of the national liberation struggle in Angola into a racial struggle.

I would say that in Angola the struggle *also* assumes a racial aspect since discrimination is a fact. The black man is exploited there. But it is fundamentally a struggle against the colonial system and its chief ally, imperialism.

I also reject the idea of black liberation, since the unity of Africa is one of the principles universally accepted by the OAU, and knowing that in Africa there are Arab peoples, that there are some areas which are not black. The problem cannot be purely racial. So long as there is imperialism, it will be possible to continue colonialism.

And as I have said, for us they are the enemies.

What we want is to establish a new society where black and white can live together. Naturally, and so as not to be misinterpreted, I must add that the democratic process must be exercised in such a way that the most exploited masses (who are black) have control of political power, since they can go furthest in establishing proper rights for all.

A people's struggle for political power, for economic independence, for the restoration of cultural life, to end alienation, for relations with all peoples on a basis of equality and fraternity — these are the objectives of our struggle.

These objectives are set by defining who is the enemy, by defining who are the people and what is the character of our struggle, which is a revolutionary struggle affecting not only the foundations of the colonial system but also the foundations of our own society, as a nation and as a people.

But can such liberation take place at this stage?

Let us see.

(Continued on page 7)

Mama King

The following poem was written by Rev. Ben Chavis in memory of Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr. It was read at the rally in Raleigh, North Carolina, July 4, 1974. — Ed.

Mama king
One of the mothers of our struggle,
Mama King
Strong Black woman
Freedom mama
Mother of love, Mother of peace
Mama King's spirit lives on
Just as her son's dream lives on
Lives on
Lives on
Lives on
Never to be silenced by assassin's bullets
Never to be conquered by racism
Never to be stopped by repression
Mama King
We will carry on
We will fight on
We will struggle on
Our love for you will be exemplified by
Our accelerated action like today.
You have overcome Mama King
And through struggle brothers and sisters
We will overcome.



Rev. Ben Chavis

Part Two

We are in a period in which the imperialist forces are deploying themselves on the African scene with dynamism and tenacity. Together with the Portuguese colonialists, with the racist regimes in Southern Africa, imperialism is present on our continent. Its influence can be felt. Its activity is causing alarm in the life of Africa. Neo-colonialism is a fact. Everywhere in Africa there is still the need to struggle for independence, whether political in some areas, economic in others, or cultural almost everywhere.

Imperialism is doing everything it can to maintain sources of raw materials and cheap labour. This is a phenomenon which is being debated not only in Africa but in the whole of the so-called third world.

In a world divided into blocs, among which it was customary to distinguish between the socialist bloc and the capitalist bloc, non-alignment has arisen to try to seek a balance and to defend the less developed.

And within this division, it is the socialists who hold high the banner of internationalism and in fact give the most support to the liberation movements.

So, let us be realistic, the national liberation struggle in Africa does not have very sound bases in the international arena, and it is not political or ideological affinities that count, nor even the objectives themselves, for in most cases other interests dominate relations between the liberation forces and the world.

We are in another era. The world is changing and we have to take note of this fact.

Thus, there are many cracks through which the enemy can penetrate. However, an essential factor we must recognise is that the national liberation struggle is today a cause which few people fail to support, with greater or lesser sincerity. Political independence for the African majority is an attainment of our time.

And since various political currents and ideological trends are involved, with sometimes antagonistic interests, the liberation movements find themselves at grips with the problem of their political and ideological independence, the problem of preserving their personality, which must reflect the social image of the country.

To preserve independence is not easy, and sometimes the struggle is affected by our own contradictions. And contradictions can stem from different concepts from which our definition of who is the enemy and of our objectives derives.

Some would like to see the liberation movement take the direction of a class struggle, as in Europe. Others would like to see it racist, Don Quixote tilting at a windmill with a white skin. Others would like to see it tribalised, federalised, according to their idea of a country which they do not know. Others, idealists, would like to see us heading along the path to political compromise with the enemy.

These efforts to transform the liberation movements into satellites of parties in power, subject to unaccept-

able paternalism, are caused by the fact that most of the liberation movements conducting an armed struggle have to do so from outside their countries.

Exile has its effects.

"The worst thing the Portuguese did to us," said one of my most intelligent friends, "was to oblige us to wage a liberation struggle from abroad." I agree.

The Organisation of African Unity, which has done something, especially politically, to promote the national liberation movements, will still have to help them enough for them to be independent, respecting the conventions and the programmatic involvement of different organisations, in accordance with the realities of the country.

The dialogue between independent Africa and dependent Africa is still not satisfactory, and for this very reason the political battles are not taking place with the required force.

We cannot digress on the various nuances of political action to demonstrate our shortcomings, but I do not want at this time to give the idea of having had any critical intention in my appraisal of the period we are going through in this phase of liberation.

I will merely say that we could, for example, cooperate on economic matters so as to wage the battle in this field too. With regard to Portugal, its plunder of our resources, like oil, coffee, diamonds, iron, etc., products which are marketed by international bodies in which Africans participate, could be prevented or at least decreased.

And what harm would there be in involving the liberation movements in discussions on the crucial problems of our times which will certainly affect the development of our continent, like for example the broader association of Africa with the Common Market, or problems of European security?

And the problem of Southern Africa? Will we be permitted to discuss it exhaustively one day?

Finally, we could go on much longer reflecting on our lived experience in this national liberation struggle.

I shall end here, thanking you Mr. Chairman and all the ladies and gentlemen and comrades for your attention.

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2. *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, Henry Winston, International Publishers, N.Y.C., Price: \$2.50. A major work on the future alignment and direction of the Black Liberation movement.
3. *Lenin On The Jewish Question*, ed. by Hyman Lumer, International Publishers, N.Y.C. Price: \$2.75. A collection of almost all of V. I. Lenin's writing on the Jewish question.
4. *Southern Africa*, by the N.Y. Southern Africa Committee, 244 W. 27th St. N.Y.C. 10001. Price: \$5.00 per year. An informative publication on events that affect Africa in the U.S. and events taking place in Africa.
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Harold Rogers Editor

Let My People Go

just headed for the park. . . but I'm on my way to freedom's land. I want you to go with me, but if you don't go for God's sake don't hinder me. For I will not be fooled by the platitudes of a Governor Wallace in Alabama, and Lester Maddox who claims that their trying to get right down in Georgia. I want you to know my brothers and sisters we are going to sit at the freedom table and we are going to eat all of our rights and we are going to enjoy our privileges, not in a cemetery somewhere where they will write over our tomb, "Free at Last, Free at Last." But right here in Raleigh, North Carolina in America we're going to say Free at last, free at last, thank God almighty we're free at last.

(Continued from page 1)

From Dar-Es-Salaam

ples organizations. In the 1970's and 1980's it must be the United Front movement of people of different racial backgrounds and political positions united to defeat imperialism at home. The United Front character of the Raleigh march also indicates the broadness of the struggle, since it is part of a world wide movement to defeat imperialism in the rest of the world.

The United Front that must be built in this country reflects the positions that came out of the Sixth Pan African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam. The liberation movements and other African countries are also part of a world wide movement in alliance with the socialist countries to defeat U.S. imperialism. The actions taken at the Congress have taught us a lesson that world history is moving in favor of socialism and for the defeat of imperialism in general. We in the U.S. must carry this message to our communities and defeat any attempts by certain Blacks or their sponsors, the capitalists, to make us slaves to their plans of exploitation and racism.

(Continued from page 5)

Anti-Imperialism

to the liberation movements in Africa and outside Africa.

6. The strategy of Revolutionary Pan Africanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-capitalist, anti-zionist and

anti-racist struggle that it considers to be means of promoting equality, democracy and developing a new society:

- a) The people must form the basis of this generalised struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it.
 - b) It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the rational basis for explaining and finding solutions to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism.
7. Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, revolutionary Pan Africanism takes into account the organisational and tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organisation are subordinate to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products.
 8. In 1974 Pan Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the African peoples of their dignity and responsibility the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind and the complete development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.
 9. Pan Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or national chauvanism; it embraces the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world.

It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of power, of all powers and power in its entirety.

In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of the present international situation, Pan Africanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the people of all the countries in the world advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin colour or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of the responsibility, and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Africa and of all people

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