

BLACK MAN SPEAKS



1971 - Volume I, Number 2
UNITY AND FREEDOM TO AFRICAN PEOPLE
Organ of THE AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
MALCOLM X UNITY HOUSE - 1553 Fulton St., S. F.

80,955 e.13-6096 CNX-13

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. **NEWS AT A GLANCE** **PAGE 1**
2. **TO MAKE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION WE MUST BE WHERE THE
REVOLUTION IS BEING MADE.**
BY OBA CHAKA **PAGE 3**
3. **NDUGU STOKELEY CARMICHAEL'S MESSAGE TO BLACK YOUTH
FROM OUR MOTHERLAND - AFRICA.** **PAGE 8**
4. **OFF THE PIMP!**
BY MWALIMU MTUNZI **PAGE 21**
5. **RESIST THE DRAFT**
BY BROTHER STEVE WILLIAMS **PAGE 31**
6. **CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLES- CREATIVITY AND ART
WORKSHOP.**
BY MWALIMU TAYARI **PAGE 39**
7. **THE COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA.** **PAGE 44**
8. **U.S. SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA.**
BY DAVID MAPHUMZANA SIBEKO
HEAD OF PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS (P.A.C.) MISSION IN
EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS. **PAGE 54**
9. **IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
NAMIBIAN ARMED REVOLUTION(SOUTH-WEST AFRICA PEOPLES'
ORGANIZATION.)** **PAGE 61**
10. **A BRIEF LOOK AT AN INDEPENDENT AFRICA COUNTRY - THE
REPUBLIC OF GUINEA**
BY MAMADOU DIOUM, EXCHANGE VISITOR **PAGE 70**
11. **AFRICAN HISTORY**
"THE MAHDI - MUHAMMED AHMED"
BY OBA CHAKA **PAGE 74**
12. **BLACK POETRY**
BY MWALIMU UKALI
"THE DRUMS OF AFRICA ARE SPEAKING"
"TOTAL LIBERATION"
"NIGGERS WILL KILL NIGGERS" **PAGE 81**
13. **SCHEDULE OF EVENTS** **PAGE 84**

NOV 1971

\$ 100

NEWS AT A GLANCE

In April, 1970 over 100,000 Brothers and Sisters in Trinidad were raising hell, and carrying on the struggle against white controlled neo-colonialism.

2,000 American marines were ordered to invade Trinidad in order to put down the peoples rebellion.

Those 2,000 troops did not invade Trinidad because 400 Brothers in the U.S. marines refused to be used as tools against their Brothers and Sisters.

Ofcourse you haven't heard about this before now. It is clear that Black people all over this earth are awaking up, and coming to realize that an attack against an African Brother, is an attack against Africans everywhere.

Racist's attacks against the Black Panther Party continue. On Sunday, March 28th around 3AM in the morning a heavy bomb exploded in the rear of the Black Panther Party office on Fillmore Street, San Francisco.

RNA

12 members of RNA (Republic of New Africa) were arrested in Mississippi while attending a Land Conference recently; one RNA member was wounded.

STOKELEY CARMICHAEL

Brother Stokeley appeared in San Francisco and Bay Area during March of 1971. Stokeley's message was that Africa is our power base in our struggle for Liberation. He advised Brothers and Sisters to take the Africa Revolution seriously and study. Commenting on Guinea, Stokeley said that when the invasion occurred Brother Seku Toure went to the radio and told the farmers to lay down their hoes and pick up their gun; he told the students to lay down their books and to pick up their guns. The people of Guinea picked up the gun and shot the cracker out of Guinea.

"TO MAKE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION WE MUST
BE WHERE THE REVOLUTION IS BEING MADE"

BY OBA CHAKA

We are living in the age of the African Revolution. Wherever we look in the world we see that African people are rising. The key to this age is that it is now the time for the collective awakening and rising up of African people.

The time has come when there is only one way that the African revolution can be successfully made. In order to make the African revolution a powerful and successful force we must all join together to make the revolution. Revolution in Mozambique, cannot be made in Tanzania, revolution in South Africa cannot be made in Zambia, Revolution in Black America cannot be made from white Pacific Heights or some other white island removed from the lives and suffering of our people.

In order to make revolution we must all be where the revolution is being made, mentally and physically. In order to make the African revolution we must be with our people, live under the same conditions, suffer the same hell, face the same dangers, and mobilize and organize to eliminate these same conditions.

We are now living through a great Awakening of African people, an awakening that knows no parallel in our history. Brothers in America, the West Indies, Africa and Europe are going through a mental or cultural revolution, where the old worn out values-

-of Europe are being thrown out, and new Revolutionary African values are being put in its place. In America African people are turning their minds, souls, attitudes, and actions towards Africa. A change is beginning to take place in the relations between Brothers and Sisters. A warm Black attitude of love and respect is beginning to replace the old hustling attitude of "look out for number one".

Black people in America are putting down the old attitudes of individualism, materialism, pimpism, capitalism, and spookism. The change can be seen in our music. While much of our soul music is still "white" and reactionary in its content, more and more we hear the sounds of the African revolution; "I'm Black and I'm proud", "To be Young, Gifted and Black", "A change is going to come", "RESPECT, Just Give Me RESPECT", The Last Poets, Sonia Sanchez, Don E. Lee, Marvin X, and many others have a revolutionary message to get across: "Change Nigger Change".

Black Journals, and other organs of communication are grinding out a revolutionary message. The Dashiki and the Natural has taken root, and even though the white boy has attempted to make it a fad, it is anything but a fad. It is part of the African revolution. It involves a change from the ways of the white west, to the ways of Africa, it involves Black People turning their minds home to Africa, and African People.

In Guyana our people are making the same changes, old slave names are being thrown away, and the names of Africa are being reclaimed. In Guyana, America, Africa and throughout the world wherever -

-African people are, our history is being examined both for strength and direction. In Tanzania the Mini-skirt has been outlawed as an immoral Western influence, and the African concept of ownership, i.e., Ujamaa is being stressed. In Southern Africa (Mozambique, Angola, Namibia etc.), the African revolution has advanced to the stage of armed struggle.

Throughout the world our minds are undergoing a collective change. We are responding to a basic law of revolution, which simply says that before we can reclaim our land, or anything else we must reclaim our minds as African people, and we must see that we all are in the same position throughout the world.

As we begin to wake up we realize that our revolution cannot be a reaction to, or an imitation of this corrupt white world. If in our struggle for a Black Nation we use the hunkey's symbols of white nationalism we will end up with a Nation that is Black on the outside and white on the inside. We have to stop identifying with the materialism and comfort of the western system of colonialism. We are not going to make a revolution as long as our minds are tied down to Cadillacs, plush pads, expensive clothes, and all of the false programmed wants of the West. These false wants are the basis of the devil's modern system of slavery and colonialism. The devil has got too many of our people devoting their entire lives to these unnecessary things.

We must realize that these false wants can in no way eliminate the hell that we catch 24 hours a day. A revolution is not going to be fought on the 24th floor of some expensive pent house, because Black people don't live on any floor of a so-called pent house. Revolution in Mozambique is not going to be fought in Tanzania, because the people in that revolution are in Mozambique, not Tanzania. Negroes are not going to fight a revolution in Pacific Heights, because only our enemy, not our people live in Pacific Heights. You are not going to attempt to defend yourself against your so-called common enemy, and you are not going to attempt to build something better than what he's got as long as your wants are satisfied by him. As long as they are, you won't get off of your fat rear end to fight anybody. So let us begin to understand now that our survival depends upon us joining with each other both mentally, culturally, and physically. When we learn that only beautiful African people can save, protect and liberate African people. we won't have to worry about some of us running to live with the devil. When we understand that a cadillac mentality is a cadillac mentality whether it's a nigger behind that cadillac, or a devil, then we will understand that a cadillac is not what we should want, and it is definitely not what we need: what we want and need is the unity of African people.

We must learn that there is no comfort or security in being a colonial slave, and if you think you have any, it simply means that you are a well-paid colonial fool. The only security that we as a people, have, is the security of power and organization. We will be secure when we are awake, powerful and organized. Anything-

~~-that does not contribute to this is insecure, and can be wiped~~
out in a minute.

As a colonial people who are rising to destroy colonialism, we must remember that the Haitian revolution was successful because the people of Haiti collectively rose up against the oppressor. There were no negroes living in plush palaces directing the revolution. The revolution was made by our people joining in and making the Haitian revolution. Black people had no fear of joining in with their Black Brothers, every Haitian knew that his future was with his people. Toussaint and Dessalines were great revolutionaries because they were right there with their people every step of the way.

The question you must ask, Black man, is who are you with. There can be only one answer.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S MESSAGE TO BLACK YOUTH
FROM OUR MOTHERLAND - AFRICA

We are sitting in the Motherland, Africa, Tanzania. On This trip we have seen a lot of things and we have come to know a lot of important things and we think that now is the time for us to begin to move as a coordinated unit.

We face a lot of problems today, especially the African-American, but the first thing that we all must begin to understand is that we are not isolated. First, we are Africans, living in the United States, but we are first, Africans. Our ancestry and our roots are in Africa. The African has been scattered all over the Western World. We are to be found from South Africa to Nova Scotia and we must begin to recognize this fact - this is the first thing we must understand. It must be crystal clear in our minds that today the African represents 900 million people in the world today. We can be found all over Africa. We can be found all over the West Indies. We can be found all over the Antilles. We can be found in Cuba, where we are 60 per cent. We can be found in Bolivia where we are thirty-five to forty per cent. We can be found in Panama, in Colombia, in Venezuela, in Guyana, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala - all the way up into the United States and into Nova Scotia. Today in Nova Scotia the African-American represents the majority of the people. Once we begin to understand as Brother Marcus Garvey tried time and time

9.
Stokely from Africa

again to explain to us and as Brother Marcus Garvey himself understood when he took his trips through South and Central America, how strong we are, then we will begin to stop feeling that we cannot do anything. That is first and foremost!

Secondly, we must begin to understand that wherever the African is oppressed, be it in the United States, be it in Nova Scotia, be it in Puerto Rico, or be it in Africa, WE are oppressed. That's first and foremost in our minds and it must ALWAYS be in our minds and we MUST BE crystal clear about that.

Now then, we have to talk about the problems that the African faces in the world today. We must talk about the problems the 900 million Africans face in the world today. The first problem is that we are oppressed wherever we are because of our color. WE ARE OPPRESSED BECAUSE OF OUR COLOR and we must begin to understand that it is this that we are going to use to unite us and bring us together. We must begin to talk about this and not make apologies to anybody - anybody at all for what we have to do.

Number one: We begin to decide inside the United States to form what is called a United Front. That is to say, we will form a United Front with all groups from the NAACP to the Muslims. And this United Front will say very clearly that all of us are the same people and we are fighting for the same things and that publicly we will

never publicly attack each other because the masses of our people need to see us united.

Secondly, whenever the white man comes down on any one group, ALL of us will rally to the support of that group. Our differences will be settled in the backrooms; never publicly. Brother Malcolm tried time and time again to emphasize this, but since this trip we have come to understand how very important it is because the honkies played that up outside - especially in Africa - where it seems as if we are divided and we don't know where we are going.

The second thing is that we must remember that whenever we talk we must be concerned with our Motherland, Africa. Africa is our Motherland. That is where we were raped from. That is where our ancestors are. That is where the blood of our blood and the flesh of our flesh is. We MUST always talk about Africa, because United Africa today can become the power in the world that will serve as protection for the Africans; especially the Africans inside the United States, but also other Africans outside of Africa. We must revive the concept of Marcus Garvey and understand what he was talking about when he said "AFRICA IS OUR MOTHERLAND." If our blood is to be shed today, we must make it clear it will be shed for three reasons and these three reasons ONLY: Number one, for Black people wherever they are; Number two, for the

Motherland, Africa; or Number three, for the oppressed people of the world. Our blood will never be shed for the white man. We have shed our blood too long for the white man with nothing for it. Our people, Our Motherland, and the oppressed people of the world.

Now then, since this is addressed to a youth conference, we ought to talk about the role of the youth in our movement. The first thing is that it is very important for the youth of our race to have a meeting by themselves. But it is also important that they do not use age as a criteria to eliminate many of our people, because many of our people who are older are very, very clear and know precisely what must be done and have the experience that we need in order to help us map out a program for our future strategy and to help us form an ideology. I do not need to mention Dr. DuBois who was in his nineties nor do I need to mention Marcus Garvey or many of the older brothers today who are over 30 and are fighting. So we cannot let age be a criteria to separate us. The youth need to have a meeting. They must begin to plan and to find out ways in which they can support and supplement the struggle. But they cannot isolate themselves from people over 30 who can really help us move.

The first role, then, of the youth in our race today is, Number One, to begin to organize themselves first. In our countries today, our youth are divided by gang

structures which fight and murder and plunder and kill each other. The first role of our youth if they are going to be serious is to contact all of these gang leaders and to begin to bring them together and to explain to them that we will not fight each other any more, nor will we wage gang wars among our Puerto Rican brothers because many of them are from Africa and the blood of Africa flows through the veins of Puerto Ricans. Nor will we wage war on our Mexican brothers. We will not wage war on them. That is the first thing that you as youth are supposed to do and if you are to be serious, you must when you leave this conference, go back and contact those gang leaders and begin to bring them together to the first thing of mapping out a peace strategy where we will not fight each other.

Number Two: Many of our people today need a pride in themselves so they can begin to feel that they are men, so they can begin to feel they are women, so they will not feel degraded and dehumanized. The job of the youth is to begin to give pride to our older generation. The way they can do that is to set an example of unity and love among our people, outside of words. Those must begin to come about and to begin to show a great deal of respect for our race.

Number Three: Fortunately many of the youth of today in our race are literate. Many of our people are illiterate.

We must begin to render services to our people. This is very, very important. Our people will back us and will fight. But they will only fight if they can see that they are getting something concrete from the fight. If the fights are just being wasted in frustration they will refuse to fight. We must begin to get our people to fight but we must give them something concrete in that fight so they can see that they are gaining things so they will continue to fight. The role of the youth then is to begin to set up organizations inside our communities that will love Number One, begin to teach our people who cannot read and write TO read and write. We must first begin to talk about wiping out illiteracy in our community.

Next, the youth must begin to show to the older generation the mistakes that they have made and that we must explain to them carefully so that we do not alienate them from our ranks. We cannot alienate them from our ranks. We must begin to show them the mistakes they made and show them that we are willing to move to correct those mistakes and to find the path that is going to lead us to correct those mistakes and to find the path that is going to lead us to our liberation. The first way, of course, is to show them the mistakes they made in fighting for the wars of the white man. That is a slow and tedious job. But we must slowly begin to explain to them that we cannot fight in this war and that it is important for them to

back us in a resistance movement to the war in Viet Nam.

Next, the youth of our country must begin to prepare themselves for paramilitary training. That is clear. There is no need for us to dodge the issue any more. We prepare ourselves for military training and we make it clear that we recognize that they are going to move to commit genocide against us and we must be prepared. We are not going to let them provoke us into a mass war now because we are not prepared to wage that war. But we make it clear that every time they touch one of us, ALL of us will fight whether we are prepared or not. Any time they touch one of us ALL of us MUST FIGHT and the reason is so that we let them know that when they come to get us they must be prepared to lose some of their people! That is to say that we are always prepared to fight, but we will decide when to fight.

There are many of us who frown on the question of reading books and understanding what is going on, but in your cadre you should select a number of people whose job it is to read everything that comes out in the newspaper and begin to analyze those things and to produce solutions for the benefit of the masses of our people. Never for a few intellectuals or the few bourgeois in our people but for the masses of our people. A clear understanding of the political situation of the United States is necessary before we move.

There are a number of youth in our community today

who run around shooting off their mouths about Black Nationalism, etc., etc. Our job is to begin to corral those youths who have the energy and begin to give them precise things to do. I do not want to outline for you your specific program. That is your job. It is your organization. But it is clear that talk is no longer going to fill a program for us - for our people. You must begin to organize precisely and give people things to do; no matter how little those things are. This leads us to the question of organization.

We have to begin concretely and seriously to organize our people in everything they do. We will organize everybody and everything and the simplest things, from sewing clubs to political organizations. But the question is organize. Organize our people, organize our mothers, organize our teenage girls, organize our teenage boys, organize our fathers, organize our poor people, organize our babies, organize, organize, organize! And those organizations MUST be sound. We cannot just talk about organizing. You must have a conference. Your job is to begin to find out what organizations are viable, how they can continue and how they can all hookup into a national structure for our youth. I have many suggestions, but again, I think it is important for you to begin to try and map out these for yourselves.

You must begin to find new ways to try to finance

Stokely from Africa

our movement. Our movement is going to be financed by us, Black people. You must concretely work out ways to finance that movement.

The federal government today is pumping a lot of money into our communities. The reason this money is coming in is not to help us. The reason is to divide once again and to conquer us. You should begin to map out a strategy for the youth with whom the poverty program is concerned, because you represent the force that they are unable to deal with. You represent the force that is ready to fight for our people anytime, anyplace and anywhere. And so it is you they are going to seek to try and divide and delude and whitewash. Therefore you should begin to see how in our community, WE can control the poverty program and use it for OUR benefit. If we cannot control it, you should seek ways to disrupt and destroy it.

The question of culture is very, very important. It is very closely hooked to the question of history. We must first begin to reclaim our history and our culture. We must begin to push to our people the need for them to stop imitating the standard of beauty of white society. The wearing of "natural" is a very important political weapon. We must try to convince our people to stop frying their hair. The youth can do this because you represent the beauty of our race. If we are going to participate in the nonsense of beauty queens, etc., etc., we should

begin to find people who are black and who represent us from the sense of blackness. That is to say, regardless of the shade of their skins people who appreciate themselves and do not wear a lot of nonsensical makeup and fry their hair. That you can begin to do.

The youth must begin to create an atmosphere of self-sufficiency in our communities. That is to say that we depend upon ourselves; on no one else. And unless the youth in our community is willing to demonstrate that they do not depend on any white people we will not be able to encourage our older generations or our generations to come. Self-sufficiency should be your law number one. We depend on ourselves.

We begin to read books published by black people, written by black people. We can read other books by other revolutionaries, but our first task is to begin to create heroes among ourselves whom we can admire and who can inspire us. Your job is to begin to read Franz Fanon. Your job is to begin to read Marcus Garvey, Richard Wright, LeRoi Jones. We must begin to read to analyze those people. Then we can read other revolutionaries like Che Guevara. We must begin to understand that to get an analysis of our problem, we read our people and we draw from other revolutionaries around the world. Your slogan should be: "THE BLACK YOUTH IS A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH BY NATURE." We are revolutionaries, nothing less.

You should establish a cultural department in your conference whose job it is to further Black Culture across the country. You MUST begin to consciously organize a program to further Black Culture. To talk about furthering it without organizing to do it is going to be our downfall. You MUST organize a cultural department.

You cannot be isolated. We cannot be isolated. You should seek then to move to build a national youth organization, which receives its programs from the bottom, never from the top. That is to say the president or vice-president of the organization does not decide the programs. The programs will be decided by the local chapters who are working with the masses of our people then carried out and articulated by the leaders of that national organization.

In our organization, we cannot eliminate ANYBODY! We must organize EVERYBODY; the drunks, the prostitutes, the pimps, the gangsters, the hustlers, the preachers, the sisters in the church, the welfare mothers - we must seek to organize EVERYBODY!

We must begin to learn Swahili. We must begin to learn Swahili. We must spread it all over the country.

In summing up: The youth should try and subjugate itself to a national organization which must be created among our elders, supporting the political ideology where we can agree with it. If there are to be disagreements, then we meet and try to work out those disagreements behind

closed doors and we will try and support those programs to begin to give some continuity to our struggle. We must recognize that our struggle did not start in 1960 nor did it start in 1954. Our struggle started four hundred years ago when the first white man came to Africa and tried to rape us. We have a continual struggle. Our struggle does not end in 1971 or 1972. We must be prepared to wage a long struggle and we must recognize that our fight will not even begin to show any sort of solutions for at least ten to twenty years and we must be willing to commit and dedicate ourselves to those years of struggle. We must be willing to say that if this entire generation of Black youth must fight and be wiped out so that our generation that comes behind us can live like human beings we are willing to commit this generation to that fight.

Finally, the most important thing for the youth is to begin to show love for our people; undying love for our people which we have never been able to find. Love. Love. Love. Love and we do not and NEVER apologize for hate. If we hate white people, we tell them we hate them because we love our people so much and because they try to hurt our people, we are willing to die fighting with guns in our hands. Let us not be discouraged. There are going to be many of us who are going to die. But let us tell them it is from the blood of Patrice Lumumba, it is from the blood of Huey Newton, it is from the blood of a

Stokely from Africa

hundred and thirty brothers and sisters who have died in the last three years of rebellion, it is from the sweat of twenty-eight thousand of our brothers and sisters who are in jail all over the United States today because of rebellions. It is from THEIR blood that we will continue to fight. And if Rap Brown dies it is from his blood that will spread, millions more will be ready to die! Blood and death will not stop us! We must march on! We must move on!

This is the generation of Africans that is going to reclaim the humanity of our people. This is the generation of Africans that is going to reclaim our Motherland. We cannot lose once we begin to struggle. It is a question of liberation or death, that is all. But we make it crystal clear to the world that THIS generation of Africans are going to have Black Power in the world one way or the other.

Thank you brothers and sisters. Keep on fighting.
BLACK POWER!! And no matter what, we got to T.C.B.

OFF THE PIMP

BY MWALIMU MTUNZI

Brothers and Sisters, as we move to a higher and deeper level of Black African awareness we begin to recognize the importance of our dealing with all elements being used to keep us divided. We will now examine the most perverted mentality within the Black race -that of the so-called pimps.

The make-up of a pimp is very easy to understand when we look at it in the historical manner, for we begin to recognize that pimping has a historical pattern, just as all action does. When we look into the past of pimping we realize that at one time this was one way of survival, and of striking back at the white world. This was done by not working on whitey's jobs and not paying taxes. Thus this was a way brothers had of getting their revenge but was it really? As time marched on and moons succeed moons, and rivers in their beds continue their endless course, things change their true shape and create history, we see that we will come together inspite of all the ways used to keep us apart. History tells us this. We know all things have their positive and negative forces and when there is something good on the scene designed to pattern the condition of Black lives, you start understanding why you use your people by using the lowest level of exploitation. By misusing the very essence of Black life, the Black woman, Mother of Civilization, we are destroying ourselves. So you work diligently to overcome this mad evil vice that keeps us in slavery. But still-

-there are negative elements that won't change. The only change they make is to become a bigger pimp, which also means becoming a bigger "punk". Because that's all the present pimp is, a jive, supplicating, bootlicking, sniveling coward, a funky punk, a vile, groveling chump with his will to oppose the honkey petrified by a vast fear of the white man. The pimps whose mind is locked in cold storage, will kill a brother or sister faster than he'd attack the honkey. Why, for the white Beast he'll work extremely hard to keep Black people divided. What value is there mister pimp in possessing money, a home and all the other things the beast has taught us to value? Instead of prostituting yourself pimp, you should be hurling your life with contempt into the face of the honkey, who has made a fool of us. But the "Mr. Clean" pimp whose spirit is unwilling and his flesh is weak, just hangs his head and sings the blues while calling himself slick, and a man.

Understanding the history of the pimp today, who was a person that was getting whipped cause he was a coward who wouldn't fight back due to fear when he was growing up, walks around today calling himself a man. Where as the brother who was the down to earth pimp, because he had to see that his family had food to eat and a roof over their heads and some clothes for his babies to wear, has become a hope to die revolutionary like Malcolm X and many others who began to recognize and feel deep in their Black hearts the suffering of their Black African people and understood the so-called pimp plays a major role in helping keep Black people apart. So this deeply touched a brother who had -

-great love for his people and understood that pimping was a used to keep Black people slaves to the white west, so rebellion took place and now the old pimp is a die-hearted Black African revolutionary and the pimp today is nothing but a punk. That's right- a big old punk.

This new pimp who has no heart, soul or backbone, is a detrimental element in the Black struggle for freedom and must be dealt with. Because his main concern is exploiting Black people to meet his own little petty materialized means which is a direct reaction to the white man, who's the biggest pimp walking the earth. All the pimp is today is a status symbol which is extremely dangerous to the Black people's fight for liberation.

The pimp today is nothing but a chump who is so weak that he must depend on some one who is somewhat weaker than himself, who is, most of the time a sister. Does the sister turn out to be a prostitute because the pimp raps so hard that he talks her into it? No!!! It's because the sister loves and cares for the dude so deeply that she'll do just about anything to make her man happy and the pimp seeing this instead of putting her on her throne as Queen of the Universe, he takes full advantage of her temporarily, because after a while the sister will see that this pimp is less than a man and will leave him. The first thing the pimp will do is beg and plead with the sister not to leave him. He'll cry like a baby, and then have the audacity to call himself a man who wants respect. How can he -

-be respected when he doesn't respect himself or Black people so he gets what he's got coming, which is nothing.

Because the changes the so-called pimp has the sister go through are the same as those of the mad white beast who is killing our Black race, the pimp is dangerous. The pimp is committing unconscious genocide by allowing the beast to maneuver him into using Black women who are the very basis of life, (because we know all life comes from the mother). But the pimp has the Black woman (mother of the Black world) out on the street selling her self to any white fool-honkey that has 5 or 10 dollars. The sister spends all types of hours on the street (while the pimp lays around or rides around in his car), and she's out there in the rain turning tricks which cause her to suffer from female troubles regularly.

But you don't care about her feelings mister pimp, you just want your money right, so you have her out there in the rain, cold and damp, walking up and down the block for hours making her feet swell because she has been out on the street since early morning, with nothing to eat but a piece of cake and some coffee which after drinking so often makes your nerves bad. Now it's 2:00 A.M. the next morning and she's still out there on the street; you call her a A.M. and P.M. whore, and you're riding around or looking at your T.V. or at the house with the rest of your so-called slick friends, cooking cocaine, freaking off and everything else, while you have the sister out on the street subject to any type of attack. But you don't care as long as your money is right.

So she comes in that morning about 4:00 A.M. with a cold which leads to the flu and then pneumonia because she was out in the rain. But you don't care fool, cause your money's not right. So you say get up woman and get my money straight for its getting late and you send her back out with the flu and all. About 5:00 you get a call and it's her saying, "daddy I'm in the hospital or in jail" and you say go to hell woman for I don't need you any longer.

So you see brothers and sisters, how this so-called pimp is helping kill Black lives, by having the Black woman out on the street selling herself for a few crumbs that he feels are of some value but are they really? In order for the sister not to have any trick baby she must take all type of birth control pills which in time make her unable to have any kids; and we know people are the basis of developing land, Having all of these birth control programs run on us by the white man and then the pimp who's a big fool to think he's making the buck by helping off his own Black people.

Wouldn't it be correct to say that the pimp is nothing but the savage's trick? As we look deeper into the subject we also recognize that this same pimp is affecting the young brothers who are coming up and who see nothing but the vile image in their lives. So they begin to find themselves wanting to be like the cold-hearted pimp. Since it takes time to work with these strong young brothers, and time is running out, let's get down to work-

-as African people and change such an image as the pimp's who in reality is nothing but a trick's trick and that's all that the white man is a big old trick and we allow him to trick us into fighting and killing each other for a few dollars.

Let's work together and wipe his image out of the minds of our young people. And I say to you pimp, jackel of disgrace, the one who urges our ebony Queens out onto the street saying get my money right, or you will get beat, our women are the most unique the world has ever seen but to you she's just another dollar, and just another thing. Well we have seen through you mister, and you shall pay for this evil vice, punk! You won't pimp a Black woman no matter what the price is. Before we finish with you mister you will be well read and trying to sell that silk suit to a factory making thread. And when all is done you shall go your way, painting the true picture of Black womanhood, more than happy to shed the title that slapped you in the face; you know the one I'm speaking of, jackel of disgrace!!!! In removing the street pimp from our people's minds we must understand there are other kinds of pimps in our communities.

Yes, there another dangerous image and that's the one who uses his people in the name of a god. I'm talking about this cadillac door-swinging, chicken-eating, handkerchief-head, preacher. The one who has our people on their knees praying to someone up in the sky. Now, we understand the preacher main reason for being in our community is to mislead the Black people by exploiting us in the name of God. We're not going to talk about religion-

-because that's your personal belief between you and your God . whoever he may be. But what we are going to expose are our preachers who use the god the white man gave them to take advantage of Black people. So the preacher pimp comes up with a way of playing on his peoples' weakness. Being good by nature as Black people are, the preacher pimp knows this and uses this. He understands the suffering of our people and knows they are looking for something that will help relieve them of the oppression they are forced to accept, so he says God is the way. In the hope of some peace we go for it. The first thing the preacher does is start telling us about the bible, which was made to deceive our people, and he does a good job in keeping it working. He has us thinking it's good to love your enemy and to turn the other cheek when someone strikes you. Love your "brother" no matter who he is; he can be the same man who has knocked half your head off, shot your people down in cold-blood, and the very reason for us being here in all this hell in so-called Amerika.

But the preacher pimp tells us to forgive them for we are all children of god and they are our "brothers" and that they don't mean no harm. And yet we are being murdered everyday by this "mad" white beast, that the preacher pimp says is our brother, And he tells us to pray to god, God will save us, so we pray, pray, pray, pray and pray to god but he still hasn't showed up yet and we still praying on our knees hoping and looking for him but still no word from him. We look , look and look but no god. And the preacher tells us about heaven where we will go when we-

- die and have the best of life with God. But when that preacher comes down sick the first thing he does is call a doctor because he doesn't want to die and leave this world and all the material things he got by exploiting his people. He has us in church all day telling us lies about having faith in God, God knows the way, while he, himself makes and drinks like a mad man. Then he wants our money saying we don't need it, all we need is him and God.

Something I've been trying to understand is if everything is in heaven then all of the preachers should just want to drop dead and go up there where they say it is. But no, he knows it's not there. So he tries to live to be an old man, which we know all preachers do. So we see that this is but another way of keeping us slaves to the white man. That's how they came and stole us from Mother Africa- with the bible and the gun. He uses the same thing today, but the preacher pimp is out front, teaching us to be peaceful and passive while the white savages bomb his very church and murder little Black girls, like in 1963 who didn't know anything about God but what some preacher pimp told them. We see brothers and sisters that the preacher pimp is nothing but a more classy pimp then the street pimp, but they do the same thing; robbing, killing and dividing Black African people.

Now I know of a preacher in Oakland who has a church where it cost \$5, \$10, or 15 dollars to sit down and then in the preacher pimp comes, in his big black cadillac, with his four or five bodyguards, and when he gets out of his car they roll out a red carpet and get down on their knees next to the carpet while the preacher goes into the church. And yet you think this is no pimp? Then what is he? He does nothing to help up-lift his people from all of the suffering they must endure, yet he has a new cadillac every year. Now we see this is but another way of keeping us divided for the white folks' benefit.

As with all things that are used against the Black African struggle, there are many sides to an obstacle and in relating to our topic, and in understanding this we can see there is a more menacing pimp than the others. He is the one who calls himself a revolutionary but still harbors those same white values. He begins to think about himself and no one else, and with this thought pattern, the revolutionary pimp uses his people in the name of blackness, causing divisions, deceit, and mistrust among blacks because of his petty ego that he must feed at the expense of his own Black people. And having this egotistical hang-up which all revolutionary pimps have, leads to first clashes, conflicts disagreements and finally the killing of each other. We have too many good examples of such actions, brothers and sisters. and it must STOP Now! When we analyze the make-up of the revolutionary pimp we see that the white man is the reason why he's acting in such a negative manner. He wants to be Black but in a white-

-sense just like that oreo cookie--Black on the outside, but white on the inside.

We can't put anything before Black peoples' complete independence, money, ego or anything else. It is a fact that Black African people must come first; there must be no limit to what we will do to see our people collectively FREE. Because as it is pointed out, individually we are helpless. As all life looks to its own for help we must look to ourselves for support, and strength. We must value African peoples' lives and not our own petty egos. Just as a new born baby needs its mother's milk for nourishment and life, we need each other to grow powerful and strong to sustain our struggle. And we know we will be free.

POWER TO AFRICAN PEOPLE!

RESIST THE DRAFT

BY STEVE WILLIAMS

The draft is an ever present evil to brothers whether they realize it or not. It has been used as an effective weapon by the government of this country in silencing many of our leaders. However, it hasn't been long since Stokely Carmichael and the brothers of SNCC refused to co-operate with Selective Service in 1966 starting the Black Resistance Movement. Many of these brothers are still in jail today through the efforts of the courts for draft evasion. Although the Black Resistance is very much alive today many brothers are realizing that they are needed as leaders and support for our drive for freedom and that it is not cool to spend 2 to 5 years in prison. These brothers are taking advantage of the loop-holes and deferments to stay out of the army and out of jail.

The Selective Service System is a mass of confusion and your local draft board is just a fragment in a big red tape process. However, as far as you're concerned your local board is the Selective Service System. They are the ones who make all the decisions about you. But one of the first things to remember is that the local boards are run by local board clerks. The members of the local board who actually make the final decision as to whether or not you get a deferment, meet only once a month. Therefore, many brothers are the victims of dumb mistakes made by local board clerks. In the meanwhile-

-not having a knowledge of how the draft is suppose to work, or not knowing upon what grounds a deferment could be appealed, many brothers get induction orders and get inducted or refuse and go to jail, or leave the country.

What is needed is a basic knowledge of how the lottery system works, the relevant deferments and a few other handy things to remember when dealing with your local board. This could mean taking time out to see a draft counselor so that you can get a good case together.

The lottery system is a game devised by the devil where everybody loses except him, which is typical. There have already been two drawings of the lottery. If you were born between 1944-1950 then your lottery number was drawn in December, 1969 and you were eligible for induction last year and in some cases this year. If you were born in 1951 your number was drawn in July 1970 and you are eligible for induction this year if you do not have some type of deferment. Many aspects of the lottery which should be common knowledge are not, due to the fact that if everyone knew what was coming down the draft wouldn't work and Selective Service knows this. To get a full picture of the lottery which you should have, come in and rap with one of our draft counselors.

To get down to the business of the alternatives to the draft and to being drafted, the situation is easily understood when explained. There is actually one real choice to be made con-

-concerning the draft; to do something or to do nothing. It really is pretty basic when you come down to it. If you choose to do nothing such as not registering or refusing to co-operate with the Selective Service you are risking getting a maximum sentence of 5 years in jail and \$10,000 fine or if you leave the country you risk never being able to come back. These are very drastic steps which should be carefully considered and talked over with a trusted friend.

However, the other half of the situation is doing something. Something in the form of trying to attain one of the many deferments, available. Sometimes this is not an easy thing to do but, between you and a good draft counselor, things can be put together. The basis of getting a deferment is presenting evidence to your local board that you deserve it. But this is really no problem once a brother realizes he has a basis to make a claim: once he does all that's left is putting it on paper.

The most common deferments that brothers are eligible for are 1-Y and 4-F deferments. These are medical deferments given to those who don't meet the Army physical standards. Over 35% of the brothers given physical examinations by the Army before being drafted are disqualified for some medical reason. This could almost double if a brother knew before hand about a disqualifying condition and had it on paper. One of the drawbacks in the past has been the cost of getting a Doctor to examine you and write a report about your condition. This is no longer a hassle. We have at our disposal through the Medical Referral-

-over 150 sympathetic doctors who are willing to see you, examine and write a good report for a little and sometimes no fee. So getting a doctor should no longer be a problem. What you must remember is that you have to tell your local board that you are eligible for a specific deferment; they are not going to tell you. A 1-Y deferment is usually not given for more than 6 six months but if your condition hasn't changed then you get the 1-Y status back. The only difference between a 4-F and the 1-Y is that the 4-F is a permanent classification. Another classification which a lot of brothers would qualify for but are not aware of is that if you were drafted your family would experience extreme financial and emotional hardship. What is meant by the word "extreme" is that it would be more of a hardship than the average family would feel if a son or a husband was drafted. This is one deferment that a brother can't get by himself. Here he'll need help from friends and people who know the situation of the family. These people can write supporting letters saying that they are familiar with the brother's family situation and that if the brother was drafted into the Army his family would experience extreme difficulty financially and emotionally. It's important that financially and emotionally be stressed. Because say a brother filed for a 3-A on the grounds that he was supporting his family financially and made no mention of the fact that his father is no longer a supporting part of the family unit, or that his mother or father is unable to work because of a physical dis-

-ability or that he has four other brothers and sisters in the family who must be provided for, or that his family is psychologically dependent upon him to provide the main emotional and moral support for the family, the chances of him getting the deferment will be severely limited. When making a 3-A hardship claim be sure that you mention everything that is part of or causing the hardship; don't hesitate to mention all the facts in detail. This hardship situation affects a lot of brothers but the only way they can take advantage of the deferment is by letting their local board know that these conditions exist.

Most people know about the 2-S deferment for college students. If you are full-time undergraduate student working towards a degree your local board has to give you a 2-S deferment. It is guaranteed to students by an act of Congress. What you should do is have your school notify your local board and inform them of the fact that you are a full-time student.

On April 23, 1970 President Nixon made proposals for the eliminations of certain deferments. He successfully got rid of the 3-A Fatherhood and the 2-A occupational deferments. He also proposed that the 2-S deferment be eliminated. Since it is a deferment made available by an Act of Congress, only another act of Congress can get rid of it. Within the next three months Congress will decide on whether or not to strike out the 2-S. It is best that brothers take advantage of the 2-S now if you are in school. It is good for four or five-

-years as long as you continue to make normal progress in school. You may not be working towards a degree as a full-time student or you may be an apprentice receiving training in some trade. In lieu of a 2-S, you might be able to get a 2-A apprenticeship deferment. You must submit information to you local board; a letter explaining what you are doing would be enough along with a letter from the school you are attending or from someone in charge of your apprenticeship training. This deferment will be good for as long as your program lasts.

So far the deferments mentioned above have been based on factual situations. What happens to a brother who doesn't fall into one of these factual situations? There is a deferment which can apply to where his head is at. It is the 1-0 conscientious objector classification.

In the past the 1-0 applied to the clean-cut , crew cut, white middle class honkey and for a brother to even think about applying for it was virtually unheard of. This classification has radically changed during the past year through outside pressures.

To get this classification in the past you had to have a background where you were brought up under the strict hand of some organized pacifistic church. But now religion is no longer the primary question. The education he has gotten in the streets or from people around him is now grounds enough for a brother to apply for the 1-0 classification and get it.

But like the 3-A deferment where the biggest question is sincerity, supporting letters written by friends will strengthen the case.

As brothers are becoming more politically aware everyday, they are also becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they cannot fight in the man's army and still take care of business at home. This goes right along with the 1-0 classification, because, if you do get it, instead of going into the army, you will have to do two years of what is called alternative service. You would be doing two years of work in the community interest. The work is not just pushing bed-pans in somebody's hospital somewhere but it is working in together organizations such as the National Association of Black Students. What your alternative service job will be depends upon how much looking around you are willing to do.

The alternatives discussed in this article can be very effective. Since each brother's situation is different, before you make a decision on which one of these to use it would be best if you came in and talked to a draft counselor; different situations mean different ways of going about the business of dealing with your local board. There are a few things everyone should know:

- always send information into your local board by certified mail-return receipt requested so they can't-

- say they never received it
- make copies of everything you send
- record any conversations you have with your local board over the telephone or in person to insure that you are always one step ahead of uncle sam.

BLACK DRAFT COUNSELING ASSOCIATION
 689 McAllister, San Francisco, California 94102
 PHONE: 563-3393

Creativity and Art Workshops

by Neville Taylor

The Creativity and Art workshop got down to the real meaning of creativity and art to a nation. As Brother Larry Deal (workshop coordinator) stated "Creativity is the soul of the nation. . . without it, the whole of whatever we want to be cannot be realized. . . we are speaking of ways of thinking, ways of styling the struggle, and ways of insuring that the victories gained in the area of politics and economics will not be lost in the battle for the soul."

Soul and creativity can be very powerful and must be used to its full potential in any attempt to build a Black Nation. The people of African descent find ourselves in a hell of a fix here in the 1970's and we will have to dig into the most creative part of us (collectively) to find the solution (and it is there) to our problem.

The workshop emphasized the fact that the Black man is

CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLES

Between September 2 and September 7, 1970, the historic Congress of African Peoples was held in Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A. Delegates who attended the Congress of African Peoples (referred to hereafter as CAP) came from nearly every political background and persuasion. However, the most rewarding factor was that the general spirit of the conference was that Black people, no matter where they lived in the world, were still indeed, African. They also agreed that all people of African descent had one common goal and that goal is the total liberation of Black Peoples everywhere.

Creativity and Art Workshop

by Mwalimu Tayari

The Creativity and Art workshop got down to the real meaning of creativity and art to a nation. As Brother Larry Neal (workshop coordinator) stated "Creativity is the soul of the nation . . . without it, the whole of whatever we want to be cannot be realized . . . we are speaking of ways of thinking, ways of styling the struggle, and ways of insuring that the victories gained in the area of politics and economics will not be lost in the battle for the soul."

Soul and creativity can be very powerful and must be used to its full potential in any attempt to build a Black Nation. We people of African descent find ourselves in a hell of a fix here in the 1970's and we will have to dig into the most creative part of us (collectively) to find the solution (and it is there) to our problem.

The workshop emphasized the fact that the Black man in

the West does have a definite culture and that the roots of that culture are in our African heritage although, our original culture has been changed some during our stay here in the white west; however, we have maintained our basic cultural characteristics and life style.

Our culture was viewed as the starting point for whatever we want to do. Every Black man, woman and child understands soul. Some Black people may try not to identify with it, but all Black people understand soul and creativity. Some of us have been tricked by the devil into thinking that the devil has soul and creativity, but whenever we are real with ourselves, we know that when we talk about Soul and creativity, we are talking about Black. Let's face it, the blue-eyed soul brother exists about as much as Tarzan does. Therefore, soul and creativity is a good point for us to rally around as a starting point in nation building. You can rest assured that this is a good place to start separating the man from the mouse.

The workshop went on to state that our culture is an exploited culture. As Brother Larry Neal pointed out, our culture has been exploited by everything from capitalism to Marxism. Now that is a very important fact to note because some Black people don't seem to understand this. The Black man is the only creative force in the white west, but all of this soul and creativity has been used and exploited to the benefit of the white west for the most part. Yeah, a few brothers and sisters have made a buck from their soul and creativity, but they have always gotten the short end of the stick and when you look beyond the pure money aspect of it, they have

gotten a general screwing. However, all of that is secondary to the fact that our soul and creativity has not been used to benefit the Race as a whole, and certainly has not approached its potential as a nation building tool.

When we start to look for a way to correct this sick situation, we need to look back to our roots (which will solve a lot of our problems) and see the role of art and creativity in a traditional African society. Here, art is seen as a community thing as opposed to an individual thing. That is art belongs to the community and the artist creates for the benefit of the community and not for his own individualistic gains. The artist certainly would not create something which is harmful to the community. However, we see and hear messages in some of our soul music which is completely opposite to any nation building concept and often intended to destroy any nation building thinking. Another important thing is that the personal expression and creative ability is not lost just because the individual creates for the benefit of the community instead of for his own personal selfish benefit.

It is also important that the Black artist have and create in a Black image to create to his full ability. Look at Jimmy Hendrix. This Brother was the best in his particular field, supposedly, but he was not completely creating in, and identifying with a Black image and therefore was never embraced by the Black community and therefore did not contribute what the Black community needed.

The workshop outlined particular lines of thought to be avoided in the field of creativity and art and others to be pursued in the field of creativity and art. One important attitude that the workshop saw important to avoid was the "Blacker than thou" attitude. It is obvious that such an attitude is not beneficial to a feeling of unity, and usually causes disunity. This is one of the things that has kept our soul and creativity from becoming the powerful tool that it should be. Such attitudes only lead to a dead-end. As the committee pointed out, the most relevant ideas will prevail as the Black Nation is built. This does not exclude criticism but rather points out that the "Blackest" ideas are those which will serve to unite Black people as opposed to those that cause disunity and hamper and prevent the growth of the nation.

Another dangerous area to be avoided was pointed out to be the over-intellectualizing of what Black Art is. This often ends up in endless and therefore meaningless discussion. What is needed is discussion which leads to action and work. Theories on Black Art are numerous, but what is needed is some actual functional art that leads to nation building and which further functions to sustain that beautiful Black nation.

It was also pointed out to be undesirable the type of thinking which would straight-jacket the range of inquiry of the Black artist. This type of thinking would only serve to limit our creativity. We don't know what those beautiful Black Brothers and Sisters have in the back of their minds and we had better let it all hang out.

One very desirable line of thought was an "operational unity" among the various arts as opposed to some abstract theorized unity. Other desirable lines of thought deal with how Black institutions are built, how to assure that they survive and how can they be internationalized or hooked up with Black art around the world.

One of the most desirable lines of thought and action is that which deals with how the artistic arm of the nation can best support and express the political arm of the nation and vice-versa. A working unity between these two areas is essential in nation building and arguments that say one is first and the other comes later (or vice-versa) only serve to dis-unite; that is, arguments over whether a cultural or political revolution should come first. It is desirable to have these two areas complementing one another instead of opposing one another. Our art and creativity can and should be one of our strongest propaganda tools to spread those political ideas which lead us to a nation.

Many ideas were brought to the Creativity and Art workshop. It is only hopeful that these various concepts and ideas will be put into function and bring about unity in this field.

It is important that we realize and remember that for our creativity and soul to be powerful, it is necessary that it be used to benefit the nation of Black people everywhere. This is necessary in the building and later sustaining of the Black Nation.

COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA

It has become important to introduce to the people of Africa this son of Africa, Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana and leader of the People's National Congress. His government is destined to play the leading role among governments in the decolonisation and reconstruction of what is called the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Outside of Cuba, in fact, it is difficult to find another country in the Caribbean where a serious, methodical attack is being made on the colonial system and on its old institutions.

Perhaps the best way to begin is to describe the significance of Proportional Representation for Guyana. This is a system of voting used in certain Scandinavian countries. The British Government rejected the P.N.C.'s (People's National Congress) demands for P.R. as early as 1960, simply because it was a change from the British first-past-the-post system, that can give such distorted election results. For the same reason the Communist Party of Great Britain once demanded Proportional Representation. It is enough in this short article to say that under the old system the PPP (Jagan's party) was able to win Parliamentary seats on an average of one for every 4,500 votes, but it took the P.N.C. an average of over 8,000 votes to win a Parliamentary seat.

the P.N.C. supporters absolutely refused to accept to accept another election on that basis.

Burnham's first major act after the December 1964 victory was to negotiate the inactive World War II U.S. Base, Atkinson Field, out of the control of the U.S.A. into Guyana's control. Previously the U.S.A. had the right to activate the base at 48 hours' notice. This right has now disappeared. The "field" is no longer named after the U.S. Major but is officially renamed TIMEHRI Airport. TIMEHRI is an Amerindian word.

Burnham's party has always declared that it would have trade and other relations with any country except South Africa. Rhodesia and recently Portugal have been added to the list of banned countries. For some time, however, the Burnham government has been building up friendly relations with Yugoslavia with whom it has formal diplomatic, and other relations. On September 4, Guyana and the U.S.S.R. also agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

The first great achievement of the Burnham Government was the mobilization of the Guyanese people for self-help programmes in the building of community and social facilities such as roads, drainage canals, elementary and secondary schools, and health centres. Everyone in the Western Hemisphere knows Guyana as the self-help country. The greatest project so far is the self-help road deep in the interior. It has attracted not only Guyanese of all walks of life and ethnic groups, but also students from U.S.A. campuses. Many of these visitors have talked of returning-

-to live in Guyana. The Prime Minister himself with his wife Viola, did a one-week stretch of work on this self-help road. They kept the full work schedules expected of volunteers. Productivity was never as high as during that week. They will do another one-week stretch later in the year.

On Burnham's initiative the Guyana Parliament became the first in the hemisphere, apart from Cuba, where M.P.s and Ministers do not wear the traditional European jacket and tie, but wear the shirt jac- a national creation. He continuously helps the nation to seek an identity other than British and North American - a Caribbean identity. The Parliament of St. Lucia, a small island in the West Indies, later adopted the shirt-jac. In Guyana judges and lawyers no longer wear the old wig and gown.

In 1969 Burnham decided to carry out one of his undertakings: that Guyana should break with the alien British monarchy and become a republic. Africans will not understand what a tremendous step this is for people bred on the British tradition with no history of self government in that part of the world. Instead of making the country a mere republic he took the chance of putting forward at the same time his ideas of economic revolution. The Party Congress in 1969 decided that the country should be a Co-operative Republic. He chose February 23, 1970, the two hundred and seventh anniversary of the date of which the 1763 revolution of African slaves began, to launch the Republic.

The head of Cuffy, the leader of that Revolution, appeared on the special silver struck for Republic Day.

To mark the new stage of the Guyana revolution and to impress on the public mind the direction we intended to take, the Government declared the National Co-operative Bank open on February 24, 1970. It is a joint effort of Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies and the State. No company or private individual can buy its shares, so that it cannot ever fall into the clutches of capitalists. Its role is to mobilise savings in the economy for the financing of the co-operative sector. The Bank was not supported by Dr. Jagan's opposition P.P.P. Later Jagan's P.P.P. opposition also failed to support the abolition of the British Privy Council as the final Court of Appeal for Guyana. It must be remembered the Jagan had said in 1964 on the B.B.C., "I have faith in British justice".

In January, 1969, the Burnham government faced its first serious international challenge since the armed seizure of Ankoko island by Venezuela. It was the revolt of the white ranchers in the Rupununi District in the interior. Trained in Venezuela and with arms supplied by that country, these ranchers, some of them U.S. citizens, and others Scottish descendants, killed six policemen, an Amerindian P.N.C. supporter, and began to publish news of a "revolution". But the Guyana Defence Force arrived on the scene and the murderers escaped to Brazil and Venezuela.

They have since been given land and political asylum in Venezuela.

Nothing exposes Dr. Jagan as much as his attitude to this revolt. Commenting on it, he wrote:

"The (Rupununi) revolt had its origin in a combination of factors - resentment by the people of the Rupununi (i.e. the white ranchers, etc.) against the P.N.C. Government for the ejection of the United Force from the coalition; dissatisfaction with the government's high handed action in connection with their leased lands; subversion by Venezuela in its quest for a Guyanese 'fifth column'! "The Government is using the Rupununi revolt to militarise our politics." (Cheddi Jagan: African Statesman, No. 4 of 1969).

The United Force had joined the P.N.C. in a coalition government after the 1964 election, but took fright at the P.N.C.'s working class policies. In the 1968 elections Burnham told the country that he would not form a government unless he was given enough votes to make a coalition unnecessary.

These ranchers had enjoyed under the colonial regime and Jagan's 7 years of power, leases to an average of about 50 square miles of land. They lived by exploiting Amerindian labour and by conducting all sorts of contraband trade. They were truly the savannah aristocrats. The "high handed action" of which the

-P.N.C. is accused by Jagan was Burnham's refusal to renew the leases, and his promise of a land reform.

His greatest internal political triumph, apparently not widely reported abroad, was the defeat of the P.P.P. in the recent local government reform elections that have so far taken place in six districts, two of which were decidedly P.P.P. strongholds. Several of Jagan's candidates withdrew and denied that they had been pressured. Several joined the P.N.C. Jagan's built-in Indian support collapsed and divided, thus bringing about the P.N.C. victory in two areas dominated by East Indian peasants. Jagan's explanation was very un-Marxist. It closely resembles that being given by the Zambian opposition: "The elections were rigged".

But what is the co-operative Republic: It is amusing to hear would-be intellectuals dismiss it as something they had ~~never~~ heard about. Others want to know, "Is it of Russia: Is it Chinese?" Is it Scandinavian: Is it Castroite?" It is none of these. One reason why we in Guyana reserve the right to develop our own ideology is that we know from experience that ideology, like investments, can be another vehicle of neo-colonialist control.

The Co-operative Republic is an attempt to found and develop a Republic on an ideology based on the historical experience, the traditions and the healthy aspirations of the Guyanese people.

It aims at what is called "socialism: but approaches it and designs it in an independent way. In our country the original Amerindian economy was a co-operative economy. The Africans after emancipation carried out a co-operative revolution of great significance, setting up a new economic system outside the plantation system, and competing with it for resources. The East Indians have shown examples in the use of co-operative labour in the building up of the rice industry. Hence, the co-operative basis of the New Republic is a factor deeply rooted in the people's life.

In actual terms the economic base of the Co-operative Republic is the co-operative movement of the people - in building, in distribution, in the new farm in the interior or the river districts, in construction contracting, in garment and other manufacture - the union of this Peoples' movement with the public control of industry, beginning with the controlling share in bauxite which is to be negotiated next month.

Speaking on this question at the 13th Annual Conference of the P.N.C. already referred to, Mr. Burnham said:

"The Hinterland as we all know, contains the greatest part of our natural resources especially in forests and minerals. In the exploitation of these, especially of the latter, we are prepared to enter in consortia with foreign investors but only on certain conditions, and one such condition henceforth will be that government alone or government and co-

-operative hold in each case no less than 51% of the equity. We must own, and control the exploitation of our resources. We have seen in Guyana and in other underdeveloped countries foreign owned extractive industries prosper while the native population remained poor and destitute." (Policy for the New Co-operative Republic - The 13th Annual Conference of the Peoples's National Congress April 2-8, 1970).

The same line of approach was put by the Prime Minister to his Caribbean colleagues. Speaking to a Heads of Caribbean Governments Conference on April 13, 1970, Mr. Burnham called on them to "recognize that Independence would have been received in vain if we do not take regional action, corporate action, group action with respect to the ownership and control of the resources of the Region." He went on, "Some of us are tired of attempting to sing our songs in what has been in fact a foreign land. The time has come for us as leaders of our people, as men who have sprung from the gutter, as men who cannot trace our genealogies further than slavery or the proletariat, the time has come for us to give political independence a new turn, for us to achieve economic independence in our part of the world."

The Prime Minister is an active supporter of African liberation. When the first Zimbabwe brothers were hanged in 1969 Burnham declared them heroes and called a National Week of Mourning.

No one in Guyana can trade with South Africa or Rhodesia or Portugal. Before I left Guyana on August 26, the Prime Minister telephoned me to say that he had heard that I was booked on a Portuguese airline from Brazil. The report, luckily was false. On the other hand the Government is working hard within CARIFTA to develop trade among the Caribbean countries. The CARIFTA Regional Secretariat is based in Guyana.

The Guyana Government has set up a Public Corporation to take over certain sections of external trade, immediately starting with trade with the socialist countries including China. This move is a result of a decision passed at a historic seven-day Conference held by Mr. Burnham's P.N.C. in April, 1970. In his time Dr. Jagan had set up a trading arm, GIMPEX, but it was neither state owned nor party owned. It is not a co-operative but a private company. The P.N.C supporters do not want to see the old capitalist clique reap all the benefits of trade with the socialist world.

Burnham believes that Guyana is too weak to engage in hot cold-war issues. But he has promised political asylum to African revolutionaries from Colonial Africa and from the U.S.A. This is what Burnham and his party and Government are attempting to do. Whatever the world thinks of these efforts it is important that the facts be known.

If the Guyana Government has not a smashing reputation for radicalism it is because the Prime Minister is very dedicated to the cause of Caribbean Unity, beginning with CARIFTA, a Free Trade Area of the former British territories, and leading to Economic Integration and political Union. Meantime, Guyana marches on along her chosen path.

U.S. SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

By David Maphumzana Sibeko,
Head of the P.A.C. Mission
in Europe & the Americas

Without the support from western imperialist countries, it was on the cards that the Pan Africanist Congress was about to fell the South African apartheid (segregationist) regime with the very first head-blows we landed during the historic Positive Action Campaign against the obnoxious pass laws, in March, 1960.

The massacre of 83 unarmed patriots and maiming of over 250 others who responded, together with hundreds of thousands of Africans across the land, to the clarion call made by PAC brought about the first massive strike by African workers and peasants on a nation-wide scale and sparked off a crisis which broke the morale of the fascists and plunged the economy of the country into the "red".

When other western investors decided to withdraw helter-skelter U.S. companies used that as an opportunity to entrench themselves behind the South African fascists. These companies were instrumental in encouraging a group of U.S. banks, headed by Chase Manhattan (which opened branches in South Africa after a visit there by David Rockefeller) and the First National City Bank, to provide an annual \$40 million revolving loan which came in handy for South Africa in 1960; the foreign reserves had fallen from about \$1,000 million to about \$200 million as a result of the anti-pass campaign and

the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa, where 69 and 5, respectively, of the 83 men, women and children were killed.

The leading U.S. companies in South Africa at the time were:

Abbott Laboratories	Interchemical
Addressograph-Multigraph	International Business Machines
Allied Chemical	International Harvester
American Bank Note	International Packers
American Chicle	I.T.&T.
American Cyanamid	Johnson and Johnson
American Home Products	Joy Manufacturing
American Metal Climax	Kellogg
American Steel Foundries	Kimberly Clark
Armstrong Cork	Link-Belt
Baxter Laboratories	Masonite
Beech Nut Life Savers	Merck
Black and Decker	Metro-Golwyn-Mayer
Borden	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing
Bristol Meyers	National Cash Register
Carborundum	National - Standard
Chicago Pneumatic Tool	Newmont Mining
Chrysler	Olin Mathieson Chemical
Coca Cola	Otis Elevator
Colgate - Palmolive	Parke - Davis
Combustion Engineering	Pepsi Cola
Corn Products	Phillips Petroleum
Crown Cork & Seal	Proctor & Gamble
Dow Chemical	Revlon
Eastman Kodak	Rexall Drug & Chemical
Electric Storage Battery	Richardson - Merrell
Ferro	Schering
Firestone Tire and Rubber	Smith (A.O.)
FMC	Smith, Kline & French
Ford Motor	Sperry Rand
Gardener - Denver	Standard Brands
General Electric	Standard Oil Co. of California
General Foods	Sterling Drugs
General Motors	Symington Wayne
General Tire & Rubber	Timken Roller Bearing
Gillette	Twentieth Century Fox Film Co.
Goodrich (B.E.)	Underwood
Goodyear Tire and Rubber	United Artists
Harsco	United Shoe Machinery
Hewett - Robins	United States Rubber
Ingersoll - Rand	Upjohn
	Warner - Lambert Pharmaceutical

56. U.S. Support for Apartheid
By David Sibeko

In late 1969, the "Wall Street Journal" disclosed that there are now 275 U.S. firms operating in South Africa and that their total investments amount to \$750 million, which is twice the amount of total U.S. investments in Africa as a whole and represents an increase of nearly \$100 million within two years; total U.S. investments in South Africa in 1967 were worth \$667 million.

Following his visit to a number of independent African states in 1970, U.S. Secretary of State, Rogers stated plainly in a statement of his government's policy that, "We do not believe cutting our ties with this rich, troubled land, South Africa, would advance the cause we pursue or help the majority of the people of that country."

In the same statement, Rogers hypocritically states that the U.S. takes a stand "on the side of those forces of fundamental human rights in southern Africa as we do at home and elsewhere." The record of the Nixon administration on the question of civil rights in the U.S. is no different to that of previous regimes and needs no further comment from us; the discrimination and exploitation of Black people in America and the persecution of their leaders speak for themselves. Rogers and his colleagues could therefore never be on the side of African people, as is demonstrated by their unbending determination to bolster South Africa's racist regime through economic investments, loans and other financial assistance.

America deliberately follows the policy of supporting the white supremacists in South Africa because trade with the fascist

U.S. Support for Apartheid
By David Sibeko

regime in Pretoria is made lucrative by the slave wages that are paid to African workers under the system of apartheid. For instance in mining, where American tycoons like Charles Engelhard of New Jersey command huge shares in corporations such as Anglo-American Mining and De Beers, the salary scale is \$19 per month for an African Worker and from \$300 upwards for white supervisors.

Economic trading at the level maintained by America and the South African racist regime is followed by military cooperation. After the Kennedy Administration imposed an "arms embargo" in 1963, it was assumed that this had done away with military cooperation, such as supplying arms to the regime in Pretoria, but this has not been the case. Through third parties South Africa has continued to obtain the American weapons and spare parts she needs. One such "fence" was recently prosecuted in Switzerland.

The South African army and police use Ford vehicles for troop movements. The police force's standard weapon is a .38 calibre fly-wheel police colt, similar to the one used by policemen all over the United States.

The U.S. maintains a space tracking station near Pretoria and it is an open secret that South Africa is working hard at developing her own nuclear weapons. Last year it was reported that their scientists had scored a major breakthrough in their research work by finding a formula which narrows the processing of raw materials for the manufacture of nuclear explosives.

The secret of an agreement, which exists between the U.S. and South Africa on the docking of the former's warships on their way to and from Vietnam, was broken open by Vorster, the settler premier in South Africa, to reporters in February 1968. Following a stormy incident in which Afro-American brothers serving in the U.S. navy were prevented from taking shore leave for fear of their being exposed to racial discrimination in public places, Vorster said he wondered why so much of a fuss was being made over the incident because the agreement on extending port use to U.S. warships along the South African coast had been concluded "between high ranking servicemen of the two countries."

These exposures, plus the financial assistance and diplomatic protection the U.S. has given to South Africa at the United Nations and elsewhere, demonstrate beyond a shadow of doubt on whose side the U.S. imperialists are in Azania (South Africa). The unquestionable fact is that the U.S. is making more out of South Africa than it is from the futile war of aggression in Southeast Asia. In the near final showdown that we are going to force between ourselves and the white oppressors, through the development of the armed struggle, there can be no doubt that the U.S. imperialists will not stand idly by and watch their interests being threatened.

Already an attempt is being made by the U.S. and South Africa to prevent the liberation war in Azania from developing into fullscale hostilities. "Carrot and stock" tactics are being applied to enforce an understanding between independent

U.S. Support for Apartheid
By David Sibeko

African states and the racist regime; weaklings like Kamuzi Banda, Leabua Jonathan, Tsiranana, Kofi Busia and Houphuet Boigny have compromised and are doing heavy trade with South Africa.

African patriots such as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda have been repeatedly threatened with military assault, under the excuse that they house "terrorists" from Azania. But these threats have come only after Kaunda and Nyerere had rejected the invitations for their countries to extend trading operations to South Africa. In West Africa, the progressive State of Guinea has been under constant attack from NATO supplied warplanes since the beginning of the liberation war in Guinea-Bissau. To show that they mean business, recently the western imperialist powers approved the invasion of the Republic of Guinea by Portuguese troops and mercenaries; this was a dress rehearsal for their designs elsewhere in Africa.

For our part we are not intimidated and we mean to keep on pushing. We are resolved to avenge our more than one hundred brothers who have hanged at the gallows in Pretoria for waging the armed struggle at Paarl, Bushee Bridge, Qamata, Queenstown, Krugersdorp and other places inside Azania. We have the full assurance of Tanzania, Zambia, Congo-Brazzaville, the U.A.R., Somalia, the Sudan, Uganda, Lybia, Algeria, Guinea and other progressive African countries that they will continue to back our struggle without compromise.

The Sons and Daughters of Africa who were abducted from Africa and brought here 400 years ago have a duty to form

60. U.S. Support for Apartheid
By David Sibeko

themselves into a formidable force, together with other progressive minded people in America, which supports in all possible and recommended ways the armed struggle in Azania. We also have an indivisible Pan African duty to give maximum support to the struggle of our brothers here. This means that our struggles are complimentary and one cannot be waged successfully without relating to the other. The history of our enslavement and colonization is common and so is the history of our exploitation. What has risen through our oppression is bound to crumble under our liberation. THE PRESENT COLLUSION BETWEEN U.S. IMPERIALISM AND APARTHEID OPPRESSION CALLS FOR URGENT PAN AFRICAN CO-OPERATION AMONGST THE BLACK PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAMIBIAN ARMED REVOLUTION

Exactly four years ago, (August 26, 1966, the struggle for the liberation of our fatherland reached a staged of great force. The people of Namibia view the date of August 26, 1966 as historical which will be remembered by our people forever. On this date, our revolutionary forces launched their first assault on the enemy. It is the date which proves the failure of peaceful protests and of diplomatic petitions as sole substitutes for revolutionary action. Above all this is the day that our people realized their strength to stand up and fight, so that in the future their children may live in peace.

As we pace along the revolutionary path, we wish to make evaluation of the entire process. This includes the complete analysis of our success or setbacks, steps that must be taken to improve our effectiveness in both our political and military struggle because we believe that political-military actions support each other and should be applied with equal force. Rebellions or attempts thereof have often the same denominator. This is more so with social revolutions.

In Namibia today there exists antagonism between the people and the racist oppressors of the Pretoria (South Africa) regime. This antagonism arises from the merciless exploitation of our people by the white aggressors and their backers, the international monopolists.

To keep their dominant position, the racists used brutal

Namibian Armed Revolution

measures of oppression and repression. This is why they have hunted the leaders of our people like dogs. SWAPO (Southwest African's People Organization) realizes that these acts on the part of the racists would not stop unless the people take effective measures to counter them. It is the objective conditions in our country, therefore, together with subjective will that lead SWAPO and the Namibian people as a whole to take up arms.

Armed resistance is the only effective means of expression that a stubborn enemy like the Boers will understand. We had for some time tried to appeal to the conscience of the colonialists, but our cry for national independence and freedom fell on deaf ears. Inevitably the war of liberation was declared by our people under the leadership of our movement, SWAPO. It took painful deliberations to come to such a decision which has far reaching meaning.

War is essentially brutal. It calls for the highest sacrifices. The price we have to pay is enormous. We are prepared, however, to endure all hardships in order to liberate our territory from the plundering reactionaries. We are unshakable in our belief that there is no other avenue open for us. Thus we took the only way left to us.

Although our revolution is actually a Namibian one, fought for and by the Namibians themselves, we have and will in the future use tactical and strategical examples which other revolutions have to offer. In a broad sense,

Namibian Armed Revolution

our revolution is linked to other revolutions the world over.

We have realized that although the battle fields are geographically separated from each other, the enemy we face is essentially the same. It is just natural, therefore, that our revolution calls for compact unity of action of all revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. When this unity is fully realized, as it must be, the enemy will then be defeated internationally.

A flashback into our people's history will reveal some brilliant features of our people's resistance against foreign invaders. The German imperialists were met with a war of resistance (1904-1907) and so were the Portuguese (1916-1917) who invaded our land from the North. These wars imposed on our peaceloving people by foreign capitalists ended in enslavement of our entire people.

The War we are waging now is a continuation of previous battles with some minor exceptions. First the earlier resistance wars were fought on a regional rather than on a national scale. Second, they lacked international analytical base. The present struggle is characterized by popular national participation of the majority of the peasants and workers. It is zealously guided by the concept of internationalism. We believe that although territories where these liberation wars are fought differ, the enemy against whom they are fought is the same.

The last four years of the armed struggle has taught

us lessons in regard to the fascists' repressive tactics.

These measures include:

- (a) Arbitrary arrests and continuous detention of our members without trial.
- (b) The banning of SWAPO as a political movement.
- (c) Creation of infamous Bantustan. (No man's lands, which have little food, and are passed off as nations, by South Africa).

The arbitrary arrests and detention of our leaders and cadres is seriously affecting the organization's structure within the country. The enemy hopes to isolate the people from their heroes so that he can claim, like he has said, time after time, that our party lacks active support of the whole population.

Although it did not come as a surprise, the banning of SWAPO was one of the many steps taken in the name of what is called "Law" by the Boers, to prosecute our patriots under "legal" codes we do not recognize. These criminal undertakings on the part of South Africa has shaken, but not destroyed, our Organization structure.

The latter one, to our opinion, is the most serious device the regime is using to create confusion and general division of our people. By their very nature, Bantustans are hatched to create indigenous puppets who can be used as obedient servants of the government. Opportunists represented by demagogic chiefs see opportunity in these imaginary "self rules" to further their own personal gains. These forces constitute functional enemies of our movement

and our movement considers them as enemies proper.

The combined actions of the enemy who is bent to defend his so-called interests and that of his supporters (Rhodesia, Portugal, NATO, U.S., Britain, etc.) have slowed down our march towards national liberation, but have not stopped completely our revolutionary forward thrust.

Progress is being made in both political and military fields in spite of the enemy's general desperate counter-revolutionary war. We can, therefore, declare that South Africa cannot and will not succeed in suppressing this popular resistance. As our people learn more of her intentions and her methods of achieving her evil aims, they take steps to prepare even more. The ever increasing statements by the enemy's own press, of several incidents of what is called "terrorism" are final proof of our stepped up liberation war.

Thorough review of the structure of the organizational machinery was made at the historical Tanga Consultative Congress. The Tanga Declaration which was issued at the Congress reaffirms SWAPO's unshakable determination to carry out the struggle to its logical end. But real improvement of the revolutionary work can only be secured if all the members of SWAPO including their leaders are drawn into this work and share the hazards of war with the people.

Departments dealing with specific matters concerning

political-military affairs were established. In all, a solid declaration and commitment was made to carry out the battle of destiny until victory is achieved.

In the sphere of international relations, SWAPO expressed her cooperation with the United Nations which it believes has a special role to play in the future shaping of events concerning Namibia. SWAPO urges U.N. member states to adhere and conduct their policy in accordance with the spirit of U.N. Charter.

Recommendations were made which if vigorously carried out would insure South African removal from our territory. The Special Committee on Namibia was once again reminded of its sacred duty to carry out resolutions passed by the General Assembly. The use of force under the U.N. Charter was suggested as the most relevant step the U.N. can take against Pretoria in order that overdue justice be done to Namibians. No persuasive dialogue with South Africa would force her to reconsider the vicious intentions she possesses against our country.

In response to suggestion made by certain U.N. member nations that SWAPO form a government in exile, SWAPO has unequivocally declared that such a government is unworkable. This rejection of the idea underscores SWAPO's belief that a government in exile would create illusions in our people and would in fact weaken the people's will to fight for real and complete emancipation of our fatherland. We ask nothing more beyond our right to complete national independence.

On the issue of U.N. passports, our view is that such passport must be controlled by SWAPO which is responsible for Namibians abroad. If not properly regulated by a relevant organ, these passports will be used by counter-revolutionary renegades to undermine the people's revolutionary movement. They will also be improperly used by certain elements whose purpose is to travel all over the world with no intention whatsoever. In addition SWAPO demands that our organization be recognized and awarded the status of sole and legitimate representative of Namibia. This must be preceded by complete disengagement from cooperation with South Africa by all U.N. members.

SWAPO has reaffirmed its total commitment to the concept of both O.A.U. and of the non-aligned nations. However, we qualify our relationship with these two associations. When we say we are Pan-Africanists, we do not imply our total cooperation with any African regime, even though its declared policy is to work hand in hand with our enemy - imperialism.

To do so would amount to betrayal of humanity, it would be reactionary and self-defeating. This ideological principle also applies to the concept of positive neutrality. In this respect, we will cooperate in good spirit with any of third world nations and with their institutions provided these nations work against international exploiters of their peoples. We'll not cooperate with puppet states tele-

manufactured by imperialism. As a matter of fact, we'll work with progressive people who strive to wipe out puppet regimes from the face of the earth.

Finally, SWAPO believes that world peace and harmony can only be realized when all people are free from exploitation. To end social antagonism is a task that demands revolutionary application of people's power to counteract the power of world capitalism which manifests itself in racism, colonialism and fascism. To this end, we will spare no energy.

The Namibian people, through their representative body, SWAPO, thanks the African States - particularly those O.A.U. member states who have been giving us assistance through the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, and those who give their assistance directly to our fighting people. Also, our gratitude goes to the countries of the socialist camp, and the democratic organizations in Western countries, who have been giving us moral, political and material assistance.

Our militant solidarity goes to the heroic Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian people, who are in the front lines to resist the United States' imperialist aggression against the Indo-Chinese people.

We support the brotherly people of Cuba and other Latin American peoples in their struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialist monopolies. We support the Afro-American people and their movements against racism, and for social liberation from the United States' oppressive and internal

Namibian Armed Revolution

colonial system. We salute our heroic comrades in arms, the participants in the National Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Guinea - Bissao! We greet the people of Palestine and other Arab countries in their struggle against the Israeli-Zionist occupation of their great Arab homeland!

Long live the Namibian people!

Long live the SWAPO, and its heroic
People's Liberation Army of Namibia
PLAN!

Long live the 26th of August!

EVER ONWARD TO VICTORY!

THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA
PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO)
OF NAMIBIA
DAR-ES-SALAAM, AUGUST 26, 1970

A BRIEF LOOK AT AN INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRY
-The Republic of Guinea-

by Mamadou Dioum - Exchange Visitor

The Republic of Guinea is located in West Africa and covers an area of 100,000 square miles, approximately the size of Oregon. The country is bordered on the north by the Republic of Senegal and the so-called "Portuguese Guinea", on the East by the republic of Mali, on the Southeast by the Republic of the Ivory Coast, on the South by Sierra Leone and the Republic of Liberia, and on the West by the Atlantic Ocean.

Guinea presents itself in a variety of landscapes: the coastal region (lower Guinea) is flat with approximately 170 inches of rain per year. This is where the capital city, Conakry (a port) is located. Annual temperature variations in Conakry range from a high of 86° to a low of 74°. The Fouta Djallon is the mountainous region with a more moderate climate, sometimes with temperatures as low as 40° - which is actually cold for Africa in general. Upper Guinea is the region of the Savannah with Sudanic climate where temperatures fluctuate daily and seasonally. The Southeastern forest region is a highly fertile land which gives it a high agricultural potential.

The Republic of Guinea was part of the large African Empire of Mali and was a highly active region in the trade between the West African empires and North Africa through the Sahara. The first signs of foreign presence in Guinea was in 1880 when its leader Almany Samory Toure signed the first treaties with the French and then engaged in a war against

them. This was to last 18 years. In 1898, Guinea became a French colony. The colonial period was marked by a complete absence of decision-making power for the Guineans; a complete economic, administrative and political domination. The cultural life of the people remained, however, untouched although French remained the official language.

The first liberation movements started in West Africa after World War II. The RDA (Rassemblement Democratique Africain) African Democratic Rally was founded in 1946 in Bamako (Republic of Mali) by Mamadou Konate, Houphouet Boigny (President of the Ivory Coast) and Sekou Toure (President of Guinea). In 1947, the PDG (Parti Democratique de Guinee) Democratic Party of Guinea was founded as a section of the RDA. Its secretary general, Ahmed Sekou Toure was elected to the first autonomous Guinean government in 1957 under a new French reform by the name of "Loi Cadre" which guaranteed internal autonomy to all French colonies. The colonial government was still headed by a French governor. In 1958, Guinea voted against the proposed union in the constitution of the French 5th Republic and became independent on October 2, 1958. The French left after 60 years (a whole generation) of colonialism.

The political philosophy of the Republic of Guinea may be summarized in three words: Pan Africanism, Internationalism, and Non-alignment. We are pan-Africanist because we believe in our African culture, our African ways of life, and our African brothers. We want to build our Nation and defend it with dignity in our own way. We are members of most African organizations - OAU, Organization of African Unity, OERS,

Organization of Senegalese River States, composed of Guinea, The Republic of Senegal, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and the Republic of Mali. We are internationalists in the sense that we believe in the right of all nations to exist on this planet, regardless of race, religion or ethnic beliefs. In doing so, we condemn all acts of aggression. We are members of the United Nations and many other international organizations: communications, weather bureaus, health, etc. We believe in non-alignment because all we ask from our friends is to respect our territorial integrity, our African customs and our people. We deal with the Eastern countries as well as the Western countries. We have diplomatic relations with Great Britain and the United States, as well as Russia and Communist China.

Needless to say, we have been victims of several attempts of aggression since 1958. The latest one, that of November 21, 1970, by the Portuguese failed, like the previous ones by different aggressive groups. We will continue to survive because we are convinced that we are right and pray for Allah to protect us as an Islamic Nation against our friends, and, as for our enemies, we shall take care of them ourselves.

EDITORIAL NOTE: By Ablaulaye Toure

In November, 1970, 30 mercenaries were arrested in Gambia, before they left the country to invade Guinea.

Press dispatches showed that mercenaries acting against Guinea had left from Guinea Bissau, on 10 portuguese ships, equipped militarily for the invasion. A captured portuguese mercenary,

The Republic of Guinea

Amuroise Fernando, admitted that the portuguese government had paid each mercenary 1 million escudos.

The Guinean Government requested that airborne troops be sent immediately to "strengthen the National Army".

Jamil M. Buroody (Saudi Arabia) made the following comment:

"It appeared that the objective of the invasion was to overthrow the goverment because its ideology and system was unpalatable to the powers which wanted to impose their own system on the African States. They wanted client governments--stooges and puppets to serve their interests..." What assurance was there that NATO member was not conspiring with other members to effect changes to their liking in Africa?"

All African delegates noted that the invasion attempt to the Republic of Guinea was a direct threat to independent African states. (These were delegates to the United Nations). It is clear that the long, blood dripping hand of the United States was behind this invasion attempt. We all know that portuguese imperialism is based on her free NATO military support, as the poorest country in Europe, Portugal could not afford to fight against our people in Angola, Mozambique etc., without NATO support and as we know NATO is a creature designed and manufactured as an instrument for the oppression of Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow people. So in truth the real invader of Guinea was the United States of America.

MUHAMMED AHMED--THE MAHDIBY OBA CHAKA

Muhammed Ahmed, later to be known as the Mahdi, was born in the Sudan at a time when the Sudanese were slaves in the land of their ancestors.

This was the time when all of Africa and Asia suffered under the heel of Western imperialism. Ethiopia was a colony ruled by the Italian devils; West Africa suffered under the heel of British and French imperialism. South Africa was being bled by the British and the Boers. And the Sudanese were colonized and enslaved by the pig English.

But Mother Africa refused to accept white slavery, and white imperialism. From every corner of Africa arose the cry "Uhuru", Freedom. In Zulu land the cry was "Zulu land for the Zulus," in Ethiopia the cry was "Ethiopia for the Ethiopians," in the Sudan "Sudan for the Sudanese", and in West Africa "Ashanti land for the Ashanti..

This was the time of revolution. The African Simba (Lion), was on the move. African were demanding Africa for the Africans. African mothers kept the customs and told their children about the great Black warriors of Africa. The drum of revolution was beating.

This was the age of Chaka the Zulu, Menelik the Lion, the Mahdi and Samori. This was the age of Revolutionary Black Nationalism, an age that we are still living in. This was the beginning of the end of White racism, and white imperialism.

This was the time when at last, when the last should be first and the first should be last. This was the beginning of protracted revolution; the meaning of these revolutionary struggles was that no longer would Africans submit to hunkey domination. This age was the age of spirit---the spirit of revolution. For every warrior that fell on the battlefields 1,000 would move up to take his place. After a Samori, a Nkrumah; after a Mahdi, a Nassar, after Menelik and Chaka a Nyerere; after Garvey a Malcolm; after Malcolm a Stokely and a Rap Brown.

This was a time when the Sudanese awaited a second deliverer, a divine prophet who would declare Jihad on the devils and would bring about a heaven on earth for the Sudanese people.

In 1848 the deliverer (Mahdi) was born, at a place called Khanag Dangola Sudan, the son of a poor carpenter. The wisdom of the "Mahdi" and his love for his people, became known throughout the Sudan. At an early age the Mahdi realized that the Sudan should be ruled by the Sudanese; he believed in the Universal Equality for all Sudanese, the equal division of wealth among all Sudanese in order to eliminate all poverty, and Universal Law and religion.

In the year of 1300 (1881 A.D.) according to prophesy, and in fulfilment of prophesy the word spread throughout the Sudan that Muhammed Ahmed was sent to the Sudanese people from Allah(God) and that Muhammed Ahmed was the Mahdi (the deliverer). The Sudanese realized that the time of the devils judgement had come and that their deliverance and freedom was at hand. From every corner of the Sudan the Sudanese began to flood to the banners of the Mahdi.

Naturally the pig authorities became disturbed. They began to wonder who this Mahdi was, was he a prophet or a criminal. In true hunkey tradition a reward was placed upon the prophet's head; the hunkey had decided to treat a true religious revolutionary as a common criminal, the same way he now tries to treat brothers like Huey Newton and Rap Brown as common criminals. The Sudanese didn't fall for this then, and we refuse to fall for this now. Just as Black people have declared war on the Pig Power structure in America when they have tried to destroy us with their police so the Sudanese under the leadership of the Mahdi declared war upon the British Colonial pigs and their bootlicking accomplices.

In declaring Jihad (holy war) upon the devils, the Mahdi promised his people 4/5ths of all of the wealth taken from the White Devils. The time had come when white power could only be met and defeated by Black Power. Allah would only bring, and blessings of victory upon those who earned it in battle. The path to freedom was violent, nose for nose and toe for toe revolution. The Sudanese--

--did not expect Allah to give them their freedom. Allah expected the Sudanese to take it.

In an effort to destroy the Mahdi, the British sent a trained dog by the name of Pasha to do their dirty work. The devil told these companies of house niggers that whoever killed the Mahdi would get the reward, So like two trained dogs these house niggers began to fight each other so that one of them could get the reward. They were so busy fighting each other that they forgot that the Mahdi was waiting to leap upon both of them.

So when these trained dogs had tore enough flesh off of each other, the Mahdi fell upon all of them, and destroyed them. Soon the words on every Sudanese lips was that the Mahdi was a divine prophet, because only a divine prophet could cause his enemies to fall out among themselves and defeat themselves.

From all over the Sudan the Sudanese began to flood to the Mahdi's side. The tribes of the Selem, Haggorn, Risega, Homer, Dinka, Bonga, Maki, Bori all came with one cry on their lips, and one belief in their souls, "Freedom or Paradise!".

The Mahdi was soon to show that Allah had not only sent a religious deliverer but he had sent a military genius. With the defeat of the first group of bootlickers a second group was sent to destroy the Mahdi.

In every battle against these bootlickers and against the British, the Mahdi could be seen in the front of his army on his great Arabian horse. In every battle the Mahdi was victorious. At the end of the battle of Senaar 6,000 of the enemy were destroyed; at Ojegel Godir in June 1882 two whole enemy corps were eliminated; at Seribal the Mahdi defeated an army corps of 6,000 only 12 were permitted to escape in order to warn others of the Mahdi's power.

Up to this time the Mahdi fought a struggle of self-defense; he only attacked when he was attacked. Now the Mahdi began to take the offensive. First he attacked the city of El Oleid, and captured it. Next he began to prepare and plan for the capture of the city of Khartoum, which is the capital of the Sudan. Khartoum was the center of wealth and trade in the Sudan. If the Mahdi succeeded in capturing Khartoum it would mean the end of British rule in the Sudan.

By this time the British were in a nervous fit; she began to realize that if the Sudan fell than Ethiopia could fall, and above all the gem of Africa, South Africa could fall. Britain had the same fears then that America has now over the example that Vietnam would set for the rest of the world.

In desperation the British sent her best General (Hicks) to crush the Sudanese liberation struggle. Once again the Mahdi fell back upon some Black creativity; the Mahdi divided his forces in two, sending part to meet Hicks and part to attack Khartoum. This forced the devil to divide his forces leaving 3,000 to defend Khartoum, while the rest were sent to attack the Mahdi.

Upon the approach of Hicks the Mahdi retreated into the desert drawing Hicks into a trap. Hicks followed the Mahdi across parched desert only to find that the Mahdi had poisoned all of the water holes. While Hicks army was dying of thirst, a spy of the Mahdi's led Hicks army into a trap and on November 3rd, 1883 the Mahdi fell upon Hicks's army and wiped it out only 1 hunkey was allowed to escape.

The Mahdi continued his offensive, he conquered Berber, Dongola and Darfur. The Mahdi's greatest general Osman Digna captured Swakin. In desperation the English resorted to spook strategy. They sent a Christian named Chinese Gordon to the Mahdi; Chinese Gordon offered to make the Mahdi governor general of one of the Sudanese provinces, and asked the Mahdi to become a Christian.

This was a serious insult to the Mahdi who was a divine prophet of Islam and had no need for a slave religion; futhermore he ruled the entire Sudan so why should he accept a governorship of one province under the rule of his enemy--the devil.

The Mahdi's answer to Chinese Gordon was simply; either Gordon renounced Christianity and beceme a Moslem, and put down the British Empire or he would face the wrath of the Sudanese people.

Gordon returned to Khartoum and attempted to defend it against the Mahdi. The Mahdi captured Khartoum, and one of his soldiers sliced off Gordon's head and hung it on a tree for all to see.

The Mahdi was now the ruler of the Sudan, which was 1,600 miles long and 700 miles wide. At last the Sudanese people were free, in the land of their ancestors. True to his word and his mission, the Mahdi set up a Beet-el-Mal (a communal house stacked with food) rooms throughout the Sudan were filled with gold and silver and British money. All of this wealth was given to the people. The revolution demonstrated the deep love that Black people had for each other. It sent a great ray of hope throughout the world. In China, Vietnam, Africa, Latin America, and among Afro-Americans the word began to spread---the hunkey had been defeated in one part of the world where Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow people suffered from oppression. The day of freedom was at hand.

81.

BLACK POETRY
BY MHALIMU UKALI

THE DRUMS OF AFRICA ARE SPEAKING

The drums of
Africa
are beating out
a message
To all Black African People
The drums are saying
It's time for us to get
ORGANIZED

The drums beat
day and night

The drums beat
and the battle rages on

The battle rages on
In Angola, Mozambique
Zimbabwe and Namibia
to name a few.

These are wars of Black Liberation
Yes the colonized are
revolting against the colonizer

The battle is raging
In the North and
In the South
of Mother Africa
from Egypt to
Azania (South Africa)
from Guinea Bissau
to Tanzania
and that same battle
rages on in America
as Africans living
in America
us Black People
here, in this hell
Fight on
for the
Liberation of all African People.

TOTAL LIBERATION
BY
MHALIMU UKALI

Black People
put aside
personal jealousies
Black People
put aside
personal differences
Then we can unite
for the Freedom of
our people
based on what we have in common
Form Revolutionary Black Organizations

Black Organizations
put aside
Organizational jealousies
Black Organizations
put aside
Organizational differences
Form a united Front
A Black United Front

Black Organizations
we don't have time
to argue
about different ideologies
Either we unite, and move toward total liberation
or accept extermination.

Thinking it's just a joke

Knives will kill fingers

not the real white enemy, but

fingers are going to have to change

if Black People are to be freed.

NIGGERS WILL KILL NIGGERS

BY

MWALIMU UKALI

Niggers will kill Niggers
 just to hold Miss Ann's hand
 Niggers will kill Niggers
 Thinking this will make a nigger a Man

Nigger will kill Niggers
 trying to be cool
 But being a nigger is just a state of mind
 Only fit for a fool

Niggers will kill Niggers
 Over a quarter or a dime
 Niggers will kill Niggers
 Don't even think it's a crime
 Niggers will kill you
 If you around at the wrong time

Niggers will kill Black People
 Learned from our White Enemy
 But Niggers are Black People
 In reality

Niggers will kill Niggers
 Over the white man's dope
 Niggers will kill Niggers
 Thinking it's just a joke

Niggers will kill Niggers
 not the real white enemy, but
 Niggers are going to have to change
 If Black People are to be Freed.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

MALCOLM X UNITY HOUSE

1. YOUNG CHUIS (After School Program) meets Monday and Wednesday 4:30 - 6:00 P.M.
Saturdays 1:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.
SUBJECTS TAUGHT include Swahili, Black History, Karate, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Reading.
AGES: 3 - 12 years old.
1553 Fulton Street, San Francisco, California
567-6330
2. UJAMAA NA CHAKULA
FREE FOOD PROGRAM- Monday thru Saturday - 12-9P.M.
1553 Fulton Street, San Francisco
3. UJAMAA NA NGUO
FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM
(Pick up clothes or donate clothes).
1553 Fulton Street, San Francisco
567-6330
4. RALPH FEATHERSTONE LIBRARY
OPEN MONDAY-SATURDAYS 11 A.M. - 9 P.M.
1553 Fulton Street, San Francisco.
5. MALCOLM X UNITY HOUSE MEETINGS
LAST SUNDAY OF EVERY MONTH EXCEPT DECEMBER.
NEXT MEETINGS:
SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1971
Sunday, June 27th, 1971
SUNDAY, July 25th, 1971
SUNDAY, August 29th, 1971
SUNDAY, September 26, 1971
SUNDAY, October 31st, 1971
SUNDAY, November 28th, 1971
DECEMBER KWANZA CELEBRATION TO BE ANNOUNCED.



